

The Place of Women: Exploring the Role of Place in Shaping Self-Employment as a
Livelihood Strategy for Women in the Resource Dependent Community
of Gold River, B.C.

by

Lindsay Paige Dalton
B.A. Geography, University of Alberta, 2002

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Geography

© Lindsay Paige Dalton, 2006
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by
photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

The Place of Women: Exploring the Role of Place in Shaping Self-Employment as a
Livelihood Strategy for Women in the Resource Dependent Community
of Gold River, B.C.

by

Lindsay Paige Dalton
B.A. Geography, University of Alberta, 2002

Supervisory Committee

Dr. A.H. Dolan, Department of Geography, University of Victoria
Supervisor

Dr. D.J. Smith, Department of Geography, University of Victoria
Co-Supervisor

Dr. D. Cloutier-Fisher, Department of Geography, University of Victoria
Committee Member

Dr. J. Gutberlet, Department of Geography
Committee Member

Dr. G. Halseth, Department of Geography, University of Northern British Columbia
External Examiner

Dr. A.H. Dolan, Department of Geography, University of Victoria
Supervisor

Dr. D.J. Smith, Department of Geography, University of Victoria
Co-Supervisor

Dr. D. Cloutier-Fisher, Department of Geography, University of Victoria
Committee Member

Dr. J. Gutberlet, Department of Geography
Committee Member

Dr. G. Halseth, Department of Geography, University of Northern British Columbia
External Examiner

Abstract

In the academic literature resource dependent communities have been characterized as principally economic spaces that evolved relative to their socio-economic dependence on a single resource-based industry. Subsequently, as industry restructuring and closure has effected community transition, research emphasis has shifted to the emergence of alternative economic futures for these places. Currently, economic and social renewal in resource dependent communities is typified by sets of locally based strategies that rely on the participation of all community members.

However, as recent research positions local actors as catalysts for socio-economic development, very little research has been dedicated to exploring the multiple roles and contributions women make to their households and broader community. By extension, the organization of women's economic lives, particularly in terms of self-employment, has been absent from the discourses surrounding community transition and resilience.

In response, my research is rooted in place-based change as a means of highlighting how self-employed women have made use of place-based resources to structure their livelihood strategies. Using personal observation and semi-structured, open-ended interviews with 13 women in Gold River, BC, the purpose of my research was to demonstrate how self-employed women simultaneously shape and are shaped by place. In turn, I demonstrate that women pursue self-employment as a means of fulfilling their requirements for paid work, personal fulfillment, and the flexibility to maintain household and community responsibilities. In the process, self-employed women have made unique contributions to community well-being and to the evolution of place-based identity.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Acknowledgments	viii
Chapter 1 -- Introduction	1
1.0 Research Background	1
1.1 Research Context - Gold River, BC	5
1.2 Research Purpose and Objectives	10
1.3 Thesis Structure	11
Chapter 2 -- Characterizations of Resource Dependent Communities	12
2.0 Introduction	12
2.1 Conceptual Framework	13
2.2 RDCs as Dependent Places	14
2.2.1 Employment	14
2.2.2 Communities of Women	20
2.3 RDCs as Places in Transition	22
2.3.1 Transitioning Places	23
2.3.2 Women's Place(s)	28
2.4 RDCs as Sites of Resilience	29
2.4.1 Reconstituting Place(s)	29
2.4.2 Women	34
2.5 Conclusion	37
Chapter 3 -- Methodology and Methods	39
3.0 Introduction	39
3.1 Research Design	39
3.1.1 Methodological Influences	39
3.1.2 Methodological Framework	41
3.1.3 Approaching Qualitative Research	43
3.2 Methods	45
3.2.1 Documentary Research	45
3.2.1.1 Technical Literature	45
3.2.1.2 Non-technical Literature	46
3.2.2 Observation	46
3.2.2.1 Physical Observation	47
3.2.2.2 Informal Interviews (Conversation) As Observation	48
3.2.2.2.1 Key Community Members	49
3.2.2.2.2 Village Residents	50
3.2.2.2.3 Profile of Change	52
3.2.2.3 Reflection	54
3.3 Using Semi-Structured, Open Ended Interviews	55
3.3.1 Informed Consent	55
3.3.2 Sampling and Contacting Participants	56

3.3.3	Context and Research Positionality	57
3.3.4	Semi-Structured, Open Ended Interviews	59
3.4	Constructing Data	62
3.4.1	Transcripts	62
3.4.2	Analysis	63
3.5	Recognized Limitations	64
3.6	Final Thoughts.....	67
Chapter 4 -- Women and the Influence of Place		68
4.0	Introduction	68
4.1	Paid Work	73
4.1.1	Multiple Strategies	73
4.1.2	Restructuring.....	78
4.1.2.1	Constraints Imposed on Self-Employed Women.....	79
4.1.2.2	Opportunities That Enable Self-Employment for Women	82
4.1.3	Access to Resources	85
4.1.3.1	Personal Capital	85
4.1.3.3	Financial Capital	90
4.1.3.3	The Role of Re-training Programs	92
4.1.3.4	Social Capital	94
4.1.3.5	External Networks.....	98
4.2	Unpaid Work in the Community and Home	100
4.2.1	Restructuring.....	101
4.3	Place	104
4.5	Conclusion	107
Chapter 5 -- Discussion.....		108
5.0	Introduction	108
5.1	Implications for Individual Women	109
5.2	Implications for Place	113
5.3	Implications for Future Research.....	115
5.4	Conclusion	118
Works Cited.....		120
Appendix A.....		134
Appendix B.....		135
Appendix C.....		137

List of Tables

Table 1: Summary of Interview Participants 72

List of Figures

Figure 1: Location of Gold River on Vancouver Island	6
--	---

Acknowledgments

Thomas King (2003: 153) wrote: "the truth about stories is that that's all we are." I believe this, just as I believe that my thesis tells the academic story of my research. However, there are many stories that were written along with my thesis. Those stories were shaped by the people and the places vital to this process. Although I can't acknowledge everyone/everywhere, I would like to express gratitude to the following people:

The women in Gold River: Not only were they the backbone of my thesis, they are kind, honest, and inspiring women that have profoundly affected me. *Dr. J. Douglas Porteous*, as started me on this road and I am all the better for it. *Dr. Dave Duffus*: for our sideways conversations, his appreciation of a good story, and the relative soundness of his advice. *Dr. Greg Halseth*: for rearranging his schedule to participate in my defence - it was a pleasure speaking with him. *Dr. Dan Smith* for his quiet acceptance and attention to detail. *Dr. Jutta Gutberlet* for her kindness and encouragement and *Dr. Denise Cloutier-Fisher* for her caring and her candid humour. Also, the *Department of Geography*: I greatly appreciated the conversations fostered on the 2nd floor of the Cornett building. *Also to, Corinne Dibert* for being blunt, but always honest and who, along with *Dave* and *Karen*, kept me (mostly) grounded and (mostly) laughing. Although, Dave still owes me a scotch.

Finally, *Dr. A. Holly Dolan* who trusted me. That trust was, and is, simultaneously intimidating and empowering. Her patience and encouragement gave me the courage to finish the 'story'. Thank you for taking the time to be both friend and mentor - it is, as always, very much appreciated.

My thesis is dedicated to my *family who are the biggest part of my story*. To my *Nana & Pompa and the Rich family*: for their love, support, and belief in me. To my *brother Blake*: there has never been a better coach, friend, and confidante - your help went above and beyond. I am so grateful that you are the man you are and that we are (still) very good friends. *And most especially, to my Parents for being my stalwart supporters who have respected the choices I made, who had unshakeable faith, who became good friends, and who somehow knew when I needed to run away. I am so fortunate - I am just so fortunate... so, thank you.*

Chapter 1 -- Introduction

And I think these North Island communities are pretty similar. There are cases where husbands and wives work in town together. Or the husband is working in logging and there are still a number of husbands and wives that work for logging and industry here. Change has been happening over the last 5-6 years. We are coming to the point where we thought we would be on the upswing. I think it is - there is a lot of real estate selling. It is probably half tourism and half loggers buying real estate. - Anna

Yeah, women have been involved over time. They've brought in more services and started up little businesses and stuff like that - offering people things that they didn't have before...it's nice. You know it's definitely women involved in town. - Laura

1.0 Research Background

In 2004 it was announced that the pulp mill in Port Alice, BC was scheduled to permanently close. As a result of mill closure, the broadcast news discussed the possibility that Port Alice could become a ghost town. Although dramatic, it had happened numerous times before in British Columbia. Ocean Falls, for example, was a single industry town but the closure of the mill in that community resulted in the literal near-death of that town.

Regardless, the announcement about Port Alice was an odd coincidence. I was about to interview self-employed women in Gold River, BC about the effects the closure of the pulp mill in their community in 1999. Indeed, the women I interviewed used the parallels between Gold River and Port Alice as a means of discussing the various outcomes of industry closure and consequent place-based change. Based on their experience, most women dismissed notions that mill closure in Port Alice would lead to the absolute decline or death of that town. In their view, decline and death were both relative; there would be a death in the particular way of life and a decline in economic prosperity of Port Alice. But, just as there would be less money there would be new jobs, less people but new residents. There would also be a net loss of social and municipal services but there would be new ways to make use of old infrastructure. Women suggested that for both new and old residents in Port Alice, change would reinforce a particular commitment to place, place-based identity, and the continuance of day-to-day life, just as it had in Gold River. In effect, there would be a number of challenges, but there would also be new opportunities.

Transition and change have indeed created spaces of renewal in both Gold River and Port Alice. It has also served, in many respects, to expose places of invisibility, particularly in relation to women. The academic literature, my experiences in Gold River, and subsequent interviews with self-employed women have led me to question how women have been depicted as residents of resource dependent communities (RDCs) in the academic literature. In turn, my research has taken root in the disconnect between what I have experienced and observed in Gold River and what the literature on RDCs has described in terms of the paid work that has been attributed to women. Through my research I have come to understand that the processes that have created place have also been reciprocally influential in shaping the day-to-day realities that determine the organization of the economic lives of women.

I have included the quotes above because they both reinforce and challenge the present and past participation, contributions, and characterizations that have been attributed to women in RDCs. In the academic literature, women's roles as both paid and unpaid workers in these communities have been rendered subordinate relative to the dominant means of production (Marchak 1983). In the bulk of the literature women are characterized as voluntary, unpaid community maintenance workers (Robinson 1962; Lucas 1971; Halseth & Sullivan 2002; Reed 2003a;2003b), unpaid home workers and wives (Mackenzie 1986; Gill 1990a;1990c; Carroll *et al.* 2000a; Halseth & Ryser 2004), and as relatively low-paid workers in place-based service sectors (Krahn & Gartrell 1983; CS/RESORS 1997; Egan & Klausen 1998). The academic literature has rarely focused on the roles of women as paid workers beyond these typifications. However, more recently self-employment as a livelihood strategy has emerged as a possible response to transition in RDCs (Mackenzie 1986; Oberhauser 2002; Oberhauser *et al.* 2004). But, this research is still in its formative stages and not well explored in a Canadian context. Given the dearth of available research on women, I have used the academic literature as a means of describing place-based processes that have informed the opportunities and constraints that have influenced self-employment as a livelihood strategy for women in Gold River.

This literature continues to reproduce categories and characteristics that have dominated the discourse on RDCs for the last 3 decades. However, for the past 2

decades, successive periods of change have served to undermine the traditional structure of the forestry industry. This has fundamentally altered the rural landscape of Vancouver Island by affecting processes of social and economic transition that have served to reconfigure - even reinvent - former single industry, resource dependent communities. Subsequently, Markey *et al.* (2005) have delimited the literature on the life cycle of RDCs into three themes: dependence, transition, and resilience. In this framework, place and the well-being of place-based RDCs have been determined by the primacy of a dialectical relationship between industry and industry-related employment. Subsequently, the degree to which individual RDCs are reliant on industry, and the social systems that have evolved from it, have influenced the rate and magnitude of change that are experienced in these places.

In the process, the literature has evolved such that RDCs - as places - had come to serve as economic units of production that were deliberately fixed into the rural landscape. In effect, they were the products of economic development policies that had served to create communities of people where none previously existed. As a result, RDCs have traditionally been depicted by a measure of economic determinism. The success and stability of industry became theoretically equal to the success, stability, and development of places. A particular industry-related occupational identity served as an organizing principle for the social development of such communities. Industry-based employment has nearly always been associated with the evolution of social networks in RDCs to the exclusion of all other potential or real exchanges of social capital. In this context, social capital represents the value, quality of exchanges of social support that originates or is derived from social relationships that are grounded in place-based communities (Kusel 2001).

However, as industry-based change impacted individual RDCs, the discourses in the literature similarly contracted and began to focus on the multiple variables that both precipitated change and subsequently shaped the outcomes of change in and for RDCs. Again, transition is generally represented as primarily an economic event. Economic forces trigger the downsizing or closure of industry resulting in mass employment loss and the emigration that follows. It is then argued that place-based communities enter into a period of general economic decline. However, in this phase, the social dimensions of RDCs are brought more into focus; dislocated social

networks become one of the salient features of transition. However, the social dimensions that characterize these places are consistently paired with the ramifications of employment change that is particular to industry-based workers. Again, a focus on this type of work reinforces the economic function of RDCs. Industry-based work, in this sense, comes to determine how individual places are able to respond to the changed economic circumstances of place.

Effectively, through both the phases of dependence and transition there has evolved an ecological fallacy. The literature has been traditionally based on aggregated and comparative sets of statistical data at community, regional, or provincial scales of analysis. From this perspective, the representation of RDCs as primarily economically determined spaces has precluded considerations of individuals and social groups that fall outside of the purview of the dominant relations between industry and industry-based employment.

This has been manifest in a persistent spatial, social, economic, and political absence of alternative voices that have also populated the lived spaces of RDCs. In reference to the exclusion of First Nations from discourses surrounding the commodification of forest resources, Willems-Braun (1997) suggests that geography, institutions, and technology have created particular territories that are represented nearly exclusively by their roles as landscapes of production. In the process, dominant social norms that value particular types of economic activities are prioritized to the exclusion of other, alternative ways of using or making sense of the landscapes that also support those productive activities. By extension, RDCs have become uncontested spaces of economic and political calculation that are dominated by a particular paradigm grounded in economically deterministic functions of places (Willems-Braun 1997:101).

Subsequently, the concept of resilience has emerged as a descriptor of community-based response to transition. Resilience is generally described as community economic development (CED). CED is described as individual and collective sense of creative, entrepreneurial action that is directed toward the improvement of both the social and economic circumstances of place-based communities in which people live. In this context, CED seeks to link social imperatives with the economic pragmatism

that has dominated the development of RDCs. CED, in turn, is argued to be an inclusive process that draws on the multiple capacities, assets, and skills of communities and community-based physical and economic infrastructure. CED is depicted as a reaction to the specific interests of traditionally top-down economic development strategies and that, in turn, seeks restitution through community/collective action designed to support locally-based social and economic goals. In contrast to the phases of dependence and transition, this phase of RDC development remains an emergent area of study.

In short, the academic literature on RDC's describes a general set of attributes that have come to characterize patterns of socio-economic development in such places. However, past research obscures the differences between communities and the individual experience of life in those places. It remains that individual residents are critical to the ongoing socio-economic dynamics of place. As Reed (2000) has suggested both places and place-based communities evolve together.

1.1 Research Context - Gold River, BC

My research is contextually grounded in Gold River, BC (the Village), a relatively isolated community that is situated 91km from Campbell River and approximately a 5.5 hour drive from Victoria (Figure 1). With a resident population of approximately 1359 people as of 2001, it is a close knit community that is emerging from a prolonged period of social and economic transition precipitated by forest industry restructuring (Statistics Canada 2001). Restructuring has had a profound effect on shaping and reshaping place, as well as the lives and identities of the people who call Gold River home.

Indeed, Gold River has been described as a typical resource dependent community in British Columbia (Penfold *et al.* 1999). It has also been described as a single industry, forestry-dependent town (Porteous 1970). This stems from a long history of social and economic dependence on forest resources that began with the logging of the area surrounding Gold River in the mid-1930's (Jones 1991). As a result, the community evolved from a simple logging camp located at the mouth of the Gold River in 1955 (Jones 1991). However, when the Tahsis Company decided to build a bleach kraft pulp mill, the residents of the logging camp were relocated to a newly

constructed, planned town site on a plateau at the juncture of the Gold and Heber Rivers (Jones 1991).

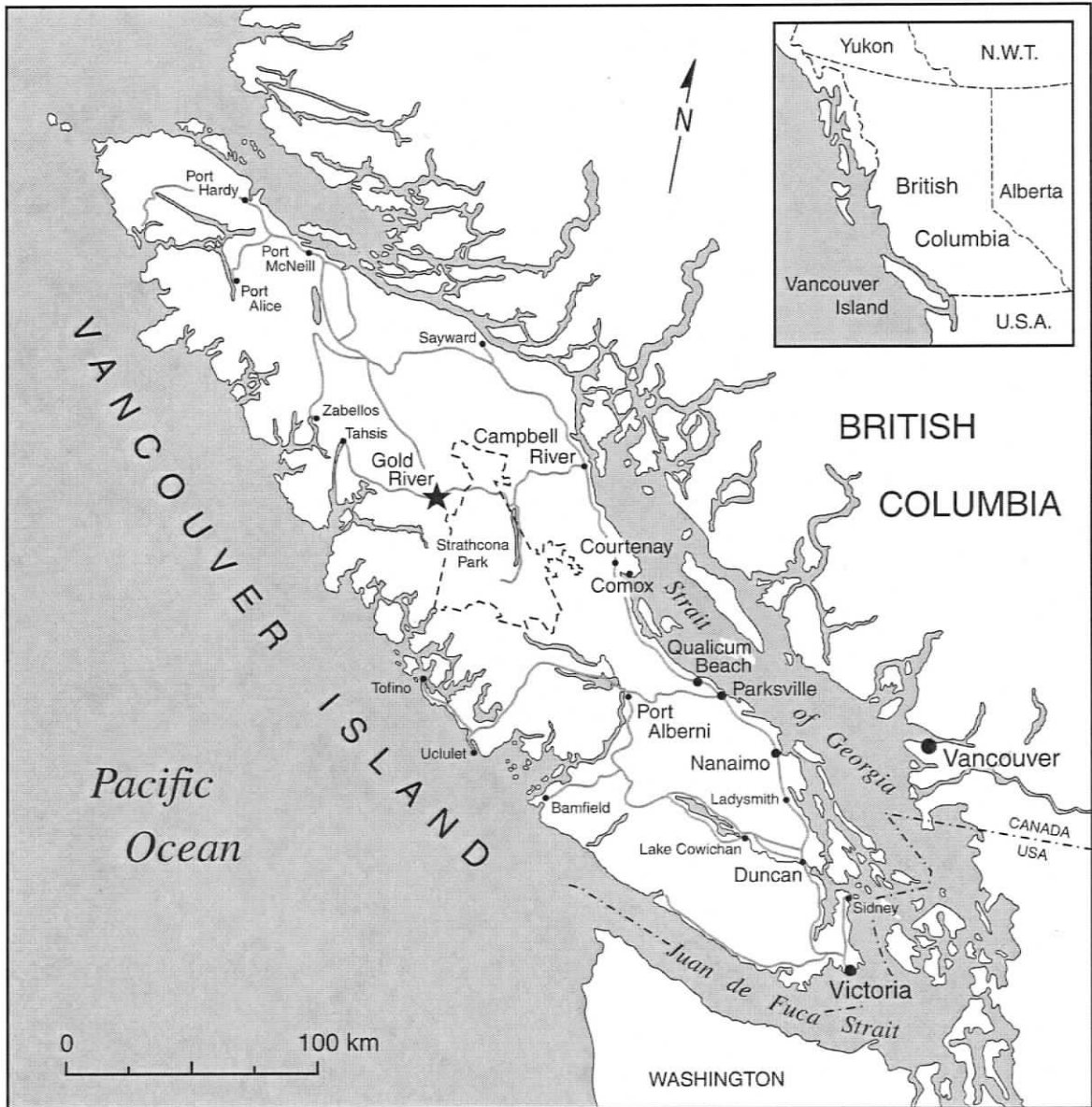


Figure 1: Location of Gold River on Vancouver Island

Gold River was the first settlement built under the 1965 British Columbia 'Municipal Act Amendment' or 'Instant Town Act' (Porteous 1976; Bradbury 1982). This Act was instituted in order to create modern settlements that were explicitly planned and designed to attract a stable workforce to service the long term labour needs of

industry (Marchak 1983). Further, under the 'Instant Towns Act', municipal boundaries were extended to include the mill, which served as a corporate citizen, paying 90% of municipal taxes which maintained all aspects of civil infrastructure. Following the introduction of this Act, Gold River was incorporated as a district municipality on August 26, 1965 (Jones 1991). Under the auspices of the Act, the pulp mill was built 17km from the Village in an attempt to separate the processes of production from the daily life of the community. Further, the Village was planned to resemble a modern urban suburb with low density, single family housing that is separated by wide curvilinear streets. A central business district, apartment complexes, and an outlying industrial zone give the Village the appearance and feeling of a displaced urban neighbourhood. Gold River has even been described as a 'wilderness suburb' (Porteous 1974).

Regardless, the pulp mill, around which Gold River was built, was opened in 1967 under the corporate direction of B.C. based Tahsis Ltd., a subsidiary of U.S. based Canadian International Paper Ltd. and Denmark's East Asiatic Corporation (Bradbury 1982, Jones 1991). The pulp mill served as the main employer in Gold River from 1967 until 1999 (Jones 1991; Platz 1992). In 1989 a newsprint mill was added to and built at the site of the pulp mill (Village of Gold River 1999a). By 1992 the pulp mill employed 611 men and 80 women (Platz 1992). Indeed, by 1992 it was believed that Gold River had achieved a period of long term stability as the resident population was estimated to be 2300 (Platz 1992; Village of Gold River 1999a).

However, the newsprint mill was closed in 1993 and dismantled in 1994 (Village of Gold River 1999a). This was followed by the closure of the pulp mill in 1999 (Village of Gold River 1999a). The reasons for mill closure can be attributed to the internationalization of trade, the emergence of new sites of production, increased global competition that have been compounded by new technologies. Combined, these factors have exacerbated the volatility of global pulp and paper markets, particularly in the Canadian context (Hayter 2000). In Gold River, decreased production and increased costs (maintenance of aging infrastructure and the transport of pulp from the Village) factored into the closure of both the newsprint and pulp mills (Daily Commercial News & Construction Record 1999). Combined,

these closures resulted in the net loss of approximately 80% of tax revenue for Gold River (Village of Gold River 1999).

Prior to mill closure in 1999, the mill was sold and resold successively to a number of multinational pulp and paper firms, but was finally purchased by the U.S. based Bowater Corporation. The changes in ownership during the mid-1990's had particular trickle down effects. Changes in ownership reflected the steady erosion of the industry-based labour force during the 1990's, such that at mill closure 280 people lost their jobs, which effectively impacted 1000 people (including families) or half of the Village population (Penfold *et al.* 1999). At the time of the pulp mill closure it has been estimated that 35% of its employment base was tied to that one employer but that 52% was tied directly to forestry (Penfold *et al.* 1999). Between 1996 and 2001 the population of Gold River decreased by approximately 36%, from 2041 to 1359 (Statistics Canada 2001).

Consequently, the Village has dealt with massive employment loss that has exacted extreme disruption to social and economic networks. Additionally, lost industry-based jobs and emigration resulted in the closure of a number of privately owned businesses and the deterioration of social services that were previously available in the Village. For example, the bank, drugstore, and hardware store have all closed, some health services have been eliminated, reduced school enrolment has threatened to close the elementary school, the municipal government has been restructured, and the provision of basic services such as the recreation centre, garbage pick up, and road maintenance have been severely cutback. Combined, these various pressures have reconfigured the social and economic landscape of Gold River.

However, immediately following pulp mill closure Gold River successfully negotiated with the Provincial Government for 5 years worth of transition funding (Village of Gold River 1999b). Part of the funding substituted for lost tax revenues and was designated to support economic development and tourism initiatives in the Village (Village of Gold River 1999b). Outlined in the agreement was a series of future scenarios one of which was embedded in the notion that the population would be stabilized at 1400-1600, as the outflow of mill workers would be balanced by the

inflow of semi- or newly retired, or families with home based businesses. Indeed, small business development was considered a key strategy for attracting new families to Gold River (Village of Gold River 1999b). Although programs to recruit small businesses were never fully implemented, this signalled an increased emphasis on local capacity – both social and economic networks – to determine the future of the Village. It was hoped that the place-based environmental assets, physical infrastructure, economic networks, and available social capital in Gold River were to buoy it through the period of social and economic dislocation (Village of Gold River 1999a; 1999b).

Future projections, transition funding arrangements, emigration, and industry-related job loss mask the impact of place-based changes on both men and women. During the period between 1996 and 2001 male unemployment increased from 5.7% to 28.2% as the participation rate in paid employment shifted from 88.1% in 1996 to 74.3% in 2001. Conversely, the unemployment rate for women decreased from 11.2% to 5.7% as the participation rate in paid employment remained relatively constant 68.1% in 1996, and 68.6% in 2001. This perhaps could be attributed to the increased instances of paid home based work for women. In 2001, out of 90 respondents, 60 women reported that they worked from home. (Statistics Canada 2001)

Indeed, the absence of paid employment for women in Gold River has been an ongoing concern. Between 1989 and 1992 three reports were commissioned to explore the barriers to women's employment in Gold River. In each of these reports it is suggested that limited employment, training, and educational opportunities, were compounded by a lack of child care options, and a dearth of information surrounding self-employment were barriers to women's employment (Rainbow Research Committee 1988-1989; Platz 1992). However, it would appear that it is only through the processes of transition that women have sought out or been exposed to alternative employment opportunities such as tourism, the newly built Grieg Seafood plant, and increasing acceptance of women's well-paid participation in vital forestry industry jobs. In effect, out of these restructuring processes emerges a new and more diversified economy. Embedded within it are women who have

organized their economic lives such that they are self-employed either fully or on part time basis.

1.2 Research Purpose and Objectives

The characteristics, characterizations, and themes that have emerged through this literature have created a broad-based conceptual framework that generally describes the profile of RDCs in terms of how they have been built, maintained, and changed over the course of time. The academic literature, within the scope of my research, has served a two-fold function: 1) it describes a general set of economic circumstances that provided context for particular attributes that I found present in Gold River; and 2) has offered the discursive foundation in which I was able to explore the multiple influences that the lifecycle of RDCs, as constructed places, have had on self-employment as a livelihood strategy for women in Gold River.

Using the literature as a point of departure, I used personal observation and semi-structured, open-ended interviews to explore the experiences of self-employed women relative to the processes and outcomes of restructuring in Gold River. Although my thesis could be considered an ethnographic case study, it has also been informed by certain techniques adapted from grounded theory. Consequently, my research is a hybrid of multiple qualitative methodologies and is not easily categorized. However, the time at which I was an observer and an interviewer in the history of Gold River allowed me to access and make use of the academic literature on resource dependent communities (of which Gold River was moving out of) and the literature on RDC transition (in which Gold River was at the time of my research). Further, the fact that I was doing research on women who were engaged in individual livelihood strategies (chiefly dependent on their self-employment) also allowed me to incorporate the literature on community economic development and women's role in structuring their own paid labour.

The purpose of my research was to explore the influence of place on the livelihood strategies of self-employed women in Gold River. It follows that the objectives of my research were to: 1) Explore characterizations of RDCs in the academic literature with a focus on the roles attributed to women; 2) Position women as individuals who are active in pursuing individual livelihood strategies that are enabled, constrained, and which ultimately contribute to the identity of Gold River as an RDC in transition;

and; 3) Begin to enter self-employed women into the discourses on transition (restructuring) and resilience (community economic development) that are ongoing in Gold River, and RDCs more generally. It is my assertion that women make use of place-based resources as they have influenced both the design and implementation of the multiple strategies that have defined their livelihoods and income generating activities.

1.3 Thesis Structure

In order to explore the dialectical influence between place, place-based community, and self-employed women, I have organized my thesis such that Chapter 2 serves as an exploration of the primary characterizations of RDCs in the academic literature through a quasi-historical framework that was adapted from Markey *et al.* (2005). Given that there exists little in the way of research on women, in this chapter I have highlighted the roles that have been attributed to women as they have been couched in the broader scope of the academic literature. Chapter 3 constitutes an examination of both Gold River and the qualitative methodologies and methods, including observation and interviews, I used to generate my empirical data. In effect, this chapter is focused on my use of semi-structured interviews and place-based observations as a means of grounding the academic literature on RDCs. Chapter 4 includes an analysis and results of my empirical research and is focused on elucidating the role of place as it has yielded both opportunity and constraints for self-employed women in Gold River. Finally, Chapter 5 is an overview of my empirical research in order to position women as active agents in the structuring of place.

Chapter 2 -- Characterizations of Resource Dependent Communities

How do you explain the world in a nutshell? – Anna

2.0 Introduction

My research both begins and ends with the importance of place as it has influenced and as it is influenced by self-employed women. Within the narrow scope of my research, Gold River is a place where people live. It is a resource dependent community (RDC). It is also a place whose physical location, legal boundaries, particular history, economy, and community of people have been shaped and defined by an ongoing relationship with the forestry industry (Force *et al.* 2000). In this context, Gold River is a place where locally-based social relationships – over time – have been tied indirectly and directly to changes in the forestry industry. It follows that the history, structure, and social organization of Gold River as an RDC, have had a profound effect on shaping the day-to-day lives of the women in Gold River.

In order to explore how Gold River has influenced the lives of self-employed women I used the academic literature on RDCs to explore how these places have been descriptively characterized over time. For the purposes of my research, these categorizations have provided context and key concepts that have informed the analysis of my empirical research. In the process, I identified a series of themes that fit into a conceptual framework I adapted from Markey *et al.* (2005). In this framework, three key concepts - dependence, transition, and resilience - describe causes and events that have marked the history, present, and potential future of RDCs like Gold River. These also are concepts that reflect how self-employed women have been both affected by, but have been absent from characterizations of RDCs in the literature. Three themes run through this literature. First, the primacy of work has been used as a determinant of social structures in the RDCs. Second, there has been a transition in characterizations of economic development from strategies that have been ordered by the relationships between government and industry to strategies that are locally based. Finally, there is a noticeable absence of women from the processes that have described place-based change.

The goals of this chapter, then, are twofold: 1) to explore how RDCs as places have been characterized in academic literature and; 2) to explore the roles attributed to women within those characterizations of place. To approach these goals, I included the following section that describes how I adapted Markey *et al.*'s (2005) conceptual framework.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

Complexity is a common feature of the literature on RDCs. Past research has approached this complexity through discussions of the advent, growth, and decline of particular places as they are shaped by resource-based industry. In keeping with this literature, I have adopted a framework that attempts to address some of this inherent complexity in order to explore basic concepts and themes that were reflected in the day-to-day world of Gold River.

Markey *et al.* (2005) have used dependency, transition, and resilience as the conceptual foundation for their book on locally-based economic development strategies in rural British Columbia. In their description, the concept of dependence characterizes how RDCs were both created and maintained by a series of successive 'relationships between resource-based communities, governments, and corporations' (Markey *et al.* 2005:4). In their view, these relationships have created a series of place-based dependencies evolved from a hierarchical (top-down) model of economic development. As these places were created and sustained by industry and government (institutional arrangements) there have been profound implications for how they are able to cope with, and respond to, industry-based restructuring and subsequent community transition. Markey *et al.* (2005:5) suggested that in response to industry restructuring and place-based change, communities deploy multiple strategies that can be characterized as resilience. These are broadly represented as a community's 'ability to adapt, generate information, organize, and implement meaningful action' in response to industry restructuring and place-based change (Markey *et al.* 2005:5). In turn, resilience also is a conceptual point of entry into current realities – both constraints and opportunities – that shape the day-to-day experience of life in RDCs.

2.2 RDCs as Dependent Places

In the literature, a state of socio-economic dependence on one resource is a precursor for community transition (Markey *et al.* 2005). Embedded in the term is the ideological foundations that affect how economic restructuring has both been expressed and explored in academic literature. For example, in the literature, RDCs have variously been referred to as company towns (Porteous 1970; 1976), single enterprise communities (Porteous 1987), single industry communities (Lucas 1971; Krahn and Gartrell 1983), single industry towns (Byron 1978; Himelfarb 1982), natural resource dependent communities (Kusel 2001), resource dependent communities (Force *et al.* 2000), and as resource towns (Robinson 1962; Gill 1990a; 1990b; Halseth & Sullivan 2002). Further, settlements dependent on timber resources have been described as forestry communities (Reed 1999; 2003a; 2003b), timber dependent communities (Beckley and Reimer 1999), forest dependent communities (Parkins 1999), forest communities (Beckley 1995), and forest industry towns (Marchak 1990). These names directly tie natural resources and resource-based industries to the social and economic structures that define a particular type of rural community. These names associate those places with a broad set of characteristics and processes that have dominated ways of thinking about them -- they all pivot around the term dependence. In effect the discourse surrounding socio-economic dimensions of RDCs, like Gold River, had evolved into a dialectic such that *the place-based community was dependent on industry, as industry was dependent on a workforce embedded in place.*

In the literature, a state of industry-community dependence has been reinforced by the processes of economic development. This concept is expressed by two themes in the literature that have suggested that: 1) external factors such as markets, industry, and governments have fixed these places in the rural landscape and; 2) industry-related employment was essential in shaping the internal dynamics of local social networks. This section therefore briefly explores these themes and the outcomes of internal/external dynamics on shaping the roles attributed to women.

2.2.1 Employment

RDCs are places that make-up a culturally distinctive part of the Canadian landscape (Halseth 2004). This uniqueness has been characterized in the early literature (pre-

1985) in 3 ways: 1) they are micro-specialized places where one resource-based industry is regionally dominant; 2) they are rural sites of production in the resource periphery, dependent on economic relations at the urban core; 3) they are dominated by industry-based, male labour that has determined the social and economic structure of these places (Randall and Ironside 1995).

These characterizations persist as regional development in British Columbia has been attributed to productive labour tied to the exploitation of natural resources and the consequent development of an export base reliant on them (Robinson 1962; Marchak 1983; Hayter & Barnes 1997; Walter 1997). Both governments and industry (resource-based corporations) have set the tone, pace, and pattern of regional development. Subsequently, RDCs have been characterized as by-products of a legacy of top down, specialized development that has typified rural development in British Columbia (Marchak 1983; Binkley 1997; Hutton 1997; Markey *et al.* 2005).

Like other places, such as Australia or Scandinavia, investments in natural resource exploitation has created wealth and economic growth and left in its wake a landscape of small settlements economically dependent on the profitability of natural resource extraction and processing (Neil & Tykklainen 1992; Clapp 1998; Mackenzie 1986; Randall & Ironside 1995; Reed 2003a). As sites of production, RDCs are places that were purposefully located and built at the industrial (natural resource) frontier (Marchak 1983; Himelfarb 1983; Porteous 1987). It follows, that RDCs are places that have been reliant on environmental resources to support locally-based economic activities, while simultaneously supporting provincial and national prosperity, and growth (Stelter and Artibise 1982; Norcliffe 1994; Gill & Reed 1997).

Indeed, RDCs have been consistently described in terms of their location in the staple-producing periphery (Marchak 1983; Porteous 1987; McCann 1998). Staples theory is used to explain the past pattern of Canadian economic development (Barnes 1996; Hayter 2003; Markey *et al.* 2005) and refers to sequential processes that have characterized Canadian economic development based on the exploitation of resources, from fur to fish to forests, with their attendant patterns of regional and local development (Barnes 1996; Clapp 1998; Markey *et al.* 2005).

As a result, RDCs have been characterized as hinterlands or peripheral economic areas that are subordinate to the core economic regions – heartlands - that make-up the dominant economic landscape of Canada (McCann 1998). RDCs are rural places that supply natural resources (commodities) to fulfill the demand for export that stems from resource companies with main offices in urban centres. Metropolitan centres leverage these goods for export, trade, and the generation of other forms of capital (effectively wealth creation) (Hutton 1997). In exchange for the commodities supplied by their natural environment and human time and labour, RDCs receive more labour (work), goods and services, investment capital, and technology (McCann 1998:8).

RDCs have become sites of financial gain and investment. Consequently, there has been an overriding concern with the stability of RDCs. Policy mechanisms such as sustained yield were implemented to induce continued and sustained investment in particular regions, serving both to maintain provincial incomes from industry-based activities and to stabilize RDCs as sites of production (Byron 1978; Marchak 1983; Mackenzie 1986; Ashton & Pickens 1995). By extension, these policy measures also represented attempts to secure the stability of social systems in RDCs (Machlis *et al.* 1990). It follows that the primary drivers of regional and local development have been attributed to harvest volumes and employment by large firms (Byron 1978; Marchak 1983; Hayter 2000).

In effect, RDCs are places that were built to house a specialized workforce, tailored to the site-specific needs of a particular company, to harvest, process, and ship natural resources from within their industrially defined territories (Marchak 1983; Barnes & Hayter 1990; Hayter 2000). Indeed, it has been argued that these places were not necessarily dependent on a particular corporation but on employment in industry (Machlis *et al.* 1990; Ashton & Pickens 1995). Generally, RDCs are characterized as single industry communities with small resident populations (less than 30,000) where a single company directly and indirectly employs 75 to 80 percent of the population (Lucas 1971; Porteous 1987).

Employment specialization was unavoidable as it was literally built into place. In British Columbia, the government and resource-based corporations imported both

labour and technology into newly constructed towns that were built to house company workers. The 'instant town', for example was a type of settlement particular to British Columbia. These communities were considered to be a direct outgrowth of the interplay of institutional arrangements and regional economic development strategies. These were highly planned instant communities brought into being through the 1965 Municipal Amendment Act (Porteous 1976; Bradbury 1978; 1982; Marchak 1983; Halseth and Sullivan 2002). Provincial legislation was enacted to address the social and economic inefficiencies – a highly transient workforce – that had characterized previous company towns. Consequently, instant towns were explicitly conceptualized and meticulously planned communities. Their planning reflected an attempt to create aesthetically pleasing, modern, and corporately autonomous communities designed to entrench workers in place (Porteous 1976; Bradbury 1978; 1982; Jones 1991). Companies and governments hoped that these new settlements – effectively wilderness suburbs - would attract a stable workforce (Porteous 1974). In contrast to previous company town models, this planning reflected an explicit attempt to recruit married men with families. It was anticipated that the reproduction of family units, over successive generations, would literally foster a sense of rootedness, attachment, and commitment to place. Additionally, workers' wives would introduce a social element to these communities and would buffer the tensions and problems that arose out of overtly male dominated environments that were characteristic of temporary work camps and previous company town models (Marchak 1983; Himelfarb 1983; McCann 1982; Halseth & Sullivan 2002).

Through the instant town legislation, both governments and corporations opened up the resource frontier, increased resource production, and built processing plants. They also imported systems of local social and economic organization that reflected the primacy of labour – including the class based social stratification – in these places. (Bowles 1982; Bradbury 1978;1982; McCann 1982; Marchak 1990; Walter 1997; McCann 1998; Hayter 2000). Towns were designed such that municipal boundaries included mill sites. Neighbourhood units were constructed such that workers were spatially segregated based on their occupational status and pay. For example, labourer's homes were of a smaller size and located closer to mill sites. In contrast, the larger lots and larger homes offered to mill supervisors were positioned

in peripheral municipal spaces that were distanced from the sites of industry-based work (McCann 1982).

Labour processes have also been described in the broader literature on RDCs. In his seminal and comprehensive work on social relations in single industry communities, Lucas (1971) described 4 phases of community development that represented how people evolved and formed attachments to RDCs: 1) the construction of the settlement; 2) the recruitment of citizens; 3) early development of social infrastructure; and 4) maturity of place-based community. In this latter phase, it was argued that individuals developed full fledged social and economic networks that bound them to place. Included in these considerations were a series of place-based emotional and financial investments including home ownership, family and personal history, social networks, local economic networks, community-based social services, and a fully developed social and political infrastructure. Each of these stages of development cemented social relations and in effect created a stable place-based community.

This four stage process has been used widely to explain the social and economic dynamics of RDCs (Bradbury 1978; 1982; Porteous 1976; Himelfarb 1982; Marchak 1983; Porteous 1987; Gill 1990a; 1990b; Halseth & Sullivan 2002; Halseth 2004). They also have been used to frame discussions on the influence of industry on community life (Bradbury 1982; Krahn and Gartrell 1983; Porteous 1976; Porteous 1987). In both cases, it is consistently argued that companies held near total influence over social life; the hierarchy of the industry-based work becomes the social hierarchy of the town (Bradbury 1978).

This characterization of social development has served to reinforce arguments that RDCs were heavily determined by temporally grounded, site-specific industrial relations. Industry-related work has determined in very direct ways the structure of the cultural, economic, and political patterns of life in RDCs. In an overview of the social characteristics of single-industry towns in Canada, Himelfarb (1983) suggested that their small size amplifies the role of work in defining structure of places and in the social institutions within them. In his analysis, political structures and goods and services, such as health, education, recreation and leisure in these places, were

entirely dependent on employment in a single, large resource-based company. Further, it has been shown that dependence on industry for local development became embedded as companies initially paid a disproportionate amount of municipal taxes, sponsored local events, and becomes invested in the everyday reality of community (Lucas 1971; Porteous 1976; Beckley 1995). In turn, patterns of production were also the patterns of place-based cultures (Machlis *et al.* 1990).

Korber *et al.* (1998) suggested that industry dependence can be defined in terms of an economic analysis measured by monetary or job units that result from industrial activity. Though the majority of the literature paid inordinate attention to the social dimensions of forest dependent communities, the focus has typically been on 'woods workers and their families' (Carroll *et al.* 2000a; Carroll *et al.* 2000b). It has consistently demonstrated that paid employment in these communities has been predominantly male (Robinson 1962; Lucas 1971; Bradbury & St. Martin 1983; Porteous 1987; Egan & Klausen 1998; Halseth & Sullivan 2002; Reed 2003a; 2003b). Work is characterized as 'fordist'. This refers to employment that is inherently hierarchical where successive sets of managers oversee a large pool of industrial workers who are engaged in repetitive tasks represented as shift based, physical labour dedicated to the production of one or two particular products (Barnes *et al.* 1999). Riffel (1975:10) has written that "life in resource towns is organized around the "mill whistle" and "daily shift routines".

Further, Reed (2003a; 2003b) suggests that the culture of masculine work, particularly in forestry dependent communities, has defined RDCs. Forest work then determines the character of places and sets of relationships of dependence. It imposes social constraints that are simultaneously shared and contested attitudes, values, and norms that define community and individual identity. A place-based occupational identity is then extended to inform the cultural identity of a community (Warf 1988; Carroll *et al.* 2000a; Kusel *et al.* 2000). In turn, employment is tied to the lived world, or the outcomes of everyday life for both individuals and communities (Warf 1988).

Shantz (1997), however, argues that the high wages paid by large companies also contribute to limited economic development in RDCs. In terms of regional and local

development, this implied the creation of addictive economies or the regional overadaptation/overspecialization and underdevelopment that limited other forms of economic development/small enterprise development (Freudenberg 1992; Overdevest & Green 1995).

Literature on forest economics indicate that global markets, commodity prices, and international corporate decision making, dictate company policy, in turn affecting local communities (Robinson 1962; Byron 1978). It is for that reason that the relationship between industry and community has been associated with 'community economic well-being' (Overdevest & Green 1993). The degree of industry/community dependence has determined aspects of well-being in RDCs (Gill 1990a; Kusel 2001).

2.2.2 Communities of Women

The absence of women from this literature on RDCs has been noted by a number of scholars and policy makers (Randall & Ironside 1995; Gill 1990a; Gibson-Graham 1994; Reed 1999, Halseth & Lo 1999; Reed 2000; 2003a;2003b). Subsequently, Reed (2003b:373) has commented that "in British Columbia ...women were considered part of forestry communities only when they were attached as partners to male workers who were considered the dominant breadwinners". Indeed gender has been characterized as the primary division of labour in RDCs (Marchak 1983) where women's work has historically been subordinate to the main mode of production (Gill 1990a).

This subordination has cultural origins, but it is also persistent in the literature on RDCs. Randall and Ironside (1995) suggested that the seminal literature on RDCs authored between 1930-1979 paid little attention to women in RDCs. Of this early literature, only Lucas (1971) attributed roles to women. In his work, women are mentioned relative to either their families or to the central shopping districts that were thought to meet the social needs of women. In these public spaces, women shopped for household goods, met with other women, organized community events, and performed charitable work. It follows that women were described by their financial and emotional dependence on 'working' men (Lucas 1971; Gill 1990a; 1990c; Reed 2003a; 2003b).

However, Marchak (1983) suggested that women's work was geared towards the maintenance of homes and the public service. In terms of their function in economic development in RDCs, their chief value was in assuring a stable labour force. In this context, women are tied to the home and family, working to provide a stable home environment for male forest workers. Marchak (1983) suggests that the workplace roles attributed to women are grounded in time and the limited development of the female labour force prior to the 1980's (Marchak 1983). Reed (2000; 2003a) suggests that women's roles are embedded in local place-based contexts and that women have been engaged in what she terms 'community maintenance work' and 'social mothering'.

The notion of women as both wives and social actors has been validated by the Northern Women's Task Force on Single Industry Resource Communities (1977). This report, based on interviews in three northern British Columbia RDCs, highlighted that the roles attributed to women had become culturally and socially embedded in place. Reflecting on the historical socialization of women, particularly in terms of both paid and unpaid work in rural communities, Northern women reported that they had been taught that a woman's role was in the home and that community involvement should be primarily social, a-political, and non-challenging. These cultural norms were also reflected in the physical infrastructure of these three communities; a decided lack of child care facilities, job opportunities, and shopping options for women. In turn, a core shopping district and suburban-style community planning proved to be an obstacle in women's daily life and failed to meet their own or their children's needs. Planning not only reflected the needs of male workers, but it also reinforced notions that both cultural and physical environments rendered women dependent on men and therefore also marginalized then rendered them unimportant in place-based social structures (Northern Women's Task Force on Single Industry Communities 1977; Gill 1990a).

It follows that the persistent characterization of RDCs as places of work – where workforces were almost entirely male (Porteous 1987) – have accorded women a minor role in the social make-up of place (Porteous 1987, Gibson-Graham 1994, Reed 2003a, 2003b). Consequently, their marginality has been reinforced through typifications of their work in three primary areas: 1) women as waged workers in

marginalized, low skilled forest worker, public service, and clerical occupations (Krahn & Gartrell 1983; CS/RESORS 1997; Egan & Kalusen 1998); 2) unpaid home workers (Lucas 1971; Mackenzie 1986; Gill 1990a;1990b; Reed 2003a; 2003b; Halseth & Ryser 2004) and; 3) and unpaid community maintenance workers (Halseth & Lo 1999; Reed 2003b). Given the limited recognition of these activities in the literature, reference to women's work has more recently been framed as the economic subordination of women and occupational sex typing (Egan & Klausen 1998).

Thus, very little is known about the intersections of women's paid work and their roles in influencing household and community (Little 1997). However, Reed's (2003a;2003b), work stands alone as some of the only research centered on women's experiences in RDCs. She suggests that women both accept, reject, and preserve the social norms that define their traditional work in RDCs. Through a dialectical process, women work to simultaneously resist and reinforce their own marginality in forest dependent communities. Women, then, are directly involved in the construction and maintenance of community and their own identity and work roles within it.

This argument gives power to women as 'agents' or conscious actors in the social make-up of the places they live. Instead of viewing them as victims of place (Reed 2000), in this view, women become informed decision makers, logically working to preserve their households and ways of life. Though they have been excluded from policy discussions and economic considerations (Halseth and Lo 1999; Reed 2003a; 2003b) they have also nourished the informal sector out of necessity, maintaining home and community-based skills and networks to help support their households (Mackenzie 1986). The maintenance of these networks has proved crucial to the survival of both individual households and RDCs as places in light of industry restructuring and community transition (Mackenzie 1986).

2.3 RDCs as Places in Transition

Resource dependent communities are subject to boom-bust cycles of social disruption, given the interrelationship between community and industry (Marchak 1983; Gramling & Freudenberg 1990; Randall & Ironside 1995). The process of

industrial withdrawal from an RDC has been referred to as closure (Neil & Tykklainen 1992), restructuring (Hayter and Barnes 1997; Hayter *et al.* 1999; Halseth 1999a; Halseth & Sullivan 2003), decline (Smith *et al.* 2001), winding down (Bradbury & St. Martin 1983), community change (Force *et al.* 2000), and community transition (Reed 2003b). Although a myriad of definitions exists from the general (Bagguley *et al.* 1990) to the resource community specific (Bradbury & St. Martin 1983; Force *et al.* 1993; Force *et al.* 2000), transition has fundamentally re-ordered social relations within RDCs.

The term transition is used by Markey *et al.* (2005:4) 'to describe the changing social, economic, and environmental circumstances, at all scales, that are clearly evident across the rural landscape.' Transition is a precursor to community resilience and is used as a way to identify the characteristics of change that set up both the challenges and opportunities faced by communities following the downsizing, restructuring, or closure of industry.

In the literature, global economic changes related to resource-based industries have been primarily expressed in RDCs as an end to historical resource-based employment resulting in a fundamental change to social relationships grounded in local places. Following this pattern, in this section I explore a general set of attributes that have characterized both industry change and their effects on the daily patterns of life in RDCs, particularly in relation to how they re-frame women's contributions to place-based social relations.

2.3.1 Transitioning Places

Literature on forest economics indicates that global markets, commodity prices, and international corporate decision making, dictate company policy, in turn affecting local communities (Robinson 1962; Byron 1978; Marchak 1983; Warf 1988; Hayter & Barnes 1997; Walter 1997; Parkins *et al.* 2003). In turn RDCs, though they have been intentionally built in resource-rich, rural areas, have been characterized as 'vulnerable spaces on geographic margins, spaces rooted in remoteness, high levels of export dependence, specialization, and external control' and 'they are particularly affected by resource cycle dynamics' (Hayter 2000: 707).

Transition represents change. It refers to the collapse of systems that were evolved through top-down regional economic development characterized by large-scale, capital intensive projects. It also refers to the emergence of more locally directed and smaller-scale economic development initiatives (Barnes & Hayter 1992). Regardless, change is precipitated by global conditions that are manifest in individual RDCs as downsizing or closure of a resource-based company. In turn, events profoundly alter place-based social relationships that begin with lost employment opportunities but radiate outward to include disrupted local economic networks, social networks, political structures, and municipal infrastructure. Restructuring is a transition in the day-to-day basis of social relations within places.

Transition, in the context of British Columbia, was precipitated by what Clapp (1998) has called the resource cycle. Facilitated by government policies, forestry-based industries have followed a particular pattern of development; overexploitation/overexpansion and regional overinvestment, followed by ecosystem disruption, economic crisis, and subsequent industry collapse. Ultimately, the difference between globally set commodity prices and increased production costs in increasingly remote regions, have caused industry to abandon regions in search of more financially feasible, less capital intensive resource-rich locations. In the process, they cause profound disruptions to the RDC that was dependent on them.

Boom-bust cycles of economic growth and decline are considered endemic to RDCs. As they are intimately tied to industry, they also are places subject to sudden periods of social and economic restructuring that result from industrial change (Bradbury 1982; Freudenberg 1992; Halseth & Sullivan 2002). It has been suggested that the coastal forest industry has, in the past decade, been subjected to profound and prolonged periods of industrial restructuring, that have exacted extreme social and economic transitions in forest dependent communities (Marchak 1983; Hayter & Barnes 1997; Hayter 2003; Reed 2003b; Walter 1997).

However, the changes that have affected the forestry industry also are related to a host of complex and compounded pressures that are also related to other economic, political, and environmental considerations. These are a complex set of variables that have included: new sites of production in developing nations, increasing technological advances, maintenance of existing (dated) facilities, increased

transportation costs, environmentalism, First Nations' land claims, tourism values, environmentalism, and a range of aesthetic, recreation, and personal values that are attributed to provincial forests (Marchak 1983; Warf 1988; Hayter & Barnes 1997; M'Gonigle 1997; Walter 1997; Hayter 2000; Marchak 2001; Hayter 2003; Parkins *et al.* 2003; Reed 2003a; 2003b; Halseth 2004). In turn, companies have employed a range of strategies to mitigate their financial losses; they have downsized, closed mills/plants, and have withdrawn from the regions that had previously been dependent on them (Barnes & Hayter 1992; Neil & Tykkylainen 1992; Barnes *et al.* 1994).

In nearly all cases, community transition has been determined by fundamental changes in employment patterns. The immediate impact of downsizing or closure is the loss of industry-based jobs (Barnes *et al.* 1999; Halseth 1999a; 1999b; Carroll *et al.* 2000a; 2000b; Kusel *et al.* 2000). Because RDCs were places founded on work, the impact of industry restructuring has a profound social effect that trickles down from the loss of industry related employment.

In the forestry industry, Barnes *et al.* (1999:782) have characterized two general periods of resource production: pre-1980 and post-1980. At the intersection of these modes of production is a period of industrial restructuring and community transition/change. The first period is characterized by 'fordism': large financial inputs for large workforces and infrastructure; mass (assembly line) production of one or two products; mature, vibrant, stable single-industry communities; and local economic development directed by external decision makers that represent government and large corporations. The second stage has been labeled 'post-fordism' and/or flexible production: high levels of productivity, reduced labour costs, smaller-scale infrastructure; production of a range of specialized products; weakened and downsized single industry communities; and a local economic development that is entrepreneurial and directed by local decision makers inside the communities.

However, as a culture of industry-based work evolved in place, workers have simultaneously become entrenched in their jobs (Kusel *et al.* 2000). Closure/restructuring and shifting modes of production from 'fordism' to 'post-fordist'

results in a loss of occupational identity for both workers and for the broader place-based community (Reed 2003b). During restructuring, long term employees are dismissed and are left to cope with limited skills, limited formal education, and little ability or desire to find new kinds of work (Carroll *et al.* 2000a; Kusel *et al.* 2000). Though re-training programs are made available to industry-based workers, Carroll *et al.* (2000a) and Carroll *et al.* (2000b) suggested that only a small number of unemployed forestry workers apply for retraining programs offered by government agencies. In addition, retraining programs are geared towards technical skills that either have no market in place-based communities or contradict the occupational and cultural identities of workers (Carroll *et al.* 2000a; Carroll *et al.* 2000b).

Lost work has the effect of profoundly altering the daily lived experience of RDCs (Barnes & Hayter 1997; Walter 1997; Hayter 2000). Halseth (1999a;1999b) has suggested that the loss of work undermines place-based social structures: the spin-offs from industry-based employment affects nearly all place-based social services, social networks, and cultural patterns. In addition, it has the effect of unsettling local real estate markets and municipal tax structures (Barnes *et al.* 1999; Halseth 1999a; Reed 1999; Halseth & Sullivan 2003). Some workers, and their families, elect to remain in the community, despite the erosion of industry related employment, leading to a marked change in, and transition of, social networks and the provision of civil services and infrastructure. Despite changing social and economic realities, the choice to seek alternative employment strategies in order to maintain ties to the local community, has been attributed in part to individually determined attachments to a particular community – an attachment to a particular place (Stedman 1999, Carroll *et al.* 2000, Kruger and Jakes 2003).

Lost work represents not only an emotionally devastating event for 'displaced' forestry workers (Carroll *et al.* 2000a; 2000b; Halseth 2003; Reed 2003b; Halseth & Ryser 2004), it also results in mass emigration from an RDC (Halseth 1999). Using Lucas' (1971) 4 step model of community development, Bradbury and St. Martin (1983) have added a phase of 'winding down'. This phase is characterized by place-based corporate disinvestment, uncertainty, eroded quality of life, high rates of emigration, and the potential closure or death of a town.

Regardless, emigration from the community has been used to characterize social vulnerability in RDCs (Barnes & Hayter 1994). Those who leave find work elsewhere, while those who stay are left to cope with the emotional, economic, and social after-effects of population loss. Frameworks for assessing shifting employment patterns, and the resultant changes in communities, have been predicated on formulating social indicators of community well-being that are tied directly to employment. It has been shown that larger RDCs with a more diversified economic base and higher levels of education are able to capitalize on and mitigate place-based change (Parkins *et al.* 2003). Subsequently, remoteness, small residential population, limited economic or employment diversity, lower incomes, and increased instances of poverty impair RDCs ability to react and adapt to change (Kusel 2001). In turn, population decline has also been attributed to decreased community/individual well-being including increased instances of divorce and ill-health, particularly depression (Beckley 1995; Smith *et al.* 2001). Additionally, the outcomes of restructuring impair the health of place-based communities: diminished social capacity/social capital are considered outcomes of restructuring (Nadeau *et al.* 1999). At the household level, lost industry-based employment puts additional strain on spouses who fill the gap left by the absence of incomes that were based on work that was unionized, stable, well paid, and provided benefits such as health insurance, unemployment insurance, and pensions (Halseth 1999a; Carroll *et al.* 2000a).

The majority of the literature in this area focuses on worker response to the elimination of resource based employment, as industry moves from traditional modes of mass production to flexible modes of production and resource extraction (Carroll *et al.* 2000; Hayter & Barnes 1997; Kusel *et al.* 2000). However, it has also been demonstrated that community change cannot be attributed solely to the loss of employment opportunities. Though modern technology, economy, and culture have created deep and significant ties that bind contemporary rural communities to the world system, local historical events, broader social trends, and local resource production have an impact on the outcomes of restructuring and ensuing community transition (Force *et al.* 2000).

Indeed, through Lucas's model it is demonstrated that people become entrenched in place over time, through industry-based employment that influences the development of community. As Warf (1988) suggests, the past historical

relationships between industry, a workforce, and the residents of an RDC is manifest in persistent cultural patterns that have different impacts on different places and these different places produce and reproduce industrial and work related relations in different ways. Therefore, changes to industry have the significant impact of immediately altering the basic cultural and economic patterns of place.

2.3.2 Women's Place(s)

In the literature, restructuring events and their consequent effects have heightened interest in place-based responses to change. It has also served to underscore how top-down, regionally based economic development policies have embedded themselves into the fabric of place-based communities. Given the dependence these places had on industry-related work, research on restructuring and transition has highlighted the social and economic exclusion of women from the processes of community creation and maintenance (Bagguley *et al.* 1990). Restructuring events then, have served to underscore the roles played by women's work, both paid and unpaid, in RDCs (Kusel *et al.* 1997).

Given the limited range of economic opportunities, women were seen to be particularly vulnerable during periods of restructuring (Halseth & Lo 1999). Women not only bear the emotional burden of their spouses lost wages and occupational identity, they also assume an increased responsibility for household incomes. However, women's paid work is persistently characterized as related to public service positions, particularly those that are low-waged and low-skilled (Leach 2000). Women seek out additional hours or additional work that is at or near minimum wage (Kusel *et al.* 2000). Conversely, it is argued that women are further affected through processes of 'harmonizing down' as any additional place-based work – primarily deskilled, low status, low waged – is generally taken by men. Men adjust down their status and pay to take jobs that have been traditionally done by women. These jobs are low waged, de-skilled, and the kinds of jobs traditionally done by women (McKenna & Roberge 2001). Additionally, women are further penalized as re-training programs are targeted at industry-based workers, who are predominantly male (Reed 1999).

Regardless, restructuring relies heavily on women's work, particularly as economies shift from an emphasis on production to an emphasis on consumptive values (Leach

2001). Indeed, it is shown that following restructuring, women seek out flexible work that balances their unpaid home-based responsibilities with the need for an income to support their homes. Women deploy alternative income generating strategies by pursuing home-based work (Mackenzie 1986; Oberhauser 2002). As such, the strategies that women have always used to gain resources become increasingly central to household survival (Mackenzie 1986). Women's work becomes increasingly valuable to both social and economic aspects of daily household and community life, blurring the distinctions between domestic skills and marketable skills as a function of new kinds of work processes (Mackenzie 1986).

2.4 RDCs as Sites of Resilience

Structural changes in traditional rural employment coupled with increased global competition challenge the future of many rural communities as places to live and work (Sharp *et al.* 2002). Indeed, the concept of resilience is not divorced from transition but rather it is a place-based reaction and response to it. Markey *et al.* (2005) have suggested that resilience refers to the ability of RDCs to respond and react to change through group and/or individual action.

Resilience is also conceived as combined economic and social development strategies that are initiated and directed by local actors; it is a virtual mining of place-based resources, including social networks, to fill the economic void left by the loss of industry. Gill and Reed (1997) suggested that the persistent characterization of RDCs as dependent places has ignored local potential to influence local economic development. Resilience is the regeneration of RDCs, but it is the re-birth of place in ways that are diametrically opposed to the processes that created them: they are through the engagement of local people. This section will explore characterizations of local development strategies in RDCs, with particular emphasis on the roles played by self-employed women.

2.4.1 Reconstituting Place(s)

Place-based change has been a continued focus of the literature on RDCs. Dependence, as a starting point, has focused on industry and industry-based employment as a top-down economic development strategy that has led to a situation of underdevelopment (Freudenberg 1992). It follows that place-based

economic and social change that resulted from restructuring has debilitated local economies and caused the literal death of some places (Porteous & Smith 2001). Current research, however, is focused on how places are coping and responding to change. Some RDCs have, in the years following a restructuring event, deployed a range of economic development strategies with varying outcomes (Hayter & Barnes 1997). The literature on forestry communities, in particular, has focused on the multiple strategies for redevelopment in RDCs as community economic development (CED). In turn, CED strategies have come to characterize both present and future economic and social development in RDCs.

It follows that the starting point for any discussion of CED strategies is place (Dawe 2004). Place is central not only as locus for community social and economic relations, but also for the success of future economic development. Place is the site of comparative advantage and sets of site-specific environmental and human resources that are used to the advantage of redeveloping RDCs (Dawe 2004). Part of this advantage is drawn from the strength of connection people have with place. Dawe (2004) argues that the greater the individual and community commitment the greater the success of organizing, implementing, and marketing community-based economic development strategies.

Indeed, the notion of attachment to place has shown to be a key determinant of RDC sustainability, particularly during periods of local economic and social transition (Parkins 1999; Stedman 1999;2003; Carroll *et al.*2000a; Carroll *et al.* 2000b; Yung *et al.* 2003; Halseth and Sullivan 2002; Kruger and Jakes 2003; Williams & Vaske 2003). Attachment to place is defined by the development of personal and collective identity through an affective relationship between people and their surroundings. Place is individually constructed and socially embodied and represents flexible, contingent sets of socially embedded, shared, and contested symbolic meanings. These are directly related to individual satisfaction with place, perceptions, attitudes, and values derived from, and embedded in, the physical and social make-up of places (Tuan 1975; Relph 1976; Buttimer 1980; Barnes *et al.*1999; Stedman 2003; Yung *et al.* 2003).

In RDCs attachment to place has been characterized by those residents who remain in place following transition (Carroll *et al.* 2000a; Carroll *et al.* 2000b). These residents accept the inherent risks of living in an RDC and actively equip themselves for periods of future uncertainty. It has been shown that residents who stay in RDCs in transition have proactively engaged in multiple strategies such as securing dual household incomes, skills training, and increasing household cash flow through loans, sale of assets, taking in of boarders, and foregoing early retirement – all to stay in place (Barnes *et al.* 1999; Carroll *et al.* 2000a; Carroll *et al.* 2000b).

In turn, attachment to place in resource dependent communities has been explored in the literature through an assessment of community social and economic well-being. Well-being, however, in the context of resilience (post-restructuring) refers to community sustainability. Sustainability is evolved from the concern with stability in RDCs. The term refers to RDCs' capacity to adapt, react, and persist despite restructuring. Through the processes of transition it was recognized that community re-development, from the ground up, was an unruly process with divergent outcomes and successes that are grounded in the specific make-up of places (Force *et al.* 2000; Hayter 2000). A shift in perception has also accompanied considerations of community well-being. Instead of being fixed, static, and stable entities that could be regulated and controlled, communities are now being comparatively understood as social 'ecosystems' that are dynamic and reliant on a host of inputs and processes that are both local and extra-local in nature (Beckley 1995; Walter 1997; Reed & Gill 1997; Reed 1999).

Well-being as an indicator of sustainability refers to the quality of place-based employment, social capacity/capital, and local empowerment (Beckley 1995). Well-being expressed as local empowerment involves two spatial scales: 1) individual access to education, financial capital, and social networks that allows for them to act and make choices and; 2) a place-based community's social and economic capacity to consciously direct its own future (Kusel 2001). In turn, social and economic well-being consists of a broad spectrum of social and economic indicators that are determined by the mutual influences of the relative population stability, individual health, inter-personal relationships, and daily participation in local economic networks, political structures, and other aspects of social life. Further, well-being is

the degree to which RDCs are able to use their environmental resources (ecological, physical infrastructure, et cetera) to diversify their economy in a way that favourably contributes to the financial and social capital/cohesion/capacity of residents (Beckley 1995; Beckley and Reimer 1999; Halseth & Lo 1999; Nadeau *et al.* 1999; Parkins 1999; Reed 1999; Stedman 1999; Force *et al.* 2000; Kusel *et al.* 2000; Kusel 2001; Parkins *et al.* 2003).

Implicit in the discussions of community well-being and sustainability is a concern for social capacity (Shantz 1997; Nadeau *et al.* 1999; Kusel 2001; Sharp *et al.* 2002; Markey *et al.* 2005). Social capacity has been characterized as a place-based community's ability to organize assets and resources to create opportunity as a response to change. Social capacity is reliant on sense of place, community-based organizations, community participation, planning and cooperation (Markey *et al.* 2005). Included in social capacity are considerations of localized social capital.

Localized social capital has been depicted as a potential resource: the combined trust, shared values, established networks, civic engagement that exist between and strengthen relationships between residents of RDCs (Sharp *et al.* 2002; Dayton-Johnson 2004; Dawe 2004). Social capital also relates to social networks: the depth and breadth of family, friends and acquaintances (Allen 2000). Ultimately, localized social capital is constituted by sets of personal contacts through which an individual maintains their social identity and receives emotional support, material aid and services, information, and new social contacts. Conversely, the more self-contained a community is the greater the social capital (Wall *et al.* 2004). However, in this same context, social capital can also serve as an inhibitor. Social capital can become social control and can stifle individual group member's ability and/or desire to act (Sharp *et al.* 2002). It can also serve to include some at the expense of excluding 'others'.

Regardless, community capacity and social capital are imperative to future economic development strategies. Recent literature has focused on their contribution to CED as they are manifest in terms of access to financial resources, local personal supports, retraining programs/education, participation in community-based

organizations, attachment to place, and the importance of personal social networks in daily social life (Reimer 2002; Halseth & Ryser 2004).

CED has gained recognition in both academic and policy literature as a viable - though varied and contested - means of local community development (Reed & Gill 1997; Bruce & Halseth 2004; Markey *et al.* 2005; Koster & Randall 2005). Unlike past models of top-down development based on institutional arrangements, CED recognizes and capitalizes on the direct linkages between the economic health of small, relatively isolated places and the health and well-being of residents. As opposed to economic development that is evolved through the interests of industry and government, CED is perceived as a development strategy that is grounded entirely in the particularities and social networks that are pre-existing in place. At its core, it is a structural shift from local economic dependence on one industry (input) to a reliance on a number of different economic inputs at a series of scales: from the self-employed entrepreneur to a regionally based manufacturer.

Although the exact definition of CED is elusive, CED strategies have focused on economic, social, and environmental sustainability through inclusion and participation of diverse members of the community including women, First Nations and minorities. It is argued that the CED process prioritizes holistic planning and consensus building (Markey *et al.* 2005). Sharp *et al.* (2002) have suggested that at its core CED can be defined as purposeful action to create and/or maintain local business activity and employment. It is dependent on community-based assets, which are generally expressed through community owned businesses or regionally based corporations (Bruce & Halseth 2004). CED has also been conceptualized as a locally directed, community-based effort to promote locally-based economic development goals.

As such CED has both social and economic goals. It is generally explained as a means to improve the overall quality of life of residents as the benefits are directly returned to residents. It is built on the principles of comparative advantage between localities where locally available resources such as location, access to financial capital, entrepreneurial spirit, social capital and capacity serve as unique reservoirs of social and economic potential (Dawe 2004; Halseth & Ryser 2004). Effectively CED attempts to create a relatively locally autonomous, diversified economy that is

active on all economic scales but that is nearly entirely locally directed (Filion 1991; Gill & Reed 1997; Bruce & Halseth 2004; Vennesland 2004; Koster & Randall 2005; Markey *et al.* 2005). In this context, tourism promotion has served as a fundamental part of many CED strategies (Barnes & Hayter 1992; Hayter *et al.* 1993; Barnes & Hayter 1997; Gill & Reed 1997; Reed & Gill 1997), although tourism promotion has had its own problems including low wages, ascribed gender roles, and its own seasonal cycles of boom-bust.

More broadly, tourism coupled with other economic strategies has not resulted in a seamless process of economic diversification. Community consensus is difficult to achieve as most decisions are made by local householders and business owners (Reed & Gill 1997). Inclusion then, is limited to those who can afford to participate in economic decision making, either financially or through the contribution of volunteer time to community-based groups or planning sessions (Reed 1999; MacAulay 2004). Subsequently, the focus on CED as a collective, community-based set of strategies has neglected considerations of the roles of individuals in remaking the landscape of RDCs. In turn, the multiple strategies deployed by women prior to and following restructuring events are again subsumed into the broader emphasis on community level indicators of economic health.

2.4.2 Women

Underlying CED strategies is the need to build upon community-based assets (Halseth 2004; Markey *et al.* 2005). However, the literature on CED in RDCs has taken an a-gendered approach to research. In the process, it has overlooked women's specific contributions to social capacity, capital, and networks. Specifically, self-employed women are nearly absent from this literature. This has perhaps evolved out of a gendered conceptualization of women's place as grounded in the home and near-home territory (Halseth & Ryser 2004). Halseth and Ryser (2004) suggest that though women have extended their domestic skills into the community in support of household income strategies, they continue to seek paid employment as paid employees outside of the home.

Further, Mackenzie (1986) has suggested that women's home-based work has been a logical outgrowth for some women during periods of restructuring and subsequent community transition. Women mobilize resources that are embedded in local or

easily accessed external social and economic networks. In effect, individual homes become new sites of both economic and social innovation. Mackenzie (1986) has suggested that these new types of employment represent the shifting and merging of gender relations to meet both local and household needs. However, women's homes as the primary sites for the organization of their economic lives has been absent in the literature on RDCs. Women's work, particularly in terms of self-employment, is small scale and generally serves the immediate household. Though there are potential implications of women's self-employment on individual, household, and community well-being, the sites of home and home-based labour have been neglected as research has focused exclusively on the larger economic processes – industry and employment related to industry - that have been used to characterize the growth, change, and redevelopment of RDCs. As a result very little is known about how women have participated in the construction, maintenance, and support of RDCs.

In the absence of any direct reference to women who are self-employed in RDCs, I have sought out alternative literature that has focused on women's livelihood strategies. In this research, it is suggested that women adopt self-employment strategies for reasons that have been broadly aggregated into push-pull factors. Women are pulled into self-employment by the promise of flexibility. Women are pushed into self-employment in order to structure income generating strategies in a way that allows them to concurrently work for pay while also maintaining their social duties to family maintenance, including the care of children and elderly relatives (Lombard 2001; Edwards & Field-Hendrey 2002; Hughes 2003; Osnowitz 2005). Others have suggested that women are pulled into self-employment as restructuring and downsizing have eroded the availability of once secure jobs in the public and private sector (Mackenzie 1986; Rowe *et al.* 1999; Hughes 2003; O'Toole & Macgarvey 2003; Oberhauser *et al.* 2004; Philipson *et al.* 2004).

Self-employment decisions have also been pursued as a means of part-time work and a way for women to re-enter the labour market following periods of inactivity (Georgellis & Wall 2005). However, it is argued that self-employment as an income generating strategy both serves to reproduce, reinforce, and normalize traditional gender roles (Bruni & Poggio 2004; Osnowitz 2005). Women tend to pursue micro-

niches that are concentrated within traditionally 'female-typed' fields of the service and retail sectors. Additionally, women are inhibited by limited access to capital, an absence of health benefits, and the double burden of household maintenance and care (Loscocco & Robinson 1991; Lombard 2001).

In the context of RDCs, however, self-employed women both gain autonomy and are empowered by non-standard work that is both personally fulfilling, and also meets economic ends (Apitzsch 2003). It is in this context that my research takes shape. In turn, I have understood self-employment to be an extension of both personal and household livelihood strategies. Livelihood strategies are defined income generating activities undertaken by individuals or small households that provide a means of living (Oberhauser *et al.* 2004). A key goal of livelihood strategies is to ensure household economic and social security from a range of complementary income sources. Although the concept of livelihood strategies is predominantly applied in the context of developing nations and developing economies (Oberhauser *et al.* 2004) it has particular relevance given the social dimensions that are implicit in CED strategies pursued by RDCs.

Oberhauser *et al.* (2004:205) define livelihood strategies as the assets (natural, physical, human, financial, and social capital), the activities (strategies of use), and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household. In effect, basic elements are individual access to resources, strategies that are developed for their use as they inform the goals people pursue. Central to this understanding is the recognition of the ways in which social institutions and ideologies shape routes of access to resources and strategy options available to different members of community, particularly women. This livelihoods approach offers a people-centered perspective that allows 'detailed insight into the impacts of changing macro-level economic circumstances on local communities, households and individuals' (Oberhauser *et al.* 2004: 205-206). Such an approach also offers insight into how the consequences of macro-level economic change, such as resource-based industry restructuring, can serve as both crisis and opportunity for self-employed women in RDCs.

Effectively, returning to the literature on RDCs, livelihood strategies represent a form of small business. Halseth (2004) suggested that small business contributes to social capacity through financial and non-financial means. In the context of RDCs, small business owners (the self-employed) are increasingly contributing to shifting place-based identities. The landscape of RDCs is being reshaped by the increased emphasis on economic strategies that rely on consumptive values, as opposed to the productivist values associated with resource extraction. Women's propensity to use locally created resources has enabled them to look to their community as a means of local development and in turn they are complicit in creating new patterns of life that have been, in part, facilitated by restructuring (Mackenzie 1986).

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented a set of descriptive characteristics that have served to provide context for the current situation of RDCs in the rural landscape. The academic literature has been influential in that it has created a certain way of thinking about/understanding the make-up and cultural patterns of place. RDCs have been characterized as unique landscapes that are shaped by work and the ecological, social, and economic functions of place. However, they are also lived places. Past literature that characterizes RDCs as places dependent on industry has consistently marginalized women by attributing to them limited roles as either low paid secondary income earners or as unpaid home and community maintenance workers. Indeed, women as social and economic actors continue to be absent from the literature even as recent literature has described CED as an inclusive, community-based socio-economic initiative to redress the effects of restructuring. In essence, the past literature on RDCs has failed to account for individuals – particularly women – as they are personally shaped by and as they shape community structures and place-based identities. However, the ongoing processes of restructuring and community-based transition opens a discursive space that has potential to highlight the shifting context within which women work and contribute to community resilience and well-being.

By extension, the history of RDCs plays out in the lives of self-employed women and serves to both enable and constrain their life choices and livelihood strategies.

In turn, I have used restructuring as a point of entry to demonstrate that self-employed women make multiple contributions - from the economy of the household to the identity of community - to the Village of Gold River.

Chapter 3 -- Methodology and Methods

See there is a story... everybody in this town has a story. – Iona

3.0 Introduction

The objective of my research is to explore the influence of place – particularly place-based change – on the lives of self-employed women. From the outset, my research is both exploratory and interpretive. In turn, I make use of qualitative research methods as a means of bridging the gap between my literary understanding of RDCs and the experiences of the self-employed women I interviewed. In this chapter, I trace how I framed my research: its initial conceptualization, through influential theories and frameworks, and the tools I used to generate research data.

3.1 Research Design

My research was informed by literature on RDCs, my own observations, and by my interviews in Gold River. However, most of the literature on RDCs has been defined by quantitative research based on community level surveys, regional economic data, or census tract information (see for example: Gill 1990a;1990b; Randall & Ironside1995; Clapp 1998; Carroll *et al.* 2000a). A few researchers have used qualitative research - interviews and focus groups - to explore individual and/or household level quality of life issues (see for example: Lucas 1971; Mackenzie 1986; Reed 2003b). Taking cues from this latter literature, I designed a research project whose central focus was interviews, influenced by particular theoretical and methodological frameworks. Frameworks provided a rationale for the methods I used as a researcher in Gold River. In this section I provide an overview of and reflection on my research design, beginning with methodological influences and concluding with limitations that influenced my research.

3.1.1 Methodological Influences

Studies of place deal with an acute complexity as they attempt to account for the multiple influences that give shape to the creation, destruction, and/or experience of physical landscapes over time (see for example: Tuan 1976; Relph 1976; Massey

1991; Porteous & Smith 2001). It is because of this complexity that I most closely identified with what Relph (1989) described as the 'geographical imagination'. He defines this as a way of seeing, thinking about, and describing the essence and the individuality of places. By his definition, a geographical imagination attempts to explore and explain connections between one's own experience of a particular landscape as it intersects with other people and larger processes that also make sense of those places (Relph 1989). For me, the idea of the geographical imagination was useful because it focused on interrelationships and interplay between personal, social, and environmental processes. It was a way to recognize that "no individual actions are without environmental and social consequences" (Relph 1989:158). The geographical imagination was a way to see how people negotiate and are transformed by place-based realities that have influence on day-to-day life.

My research methodology is also influenced by structuration theory. Put simply for the purposes of my thesis, structuration theory explores the intersection of people and the wider social systems that they are a part of (Pred 1984; Cloke *et al.* 1991). In this type of analysis, knowledgeable and capable individuals (agents) are in constant negotiation with facts that give shape to their lives (structures). Through this negotiation, people simultaneously re-create (reproduce) and transform the structures that both constrain and enable how they understand and behave in the world (Cloke *et al.* 1991).

While uncomfortable with strict and rigid definitions, I have introduced relatively complex theory (both the geographical imagination and an interpretation of structuration) because, in some ways, they relate to how I have understood the role of place as it plays out in women's lives. Though place influences their daily experience, women influence how place is experienced from day-to-day. Just as women support and endorse the cultural and social norms of the Village, they also pursue non-traditional ways of life within it. For example, they maintain the Village's identity as a single industry, forestry-based town. At the same time they also shift that identity towards tourism (for example) through the presence of their respective businesses.

Without drawing too heavily on a specific abstract theory, I created a version of post-modern research. In this sense, I do not believe that there is any one, single 'truth' or meta-narrative that drives human action (Ley 2003). In this paradigm, as a researcher, I do not claim to have complete or authoritative knowledge of the lives or lived experience of my research participants (Richardson 2004). My research in many respects represents an exploration and interpretation of my experience as conducting and synthesizing the conversations I had and the observations I made. From a post-modern perspective, my research was social research that is situated, partial, theoretical, and subject to change (Ley 2003; Richardson 2004). My research is fixed in time; it was how I saw things then which may very well have changed now.

I appreciated the post-modern approach to research, and have mentioned it here, because I recognize that there existed a host of subjective values that - consciously and unconsciously - coloured my research and the interpretations I have drawn from it (Richardson 2004). My research exists as a social production and, in the process, reproduces norms and values that I have internalized throughout the course of my life. Within post-modern research this has been understood as a hermeneutic circle: 'a continuing reassessment of conflicting interpretations (reflecting partial understanding) of ourselves and the world' (Dear 1988:266). Again, the outcomes of research are partial and situated: they are the direct result of my experiences in Gold River, at a given moment in time. The analysis and concepts that I have built throughout this process are a result of a sustained interaction with all aspects of my empirical data. In short, and in terms of theory, I consider my research to be both exploratory and interpretive. It is located at the intersection of a number of methodological, ontological, and epistemological constructions.

3.1.2 Methodological Framework

My research was guided by a fundamental concern with moving beyond academic constructions of RDCs as places in an effort to describe how Gold River is a lived place that is also shaped by individuals. In the process, I uncovered how place influenced the experiences of self-employed women in an RDC. Because there existed a dearth of research in this area, I modified a framework that was based on some of the data analysis techniques found in Straus's (1987) and Strauss and Corbin's (1990) interpretation of grounded theory. Compellingly, Strauss (1987)

outlined three ways in which real-world complexity could be captured: 1) data collection is shaped by iterative and evolving interpretations of real-world settings/experiences; 2) theory is created by the interplay of a number of concepts and linkages that exist between them; and 3) finally, a thorough, reflective interrogation of 'field' data is required to generate a reliable analysis (1987:10). This suggested that grounded theory research evolved through a shaped but not determined process (Charmaz 2002). There were, however, established methods for data collection, analysis, and theory development (Strauss & Corbin 1990; Charmaz 2002). The outcomes of this create a 'rich conceptual analysis' through the creation of categories that synthesize social processes into theoretical renditions of reality (Strauss and Corbin 1990; Charmaz 2002). Put simply, concepts and categories become tools that attempt to explore and explain socially created events (change) and their impact on individual lived experience (human response)(Strauss & Corbin 1990).

In turn, I modified some of the principles found in a grounded theory approach in order to mirror the processes of my research. It is a modified framework because I was not seeking to develop new theory, nor did I follow the full prescriptive set of grounded theory practices. Rather, I have used some of the tools and techniques of grounded theory to inform the process of my analysis with the goal of generating new ways of thinking about RDCs as places (Strauss 1987). I have used this framework to help with the synthesis and interpretation of my research as it has evolved from a review of available literature, observation, and open-ended, semi-structured interviews.

I also made great use of the 'constant comparison method' (Dey *et al.* 2000). I was always working to mediate between recurring themes and emerging categories of analysis I was creating with them (Patton 1990). I was constantly refining descriptive and explanatory categories to relate my empirical data to one overarching theme (Dey *et al.* 2000). In the end, the techniques of grounded theory helped me to flesh out conceptual categories that I used to explore, frame, and reconcile what I experienced in the field with what I had read in the literature. In effect, my research can be considered an ethnographic study shaped by some of the analysis techniques borrowed from grounded theory.

3.1.3 Approaching Qualitative Research

Compared to more positivist research, mine has evolved rather atypically. In more traditional quantitative work, researchers form hypotheses, develop research objectives, and formulate research questions prior to entering the 'field' (Maxwell 1996; Creswell 1998). In contrast, I went into the setting of Gold River armed with a preliminary set of research ideas related to community transition, the decline of the Village, and a host of presuppositions about Village life informed by academic characterizations of RDCs. During that first visit I found a number of those characterizations of the economic and physical landscapes in the Village to be alarmingly accurate. I also found women who were actively engaged in shaping the public, social, and economic landscape of place.

Having scrutinized the literature, I went into Gold River with a set of pre-conceived notions about 'where' I would find women. Naively, I had expected to find women 'at home', in community service groups, or as employees in low-paid service jobs. Curiously, from my perspective as a visitor to the Village, it seemed that women dominated the economic and social core of the community. In effect, women were ubiquitously at work in the Village. They were not only paid service workers and unpaid home/community workers, they were also managers, bosses, business owners, or otherwise self-employed. Indeed, outside the central business district, I found women also operated hotels, gas stations, and some of the stores, and worked businesses located at the site of the former mills. Compelled by self-employed women's absence from the literature, I began to pick up their business cards in Village shops and take notice of signs posted outside homes that were also sites of home-based businesses. These women were evidence that the Village was not necessarily in decline, but in the process of re-development. In this sense, re-development appeared to be dependent, in part, on women's visibility and participation in the social and economic landscape that defined the Village.

Qualitative research seemed a logical method through which I could explore and subsequently interpret what I saw in Gold River. Qualitative approaches also offered the flexibility to work interpretively with details: multiple variables and themes as they emerged through empirical evidence (Creswell 1998). As a researcher, I was engaged in the use of multiple sensory and inductive tools to make sense of nuances

that were embedded in the lives of self-employed women who lived in Gold River. I was not limited to one particular way of understanding the world, nor did I privilege one way of interpreting that world over another (Denzin & Lincoln 1994; Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2004). In a rather artistic reference, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) have suggested that the qualitative researcher performs 'bricolage' as they piece together sets of related research practices and techniques to explore and explain a given social world (1998:3). It was through the use of complementary practices, a series of inputs, that themes were allowed to emerge to form the basis of empirical data (Creswell 1998; Jackson 2001).

This type of research was, for me, an act of engagement and a process of discovery that culminated in a reflective portrayal of the world I was studying (Denzin & Lincoln 1998). By extension, this type of research always draws attention to and acknowledges the multiple-perspectives, divergent outcomes, and subjectivities that have shaped research. In terms of my own research, I wanted to use observation, interviews, and the available literature to help me reflect on, interpret, and make sense of the experiences of self-employed women in Gold River.

It was in this way that I - the qualitative researcher - became the research instrument (Jones 1985; Evans 1988). In this type of inquiry, researcher reflexivity is paramount as the researcher is the primary vehicle through which research outcomes are explored and ultimately expressed (Maxwell 1996; Denzin & Lincoln 1994). The notion of the researcher-as-instrument suggested that as the researcher I was engaged in a series of iterative considerations, delimiting the boundaries of my research, gauging previous work within my discipline, and executing a study that consciously reflected my understanding of the role of place as it affected women's lives. Indeed, Ley and Mountz (2001:126) has suggested that "the geographer's charge to interpret the complex relations of people and place requires a methodology of engagement not detachment, of informal dialogue as well as formal documentation".

The outcomes of my research have been co-created by the literature I read and people I met and spoke with in Gold River. Although the researcher-as-instrument paradigm emphasizes rigor, my research is not explicitly scientifically rigorous in the

traditional sense. Though I considered issues of validity and reproducibility, my research cannot be exactly duplicated (Denzin & Lincoln 1994; Maxwell 1996). Instead, the multiple methods I used were shaped by the experiences I had, just as the questions I asked were transformed by participants in my research (Clandinin & Connelly 1998). However, the three methods I used – documentary research, observation, and interviews worked as a continual feedback loop. Through triangulation, one method informed the other and I was constantly referring back for points of reference and repeated themes (Denzin & Lincoln 1998). Subsequently, my research is both contextually and temporally bounded; it represents my own cognitive understanding of social realities and reflects situated and partial knowledge (Clandinin & Connelly 1998).

3.2 Methods

I had as much concern with the tools of interpretation, as I did with the reporting of 'facts' from my research, as I was both an observer and participant in the construction and interpretation of the entire research process (Clandinin & Connelly 1998). The foundations of my research were three primary methods: 1) documentary research; 2) in-situ observation and personal reflection, and; 3) semi-structured open-ended interviews. In the following sub-section I outline how I used those methods and how they have shaped the outcomes of my research.

3.2.1 Documentary Research

The importance of literature to my research cannot be over stated; my research literally evolved out of the academic literature on RDCs. In the end, my research also represents a response (and addition) to a body of academic scholarship. However, between the beginning and the end of research, I was informed by all types of literature. The following section briefly outlines the two types of literature that informed my research: technical and non-technical as each influenced my research in different ways. The full complement of literature, particularly those aspects that dealt with restructuring and community transition, have provided a point of departure and a research stimulus (Strauss & Corbin 1990).

3.2.1.1 Technical Literature

Strauss and Corbin (1990) define technical literature as research studies and philosophical papers that are characteristic of academic (professional and disciplinary) writing. This 'technical' literature proved to be the backbone of my

research. It is through this body of work that I gained three things. First, I entered into a tradition of scholarship that has characterized RDCs as places in the rural landscape. Second, I developed a fluency in the theories, conceptual categories, and social processes that have shaped the analysis of my data sets. Finally, by uniting theory and the characterization of place in RDCs, I was able to find points of exclusion. In effect, this body of literature was the pivot point around which my research turned.

3.2.1.2 Non-technical Literature

Strauss and Corbin (1990) defined non-technical literature as anything that does not qualify as a research study or philosophical text. I interpreted that loosely and have made good use of billboards, newspapers (articles and advertisements), municipal reports, brochures, census data, tourist magazines, websites, and etcetera. I have literally mined the Village (and surrounding area) for information of any kind that would provide me with background, context, and insight into Gold River as a lived place. This literature filled out and peopled the academic material. In fact, it complemented my research by introducing and describing the types of self-employment women pursued.

Although little of this material is referenced in my thesis, I was deeply influenced by it. As a stranger to both the Village, specifically, and rural life, generally, this literature came to serve as cultural reference points. Although not referenced, this 'non-technical' literature is present in my analysis: it served as pieces of Gold River's material culture that served as points of departure, comparison, and validation I used to negotiate between my field experience and previous academic research.

3.2.2 Observation

I made a total of ten visits to Gold River at random intervals over a one year period. My shortest stay was three days and the longest was nine. I cannot say that, in such a short time, I became an expert on Gold River or the people who lived there. However, being in the Village – experiencing place, watching daily life, and talking to people – proved crucial in informing the development of my research. It was by 'being there' that I was seen and, by extension, it was how I learned about the role self-employed women played in the identity of the Village (Sixsmith *et al.* 2003). Subsequently, observation was a testing ground for academic characterizations of

RDCs. It also gave me a sense of context for the day-to-day experience of life in the Village (Dewalt & Dewalt 2002).

Although short, my time in Gold River can be divided into two equally informative types of observation: 1) Physical observation; and 2) Informal interviews as observation. In the following sub-section I describe the role these two inter-related styles of observation played in informing my research.

3.2.2.1 Physical Observation

For the purposes of my thesis, I have called the time I spent in Gold River physical observation, because my experience there engaged all of my senses and faculties (Adler & Adler 1998). Because 'theory', or in this case exploratory research, develops on the ground, I did not spend my time in my hotel room (Evans 1998). Rather, I spent every day I had walking through the Village, talking to people at cafes, and visiting the places where residents spent time. I used the library and the recreation centre. I ate meals and had coffee in the restaurants. I shopped in Village stores. I drank beer in the Village pub. I went anywhere I could. I tried to gain as much 'cultural knowledge' about the experience and nature of place as I possibly could (Adler & Adler 1998).

There exists some question in the literature as to what degree an observer is simply an onlooker and by what measure they become a participant (Patton 1990). Based on my experiences, I side with others that suggest that the researcher – regardless of degrees of active involvement in the field - becomes an actor/participant in the social settings they come into contact with (Atkinson & Hammersley 1994). I let experiences occur naturally in keeping with naturalistic qualitative research (Adler & Adler 1998; Evans 1998). When I was 'there', I was a passive actor in the landscape of Gold River (Adler & Adler 1998). I adopted what Adler and Adler (1998) called a 'peripheral membership' role. I was not completely anonymous, nor was I a full participant (Adler & Adler 1998). I was visible but not active in promoting my research agenda, or trying to force myself into social situations. For example, I considered myself both a covert and overt researcher whose primary interest was in making sense of Gold River as a lived place (Evans 1998). Though I wanted to be

relatively anonymous, by my third visit I had a few people approach me – for friendly conversation - because they had seen me in the Village in the previous week. I did not seek out conversations like these, they occurred spontaneously. In turn, the fact that I was there 'doing' research meant that in some, sometimes insignificant, ways I was a participant in the landscape of the Village for a particular period of time.

In the process of observation, though, I cultivated experiences that led to impressions that I later reflected on. At night I would sit and decipher how my own presuppositions related to what I had seen and experienced during the day (Adler & Adler 1998; Evans 1998). In-situ observation was rich with insight, particularly concerning the social and economic make-up of Gold River. While it afforded me the opportunity to experience the Village as a lived place, observation also gave a depth of understanding and situational context to the experiences of self-employed women in that place (Dowler 2001). Finally it also was through this 'physical observation' that I first met some of the women I eventually interviewed.

3.2.2.2 Informal Interviews (Conversation) As Observation

During my time in Gold River I visited every possible public space. In so doing, I was able to spontaneously interact, meet, and talk with a number of people. I considered these informal conversations 'observation' as they consistently gave me insight into the lives of residents and the patterns of daily life in the Village (Evans 1998; Dewalt & Dewalt 2002). Unlike my interviews with self-employed women, these were conversations that unfolded in a natural give and take. Described academically, my naturally unfolding conversations relied on engagement and active listening; I used prompts such as sensitive silences and verbal cues such as "uh-huh" to sustain many of those conversations (Dewalt & Dewalt 2002). While I followed the conversational lead of the person I was speaking with, I occasionally asked questions to clarify the things I did not understand (Dewalt & Dewalt 2002). Given the range of people I spoke with, I classified these informal interviews into two categories: 1) informational interviews with key community members; and 2) casual conversations with Village residents. Although much of these conversations influenced how I perceived women and women's self-employment as it played out in the life of the community, I have not included these discussions here. This was primarily because these conversations were informal, unsolicited, and I did not receive nor ask for informed consent from them in terms of the inclusion of their

comments in the body of my thesis. Indeed, the conversations I had informed how I understood the role of self-employed women shaping place, place-based identity, and the patterns of residential life. I have included a discussion of those informal observations and conversations in an effort to demonstrate that I was a fully engaged observer during my time in Gold River; I did what I could despite limited time to understand as fully as possible the dynamic landscape that was the Village of Gold River. In effect, I have called these conversations observation because they lay the foundation for the development of some of my conclusions I have drawn from my research in chapter five.

3.2.2.2.1 Key Community Members

Unintentionally, I found myself in conversation with Village administrators, a former head of the Chamber of Commerce, directors of community groups, and other residents who were involved in the socio-economic development of Gold River. I have considered these people to be 'gatekeepers' or key community members because they offered a particular kind of 'expertise' on the Village (Evans 1998). Because of their unique professional or volunteer positions in Gold River they had a precise knowledge of the economic, historical, demographic, and/or cultural dimensions and events that defined the Village.

I treated these informal interviews slightly differently than the casual conversations I had on the street. These were 'naturally occurring' conversations that took a turn, based on my conversational partner's interests, after I self-identified as a Masters student doing research in Gold River. Our idle chat often evolved into full scale and directed discussions about Gold River – effectively becoming a spontaneous informational interview. People would use their professional or volunteer positions as a descriptive bridge to unify and describe what they 'factually' knew about the Village and what they had experienced there. Also, unlike my 'street' conversations, these informal interviews took place in the spaces where people worked and it was in this way that I acquired all different kinds of non-technical literature, including unpublished research reports about the Village.

Because of the roles they played in Gold River, key community members were also 'gatekeepers' in the sense that they had an intrinsic knowledge of other people in the Village. It was through these people that I was told of and/or introduced to others who were able to offer a different insight into Village life. For example, on the advice of a resident, I went to the Village office to pick up some tourist brochures. By asking the clerk for those brochures, I inadvertently initiated a conversation that lasted an hour and a half. As we talked, we moved from polite impersonal conversation to talk about work and to the changes she had seen both personally and professionally in Gold River. When our conversation was forced to end, she called a friend of hers who was considered the Village historian. The Village historian was also the former head of the Chamber of Commerce, who then introduced me to the Village's chief newspaper reporter. Together they suggested a couple of additional people that they felt I had to talk to.

Situations such as this occurred frequently. Though I recognize that this means of 'snowball sampling' had some bearing on shaping my experience of Gold River as a lived place, these key community members were also invaluable in describing concrete social and economic landscapes in the Village (Dowler 2001; Russell 2002).

3.2.2.2 Village Residents

Village residents are the people I met on the street, or in the restaurants, or in parks. They are the people that I had ordinary, everyday conversations with. These are people with whom I had anything from a momentary encounter to lengthy conversations that lasted through a meal. These were the most unintentional but the most informative influences on the structure of my research. They were people who filled the Gold River of my imagination with their personal experiences, Village events, and observations. They were also the people who identified self-employed women as landmarks in the physical and emotional landscape of the Village.

To meet Village residents, I used a method of haphazard sampling (Russell 2002). I opportunistically engaged in conversations with anyone who was willing to speak with me. I took advantage of the places and situations in which I found myself: I both found and created conversation. That said, I sought out conversation but not always for research. Although I was there to experience Gold River and to talk with

residents about life in the Village, I also needed the social interaction as I was a researcher alone in Gold River. Because I was concerned with being polite and fitting in, occasionally a simple hello entered me unwittingly into a number of very informative conversations. I have intentionally not included the content of those conversations in my thesis. This was because I did not obtain consent from them. Rather, I used those conversations to provide insight to the lived experience of Gold River. Further, those conversations helped to inform the questions I asked during my interviews, where I did obtain informed consent from each participant.

My concern with 'fitting in' extended to changes in the way I spoke with people. After a couple of very early informal interviews, I found that my academic language, although useful in the university context, was ridiculous to some of the people I spoke with. To make myself clearly understood I had to learn to switch my speech from the language of academic scholarship to everyday speech. I even went so far as to adopt the west coast habit of saying 'heh' at the end of most my sentences.

Regardless, I was afforded the opportunity to participate in a host of informal conversations with Village residents because I was a highly visible outsider, who – in a short period of time - made repeated visits to the Village. Subsequently, I was approached by a number of people who were curious to know what I was doing in the Village. Generally, when I was asked about my research, my conversational partner would talk at length about changes in the community, the importance of small-businesses, the role of governments in easing or stalling transition. I would also hear insights into the politics of social life in Gold River. As the following excerpt from my journal shows, my experience in Gold River was dominated by people:

Nov. 23rd/2004

I am surprised at how friendly people are here. It seems like everyone wants to talk to me, everyone has got something to say. I could barely make it down the street today without having to stop and talk to the people I passed. A simple hi, leads to a how are you, to a where you from? I don't have to say much, they just want to tell me how much it has changed here or how they have moved back here because it has changed so much. It's not like the city, they say. You know everyone, they say. Then they tell me about so and so, or this/that, or their hopes for the whole energy-generation/power plant

thing. It'll bring jobs, they say, because we have lost a lot of people (how many times I have heard that?)

Except, there are a lot of people who tell me about how there are new people here all the time. Today I stopped to a few people on the Peppercorn trail. All of them were new to the Village: they are new here, they tell me, because it is so beautiful and so inexpensive. They all want to talk...

From the outset I wanted to ground myself in the character of place (Evans 1998). Character, in my mind, is not only found in physical landscapes but is also reflected in the way people internalize and express how they feel about place (Relph 1976; Pocius 2000). Place was nearly always present in the unsolicited comments, commentaries, and conversations I heard. In turn, through references to place I learned about the immediacy in people's interrelationship with a physical landscape, a community within it, and the socio-economic changes that have shaped it.

3.2.2.2.3 Profile of Change

Again, informal conversations were useful in that they provided context that helped describe how the Village had changed following mill closure. Change, for most of the people I spoke with, was represented by the loss of services and business closures within the Village. Although statistical information about business closures in Gold River was unavailable, Iona summarized what most residents described in terms of changes they had seen in Gold River.

Iona: ...at one time we had a clothing store, a furniture store, we had three doctors, we had a music store, a drugstore. We had everything we needed here. We had a bank. We had a credit union... When we moved into Gold River we had a bowling alley, a movie! We had everything! They are all gone. We don't have any of that now.

Indeed, a brief overview of census data between 1996-2001 highlights three changes in Gold River, particularly in terms of population dynamics, industry employment, and employment incomes. For example, between 1981 and 1996 the population of Gold River had been relatively stable. However, as I described in chapter one, by 2001 the Village's population had decreased by 37%, from 2041 people in 1996, to 1357 people in 2001 (Statistics Canada 2001). Also, between 1996 and 2001, the Village's population aged. In 1996, 23% of the population was older than 44, with

1% older than 65. By 2001, 39% of the population were older than 44, with 7.7% of the population older than 65 (Statistics Canada 2001). In comparison, the population of British Columbia increased by 9.5% between 1996-2001 (BC Stats 2001; 2005). Additionally, the broader BC population aged at relatively the same rate as in Gold River. By 2001, 39% of the BC population was over the age of 44. However, in BC 13.6% of the population was older than 65 (BC Stats 2001;2005).

Further, from 1996 to 2001, the average incomes for full time workers in Gold River decreased from \$46,769 to \$40,797, while the unemployment rate also increased from 7.6% in 1996, to 18.6% in 2001 (BC Stats 2001;2005). This can be correlated to the shift in labour force participation (15 years and older) by industry. In 1996 employment was dominated by manufacturing (32.6%), logging and forestry (15.9%), and retail trade (8.3%). However, by 2001 there had been a shift such that dominant industry employers were forestry and logging (31.1%), public administration (10.1%), followed by educational services and the retail trade (both at 9.5%) (BC Stats 2001;2005). Additionally, in that same five year time frame, self-employment, as a percentage of total income, rose from 1.3% in 1996 to 1.8% in 2001 of total reported income sources in Gold River (BC Stats 2001;2005)

Comparatively, in British Columbia the average income for full time workers had increased to \$42,095, an increase of 12.3% from reported incomes in 1996 (BC Stats 2001;2005). Provincially, the unemployment rate decreased from 11.2% in 1996 to 8.5% in 2001 (Statistics Canada 1996; BC Stats 2001; 2005). Consistently between 1996 and 2001, the top three industries by labour force participation were the retail trade, manufacturing and construction, and health care and social assistance (BC Stats 2001;2005). Interestingly, between 1996 and 2001, self-employment as a percentage of total income, decreased from 5.2% in 1996 to 5.0% in 2001 (BC Stats 2001;2005).

Despite shifting incomes, women's increased participation in Gold River's labour force was also described by the residents I spoke with. Indeed, for women, specifically, incomes derived from full time employment decreased from \$21,391 in 1995 to \$17,938 in 2001 (BC Stats 2001;2005). However, it should be noted, that women's participation in the labour force between 1996 and 2001 increased from 68.1% to

71.2%. Comparatively, in the British Columbia context, women's incomes rose from \$20,020 (60% participation rate) in 1996 to \$24,401 (59.9% participation rate) in 2001 (Statistics Canada 1996;2001). In Gold River, the unemployment rate for women in the same time period decreased from 11.2% in 1996 to 5.7% in 2001. In British Columbia, however, this rate went from 9.2% in 1996 to 8.0% in 2001. (Statistics Canada 1996;2001). In the Gold River context, as I have suggested in chapter two, following mill closure women sought out part-time or alternative livelihood strategies to supplement household incomes.

Regardless, change remained a conversational starting point for most of the individuals I encountered in Gold River. As such, these conversations provided a point of reference and context which helped to shape the questions I asked during my interviews. It should also be noted that I did reach a point of qualitative saturation through my informal interviews. Patton (1990) has suggested that saturation is a point at which the information imparted during an interview becomes relatively redundant. Indeed, there came a point at which stories - not personal narratives of life experience - but unsolicited commentary about changes to place and small business as a point of community resilience, became repetitive. It was at this point that I felt prepared to engage in a more structured interview process.

3.2.2.3 Reflection

I have emphasized the role informal interviews have played in my observations of Gold River. I have called attention to them because they were extremely influential in shaping how I came to see, experience, and approach the intersections of place and self-employed women in Gold River. This could be attributed, in part, to the fact that the Village occupies an area of 10 km² with a population of approximately 1359 people (Statistics Canada 2001). It is also relatively remote. Repeat visitors - such as myself - are relatively rare. Though I consider myself to be a friendly, happy, easily approached person, my appearance (jeans, name brand polar fleece, shiny boots) and my position as a university student doing research on Gold River, piqued some interest. I stuck out. I do not know which was more influential in determining the quality and quantity of my informal interviews: the fact that eventually most people found out - through the natural course of conversation - that I was doing a research project on women and place or that I was the new person in town.

However, so much of what I heard was unsolicited and spontaneous. Although I have often thought about it, I do not know how I could have approached the Village any differently.

Regardless, while I was in Gold River I was conscious to write up my experiences. My research journals are full of stories and anecdotes about the people I met, the things I heard, the places I went. This aspect of introspection was pervasive in my research. Basically, I wanted to answer the questions: what is going on here? I wanted to look and see how the Village operated on a day to day level. By necessity I am forced to simplify the complexity of the social situations that played out before me. But I do recognize that I was privy to a partial, temporally limited set of encounters with both place and people. I was, in effect, an academic tourist – wandering to and fro, but keeping my eyes on the various details that made up the community and landscape – the place - of Gold River.

3.3 Using Semi-Structured, Open Ended Interviews

The following section is an overview on how I selected participants, my role in influencing what I heard in interviews, and how I approached the interview process. However, I will begin with a brief discussion of how I obtained informed consent from my interview participants.

3.3.1 Informed Consent

I used grounded theory's concept of theoretical sampling to justify an intentional selection of people for my interviews (Strauss & Corbin 1990; Charmaz 2002). While my informal interviews happened haphazardly, formal interviews with self-employed women were intentional, planned, and began with informed consent. It should be noted that prior to entering the field I applied and received approval from the Human Research Ethics Board at the University of Victoria. As a requirement of the Board, I obtained informed consent through a participant consent form that women were asked to sign prior to the beginning of our interview (see Appendix B). Additionally, before any interview, I explained that there was no obligation for them to participate or be included in my research. I reminded each of them of my contact information in case they had further additions, questions, or if they wanted to withdraw their interview from my research. Each interview participant signed and was left with a

copy of a letter of consent, as well as with my letter of introduction, and my business card.

3.3.2 Sampling and Contacting Participants

My research was concerned with a small population of women who were self-employed in the Village of Gold River. I purposefully focused on recruiting participants who were made visible to me in the Village. I approached women who ran Village shops, who advertised in the local paper, and who were identified, or who I met, through word of mouth. Though I tried, I could not get an official count of business licences that were held by women, nor did I have time or opportunity to find all the women whose self-employment was undocumented.

It was during some of my early visits to the Village that I discussed the possibility of an interview with a number of self-employed women. Some of those women immediately consented to participate in my research. On my eighth visit to Gold River, I built on those early relationships and delivered six letters of introduction to women throughout the Village. I also personally visited eight women who operated and worked in readily accessible shops/stores/services. I introduced myself to them, presented them with my letter of introduction and my business card, promising to call them the next day. As I called those women, I also cold-called an additional ten women whose numbers I found in the Village phone book. I contacted twenty four people, fifteen of which were immediately available for interviews. In the end, I conducted fourteen interviews over a period of six days.

Though I interviewed fourteen women, my final analysis included only thirteen interviews as one woman asked to withdraw from the research process. The shortest recorded interview was twenty seven minutes long and the longest was two hours and twelve minutes long. In the first case, the participant answered the questions as briefly as possible. In the latter, the participant was keen to share not only her response to interview questions, but also a narrative of her life that was implicitly important to her ownership of her own small-business.

It could be argued that those with longer interviews contributed more to the outcomes of my research – effectively creating a bias. However, I was not prepared to coerce participants into prolonged interviews. Each participant contributed, in my

view, what she perceived to be of relevance not only to my research questions but also to the context of our discussion/conversation. Indeed, before or after I had turned off my digital recorder I sat with each woman while she told me about her life, both at home and at work. I have drawn on, but not included, the rich personal details that each woman imparted to me before and after our formal interview. In this way, each woman has made a unique contribution to the outcomes of my research.

3.3.3 Context and Research Positionality

In order to pursue research on place and self-employed women, I had to address the gaps between three distinct versions of reality: my own, characterizations of place in the literature, and the experiences of place described by the women I interviewed. In the process, I constantly negotiated between what I discovered, what the literature described, and what women revealed to me. Implicit in this was the role of my own subjectivities as they encountered and filtered the evidence I gathered.

I was an outsider to the Village of Gold River. I was the curious counterpart to the wayward tourist; I was an interloper at a particular moment in time in the lives of my participants. I was also an oddity. Not only did I walk everywhere in the Village, I was also a University student doing interviews on a subject that seemed peculiar to most of the residents I spoke with. It was not that self-employed women were that unusual, it was that their presence in the Village was completely normal. What's more, not many people considered them to be unique from the men who were also self-employed in the Village. In fact, some people thought I was doing a quaint project on women. A greater number - particularly those I interviewed - were outspoken and deliberate in explaining the importance of so-called 'women's business' to the community, identity, and resilience of the Village in the face of industry closure (restructuring/transition).

As a testament to that importance, the women I interviewed invited me into the places they worked: their shops, their homes, their families. I was shown studios, back rooms, guest rooms, and kitchen tables. Often an interview became a highly informal event where I was served a cup of coffee (occasionally a meal) and - more often than not - I was also introduced to husbands, children, family, and pets. My interviews often evolved into full fledged give and take conversations. I was told

stories about personal histories, family, business, and the politics that pervaded the lives of these women. I was also given insight into how women worked, why they were self-employed, and how Gold River had shaped their day to day experiences.

I was trusted with many stories but I was also always recognized as an outsider. People I talked to, as they compared their experience in the Village to mine, would make reference to my life in the 'big city'. It was never far from the conversation, or far from my mind, that my research was on people who live in a place, as opposed to research for, or with, individuals in a community.

From my perspective, the questions I asked were entirely logical, normal, and readily connected to my understanding of social and economic life in Gold River. To some of the women these same questions were amusing, or pointed, or about things they told me they never thought about. However, no matter what I asked, I believed women replied as truthfully and as reflexively as they were able.

My research, then, is an interpretation and description of the world I studied and is not an exact picture of the world lived by the women I interviewed (Charmaz 2002). Implicit in this was my ongoing reflection of the 'academic' and perceptual baggage I brought to my research. As an outsider, as a student, as a woman conducting interviews I was always conscious of how my academic background influenced the questions I asked and how I approached the interview process.

When I reviewed my interview transcripts, I realized that women's responses were also shaped by the nature and intent of my research. The women I interviewed were fully aware of the fact that I was interested in their experiences, thoughts, and views on both self-employment and Gold River. Further, they were all conscious that I was interested in this particular group of people because I was trying to draw some relationship between mill closure (restructuring) and local economic development. As a result, I think it is necessary that I write this as though I were a participant in the research (Clandinin & Connelly 1998). My research 'story' is inherently my own: I was the one who developed it, planned it, and carried it out. By extension, my experience as a researcher filtering, conceptualizing, and categorizing 'data' is implicated in the stories I heard and the evidence I gathered. However, in the

following chapters I tried to minimize my own experiences in favour of a focus on women's voices. My voice is not lost in this process. Rather, it is implicit in how I have shaped, characterized, and explained women's experiences as they were related to me. However, I have transcribed directly what I heard to preserve the conversational tone of our interview exchanges. In the interest of representing the way in which women presented themselves to me, I have reproduced here verbatim – including dialect, colloquialisms, and blended words - the conversational nuances that women used to describe their lives in the context of our interview. Some expressions that I have used in the following chapter may at first appear odd. However, I also wanted to preserve the manner of expression used by women as some adopted an overtly conversational tone, rife with particular colloquialisms that reflected, in some cases, their knowledge of English as a second language, for example.

3.3.4 Semi-Structured, Open Ended Interviews

The questions I used in my research are considered standardized open-ended questions (Patton 1990). Semi-structured interviews are used in the small body of literature on aspects of women's experience in rural, resource communities (see for example: Gibson-Graham 1994; Oberhauser 2002; Gill 1990a; 1990b; Gill & Reed 1997; Reed 1999; 2003a; 2003b; O'Toole & McGarvey 2003). Both grounded theory research and most of these past studies use interviews to explore the relationship between social processes and individual experience (Charmaz 2002). In my own research, I used semi-structured, open-ended interviews as a way to bridge the gap between the literature and my observations (Jones 1985; Lofland & Lofland 1995). I wanted to use semi-structured, open-ended questions as a tool to explore how place and place change was reflected in, and by, the women I interviewed. Also I wanted to use this type of interview because it was suggested that standardized open-ended interviews are used in research situations where time restrictions prevent more than one interview session (Patton 1990).

Put simply: I wanted to ask questions, but I also wanted to listen to stories. I wanted to listen to stories because they are a way of knowing, making sense of, and ordering the world (Seidman 1998). I also wanted to listen to stories because I did not know anything real or concrete about the experience of being a self-employed woman, much less one living and working in Gold River. Stories are acts of memory

and moments of nostalgia; they leave room for reflection and make meaning out of life (Seidman 1998). In academic practice, interviews both access and make stories (Seidman 1998). I wanted to do interviews because I thought that women's stories would give rich details that linked to women's experiences in place.

In that light, I struggled to create twelve carefully worded questions that would have resonance for women. I also wanted them to be arranged in such a way that they would guide each woman through an established sequence (Patton 1990). In keeping with Charmaz's (2002) conception of a grounded theory interview, I purposefully narrowed the range of interview topics so that I could gather specific stories that would touch on concepts that emerged, and subsequently overlapped, between the academic literature and my own observations in Gold River. I tried to create questions that were sufficiently broad. These questions had to account for a likely range of experiences and possible responses, while they also had to allow for the emergence of unknown aspects of life experiences both in Gold River and outside of it. I intentionally asked open ended questions as they allowed a certain measure of freedom for women to answer in and on their own terms (Jones 1985).

In turn, the questions I asked framed and directed the interview process (Jones 1985; Patton 1990; Charmaz 2002). I conducted each of my interviews with the understanding that each was a directed conversation (Jones 1985). This implied that I would have to strike a balance between flexibility and control in terms of listening and questioning (Charmaz 2002).

At each interview, I would try to establish a relationship with the woman I was interviewing. Besides asking them questions about their day, I would also thank them for their consent to participate. I would then ask if they had any questions including those about me personally, my research, or how I would analyze and write up their interview. In turn, I answered questions about my reasons for choosing Gold River as a study site, my rationale for focusing on women, and my particular interests as a person.

However, it was always pointedly stated or obvious, that I had never lived in a remote, rural, resource dependent community. As I have said, I carried with me the

baggage of my academic intentions and some hope that I would be able to conduct interviews of some kind. Though I had an imaginative, mental map of what towns like Gold River were like, I went to each interview with an open mind. I also went into each interview nearly ignorant, really only knowing the name of the woman I was about to interview. Consequently, my interviews spilled over the borders of my interview questions. Though I structured and directed my interview questions, there was always a regular give and take of conversation like that between strangers, acquaintances, and, in some cases, friends.

As women talked, I listened and periodically took notes. I was an active listener: I balanced my research needs with the need for women to fully tell a story (Charmaz 2002). I assumed a neutral position as a non-judgmental, relatively passive listener who avoided injecting my personal commentary into women's responses (Fontana & Frey 2000). I also paid attention to the role of non-verbal cues. Postures, gesture, voice intonation, colloquialisms, facial expression, eye contact, were ways that I gauged how well I communicated a question and in turn how women gauged me (Jones 1985). In conversational breaks, though, I would I pursue interesting or new themes and ideas as they emerged. I would ask questions that would shed light on different experiences and on the meanings of those experiences (Rubin & Rubin 1995).

The conversations that were my interviews were confounded and confronted by two sets of expectations: mine and those of the participants. I can speak freely and knowledgeably of my own and I can frankly say that I attended each interview with the expectation that women would be as honest with me as possible. I was, however, asking them to provide near instantaneous responses to questions that they may not have thought about before. However, the answers and stories I received in exchange for my questions were always reflective. In some cases, I asked questions about the nature of that woman's work, both paid and unpaid. Where it was relevant, appropriate, and initiated by women themselves, I asked about spouses, children, other family, finances, hobbies, and dreams. When I was asked about my own life, I would reply honestly believing an interview to be a true exchange of confidences. Consequently, I viewed the interview exchange as a complex, shifting, social process that was co-created at a specific time, in a specific

place by the woman I was interviewing and by me (Kobayashi 2001). My research is not value free; I acknowledge that the story I have told – my research - is my own (Denzin & Lincoln 1994).

3.4 Constructing Data

I was careful interpreting and representing the views, words, experiences, and comments of self-employed women. In this chapter I have tried to show I have spent time thinking about how my research was shaped by theory, practice, and experience. I cannot account for everything. My thesis - as an outgrowth of my research - was as much about exploring the influence of place and place-based change on self-employed women as it was about the process of creating research on it. Put more plainly: my work is as much about my personal experience as a researcher as it is about the subject.

Through engagement with all types of literature, with the Village of Gold River, and with the women who participated in interviews I have strived for a rigorous conceptual presentation of what I have experienced, learned, and seen (Baxter & Eyles 1997; Denzin 2004). I have tried to ground my research by constantly comparing the differences and similarities between the literature, my interviews, and my experiences in Gold River (Strauss & Corbin 1990). In turn, I have created with conceptual categories that reflect how I interpreted the multiple understandings of place, particularly those that were reflected in the lived experience of place for women (Strauss 1987; Strauss & Corbin 1990). By doing this I have shown how my research has taken shape through a multiplicity of ideologies, biases, and other subjectivities that have colored how I made sense and represented my research (Ley & Mountz 2001). This section, then, reviews how I created transcripts of interviews and how I subsequently analyzed and assimilated the literature, my observations, and the material from interviews.

3.4.1 Transcripts

Each of my interviews was recorded on a digital recorder. These digital files were subsequently uploaded onto to my laptop. Though Strauss and Corbin (1990) have suggested that interviews do not need to be wholly transcribed, in the month that

followed my interviews, I spent an enormous amount of time meticulously transcribing - verbatim - those interviews. To capture the full context of the stories I heard I felt compelled to transcribe the full length of each interview. Also I wanted to read the full interview text so that I could highlight (and re-highlight) sections, emerging themes, and poignant stories. In the process, I faithfully transcribed conversational pauses, interruptions, laughter, and slang. I invented spelling for the ways in which women said certain words. Using my field notes, I tried to create a full textual account of my interviews. The result was 169 pages of text. This provided a rich source of data that formed the basis for both my conceptual analysis and my thesis.

3.4.2 Analysis

After having transcribed my interviews, I was initially overwhelmed by the amount of information I had gathered. I also recognized that I needed to break it down, conceptualize it, and then (re)create new ways of understanding RDCs as lived places (Strauss 1987; Strauss & Corbin 1990; Charmaz 2002). Dye *et al.* (2000) called this process 'constant comparison': a recurring review of all research evidence to select key themes that can be linked by concepts. To that end, my dinner table/desk overflowed with papers, scratch diagrams, outlines, and sticky notes. I spent months sitting at that table highlighting, re-highlighting, and otherwise pouring over a mountain of evidence.

To sort through and make conceptual sense of my research, I modified a system of coding procedures that was developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990). To build theory, or in my case to build a system of understanding, from collected research, they suggested using a three-step process of data analysis that was designed to collect themes, develop theoretical sensitivity, and create categories for use in an overarching conceptual analysis (Strauss & Corbin 1990). I relied on a simplified version of their graduated system of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding to create a series of concepts that, when taken together, represent an interpretive analysis of my empirical research. Essentially, I used a series of repeated reviews of my collected material and reduced them to basic principles, ideas, and events.

I used open coding to group and label repeated themes into categories (Strauss & Corbin 1990). Essentially, I carefully combed my data until I began to find groups of

related ideas. I gave each set of ideas a name. For example, I labelled one of my first categories 'change'. Change had two dimensions or levels of impact: personal and community. Change was also represented by two basic perceptions: it was either beneficial or constraining. Change brought about two types of adaptive behaviours: scaling-back or growth. By fleshing out how change could be conceptualized in my research I began to see how concepts could be arranged into categories that could be compared side by side (Strauss & Corbin 1990). I then took those categories back to my empirical findings to compare how those ideas were represented. Line by line I gauged how categories of ideas fit with what was being said in my interviews and subsequently in the literature. Finally, those categories that did not fit or that seemed forced were then abandoned.

In order to draw out linkages or relationships between themes, I created a number of idea sets (categories) that best represented the literature, my experiences, and interview exchanges (Strauss & Corbin 1990). Strauss and Corbin (1990) have suggested that categories must be set across a dimensional range according to complex sets of contexts, causal conditions, and intervening events that link categories together. I simply tried to find an appropriate time line and a common thread that bound categories together. I knew I had reached 'saturation' or an end when I kept re-creating the same categories.

My analysis, in short, was an ongoing process: I continually compared and winnowed down ideas, categories, and concepts to validate that my core theme – place – was indeed central to my research. Taken together, these categories reflected a number of themes but they had a central, overarching principle. Through selective coding, a repeated interrogation of the links between sets of categories (ideas), I isolated a central principle around which the story of my research could be conceptualized (Strauss & Corbin 1990). Ultimately, what emerged through my ongoing reflection, introspection, and analysis are a subjectively defined set of concepts that describe how place has influenced the experiences of self-employed women in Gold River.

3.5 Recognized Limitations

I have included a brief discussion on limitations. I was reluctant to include this section, just as I was certain that it needed to be included. I was reluctant because the word 'limitations' conjures questions of validity. Maxwell (1996) suggests that

validity in qualitative research is related to the credibility of findings. More specifically, the concept of validity relates to the accuracy and/or trustworthiness of my findings. But what interpretive act of qualitative research is ever completely valid or completely false? In effect, I worked hard to represent the processes of my research, the responses of my participants, and my analysis as honestly and as true-to-life as was possible. The findings I have reported here are, in fact, an honest account of the empirical evidence I gathered in a particular time and place.

However, Maxwell (1996) also suggested that qualitative researchers need reflection on ways in which they might be wrong, misinformed, or potentially misrepresentative/inaccurate. In terms of validity, as I describe in this section, I could have enhanced the thoroughness of my research (rigor). I could have also made more site visits, all at different times, just as I could have asked more questions. However, my research remains contextually grounded and reflective of the experiences I had in Gold River.

Rigorous qualitative research, according to Baxter and Eyles (1997), is based on eleven criteria. I have met all of these conditions with three exceptions: 1) I did not have a year long field season; 2) I did not revisit the women a number of times; and 3) I did not ask my participants to re-read or verify the accuracy of their interviews. In my defence, I was a researcher who was extremely limited in terms of time and money. The ten site visits I did make were all that I could afford. Having said that, I did revisit three of the women I interviewed. However, when I last visited Gold River I had not yet finalized interview transcripts. I had asked in my participant consent letter that women review their interview transcripts. I also asked them, personally, if they would review their interviews. However, some women were quite forthright in telling me that they did not need or want to go over them. Others suggested they trusted me to write the 'truth'. Another told me she was far too busy but asked if she could read a copy of my thesis when it was finished. Given constraints on my time and money, I left my interviews as they were: conversations that were bounded and shaped by two people in a particular time and a particular place.

The timing of my research did play out in terms of women's responses to my interview questions. My interviews took place in the days that followed BC Hydro's decision not to award a contract to Green Island Energy for a bio-mass burning facility at the former mill site. That decision was repeatedly mentioned in my interviews as a point of comparison between what the mill used to bring to the Village and what the abandoned mill-site could not in terms of future economic development potential. I believe this was a limitation simply because it had a direct influence on how women, at that time, perceived the future of the Village. For some women BC Hydro's decision prompted nostalgia for the past and for others pessimism for the future. I am certain that if I were there before that decision or if I had re-interviewed women in the months after it, I would have received different and, perhaps, more reflective answers to my questions.

The timing of my interviews and the time I had to do them, also speaks to my regret at not having asked more questions. However, I was interviewing women who were constantly on the go moving between their paid work and unpaid commitments to their families, community groups, and themselves. In some cases, my interviews were shoehorned between a series of interruptions and obligations. For example, I carried out one interview in a woman's home, a space that also doubled as her office. When I arrived at her house, she made it clear that she had precisely one hour and ten minutes to do an interview before she had to pick up her son from school. Our interview was sandwiched between the arrival and departure of clients, an equipment delivery, her son's lunch preparation, and a number of phone calls. She seemed unfazed by the activity, but I was unsettled. Though she assured me otherwise, I was convinced I was taking up far too much of her time. In turn, feeling pressured, I kept my eye on the clock and did not ask after some of her stories in the way that would have shed light on some of the things she said. I had to accept that part of conducting an interview involves a respect for the time participants have and the fact I would never know or be certain of absolutely everything.

In that light: was my research valid? I am confident that it is reliable. Reliability is typically, in quantitative research, considered the degree to which research is replicable. However, in qualitative research, reliability refers to dependability or the degree of consistency and trustworthiness of the empirical evidence and ensuing

analysis. To that end, I truly believe that I have generated highly valid (accurate) and reliable (dependable) research. My research and analysis are, to reiterate, true-to-life representations of my experiences as they were contextually and temporally bounded. However, in the interests of rigor I have attempted to address the issues of reliability and validity through the use of multiple methods. It has been suggested that questions of validity and reliability can be addressed through the use of multiple methods and saturation (Atkinson & Hammersley 1994; Maxwell 1996; Dewalt & Dewalt 2002). In terms of saturation, I explored the overlap between my empirical data until I could no longer find new themes or generate any new concepts. I am satisfied that I did what I could, to the best of my ability, with the resources I had. Indeed, I have concluded that qualitative research does not always completely answer research questions but often creates more of them.

3.6 Final Thoughts

My research was an academic exercise that served to explore gaps in existing literature while also seeking to add to the discourse on women and resource dependent communities in transition. That said, I also used and applied the powers of observation to the Village of Gold River. In turn, I developed a research objective from which I developed a list of research questions. I then applied these to inform interviews with a selected set of self-employed women.

My research was entirely exploratory and interpretive. As a result, my research was structured by academic literature on resource dependent communities but was informed by evidence I gathered in the Village of Gold River. My thesis evolved from a constant comparison between the literature on RDCs and my personal experience as a researcher in the Village. In the end, qualitative methodologies and methods were implicit in creating a piece of legitimate research that I hope will generate new ways of thinking about RDCs as places that impact and are impacted by women.

Chapter 4 -- Women and the Influence of Place

I like the place. I invested here - Lana

4.0 Introduction

My research is informed not only by the literature on RDCs, but also by the empirical evidence that was supported by my own in-situ observations and by thirteen semi-structured interviews with self-employed women in Gold River, BC. It took eight site visits for me to approach self-employed women for an interview. In that time, I visited their shops, I ate at their restaurants, and I bought gas from their service stations. I collected their business cards and I read advertisements for their services in the Gold River Record and in the local phone directory.

Our interviews took place in November 2004. I thought that a rainy month in late fall would somehow mean that these women would have more time for me. The tourist season was long since over, there were no events posted in the community calendar, and – Remembrance Day aside – the schools were operating a regular 5 day schedule. It was, I had been assured by the Village clerk, a relatively slow month. While a relatively slow month for some, for the women I interviewed it was business as usual. Subsequently, my interviews took place at women's workplaces: we were interrupted by clients or customers, curious husbands, runaway dogs. They also took place on picnic benches on coffee breaks and after one woman had closed her shop for the night, before she went home to work on her accounting, supply orders, and a shelf she had to assemble for a shop display. My interviews took place as women were working: making lunches for children, caring for elderly relatives, on-call at their other workplaces, bussing restaurant tables, repairing tires, doing their books. Feminist researchers who have found themselves in my position, such as Mackenzie (1999) and Gibson-Graham (1994), have asked a similar question: how did these women cope?

I felt helpless and useless as I sat there with my digital recorder and a list of questions. But the women I interviewed were - by their own admission - happy to talk to me. Some of them thought it was nice to have company. Others welcomed

the opportunity to openly discuss their business with someone who did not live in Gold River. Yet others were hesitant, shy, perfunctory until I turned off my recorder. All of the women I spoke with were candid about who they were, how they were as self-employed women, and what effects living in Gold River had on them.

I had developed a list of twelve questions that served as a starting point and a directional frame for a series of conversations that were my interviews. Emerging out of these 13 interview/conversations was a dense set of narratives that were about self-employment, about community, and about personal experiences. Although relatively thematic, these narratives were difficult to separate into distinct attributes. I asked about the lived experiences of women and their day-to-day lives. More often than not a story, a comment, a way of life could not be broken down into particular 'variables', 'categories', or 'basic considerations' as they were described in the literature. For example, some women's ability to access financial resources was deeply tied to their social networks, social networks were in turn taken-for-granted parts of life. What does that mean in the context of self-employed women? When you are short on cash you turn to your spouse, your family, your friends: 'it is what we all do' (Anna).

My research then, in the academic contexts, is research focused on the 'mundane'—the day to day, taken for granted realities of women (Atkinson & Hammersley 1994; Strauss & Corbin 1998). Having said that, I have tried to unite particular themes from the literature with what I both saw in Gold River and heard in my interviews. There were some thematic similarities and there were some exceptions. I have tried, in this respect, to include as many interview quotes as possible. Some names appear more often than others simply because - on my recordings/transcripts - some women expressed themselves in such a way that their thoughts/words/transcripts captured similar experiences that were related to me by other women whose comments were made after I had turned off my digital recorder.

However, as I reviewed interview transcripts, I was reliant on two sources of information to provide context, conceptual grounding, and points of comparison that informed my analysis. Firstly, I used personal observation and the conversations I had with residents as a means of incorporating and understanding the experience of

change in Gold River. Secondly, I used the academic literature as a conceptual framework.

I used the Markey *et al.*'s (2005) characterizations of socio-economic development in RDCs that described phases of dependence, transition, and resilience (see chapter two). Much of that literature focused on descriptive and statistical characterizations that focused on the creation, existence, and subsequent outcomes of transition for RDCs. Embedded in these phases were themes and social indicators related to the nature of employment, place-based identity, well-being, and increasingly, social capacity/capital.

Literature on RDCs could not account for the presence of self-employed women, nor did it provide a frame of reference for alternative (non-industrial) types of employment in RDCs. In an effort to address some of the factors that had influenced women's livelihood strategies, I also drew on academic literature that focused on women's self-employment. My intention was to locate discursive spaces in which self-employed women could, or would, be entered into the discourse on RDCs, particularly in terms of current socio-economic development (CED). More importantly, I wanted to demonstrate that self-employed women make use of the place-based resources which in turn enable them to make particular contributions to the community in which they live. Indeed, characterizations of RDCs in the academic literature and my personal observations have demonstrated that women make use of and create the places they live – the physical landscape, social character, and local exchanges of socio-economic capital. Subsequently, this chapter borrows concepts from previous academic literature on RDCs. At the same time, I hope my research will also add new dimensions to it. In particular, I hope that my research positions women as important as both paid and unpaid workers who, through their participation in socio-economic networks grounded in place, have an influence on the outcomes of the community of Gold River.

In turn, I followed the lead of the academic literature and have divided this chapter into two sections: paid work and unpaid work. I have also framed these two sub-sections with the concept of restructuring: many of my interviews began with and/or touched on the various impacts of industry-based restructuring on the Village of Gold

River. Although it had been five years since the closure of the mill, restructuring had and continued to mark the lives of women in Gold River. Transition - place-based change – demonstrates how women have shaped place just as Gold River has shaped their lives and livelihoods.

As a final note, I have used pseudonyms. I developed a list of names that I arbitrarily assigned to these women. In that context, I did not try and hide the details of their experiences, nor what they told me. However, if they did not discuss certain aspects of their private lives - details about their business, home life, income, et cetera – I did not specifically refer to those experiences here. Instead, I have tried to rely on comparisons and relative similarities between women. I have tried to use a sufficient amount of generality and detail so as to make my point while also protecting some of the confidences that were part of my interviews. It follows, that differences between women outweigh the similarities: the only attributes they fully shared were an appreciation for, and a permanent address in Gold River. Their experiences, like their addresses, were distinctly different. Table 1 introduces and provides a synopsis of the women I interviewed.

As the following table demonstrates, there is little similarity between the women I interviewed in terms of their length of residency or length of self-employment in the Village. Although some could argue that this dissimilarity detracts from the validity of my findings. However, what it demonstrates is the relative similarity of experiences shared between the women, particularly in terms of their perceived role in defining community, identity, and the economic assets of Gold River. The diversity of the women I interviewed also speaks to the diversity of the literature on RDCs, as it describes both the history of Gold River as a typical RDC, as an RDC in transition, and as an RDC that capitalizes on its own internal economic/social assets in the interest of local community economic development. For example, the experiences of long term residents (those who have lived in the Village for more than ten-fifteen years) have been profoundly shaped by the Gold River as a mill-dependent community. Conversely, the experiences of women who have recently moved to the Village have been shaped by the social/economic reality of Gold River as a community in transition. All of these women's experiences, however, are embedded in the processes of community economic development as it is ongoing in

the Village, as these self-employed women are inherently using place-based assets to create their own livelihood strategies.

Table 1: Summary of Interview Participants

Participant	Age	Residency in Gold River (# of Years)	Reasons For Move to Gold River	Number of Dependents	Years Self-Employed	Nature of Self-employment
Anna	34	1	Self-Employment	4	1 (in Gold River)	Artisanal, co-owned with spouse
Gina	34	5.5	Personal, Economic	0	3	Artisanal, Works independently
Greta	75	6	Retirement	0	3	Service, Works independently with occasional help from son
Jill	62	10	Retirement	0	8	Service, Business co-owned with spouse
Lana	41	14	Personal, Economic	2	8	Service, 1 Part time employee
Ella	35	14	Personal, Economic	3	10	Service, Works independently
Beth	48	17	Spouse's Employment in the Village	2	3	Service/Artisanal, Works with help from family
Karen	56	25	Spouse's Employment at Mill(s)	2	8	Service, Works independently with occasional help from spouse
Iona	74	34	Spouse's Employment at Mill(s)	0	24 (+10 years in a different location)	Service, Works independently with help from friends
Lee	46	36	Grew up in Gold River	0	8	Service, Works independently
Katherine	57	38	Spouse's Employment at Mill(s)	0	20	Service, 1 part time employee
Sara	41	39	Grew up in Gold River	3	20	Service, Business co-owned with spouse
Laura	61	39	Spouse's Employment at Mill(s)	2	24	Service, 2 full time employees, 1 part time

4.1 Paid Work

Oberhauser *et al.* (2004:206) have suggested that women 'carve out livelihoods to support themselves, their families, and their communities in diverse contexts'. These multiple livelihood strategies are grounded and embedded in the places where women live. In turn, place-based communities serve as sites where women make use of both constraints and opportunities as they arise in their day-to-day reality. In part, women's livelihood strategies are informed by local change, as well as by their ability to access and make use of available resources (social, financial, personal capital). Reciprocally, self-employed women also make contributions to the social and financial well-being of their households and the broader community. Livelihoods, however, are not 9-to-5, they are all encompassing and represent a 'plurality of experiences' and strategies (Oberhauser 2002).

4.1.1 Multiple Strategies

Current research on women's self-employment has focused on women's rationale for entering into self-employment (Edwards & Hendrey 2002; Apitzsch 2003; Hughes 2003; Georgellis & Wall 2005), women's homes as sites of paid work (Mackenzie 1999; Oberhauser 2002), the value of place-based social capital in shaping self-employment practices and success (Rowe *et al.* 1999; Westlund & Bolton 2003; Vennesland 2004; Warren 2004), the multiple contributions of self-employment to place-based communities (O'toole & McGarvey 2003), shifting gender identities (Gibson-Graham 1994; Halseth & Ryser 2004; Osnowitz 2005), differences in income between self-employed women and men (Bird *et al.* 2001), collectives of self-employed women (Mackenzie 1986; Oberhauser 2002), and self-employment as a livelihood strategy (Oberhauser *et al.* 2004). In this literature, women are broadly characterized as craftworkers, child care providers, and service workers. Similarly, the 2001 Census reported that of the 485 women who reported employment in Gold River, 385 were employed in 'service' industries. These generalized descriptions mask strategies, skills, and types of work that women use within the context of their self-employment.

Strict 'occupations' become difficult to define as the majority of women interviewed were engaged in multiple simultaneous strategies that secure their income; most of these are not readily categorized. The women I interviewed are all self-employed.

However, the broad terms such as 'service', 'retail', or 'handicrafts' masks the diversity of activities that constitute self-employment strategies for these women. At a general level of analysis, these women can all be associated with 'service' based work. However, given the constraints imposed by the size of Gold River, its location, and its economic situation self-employed women are generally reliant on a host of strategies that could be considered both retail and service related work. The women I interviewed were involved in a wide range of income generating strategies that can be categorized in three ways: 1) those who are strictly self-employed in one particular kind of activity; 2) those who are self-employed in two or more unrelated activities, and 3) those who hold paid positions, as employees, in addition to their self-employment.

Women are all simultaneously engaged in multiple types of work that constitute their paid employment. Broadly, in terms of their self-employment, women could be considered workers in the service industry. However, those services - in and of themselves - are also differing: they provided services for tourists and services for residents, services for forestry based industries, and services that were dependent on markets well beyond the municipal borders of Gold River. I use the term activity because, taken together, these women can be considered retail workers, health workers, restaurateurs, entrepreneurs, hospitality workers, shop keepers, real estate agents, clerical workers, gardeners, chefs, municipal employees, art dealers, and bookkeepers.

That said, at an individual level, each woman pursued a host of varying strategies that contributed to self-employment. Ella represented one of those women for which the term 'service' translated into a host of income generating activities that were all related to a general type of occupation. In this case Ella was self-employed in the area of health. She simultaneously provided a number of services:

Ella: I call it a service business - I don't know - I teach group and private ... classes. I have worked with [a number of public service agencies] with a few clients...I sell... all the goodies that go with that. ... And I do [a kind of counselling] all under one roof! ...So the only reason is if I was to do one of those here - I know that we don't have the population - and I wouldn't make it. So kinda, its all kinda linked together...So I just kinda keep it all linked.

Ella, like most of the women I interviewed, has combined sets of services that has allowed her to effectively diversify her core self-employment activities. As a result, Ella was able to access, appeal to, and take advantage of the needs that were embedded in the larger 'market': a broader range of residents and tourists in Gold River.

Some women not only diversified their core activity, in some cases they had also sought alternative and supplemental types of opportunities that contributed to household incomes. Karen had suggested that multiple self-employment activities emerged as a place-based opportunity that she felt compelled to pursue:

Karen: And if you see an opportunity, sometimes women just go ahead and take the opportunity. I don't think you had many men who said we should start a bed and breakfast... I was like, listen these are guys who are gonna be working mill shuts [sic] and need places to stay, we can make some money.

As she recognized the supplementary economic advantage of opening her home to boarders, Karen then actively recruited men who would pay 'rent'. Although this new venture was initially compromising, it ultimately became beneficial. With the proceeds of that supplemental income she has been able to build a series of structures around her property that house those workers. She has also used that additional income to invest in her home business:

Karen: yeah, so we started it [the bed and breakfast]. When we started it – when I started it – I had a friggin' curtain separating the living room. I had them sleeping in the living room. I didn't have central air. I didn't have a metal roof on. I didn't have new windows. These are all things the bed and breakfast paid for... that all went in afterwards. As the money came in I reinvested it [in her home].

Within the group of women I interviewed, 2 other women supplemented their incomes by also taking in boarders that were either forestry workers and/or other types of visitors to Gold River. For Jill, who retired to the Village, the boarders and tourists were a sufficient source of income, social interaction, and responsibility:

Jill: In the summertime it is really, really busy. If we've got day-by-day people then it depends if they are going on the Uchuk or that. We can be up at 5 o'clock in the morning and not get to bed 'til 11 o'clock at night. If no one's here, we can have a nap during the day. But long hours, lots of hours during the summer time because we've got lots of people coming and going

all the time; it's very constant. We've become very, very successful with the bed and breakfast... I used to have a job here doing homecare, I had to quit the job because this was too busy. I couldn't do both.

Additionally, Jill had a steady source of income and social activity with one particular boarder:

Jill: Well, we've got two steady guys. One guy has been with us for 5 years. He comes four days a week. He works over at Western... he's a boarder. He gets the room. He cooks here. I keep a candy dish for him - he's got a sweet tooth.

Strategies deployed by these women were not only motivated by financial considerations, they were also founded on emotion and were crucial to individual women's sense of worth and self-determination. Most women felt they were doing something innovative, interesting, and important for the people for whom they were providing a 'service'. Further, women are able to create and support new kinds of relationships that represent alternative types of social contact and financial income.

Self-employment, as a host of combined strategies, was also implicit in the well-being of most women. For example, Iona offered:

Iona: I don't need it [money] - I am an old age pensioner. It [her business] keeps me sane...I don't make that much money but I keep happy.

For Iona that happiness was in having a purpose that not only contributed to her pension-based income, but was rooted in her day-to-day experience of her reality, giving her something to do in her retirement. It appealed to Iona's particular skill set but was, more importantly, how she preferred to present herself to residents in Gold River; it was how she identified herself- and distinguished herself - within the broader population.

It was also a source of social engagement. After 36 years of self-employment Iona claimed that her job was a point of access into multiple social networks that she maintained through her business. Iona deeply appreciated the type of social interaction that her home-based business brought to her because it was both socially and intellectually stimulating.

In this sense, identity was based on a particular sense of lived autonomy and purpose that defined part of women's membership to the community of Gold River and within their individual households. Identity and purpose, however, were also tied to personal satisfaction and sense of achievement. As Anna commented:

Anna: Everyday I sit down [at work] and I am thrilled! I am thrilled that our [business] is ours! We don't have to account to anybody except each other and our children, you know. And as long as we can provide enough money for them, I am happy.

Self-employment as an income generating strategy was a way for women to validate who they were as was expressed by what they did. In this context, what they did was deeply associated with their 'business', their capacities to organize and provide for themselves, and by extension, to their identity and the economy of their households.

In some respects, women were banking on their knowledge, skills, talent, and processes of entrepreneurial learning (Warren 2004) to provide for themselves, their respective families, and their social networks. They understood their self-employment to be an outgrowth of their own interests - financial, social, household, personal, and otherwise. Their work was a strategic use and expression of multiple personal/economic/social relationships and represented an investment in the social life of Gold River and in their own personal responsibilities.

In turn, all the women I interviewed suggested that, in part, they maintained their self-employment because that had financial, emotional, and social investments in it. All women expressed this sort of dialectic: they had invested both time and money into an enterprise that became part of their cultural-economic identity that they could not or would not abandon. As an example, Lana maintained her investments both in place and in her business with hope for future financial returns:

Lana: You expect [in] business that [you are] supposed to [get] ahead... But that is just my view of people having a business. However, my business right now - I am not going ahead. It is more like I work for business that pays me very little money and that is what I live with. That is the reason I stay, because that is what I have been hearing - there is supposed to be something big going on [in Gold River].

In turn, the staid financial situation in Gold River has also forced some women to seek out alternative forms of paid work as a means of supplementing their self-employment income. Two of the women I interviewed were not only self-employed, they were also employed at full-time jobs in Gold River. For both Beth and Lee, self-employment was identity, membership, and an income in Gold River but in such a way that it was also tied to their occupational identity as full time paid-workers for other businesses in the Village. Their multiple-roles, as employee and self-employed, arose primarily out of restructuring events. In turn, self-employment for women in the village represents a complement of strategies from the emotional to the financial that have profoundly marked the personal, financial, and community lives of women.

4.1.2 Restructuring

The closure of the pulp mill in 1999 has been attributed to global competition, aging infrastructure, and steadily increasing production costs (Daily Commercial News and Construction Record 1999). As a result, Gold River's population decreased by 54% between 1996 to 2001. The effect of this closure and subsequent job losses were heightened by the previous closure of the smaller newsprint mill in 1993, and by a prolonged period of forestry industry downsizing. Though the municipal government, local business owners, and the provincial government had initiated a host of compensatory economic and employment strategies to mitigate the effects of community transition, forestry industry restructuring has profoundly marked the day-to-day experiences of all current residents of Gold River.

Some of the literature has suggested that restructuring events 'pull' people into self-employment (e.g. Hughes 2003). In terms of the women I interviewed, restructuring has simultaneously served to create constraints and opportunities in terms of self-employment. Constraints and opportunities are not mutually exclusive; in each of my interviews, the constraints (financial, emotional, social) imposed by place-based social or economic systems have been balanced by the perceived benefits of living in Gold River. As community transition has affected aspects of women's self-employment, it also has prompted multiple responses.

Of the 13 women I interviewed, 10 were self-employed prior to the closure of the pulp mill. As a result, I have divided this subsection into 2 parts: 1) the constraints and responses imposed on self-employed women by mill closure; and 2) the opportunities presented to women as a result of mill closure. These two parts are also representative of those who were self-employed before restructuring (part 1) and those who became self-employed in Gold River following it (part 2). Regardless, in my experience, restructuring events have served in some senses to strengthen women's commitment to self-employment.

4.1.2.1 Constraints Imposed on Self-Employed Women

The constraints – financial, social, and emotional – imposed by industry restructuring were most keenly felt by those who lived in Gold River prior to the closure of the pulp mill. For some, like Lana, closure was particularly devastating. For purely economic motives, Lana had moved to the Village eight years before the mill closed and had, two years prior to closure, purchased a restaurant in the Village shopping centre. Asked why she moved to Gold River, Lana replied:

Lana: It's just because of the job at that time: there was a lot of work here and good money then. You know if you come here, apply for a job they ask you to start right away. It is a small town, it is a little bit less to live here...that is the reason why I moved to Gold River.

After assuming full control of her restaurant, Lana profited:

Lana: Oh, it was good business then. You know back then in 1997 – there's good money around here. It's everybody's working. It's a very rich small town. So business is really good then. You know, I paid off this business in 2 years? ... that's how good business is.

However, 2 years later Lana was deeply affected by and continues to be affected by the mill. Asked about the effect of closure, she replied:

Lana: Oh, oh, oh, big time! Sales dropped by almost 75%. I have to fire - let go - so many workers, I had three [types of employees] before; they're all gone. [Her other type of employees] most of them gone, except one that I kept from before. And all my pizza boys are gone. It affected taxes. It affected employment. It affected entirely the whole community, not just the business... It's kind a like we have too tight pants now. Just for example, I have saved a little bit for my kids education. I have to use that. So I don't have money now - anymore - for my kids education... The reason I hang on is

I invested so much money and time in it [her business]. This is like a \$80,000 investment that I know I can't really turn my back on...

In Lana's case self-employment became a liability that constrained her choices and potentially impaired her children's future. However, Lana - working and relying primarily on her combined abilities as chef, waitress, and manager - continues to depend on her restaurant as a means of income. However, she had recently put her restaurant up for sale and was pursuing further education. During breaks between customers, Lana studies for the correspondence courses she is taking in hopes of a new career.

Similarly, Iona - who had lived in the Village for 35 years and who had been self-employed through her business for roughly the same amount of time - discussed at length the effect of pulp mill closure on her life. She referred to mill closure in particular in this way:

Iona: I have lost 75% of my business in the last 6 years. I used to make 60, 70 thousand dollars a year, sometimes more than that. Now, I am lucky to make 6 or 10 thousand... There was times, when the mill was going, for example, and we had 2000 more people, I used to make arrangements at Christmas-time for the Village, for their workers. Today they have 6 [workers]! I used to make sometimes 20 and 30 flower arrangements for Christmas for the mill and all their workers! Today they're gone and I don't make them anymore. They're gone. Ummm, what else? What else have I lost? Those were the big ones... Well, the school is all the same. The school used to buy for all the teachers, today they don't - they can't afford it.

Though Iona had quantified her financial losses, she had been previously emotionally affected by industry-based change and downsizing. She told the following story:

Iona: He [her late husband] worked at the mill site. And he worked there for 18 -19 years then all of a sudden he come home and his face was all white and I could tell that something had happened. And I said, what's wrong? And he said, I've just lost my job - they're cutting back on staff, and I've lost my job. Well! I pretty near lost him. He felt that he was no good anymore. He felt that nobody wanted him. He was... fifty two and where could he get a job? It was hard: too young for a pension, too old to find a job. And the only thing that kept us going was my little business. And for a year he sat in a chair and moped. I didn't know what I was goin' to do with him.

And one day, he come out and he stood and watched me and said: what can I do to help? I said, you could go out and pick up some flowers. They sold like crazy. And he felt important. And from that time on he joined me in my business and we were fine.

Her business then, served to buffer her household against changed circumstances. The financial and emotional effects proved to be a temporary constraint. Iona's business was also a source of adaptive response to change. It also bolstered Iona's commitment to self-employment as it became an expression of self-worth and sense of well-being, just as it became the source of household income.

Lee was also affected by the closure of the mill and the regional decline in the forestry industry. In contrast, however, restructuring had a negative effect on both her sense of self and well-being as it severely impacted the economics of her household. Lee related the following:

Lee: ...4 years ago they spent - just the logging division itself - \$36 000 dollars on [product] in my shop. In one year! And then it just crashed and went down from there because they started going into bankruptcy and they weren't buying signs unless it was really necessary. So, that's the kind of thing that, you know, that put me under because they were my primary client. Yeah, so that's what's put me under and I just kept going with my own credit, with my own credit rating to keep credit lines going so I could pay my suppliers and keep on going. But you know, interest just eats you alive and then you can't keep up.

I just wanted to keep on going, didn't want to give up on [her business]. [I was] sort of optimistic that the town was going to pick up and things were going to get better real quick. But it has taken quite a few years. We had to, in the way of claiming bankruptcy that it doesn't affect my husband's business or credit rating, it just affects my own... yeah, so that is how I live. I draw on credit. Sometimes you got to do what you got to do right?

Lee has continued to run her business out of her home that also doubles as her shop. However, she was also forced to find alternative employment. In some senses, she described this as a relief. As opposed to the inconsistencies of her contract-based business, work at the log processing facility provided a steady, predictable income. Although forestry industry restructuring severely affected her emotionally and financially – and taxed her adaptive capacities - she still maintained a positive connection to the Village. She not only feels deeply attached to place, she also has taken to using her skills and resources to create signage – voluntarily - for local community groups. Restructuring has also provided her the opportunity and time to explore her own creative talents.

However, like Lee, other women have also deployed a host of adaptive responses to community transition and industry-based restructuring. Katherine took drastic action to mitigate the effects of pulp mill closure. She told me:

Katherine: And then we actually moved out of Gold River too, when the pulp mill shut down. We moved down to Qualicum Beach for a year; we were operating in two places at once for awhile. Because when the pulp mill shut down [her spouse] lost his job. And I thought we were going to leave. So we, my daughter and I, we used to run the store together and uh, we started looking around for a place to move it because we thought we were leaving here. We closed [the business].

We ended up moving back at the end of a year... We lost our jobs, so that was pretty major. Business wise, well everybody loses. 400 people here in town lost their jobs so business was cut in half and we decided we were goin' to have to move to survive which turned out not to be true... It was too much work. And people here kept asking me to come back. So, in the end, we decided to open it up again.

In this sense, Katherine was constrained by the financial investment made in moving and – like other women, such as Iona - the vagaries of her husband's employment prospects in Gold River. As she explained to me, the return of her business served to provide a locally-based retailer that expanded shopping options in Gold River, it also became an emblem of community spirit and resilience. In turn, Katherine also gained a new sense of self-worth and purpose given the role her business played - both physically and symbolically - in the community.

4.1.2.2 Opportunities That Enable Self-Employment for Women

In turn, there were some women in the Village who were not directly affected by the restructuring in the forestry industry or the closure of the mills. For these women the closure of the mills provided opportunity but also, simultaneously, represented change in their day to day lives. This change was manifest in multiple-ways that were reflected in women's self-employment. For three women in particular, restructuring in Gold River provided the right context, circumstances, and conditions that enabled them to pursue self-employment.

For these women, moving to Gold River after the pulp mill closed, allowed them to take advantage of depressed housing prices, the low cost of living, and the physical setting. Additionally, in spite of a destabilized population, Gold River still had a

number of recreational amenities, health services, good schools, low municipal taxes, and the promise of renewed development at the former mill site. These elements, combined with the Village's site and situation, were all influential in luring women. In effect, Gold River provided a unique opportunity to either engage in or expand on their capacities for self-employment.

For example, Anna had been self-employed for a number of years. An artisan, she had previously used her home in Nanaimo as an art studio. When her husband lost his job, however, they both decided to pursue self-employment together as artisans. Anna, who at the time of our interview had lived and been self-employed in the Village for 1 year, commented:

Anna: It is kind of fascinating talking to all the people who have moved here. And then, there's us: a young family looking for a different opportunity in life...

We were looking on the Internet and we thought – ideally- we would really like to not have a big mortgage: we would really like to be within a certain price range. So we plunked in on that wonderful MLS listing what we needed in a house and what we wanted to see. So, you press search and up comes Gold River. And [her husband] and I both looked at each other and laughed...It only took three houses and we looked at when we thought, we can do this, why not?

We were really focused. We knew we had the business package already a-go: we were just trying to figure out where to set it up. So, when we found our house you know it had 4 bedrooms upstairs, 1.5 bathrooms upstairs, an office, a rec room, a huge laundry room, a fenced backyard... it was everything our family needed.

For Anna and her spouse, Gold River afforded an unexpected opportunity to explore self-employment in conditions that were suited to their immediate and future needs: a small, safe community, lowered cost of living, and affordable housing. It also meant, for her spouse a return home. His parents lived in the community and he had spent some years there himself. In turn, Gold River offered them the opportunity to be closer to family; it was a community in which they could raise children. This arrangement facilitated Anna's move into a studio-store space in the downtown and her husband's parents were initially able to look after her children while she was at work.

Like some other women I interviewed, Gina moved to the Village looking for a different type of opportunity, one which offered the most autonomy in the organization of her economic life and, in turn, the terms of her employment. Unlike Anna, self-employment was not a goal but rather an outcome of Gina's move to Gold River. She shared the following:

Gina: I like the creative energy. I would, I prefer not to be in a community like this I prefer to have my own space, my own land, my own huge garden, with animals and things like this. But right now it's mainly convenience. I mean, we have a mortgage that is so low. You can't even pay this for rent in Vancouver, not a chance you know!

I find being in Gold River – the creative energy here is fabulous! I mean, I am just working non-stop. I've got all these ideas coming in. In the city I am just too distracted by other things. So, it works out that way.

Gina had a different sense of connection to the community that emphasized and was grounded almost wholly on the significance of the physical landscape of the Village. In this way setting propelled her own prosperity; the sense of creativity that she is able to derive from the setting facilitates the production of the goods by which she makes her living, which also strengthens her desire to sell them. Indeed, she suggested that the setting of Gold River was conducive to the success and maintenance of her self-employment.

Conversely, having moved to the Village based on its location and the price of housing, Gina needed an income. The closure of the mill brought an increased number of contract forestry workers (as opposed to resident mill workers) and shifted the economic focus of the Village onto tourism promotion. Gina had benefited from both. As an initial income generating strategy, she had set up a bed-and-breakfast out of her home. For her first couple of years in the Village she managed to live nearly exclusively by that income.

However, Gina also suggested that she was constrained by the site and situation of Gold River. As an artist Gina was able to benefit from restructuring in the sense that it afforded her a reduced cost of living and new source of income. This was offset by the fact that she could not sell her art work locally. She also suggested:

Gina: the grocery store just sucks. It's terrible! So we go out to Campbell River to buy our groceries and just do a really big shop. But you know, there's no way- no, there's no kind of shuttle from Gold River to Campbell River. So you're sort of stuck here... So it's a little bit inconvenient, you really are in the middle of nowhere. And with the price of gas... It's a little bit of a struggle, but it's tolerable.

Gina's livelihood, by extension, was affected by the time she spent both seeking out services to meet her needs and to sell her art work. Regardless, industry restructuring and the effects it had in Gold River enabled Gina to pursue self-employment that sustains her household.

Indeed, all the women I interviewed talked at length about the dialectical effects of restructuring, in that it brought them both opportunity and constraints in terms of the organization of their livelihood strategies. Both of these effects had tangible and intangible benefits, including financial gain/loss, sense of self, sense of identity, emotional.

4.1.3 Access to Resources

Oberhauser *et al.* (2004) have argued that livelihoods are shaped by the resources that are available, accessed, and used by women. Resources are defined as the tangible and intangible assets that, in part, direct and determine the outcomes of women's livelihood strategies. They are also instrumental in informing choices and adaptive capacity in the face of change. In this section, I use the terms personal capital, financial capital, and social capital to illustrate how each of these resources/assets are the currency that has facilitated and secured self-employment as a livelihood option for women.

4.1.3.1 Personal Capital

Personal capital speaks of resourcefulness (Oberhauser *et al.* 2004). I used the term to frame how some of the individual attributes, such as education, personal effort, and innovation, have helped women to realize their goals, organize their economic lives, and maintain their paid work.

In the literature, well-being has been tied to educational attainment (Beckley 1995; Parkins *et al.* 1999; Kusel 2001). It is argued that formal education leads to better quality and higher paying work (Parkins 1999). It has also contributed to higher

incomes and greater success rates for people who are self-employed (Loscocco & Robinson 1991). Higher educational attainment has also been attributed to decreased socio-economic vulnerability and increased adaptive capacity in light of changed economic circumstance (Force *et al.* 2000). However, in terms of my interviews, not one woman I interviewed had a university degree. There were a few women with a college education, some with a high school degree, and some who had made the choice not to finish high school.

Regardless, all of the women I interviewed were to some extent self-taught through trial, error, and persistence. Only Ella had taken classes that were directly related to her self-employment. She shared the following:

Ella: Here and there I kind of have a mix of everything from 'food safe' and bar management ... then all the fitness I've gotten into. I have always been into sports in school all the way up and extracurricular but then kinda took a hobby and turned it into a job...

Yup, certified just kinda went the long way around some things. So one of them is a certified ... consultant...And then the other one is a certified [type of] specialist...I didn't come from money so its not like I went at university for five years afterwards so, so I just did as I could afterwards. And once I decided to teach and you know,...I just started adding things as I could. But when you have a family and stuff, you can't just take off and go to school for six months so I'd just do it when I could and at home and stuff.

Like many women, Ella sought out educational opportunities, over time, as she progressed through her various careers and while she balanced the demands of her family responsibilities. Like all the women I interviewed the majority of her entrepreneurial learning (Warren 2004) was through trial, error, and persistence - she learned primarily through experience. In this sense, her time served as personal capital she spent in terms of the development of the practices that made up her livelihood.

Indeed, periods of direct experience and formal training were always countered by an extended period of trial and error. In the absence of local educational opportunities and/or community groups to facilitate business learning, women used their own sense, intuition, and innovation to ensure the viability of their business.

After I asked if there was a group in town that could help her with her business, Jill discussed the following:

Jill: No we don't ...there was a community organization that did help with business development and that type of a thing. I did go to some free classes when the mill did shut down, in order to do a business and this type of a thing. I found that the business plan and that kind of a thing didn't really help or apply to the bed and breakfast. I had to search around and create a lot of my own book work. Because, being such a small business, there was nothing out there I could go and buy except for maybe receipts. I mean there was nothing here or in the stores that I could get. So I've been creating bookwork - and our own business cards and stuff.

This was a common experience for women. Their businesses (effectively micro-enterprises) were on such a small scale that supporting infrastructure such as computer programs, assistance programs, or business training programs did not provide the information or tools they needed for their paid work. In turn, women relied on their social networks and their own personal capital - financial, emotional, intellectual - to bridge the gap.

Indeed, it was also personal capital that led some women to self-employment. Although social networks are considered a key factor in pushing, or pulling, some of the women propelled themselves to self-employment (Edwards & Field-Hendrey 2002; Hughes 2003). In some instances, the opportunity to enter self-employment evolved out of a crisis of opportunity. Just as Iona suggested, sometimes self-employment emerged through incidental means:

Iona: It was an accident. I went out and bought some flowers for myself and I bought too many. And my neighbour bought the extras that I had. And uh, and the next door neighbour came over, and she said can you get me some? And I said: Yeah, we're goin' back out again next week. And another girl walking by, she said: can you get me some? I said sure. So I brought in three or four flats of flowers.

Gone! The next day they were gone - the next day sold! So, I went back out and got some more stuff. That's how I built it up. We had nothing but a little open air car port when we started and all these little flats...that I sold.

In that sense, women have also deployed a series of innovative strategies that have also facilitated their livelihood strategies. For example, all of these women worked to some extent at home; five women rented or owned space at or near the central shopping centre in Gold River. Working from their homes, self-employed women

were able to reduce the operational costs of their businesses. They are also able to look after their dependents, maintain their homes, and maintain control over the production and sale of their goods. In this sense, these women's homes also became a locus for both their domestic and economic lives. It also complicated and yet facilitated household arrangements:

Ella: The reason it is out of my house is, I mean when I first started my business I wanted to go uptown and have the store and do it all but... in '94 we were already hearing things about the pulp mill. And you know its not gonna close and other people were oh, yeah. So, feasibly I couldn't see myself doing that.

And then I had my daughter and I am like I am not having children for someone else to raise! So if I can make this work out of my home... And as it is now they [her clients] just have to go to the basement and they don't have to come in here. So I did that, umm just to keep my family a family. And then it was a little bit tricky when I had to work at [her old job] cause then I kind of had to then...arrange my schedule that way. But my hours 9-9 - it just depends on everything else, I try and take the weekends off so that me and my family have at least two days when people aren't knocking on my door and phoning me.

For Ella, in particular, working from home provided an opportunity to exercise a work-life balance that allowed her to be a mother to her children, as well as generate an income through self-employment.

In some respects, the size of the Village facilitated working from home. As Laura suggested:

Laura: You can walk anywhere in Gold River in 15 minutes. That's the nice thing about it here...

This proximity allowed women to consider pursuing self-employment from home. This also allowed some women a measure of freedom and convenience. Asked why she worked at home, Iona said:

Iona: I live here! Don't have to worry don't have to go up town, to go to the store and open it up and come home and cook - I am here!

This was an element of convenience - both the size of Gold River and home-based work - were consistently mentioned by women. In a small community then, where

houses and the central shopping district are all contained in a relatively small area working from home is not only cost effective, it is entirely logical.

However, Karen proved to be an exception: her business – construction and janitorial – was predicated on work that was done in the homes of her clients. However, her shop was located at her home. For Karen, and for others who were dependent on an income from boarders and bed and breakfast operations – all aspects of their homes served the purposes of their business.

For some women, self-employment was only part of their livelihood strategy. Lee and Beth represented women who were self-employed while simultaneously being employed by someone else. In turn, their paid work straddled two locations they worked for someone else at an office and for themselves at home. Lee offered insight into the challenges of home based employment as it has been impacted by restructuring and community transition. In the following example, Lee suggested that she and her spouse had moved into their combined work/home space some years ago. However, Lee and her spouse were informed that, owing to a bylaw change, the space in which they lived and worked was re-zoned as industrial or semi-industrial site. Despite these changes, Lee and her spouse continued to live in their shop as a means of supporting her own and her spouse's self-employment incomes.

Lee: One thing after the other. We live in here (the shop) so that helps out quite a bit. Yeah, we are sort of existing non-conforming we're not quite to the bylaw 'cause there are a couple of things. You are existing, but the bylaws may have been one thing four years ago, but they have changed a little or something. But if we weren't living here, the business would have gone down years ago. I just wanted to keep on going, didn't want to give up on it, sort of optimistic that the town was going to pick up and things were goin' to get better real quick, but it has taken quite a few years.

It is through these combined strategies and the strength of her personal capital – her home – that Lee maintains both her commitment to business and to financial realities that are embedded in place.

Subsequently, some women also make use of the personal capital they have invested in spousal relationships: they were able to pursue multiple self-employment strategies in cooperation with their partners and spouses. For example, Sara's

primary occupational identity is structured around her service station. However, she has credited her husband for allowing her to become self-employed. When I asked why she had started her business, she answered:

Sara: At that time, actually, my husband was looking for a business that would support him. Because he wasn't sure for how long he was going to be able to work for. And, ah, it was something that came up in town and ah, something he was interested in, that was pretty much it... I own it with my husband. My hours of work are Monday to Friday from 8 until 4.

Sara is the primary animator and activator of their service station as a household income activity. Her business both contributes to her family's identity as well as social and economic well-being but was described as secondary to her husband's role as both the primary breadwinner (employed in the forestry industry) and as a financial investor in the service station, a secondary but vital source of household income.

Personal capital, whether exercised through education, locational strategies, innovation, or persistent experimentation, women rely primarily on themselves for the day-to-day aspects of their self-employment. I asked Katherine if she had any employees, she offered this answer:

Katherine: No, it is a pretty depressed area. I do everything myself, everything I can. I can't pay the wages anymore.

This was a typical response. Although most women had partners, spouses, children, other family and/or friends who helped them with small tasks, they primarily worked for and by themselves.

4.1.3.3 Financial Capital

Loscocco and Robinson (1991) and Bird *et al.* (2001) have suggested that women's economic success is constrained by their lack of access to capital. However, Georgallis and Wall (2005) have also argued that women choose and enter into less capital intensive types of self-employment. Both of these theories were reflected, in some respects, by the women I interviewed. However, women also used a range of strategies to access financial capital and to maintain their livelihood strategies – despite the small income that it generated for them and their household.

In terms of accessing financial capital, all women were dependent to varying degrees on credit, bank loans and/or credit cards. Indeed, as Laura suggested credit was vital to starting a business in Gold River:

Laura: I always tell people if they're goin' to start a business to go out while they are working, go out and get every charge card you can because when you need help from the bank and you are having problems with your cash flow they won't give it to you. So you better have your cards cause that is where you are goin' to have to get money from. That's what I have found; that is what has happened to me.

This comment was common to all the women I interviewed. Bank loans and credit cards proved to be instrumental particularly during the establishment and development of their businesses.

However, some women could or would not apply for a bank loan. In these instances start-up capital was loaned by friends and family. Lee talked at length about how she was lured into self-employment by an acquaintance of hers. She did market surveys, prepared a business plan, researched operating costs, and sourced the equipment she needed. In the process she became committed to the idea of starting her own business. However, when her acquaintance backed out, she turned to her close family. As Lee offered:

Lee: Yes, [her spouse's] mother lent me some money to get started. But it is not like she is a partner, it's me running it.

Like other women who had mentioned that they borrowed start-up money from friends and family, Lee ensured that she maintained full control over her business. Women, though needing financial help to start, were not looking for business partners – they were looking for a way to access capital that would allow them to pursue independent self-employment. In many respects, financial obstacles were nearly secondary to women's pursuit of self-employment. As Apitzsch (2003) has suggested, most women prioritized autonomy and flexibility of self-employment and hoped to make a modest income. Women were mostly satisfied with their earnings as they contributed sufficiently to their personal and household income and well-being.

Although they were sparse on details, a few women made comments that were similar to those made by Ella.

Ella: I am not saying I am making any money. Every cent I make goes back in to help the business, buy another piece of equipment or something like that. It's not like I'm taking a huge paycheque by any means. I am not taking any paycheques! Thank God my husband has a job!

In this way some women were able to engage in self-employment because they did have the financial and emotional support of their spouse, partner, or other family member.

4.1.3.3 The Role of Re-training Programs

Reed (1999) has suggested that women have been denied access to retraining programs that are implemented by governments to mitigate the effects of forestry-industry restructuring and job loss. In her argument, retraining programs are disproportionately focused on displaced forestry workers. In turn, these government programs serve to reinforce notions about what is valued as work in forestry-dependent communities. However, in my experience this did not necessarily prove to be the case. Although retraining programs were offered at the mill site during and following closure, women did not mention them. This could be because most of the women I interviewed were already steadily self-employed when the mill was shut down.

However, there were also two instances in which women did apply for and were granted access to training programs. Without prompting, Ella offered the following:

Ella: I have had it [her business] ten years. I started my business on a government program – called the S.E.A. program. The Self Employment Assistance program and I was the first person in Gold River to be approved on the program. Like it was new to Campbell River, but it had just been allowed to the outreach communities within that year.

So, I did all my homework - holy-schmoly! Basically you go up before a Board of Directors and you have to submit your business plan your one year forecast, everything - get approval letters... blah blah blah. Had a lot of stuff from the pulp mill and that, and logging and submitted it and basically the big-wigs in Campbell River, like 'big' business people they sit on the board

and say this person yes, that person no. They don't do a lot of restaurants or computer businesses... so I was approved.

And that basically allowed me to stay on EI for another year and not have to claim any of my business income I could get my business rolling and not have to worry that I had make ends meet... and stuff like that.

To Ella, the benefits of this program were not so much in what she directly learned but in the time it afforded her to establish her business.

Similarly, Anna was also able to access a business development program. However, she was able to participate in the program because her husband had lost his job and she was considered his business partner. As Anna suggested, the program proved prohibitive:

Anna: What it is is a government sponsored program that puts people that are on EI and who want to start their own business puts them into a support network. That is what community futures is supposed to be a support network. Now I have a couple of things to say about that that are negative. We were involved in that program for a year. It took a business proposal, a video of our place of business, monthly financial reports, monthly income, monthly statements that we had to issue. We had to do summaries of what our business activities were. So it was a lot of us giving to them what they needed in order to pay us our EI money, ok?

In return, what we got was invitations once in awhile to events that were happening. The unfortunate thing is all the events that they sponsored, say it was a speaker or anything about marketing, seminars on marketing, seminars on dealing with your staff, dealing with customers umm, merchandizing, I mean there were all kinds of wonderful seminars. But they were always in Courtney and they were always at 6 o'clock at night, while we are running our business until 5 o'clock at night. How can we get to Courtney at 6 o'clock? You can't shut your business down at 4 o'clock to get there in time. You can't!

There was demands on us from the program that were good in terms that it trained us to do monthly statements, and it trained us to look at what we were doing next month. Not one time did we have anybody from management from the Community Futures program come to our business, not once.

... So, towards the end, you know, when we were getting really busy. You know - the summer months - particularly, the summer months we were really busy, I think August report got in near the middle to the end of August. And we got a note on our email saying you know if I don't get your report this week, you are not going to be receiving your cheque. I just thought that was... It wasn't even said nicely.

Indeed, the fact that the training programs were not offered locally proved to be prohibitive to some other women. Additionally, the process of preparing reports and presenting business plans to business leaders also discouraged some women from participating in them. Finally, these programs were not well promoted: some women did not even know of their existence.

4.1.3.4 Social Capital

Social capital is considered to be sets of spatially constrained social relationships that create systems of exchange in terms of norms, behaviours, knowledge, and physical effort (Westlund & Bolton 2003). Effectively, social capital refers to the social relationships that enable most socially-grounded human activities. Vennesland (2004) has argued that social capital increases the probability of success for those who are self-employed in forestry-dependent communities. Indeed, social capital was instrumental in supporting all aspects of women's self-employment. All of the women I interviewed were reliant on social capital – voluntary, unpaid help from family and friends – to help in the production of goods and to assist in their pursuit of self-employment.

Most of the women I interviewed came to self-employment through social networks in Gold River. These women did not initially, nor intentionally, set out to become self-employed, they were propelled into self-employment by people in the Village, such as their spouses, friends, and or acquaintances. In the majority of other cases, self-employment evolved as either a chance offer of temporary work, such as Karen described:

Karen: So, the reason why I started it, I was round about – God! - about 38 or so, my kids, I had adopted a couple of kids. And they were kind of established and on their own, at which point I was living here in this town. And, there didn't seem to be any jobs going. And I wanted something to do. Also, being a housewife, you look around and it's kind of like geez: I wish that was fixed, that that was fixed, you know... I was in the Lioness Club, the real estate agent asked me if there were any Lioness women who would go and [deal with] a place because there was no one else in town who was [doing this]. And I said yeah. Jumped on the bandwagon, enjoyed it, and said to her: if you get any more let me know. And she did. And I didn't have a clue... Ok? Umm, I got doing that. And pretty soon she says to me you

better get a business license. So, I was kind of helped a little bit along by a woman who was in business. So, I did, I got myself a business license.

This initial introduction piqued the interest of and empowered some women to pursue an occupation or business opportunity, often one they had not previously considered. Jill was introduced to an opportunity at the insistence of friends that in turn became her primary source of income.

Jill: We got talked into it at first. Take this poor guy you got such a big house, and they got a closure at the mill, and this poor older guy needs a place to stay - played on our sympathy kind of a thing. And we discovered we liked it and been doing it ever since.

Indeed, social networks proved a catalyst for the diversification of women's interests and, in turn, served to push or pull women into pursuing a particular type of self-employment. It was in this way that Katherine was compelled to open a store by an acquaintance of hers.

Katherine: In the beginning, ah a friend opened it, we opened it together and she and her husband had a shoe store here. And she wanted to open a kid's store. And she asked if I would like to do it with her and I said sure. So we did that together. And then, three years later she ended up moving away and I bought out her shares.

Consistent with Warren's (2004) conception over entrepreneurial learning, women were also dependent on local and regionally based social capital to learn their trade. As Lee related:

Lee: I had two days training at a ... shop just out of the goodness of the lady's heart. Cause a friend told her, told me to talk to her about [her] business. So she gave me the basic run down... and she recommended the [appropriate] program and where to get it. And that is the only training I had.

Similarly, Iona also benefited from social capital in the sense that she learned how to run a business through a gentleman who became actively involved – voluntarily – in helping her to learn how to profitably develop her businesses.

Iona : He [the man who assisted her initially in starting her business] helped me pick a few things out, and it came to four hundred dollars, which was a lot

of money in those days. Within a week they were gone, and back out I went again. That is how it happened so I did have help... And uh, without him I probably wouldn't have done as well as I did. He even came up one time and went through my shop that I had...at the time. He said you got possibilities, the next time you come you get some [of that], you do this, you do that... showed me how to do my books properly. So, I did have help. And the rest I have bowled through on my own.

It is through social capital that women were able to go through a process of 'apprenticeship'. It was through these kinds of social experiences the majority of women learned the skills and tools that maintained their self-employment. In effect, the women I interviewed relied on the talents and expertise learned in or transported from elsewhere into Gold River. Linkages and networks replicated themselves in the Village as they were introduced and reproduced by the women of Gold River.

There were also other forms of social capital that were absolutely essential in the maintenance of women's self-employment. In order to sustain their self-employment women were reliant on place-based social capital as a substitute for employees. All of the women I interviewed were reliant on children, spouses, relatives, or friends to help with certain aspects of their business.

For most women, such as Beth, family provided the greatest source of unpaid labour. Beth related the following:

Beth: So, it's a family type business because everyone gets in there. My husband will help with the displays; I'll come up with an idea, and he'll help construct the displays for the shows. Umm, my mum loves to make [product] - I mix the ingredients - and she pushes them into the mold. She loves doing [it], which is great... [Her daughter] helps with making [other product]... or anything at this point in time. Her and I will just get a system going and get things done.

Similarly, Anna related how her family was essential in helping her (and her spouse) to set up their business. In their case, parental involvement helped them to balance both the demands of establishing a business and their child care responsibilities. She said:

Anna: But it ended up we needed help doing all of this, with four kids and setting up the business we knew we couldn't do it, just the two of us. We called up my mum and dad who were looking for a change as well, in

Abbotsford and my dad was hating his job and he really wanted to retire. And anyways, I phoned him up and said look this is an opportunity, we would love to have you come work for us. We will pay you this and this an hour and it will be six months of work, after that I don't know. So, I can guarantee six months, we need your help, you can live with us for nothing... And they did. They left everything in the Fraser Valley, put everything in storage, they came here to this little town. They helped us set up shop, my mum babysat, we set up shop, my dad did building stuff, I mean it was amazing!

Indeed, the availability of local social capital also facilitated a host of mutually beneficial arrangements. I asked if she had any employees Iona replied:

Iona: Nope. I have friends that help. And they take it out in flowers and trade.

This response was somewhat typical of some of the relationships that had evolved in place between self-employed women and the people who helped them with various tasks. Informal trade networks and systems of exchange were considered a beneficial outgrowth of the size and subsequent interconnectedness between residents in Gold River.

Given the independent nature of business start-up, I asked women if it were difficult to start a business in Gold River. It was consistently reported to me that to start a business and become self-employed in Gold River is entirely reliant on social capital found in place. For example, Lana suggested the following when I asked her if she considered it easy to start a business in Gold River:

Lana: Yes I would say so (to start a business) because you got the support of the community if [you are] a new business. Less risk because year round its not as expensive as when you were in the big city. You feel more comfortable because it's a small town the support and the friends and helping hands that the community will give to you. You know, you can rely on them. You can talk to them. Or they are going to be good business for you and that's why I buy them coffee, they're more business to you.

In contrast, however, some women suggested that the size of the Village also made it fiercely competitive. For example Gina told me of an incident that had occurred shortly after she had established her bed and breakfast. She said:

Gina: Like I was building it [her business] up, I had one boarder she paid five hundred bucks a month. And then I had people coming, I made like two grand a month for a few months. It was seasonal.

Let me tell you something I have learned in Gold River never tell anybody how well you are doing. 'Cause if you tell people how well you are doing they will steal your idea... because then I had the nicest bed and breakfast and then I told the neighbors I was happy I was doing real well, and had the overflow from the hotels. I went to Asia for 6 months when I came back, right next door was a bed breakfast and they were best friends with the hotel owners. I was just like I've had enough. They moved here a month after I did, I couldn't believe it!

And it was sort of at that point, well it was like we were in competition all the time. And the stress and worry that came with it!

Indeed, some women felt they had to be protective of and secretive with their business strategies as competition both for ideas and customers was thought to be an ongoing problem in Gold River that could be directly tied to the Village's size and economic circumstances following mill closure.

4.1.3.5 External Networks

As Oberhauser (2002) has demonstrated through her research on Southern Appalachian garment workers, women's paid work is tied to broader regional, provincial, and national networks. Just as women were dependent on local place-based personal, financial, and social capital, women were equally as affected by those same aspects of capital that extended beyond Gold River's municipal borders. Indeed, the size of Gold River meant that some health services, educational opportunities, consumer products, and various other resources were only available in Campbell River. Nearly all the women I spoke with mentioned making the trip to Campbell River at least twice a month.

Given the frequency of those trips, for both women and other residents, the relative proximity of Campbell River had a negative effect on some women's business. Asked about obstacles to running her business in Gold River, Ella replied:

Ella: It's tricky, it's tricky for sure. And then you have Campbell River an hour away... and you can't compete with those prices half the time. So, by the time people go down there and buy three items they've paid for their gas and they - I can't sell stuff for what the price superstore sells it for. And it's

the same with everybody else in town so, It's loyalties!...yah - I don't know, it's definitely tricky!

Artisans and craftspeople aside, all women spoke of having to compete with services that were available in Campbell River. While the majority of them also used the services in Campbell River, many felt that their businesses could be better supported by the residents of Gold River.

In turn, women also felt that the location of Gold River also increased the operational costs of their businesses. Many women had networks of suppliers who were located well beyond the region. Not only did they have to pay to have supplies shipped to them, they also had to pay to export their products from Gold River. For some like Beth, however, this locational disadvantage was just a day-to-day reality. Beth said:

Beth: I am ok because I use the mail for shipping. And it is shipping costs and getting your supplies in, for me. For this type of business it's great: I can ship. There's the Internet and stuff. It depends on what you're doing if you're very concentrated it could be very difficult. You have to be willing to get out there and travel, you have to be willing to get outside the community and get your product out there.

Recent developments in technology also helped to facilitate women's self-employment. The Internet, recently gone broadband in Gold River, has allowed some women to access regional and provincial networks and markets for their products; indeed, a number of women had their own websites through which they advertised and subsequently sold some of their products. Like some other women, Beth suggested that the only reason she was able to have a business in Gold River was because of the Internet. I asked Beth how the Internet helped her:

Beth: A lot of it was - ten years ago there would have been no way. Because there wasn't the Internet there wasn't the capability to do the search to say where can I get this and where can I get it cheaper, and where can I find out this information... so that is where we are at. The Internet saves me everyday. Just too much work otherwise, constantly on the phone. I remember moving here and everywhere was long distance. And my husband was so mad at me: look at that phone bill! I've actually had people check out the website and call me as a result of that.

In turn, women like Beth have developed multiple strategies to overcome the disadvantage of the distance between Gold River and other markets for her product.

Beth frequently traveled up and down Vancouver Island to attend craft fairs. Like other women, these venues provided not only a point of sale for her products, it was also a source of social networks and provided access to similar groups of self-employed women who shared an occupational identity.

Regardless, each of the narrative fragments I have presented underscores that the role of place-based social networks, and the opportunities presented by them, influenced women's entry into self-employment in Gold River. In the context of my research, I have referred to the resources that have been used by women as capital. In characterizing personal attributes, social/external networks, and the sourcing of financial resources as capital, I have demonstrated that these three elements are the currency that supports, maintains, and effectively determines women's self-employment. In turn, the availability of resources also bolsters place-based capital. As women are able to mobilize resources they are also able to contribute and participate in non-financial ways to the Village of Gold River.

4.2 Unpaid Work in the Community and Home

I have included a brief section on the unpaid work in order to touch on a few themes that emerged throughout my research. Reed (2003a;2003b) has suggested that in RDCs, women have been consistently characterized as unpaid homeworkers and as community maintenance workers. In her view, women bear a disproportionate responsibility for the well-being of individual households and the larger community. In contrast, in the course of my interviews, women prioritized discussions of their accomplishments as self-employed people over their gender identity or their roles in either the maintenance of the community or their households. When I asked women about their home life or their participation in community-based groups, women were self-effacing and/or not readily able to identify particular aspects of the contributions they made. This was reflected, in many respects, in my position as an outsider both to the experiences of women in Gold River and as self-employed women. For these women their unpaid work at home, in the community, and in wider regional social networks were simply an unquestioned fact of life. In turn, women – like women everywhere - had embedded cultural, social, and economic expectations that were grounded in their daily activities. Though women could not or were hesitant to pinpoint their exact unpaid contributions, by extension, this section is based on my

own observations and perspectives on women's unpaid contributions to the Village. Although I could theorize about the internal dynamics of some women's households, I have primarily limited my discussion to the unpaid contributions women made to the Village that were either mentioned by women, or that I witnessed firsthand in Gold River.

4.2.1 Restructuring

Mill closure put an enormous pressure on individual households, as well as on the broader community. Laura said:

Laura: It certainly put a lot of strain on the community and everybody in business really we've all survived, yeah – live one day at time...

This strain has been manifest, not only in the closure of the mill but also in the succession of downsizing events that preceded mill closure. In turn, many women have contributed to the well-being of their households by not only providing a source of compensatory income, but also as an emotional support. Like Iona, Karen had been previously affected by the loss of her husband's job at the mill. She shared:

Karen: He [her spouse] used to be employed at the mill and he has only been working for me basically since the mill shut down. It is something to do, keeps us going while we are here in Gold River.

Although her business carried them despite his lost income, she has minimized the role she has played in caring for his daily needs and for nurturing his self-confidence by integrating his strengths into her business. In turn, the coping strategies deployed by women at an individual, household level during/after restructuring are understood as things they evolved out of their lived reality. In turn, how women have potentially contributed to the well-being of both their household and the community become normalized and, in some respects, unremarkable to women. Their adaptive responses were simply what they had to - and were able to do - during times of crisis.

The minimization of their efforts is perhaps confounded by their understanding of community work. For many women, participation in or contribution to the broader community was related to their volunteer time or the financial donations they were

able to commit to various causes in the Village. For example, Lee shared these comments:

Lee: I have offered a service to the town. I do a lot of things for free. All those [products she made] I did were for the Scouts... I give a lot that way, I can't – like I said [to her friend], I can't give any money... But I just feel like I can't be doing that right now – I have to account for every penny now as far as my business goes. But I do offer a service to the community.

Sara expressed a similar perspective. When I asked about her participation in the community and her membership in community groups, Sara replied:

Sara: I am on the PAC [Parent Advisory Committee] at the high school. I am on the group committee for Scouts. I am on the museum society... Yes and as far as my business contributing to community, I would like to think so, but it is getting harder and harder –we do what we can... you know, its groups looking for donations and financial support and what-have-you. And we've pretty much limited ourselves now. If we donate anything, it has to be something local. I try and make it a service rather than dollars, and I show preference to people who are doing something, not just those who come begging.

However, Sara is actively involved in the community and runs a community service organization from another building on her property. For her, that was differentiated from her general contribution of time and money to community-based organizations: it was something she did out of pure interest. In this way, many women did not distinguish between their own interests and the possible spin-off effects of those activities on the wider community. However, I was compelled to ask Sara about the museum she was trying to set up on her property because other residents had mentioned it to me. Sara laughed off my questions and said:

Sara: but it's not done yet!

Again, this suggests that women only perceived themselves as contributors when they had succeeded in giving something tangible – financial or otherwise – directly to community groups. In turn, when asked about the contributions she made to community and her participation in community groups, Ella said:

Ella: I haven't sat on any committees, no. Only because I just don't have time. And I just got to the point where my family was more important. So,

you know, I feel that way: they grow up so fast! I mean, I volunteer my time you know, in the school. I teach the odd class and I do stuff like that.

Although I was not privy to the internal dynamics of individual households, I do know that many women looked after the day-to-day maintenance of their households: they were caregivers who were also charged with some measure of responsibility in terms of providing for their families financially and by cooking, cleaning, and grocery shopping, et cetera. Additionally, many had extra care responsibilities. There were only a few women with small children but a number of women looked after aging parents and disabled family members. For them, however, this household level care was not paired with a greater effect on the well-being of the community. In fact, the level of obligation women felt towards these care-based activities were often mentioned as an inhibitor to women's contributions – financial or otherwise – to the larger community.

Indeed, women prioritized their commitments to family. However, in the context of our interviews, these commitments were also used to demonstrate how women were constrained – financially and in terms of their time – from participating more fully in community-based groups. Between the demands of self-employment and their commitments to family, friends, and other social networks, many women have found it particularly difficult to strike a work life balance.

Regardless, from my perspective, women's impact on community life extended well beyond their own perceived direct or indirect participation in the community. Indeed, I would argue that these women contributed in both tangible and intangible ways to the identity of Gold River. Anna alluded to this:

Anna: it contributes in the look of the plaza. It contributes to people's options of what they can buy for gifts. It ah, I think the biggest thing is –I'll give you an example- somebody came in and said: this is so nice to see something new in this town. To see something of a higher quality, to see something that is modern and bright. It gave, that person said, it gives this town a face lift.

Indeed, businesses that were run exclusively by women and by women and their spouses, were nearly ubiquitous in the landscape of Gold River. These businesses currently dominate the public spaces of the Village. Consequently, as Gill and Reed

(1997) have suggested RDCs are currently going through a process of reimagining: women are also implicitly involved in reconstituting the identity and economy of Gold River.

4.3 Place

Gold River as a lived place – a home, a community, a site for self-employment - has had a profound influence on the lives of the women I interviewed. In particular, place-based change has shaped the daily lives of these women. At the beginning of this chapter, I discussed the impacts of restructuring on the organization of women's self-employment. However, the effects of transition have also been manifest in terms of their experience of place. When asked about how Gold River had changed, Beth replied:

Beth: A lot of people that were here are gone. That is kind of like I was saying- on the weekend, running into three ladies that used to live here. I mean it was just a fluke that I was talking to one and these other two walk in at the same time and we were talking – I miss those people!

The loss of services has really been difficult with the drugstore going, the bank going, Joe's hardware going. Seeing those things leave – I mean, I am resourceful enough but it's watching them go and how things are going for them...

It has been a change. Demographics- a lot more older people. I mean, I was in my thirties when we arrived and we were the majority of the age group. And there are a lot more seniors now. I believe the Revellers have over 80 members now. And with the change in the community, in some ways – selfishly – it has been good for me. We were – my mum was able to live here. She lives here now, she's been here for almost six years. And my aunt and uncle just purchased a place...For us, I'd say we're farther ahead, but it has been hard to watch other families struggle.

In this way place-based change represented for, most women, a fundamental change in their lives. It also represented a dialect: it both constrained and enabled social and economic aspects of their lives in, and experience of, Gold River.

In light of the widespread effects of place-based change, I asked women why they continued to live in the Village. Sara offered a reply that was reflected by most of the women I interviewed:

Sara: Well, like I said earlier hahaha having a lot of money invested in the community really doesn't give me too many options. To be really honest: I would live here even if it wasn't for that. If there was a way for me to stay here... I love Gold River. I think it is a great place to be. We joke around with a lotta people saying we might be poor but at least we're happy but I still feel that way. I love this place. I can't think of too many other places I would really want to live, like even if jobs weren't part of the equation.

Indeed, many women suggested that they chose to stay in Gold River – not only because they were financially invested in it – they were emotionally invested in their life in the Village.

For some women the patterns of their lives and livelihoods in Gold River were instrumental to their identity. Iona – aged 75 at the time of our interview – shared the following:

Iona: Well, [Gold River] is the safest place in the whole world. And it's the friendliest. If you are sick people are there when you need them. And if somebody comes in and I don't immediately come out the door, they get frantic. If I am in the back room and I don't hear them come in the next thing I know there is someone pounding on my door saying: where are you?! Are you alright?!... People look after each other in town. Where else can you go where you get that? You know everybody... I don't even lock my door at night... I even forgot to lock my shop one night!... you know. [Her shop] could be broken into and nobody ever has, I have never lost a thing...Here you know the whole town. I like it! And I ... they'll carry me out. I won't quit myself. Yeah. I'll be kicking and screaming all the way!

For Iona, a sense of belonging and personal security grounded and bound her to place; in her view these were aspects of her life that were irreplaceable and that could not exist anywhere but in the Village.

Similarly, Karen had previous experiences of restructuring, as her married life had revolved around several moves from and between successive RDCs. However, in those previous instances her family had elected to move. In contrast, following mill closure, Karen was choosing to stay in Gold River. She suggested that the investments she had in place had not only defined her life and provided a sense of identity, it also had established familiar and comfortable patterns for both herself and her family. Karen said:

Karen: I live here because I do have a business going. It's a question of a certain amount of cash coming in. And I have my mother living with me and it's a question of small town security and a house she's accustomed to. Things I wouldn't be able to get right away if I moved away.

In this way, a solid appreciation of and dedication to the vagaries of a particular place inured most of the women I interviewed to the Village of Gold River. However, as much as echoes of these sentiments were recurrent in my interviews, Iona represents a particular example of arrival and attachment that can serve, in some measures, to characterize the experiences of long term residents (+15 years).

In contrast, Lana offered the following:

Lana: I like the place. I invested here. The reason I tried to hang on is I invested so much money and time in my restaurant, plus I have a house. It is so hard to just turn your back because you put a lot of time and effort and money to this investment you know. ...It's like, I call it more myself like giving the town of Gold River more chance that it might pick up. That is why I kinda hang around. That hopefully things will be picking up. Sometimes my patience for waiting is getting really thin...

The financial investments Lana had made in place did not offer her the choice to simply pick up and move. These investments proved to be prohibitive in terms of the choices available to her. However, at the time of our interview, Lana's business was for sale. Though she felt she would lose money by selling it, she hoped that the capital generated from its sale would allow her to find better paying work.

These three quotes exemplify the attachment to place experienced not only as an emotional bond but as an investment that encompasses the type of social, familial, personal and financial capital. This reinforces the sense that place and women's attachment to it, was central to these women: they accepted a number of sacrifices in order to live there.

In part, the strategies deployed by women to stay in place were based on their belief that the Village would continue to grow and/or the economy would improve into the future. Many women hoped that the economic situation of Gold River would improve in the very near future. In turn, their perception of future economic development in

Gold River was predicated on the recruitment of the industry and the diversification of both the community and the economy. Indeed, visions of the future ranged a great deal but were principally centered on the development of the tourism potential of the Village. As Beth suggested:

Beth: More tourism. That is where I see it going, more and more for the tourists. I would love to see a destination point here for them. I think that tourism is going to be the way this community goes.

However, successive and ongoing periods of transition have bred a certain measure of uncertainty in women. When asked about the future of Gold River Lee answered:

Lee: I mean, you are always optimistic you want to see the town grow but not grow too much. That's where there is a fine line between not having enough population to keep the town functioning the way it is and keep the businesses... we do want to have businesses here but you know we're goin' to lose them if people don't use, if people don't patronize them. Gosh, I don't know what the future is - it is so hard to say right now. You are probably getting a lot of that, oh great six months to hear this report oh that didn't work out. Wait another six months for the next report just keeps on going, so it's hard to know what our future is. I don't know.

In this way Lee reflects how the Village – as a small, close knit community – is valued by women. However, it again represents another intrinsic contradiction: though it is valued as a village it also needs to grow.

4.5 Conclusion

The women I interviewed have transformed a pre-existing industrial structure and culture to suit the purposes of their life and chosen lifestyle. They have accepted the terms of living in Gold River. In turn, Gold River has determined in very direct and indirect ways the course of their lives. For the women I interviewed, Gold River – as a community of people, a local economic system, and a home for women - has simultaneously provided opportunities and constraints that have both enabled and restricted women's capacity to organize their economic and, subsequently, their social lives. Regardless, these women have managed to assume full control over the circumstances of their employment. To maintain their self-employment women have deployed a host of strategies in response to change. They have used personal, social, and financial capital in order to seize opportunity and negotiate their personal needs with domestic, economic, and public responsibilities.

Chapter 5 -- Discussion

We just do what we do – Ella

5.0 Introduction

In chapter two I suggested that during my first trips into Gold River I was an academic tourist using the academic literature as a quasi-travel guide. Through this literature, I became fluent in the history, themes, subjects, and research outcomes that had come to characterize RDCs. With these as a descriptive background, I intentionally explored the Village, steadily interpreting, comparing, and contrasting literary (academic) descriptions with what I found in Gold River. I drove, walked and talked my way around Gold River. I absorbed the sites, scenes, and culture that made up the daily life of the Village. Indeed, just as the literature had described, I found a 'wilderness suburb' that continued to be rooted in the imaginative hold and the cultural identity that was the legacy of the pulp mill and the forestry industry more generally (Porteous 1974).

However, I also found a vibrant community that was partly populated and sustained by women. Over successive trips to Gold River, I learned that self-employed women were actively and visibly at work in many of the public and private spaces that made up the landscape of the Village. For example, women's businesses dominated the central shopping district as nearly every retail outlet was either owned or operated by a woman. Despite ongoing community transition, those spaces, contrary to some depictions in the literature (e.g. Bradbury & St. Martin 1983; Porteous & Smith 2001) were not eroded or eroding, but were renewing themselves. Women were absolutely intrinsic to the process. Women existed in the spaces between literary representations of the physical geography, the culture described by forestry, and the statistics and figures that had been used to characterize RDCs and the people who lived in them. It was a strange parallax: women were visible in the landscape of Gold River, but nearly invisible in the literature on RDCs.

Given this absence, my research evolved such that the primary objective of my thesis was to position women as individuals who are actively pursuing livelihood

strategies that simultaneously shape and are shaped by the ever-present, day-to-day realities of place. It follows that in this chapter I provide a brief interpretive synopsis of the dialectical influence of place on self-employed women in Gold River. As a means of highlighting the implications of my work, I begin this chapter with a discussion of self-employment as an intentional livelihood strategy for women. It follows that I also position women's work as imperative to the day-to-day experience of the Village. Finally, I conclude with the need for future research that positions self-employed women in the processes of place in RDCs, as described in the academic literature.

5.1 Implications for Individual Women

As I sat and listened to the stories of individual women, it became obvious that the physical context, cultural expectations, and social infrastructure that were present and embedded in day-to-day life in Gold River have, ultimately, enabled women to pursue self-employment. The Village was a nexus for the daily reality - including choices, considerations, and opportunities - that ordered women's lives and livelihood strategies. This is particularly evident in their individual responses to restructuring. Women have creatively adapted to, and negotiated with, the constraints and opportunities that emerged through place-based change. Subsequently, place has served as a pervasive structural element that has determined, in part, how women were able to access and use place-based resources, including personal, social, and financial capital.

From the perspective of the literature, Gold River can be considered a lived place that is the site of the material and social conditions that gave rise to women's livelihood strategies (Mackenzie 1986; 1999; Oberhauser 2002; O'toole & McGarvey 2003; Oberhauser *et al.* 2004). However, women have transformed their relationship to place, such that they have taken the inherent realities of place and have transformed them to suit their own economic and social purposes. Despite limitations that were imposed by the size of Gold River, its economic situation, its location, and by the social dynamics that ordered day-to-day life, women have maintained self-employment as an economic strategy that either contributed to, or was, their primary source of income.

Place also played out in terms of women's pursuit of self-employment. Their entry into it was spurred by conscious and unconscious responses to standard occupations or singular occupational roles that were available to women in Gold River. Work as home workers or as employees in industries based in Gold River, inhibited women's need for an income, personal expression, and the flexibility to maintain the demands of their households. In order to maintain their residence in Gold River and to realize their personal need for fulfilling, creative, and autonomous work - as well as the need to participate fully in the functioning of their households - women actively pursued or sought out opportunities for self-employment. In effect, with great effort and creativity, women had deliberately and actively organized the terms of their employment such that they have rendered themselves viably self-employed in Gold River. The viability of their self-employment, in this sense, is not tied strictly to an economic purpose, goal, or even rationale. The term speaks to women's active engagement in - and continued pursuit of - activities that ensure that they have some measure of control over the organization of their economic and social lives.

By animating and actively structuring the individual expression of their economic lives - their self-employment - women maintained a sense of well-being with benefits that extended well beyond simple financial considerations. For example, in our interviews, women emphasized what they had done over how much they earned. Success, in this sense, is not measured by a financial income alone, but also by the intangible psychological benefits for women, their households, and the broader community of Gold River. Success, in some respects, was dependent on the perpetuation and participation in the daily structuring of women's own set of personally defined self-employment activities.

Though women had overcome or negotiated the terms of living and working in Gold River, during our interviews they were modest in describing, but proud of their accomplishments. There was not one instance where I was not either shown their workspaces or pieces of their work. In the company of those material signifiers that they had consciously built and consciously shared with me, women would tell me stories about how they designed their work spaces, or how they had recently found a new tool, or how they had recently honed a particular technique. Although occurring in the context of an intentional conversation, it became evident that women had

engaged in, and structured, their self-employment such that it gave meaning to their lives. It contributed to their sense of purpose, accomplishment, just as it valued direct participation in the social and economic processes that extended outward from themselves, their households, Gold River, and into the regions beyond. This was consistently reinforced as women expressed a profound sense of ownership and control that grew out of their capacity to personally maintain, order, and control the circumstances of their employment in a way that allowed for the flexibility to also manage their other personal, home-, and community-based responsibilities (Green & Cohen 1995). As women engaged in a range of divergent livelihood strategies, that were individually unique, women's paid work also was a conscious and unconscious expression of their individuality.

That expression of individual capacity, and the ensuing confidence they derived from the day-to-day act of consciously ordering their own economic lives, also enabled them to pursue, challenge, or work around the constraints imposed by mill closure and consequent community transition. Transition spurred the innovative capacity of women such that they developed multiple coping-strategies to take advantage of pre-existing income opportunities or create new sources of employment income (Mackenzie 1986). In many instances, the effect of place-based transition has created new spaces of commerce that were either carved out or filled in by women. For example, as the transition in the forestry industry created individual work in the form of temporary contract opportunities some women shifted some of their self-employment activities to serve the needs of temporary workers, as well as the remaining resident population.

In this view, as Mackenzie (1986) has suggested, women's homes and public work spaces become sites of innovation. Women's residence in Gold River has helped to create spaces – both public and private – of economic and social opportunity that serve as a point of entry and, subsequently, the basis for their self-determined livelihood strategies. Each woman has shaped and structured her self-employment based on her access to necessary personal, social, and financial capital. In turn, self-employed women have intentionally or inadvertently developed, acquired, and refined specific networks in the Village. By recognizing and subsequently mobilizing

place-based assets to which they have access, women have negotiated for direct control over the circumstances of their employment.

Women's livelihood strategies were not just simply income generating activities, they were implicit to women's identity in and outside of the Village. I would suggest that the value of that identity served as a site for attachment to, and subsequent cause for their investment in, place. Women have invested in Gold River, both financially and emotionally, in order to secure an income. Local investment however, has been double-edged as it has simultaneously served to constrain choices, while also yielding site-specific opportunities, particularly as a result of industry closure and consequent community restructuring.

Personally structured sets of livelihood strategies were formative to individual senses of well-being that influenced women's ongoing commitment to self-employment. Within the context of their households, women gained a sense of economic empowerment. In the broader community, women were able to engage in multiple capacities, spatial scales, and other alternative ways with the social and economic networks and capital flows that shaped the day-to-day reality of the Village. Further, by setting and overcoming personal, emotional, financial, and intellectual challenges and goals, women also expressed their individual human capacities as self-determined individuals.

By extension, women's social, cultural, economic, physical, and political identity were, in part, shaped by and grounded in place (Mackenzie 1999; Reed 2000). Depending on their personal skills, aptitudes, and perceived talents, women engage in self-employment in such a way that they are able to create unique economic opportunities for themselves, their families, and inadvertently their respective communities that are within and outside of Gold River. Women's sense of well-being, as it reinforced their own sense of identity, had become a resource that continues to shape and influence the shifting identity and renewal of Gold River. In effect, women's pursuit of self-employment enables them to act as full participants – or citizens – in the daily social and economic outcomes of Village life.

5.2 Implications for Place

From my experience, the Village was a place that was deeply influenced by the presence of women. It was obvious that much of Village life revolved around the small businesses in the central business district and in the surrounding neighbourhoods. Patterns of daily life were manifest in the restaurants, services, and other businesses that provided the small necessities, luxuries, and comforts – taken for granted in larger urban areas – that would otherwise be unavailable in a small, relatively isolated community. Granted, as the literature indicates, industry – which in Gold River consisted of the various paper processing mills – has determined, in very direct ways, the structure and culture of such communities. Still, there remains a part of the culture of place that was expressed in the peripheral industries (mostly run by women) that grew up alongside the mills that also, in more indirect, ways nurtured outcomes of the community.

The long term presence of those peripheral industries fixed and normalized self-employed women in the landscape of Gold River. Effectively, the work that women do – both paid and unpaid – becomes part of the daily experience of place. Reed (2000) has termed the simultaneous growth and intertwining of people and places as a process of embeddedness. As both people and places develop they mutually reinforce the daily production and reproduction of the social/cultural/economic expectations that have given them shape. In this interpretation, place serves as the setting of the day-to-day experience for the lives of people who give it meaning and shape (Tuan 1975; Relph 1976; Seamon 1979; Agnew 1987; Entrikin 1989). From household to the community scale, place is also the site where social norms and cultural meanings are produced and reproduced (e.g. Massey 1991). In turn, the roles of women are both structured by (produced) and reflected in (reproduced) the multiple social roles and economic realities that were inherent in Gold River. Though the women I interviewed had intentionally and unconsciously adopted these roles, they had also shifted them, particularly as many women owned their own business. Regardless, the day-to-day expression of women's socio-economic lives, as self-employed women, had literally woven them into place over time.

In this context, self-employed women contribute a unique form of dependence (see chapter two) that unlike characterizations of the term in the literature, are not based

exclusively on the role of a dominant employer, external decision makers, or employment related to resource extraction. Women's work provides intangible benefits to the community of Gold River, particularly in terms of community well-being. In chapter two, I outlined various considerations of well-being that were present in the literature. In this context, well-being as, effectively, a broad-based set of individual and community-based indicators that, taken together, determine the ability of places and the people who live in them to organize local assets as a response to change. As a result, women have consciously and unconsciously made invaluable contributions to the resources available in, and social capacity of, Gold River. For example, their presence reinforced social networks while also providing valuable services to some of the Village's residents.

Just as their paid work has served as an alternative point of engagement in the social and economic networks of Gold River, their work – both paid and unpaid - has reinforced social capacity that were latent in Gold River. Women's use of local resources – from family and friends to infrastructure – ensured the maintenance and/or rebuilding of social and economic networks despite transition. By extension, the continued circulation or introduction of new forms of social and economic capital through the Village contributed to the imaginative and actual sense of renewal in Gold River. Many of the residents with whom I spoke referred to these women as symbols of Gold River's resilience in the face of change.

In the process women have also increased community resources and capacity to react and adapt to the changed circumstances in Gold River (Mackenzie 1999). Not only have they maintained pre-existing social and economic networks, women have been able to buffer the effects and socio-economic offloading of restructuring. Their businesses and their use of resources to support them have not only increased social capacity, they have also relieved the social pressures that have ensued from restructuring. For example, given the changes in the provision of health care services, women have also assumed the responsibility of caring for aged parents, ailing partners, and otherwise compromised family members and friends. Further, women's self-employment has, in many cases, filled the financial and emotional void that pervaded their households following the loss of their spouses' industry-based employment. Subsequently, their continued existence and, in some instances,

growth following mill closure has come to serve as part of the occupational identity that defines the character and make-up of the Village's economy.

In effect, women's work – both paid and unpaid - has meaning and implications for the broader community. Primarily, women's work – in public places or private spaces – has shifted the sites of production from an overt economic prioritization of industry-based employment as an absolute source of productive labour. Following closure, there has evolved an appreciation of the social value and economic effects that emerge from the sites of consumption, notably small scale production, and social reproduction that have been central to the maintenance of household and community well-being.

The presence of self-employed women has underscored the resilience of the community of Gold River. Women's persistence in the landscape has partially unhinged community identity and economic reliance on resource-based industries. In effect, they have also contributed to the re-formation of the social identity and economic function of Gold River. Their contributions to re-imagining the landscape cannot be overstated (Reed & Gill 1997). I would suggest that – at its very base – women's self-employment contributes both to individual and community identity; it not only makes individuals unique, it is what makes Gold River distinctive.

5.3 Implications for Future Research

In my methods chapter I suggested that I had borrowed from grounded theory methodology so that I could draw out the various dimensions of my interview data. Subsequently, in chapter four, I tried to create the most complete picture possible of self-employed women in Gold River. It was a daunting undertaking that has yielded increasingly more complex analytic categories and questions. I have had to negotiate and aggregate the multiple realities, experiences, motivations, and livelihood strategies for thirteen very different but equally engaging individuals. From the standpoint of some social researchers, I suspect some of my qualitative research - like other studies of place – appears confounding, contradictory, incomplete, and potentially contestable as it cannot be easily measured (Stedman 2003). However, in keeping with past research on women's lives in RDCs, it also represents an exploration of the multiplicity of place-based identities and experiences that were presented to me when I interviewed women in Gold River (Gibson-Graham

1994; Reed 2003b). Unlike any past research, mine contributes to and furthers the academic discourse as to how women organize their economic lives and, in turn, become actors in the processes that co-generate RDCs as lived places.

Thus, my research is a middle ground between community level data and individual experience. As a result, I have attempted to situate individuals as agents in the process of local development and as a contribution to research on the internal dynamics that help to structure local development outcomes. In the process of exploration and interpretation, I learned that my own needs for academic orderliness belied the messiness of everyday life. Much like Gibson-Graham's research (1994), mine was also concerned with finding a fit in the discourse for women. I was trying 'to add women in', to redress imbalances I saw in the recorded, academic history of RDCs as places (Reed 2003a; 2003b). That fit, however, was partial.

As Randall and Ironside (1995) have suggested, the persistent 'stereotypes' that have described RDCs have precluded consideration of the multiple ways in which individual RDCs have been simultaneously experienced, shaped, and changed by the people who make their daily life in them. The singular focus on the inter-relationship between industry and employment, has negated the multi-dimensional strategies that individual workers (and community members) use to maintain their livelihoods prior to, and following, restructuring events. Resource dependence may serve as a context for a range of people, interests, and livelihoods in such communities. RDCs, at an individual level, defy strict conceptualizations of them as spatially fixed occupational communities as they are individually lived places for all residents.

However, just as traditional ways of life have given way to new futures for RDCs, so too has the academic literature begun to shift from a research lens focused on the economic determinants of community – expressed through dependence – to an understanding that RDCs have also become populated by a diverse set of livelihood strategies. As an explanatory structure I was compelled by the tidy logic of Markey *et al.*'s (2005) triad as it had created categories of analysis through which the evolution of RDCs had been characterized. This framework was useful to describe the quantitative and theoretical evolution of RDCs through phases of dependence,

transition, and resilience. However, when I attempted to affix the 'results' of my empirical research to this framework I had little success.

Markey *et al.*'s (2005) recent research on community economic development (CED) has prioritized community level decision making and/or citizen engagement in cooperative enterprises to the exclusion of alternative income generating strategies that assume several shapes, types, modes, or values that are determined at individual scales. Indeed, the focus on community-based decision-making further reinforces the notion that in small, rural places, overtly public spaces are the sites where productive labour is negotiated by a relative elite. In this context, decision making generally falls to sets of civic and volunteer community leaders. Further, Markey *et al.*'s (2005) conceptualization of CED, as acts of resilience in light of past patterns of industry-based dependence and transition, reinforces the aggregation of statistical empirical data that has traditionally precluded considerations of individual experience, strategies, or responses to change. This reaffirms the persistent role of, and focus on, community, regional, or inter-regional levels of analysis as a means of characterizing place-based community change in RDCs.

In effect it would seem that the processes of CED render women passive recipients of economic strategies that determine their life in RDCs. They are, by omission, subject to the whims of processes that lie outside of themselves and their homes. In effect, the work spaces and places of women are further relegated to the economic, social, and spatial margins of RDCs. In essence, they become typified as victims of place (Northern Women's Task Force on Northern Communities 1977; Reed 2000). However, as the women of Gold River have shown me, women are indeed victors of place as they make use of place-based realities, resources, and networks to structure their own sets of self-determined livelihood strategies (Reed 2000).

Returning to the first section of my literature review, Willems-Braun (1997) suggested that the interrelationships between geography, institutions, and technology created a particular imagined and physical geographical territory. In the territory they create, Willems-Braun (1997) notes, there are systematic exclusions in terms of the groups and/or individuals who participate in the creation of space and place. In his particular case he refers to First Nations, but for the context of my

research, I would suggest that women have also been excluded from traditional conceptualizations of the development of RDCs as lived places. This is where women come into place: the production of space (RDCs) can be, in part, attributed to them as RDCs continue to exist in the rural landscape.

I consider my work to be a point of departure for future research. My research was exploratory in that I did not know what I would find in Gold River. Consequently, I have only started to scratch the surface of women's participation in and contribution to RDCs. Indeed, there exists a need to further explore and document the lives of women in RDCs. Future research should work to position women as individual actors and animators in the day-to-day social and economic processes that serve to make-up the daily realities and identity of place. In that respect, future research should also be dedicated to a more in-depth examination of the barriers that women encounter in relation to their socio-economic participation in RDCs and, by extension, to the processes of CED. Further, the women's adaptive responses to those barriers, and the subsequent strategies that they develop to mitigate the impacts of change, can inform future policy related to rural economic development or CED policies. Finally, future research should be dedicated to an examination of the factors which enable women to become self-employed. More broadly, the long term sustainability of RDCs requires an understanding of the contributions of men and women to the changing communities in which they live, particular in light of the constraints they face in planning for their own socio-economic future (Reed 1999). Finally, I hope that future research will work to understand the nature of place-based change and the effects on self-employment and other livelihood strategies in more diverse, even global, contexts.

5.4 Conclusion

In the end, I find the metaphor of a tourist useful to describe my research. The act of being a tourist demands curiosity, exploration, discovery, and the cognitive structuring of experientially 'new' spaces. Newly experienced places, however, are part of the taken for granted fabric of day-to-day life for those who inhabit them. Indeed, as researcher-tourist, I have intellectualized the ordinary. In this way, although they are also absent from academic characterizations of RDCs as places, I have learned that the lives of self-employed women are part of the fabric of place for residents of Gold River.

The women I interviewed are 'workers' but workers who are actively engaged in work that defies traditional conceptions of work in RDCs. From the perspectives of the literature, I would suggest that it is in the peripheral – even marginal spaces – of home that women have negotiated with the structure and culture that was initially set by industry. In turn, they have transformed it to suit their life and chosen lifestyle. Women effectively fill the gaps working with the structure of place while also moving beyond it. They have accepted both the opportunities and constraints that emerge from their life in Gold River. Despite their relegation to (externally or from the perspective of the literature/policy/et cetera) the social and economic margins they have managed to organize their economic lives in such a manner as to assume direct control over the circumstances of their employment.

It follows that the outcomes of my research represent a relatively new direction, particularly in terms of my focus on self-employed women. However, in keeping with the literature on women in RDCs, I have also positioned women as active participants in the construction and maintenance of place and community (Mackenzie 1986;1999; Reed 2003a; 2003b). In turn, I have prioritized the role of place as it has affected and been affected by the self-employed women I interviewed in Gold River.

Works Cited

- Adler, A. A. and P. Adler (1998). Observational techniques. Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials. N. K. Denzin and Y. L. Lincoln, eds. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing.: 79-107.
- Agnew, J. A. and J. S. Duncan (1989). Introduction. The Power of Place. J. A. Agnew and J. S. Duncan, eds. Unwin Hyman, Boston.
- Agnew, J. A. (1987). Place and Politics. Winchester, Allen & Unwin Inc.
- Allen, D. W. (2000). Social networks and self-employment. Journal of Socio-Economics 29: 487-501.
- Apitzsch, U. (2003). Gaining autonomy in self-employment processes. The biographical embeddedness of women's and migrants' business. International Review of Sociology 13(1): 163-182.
- Ashton, P. G. and J. B. Pickens (1995). Employment diversity and economic performance in small, resource dependent communities near western national forests. Society and Natural Resources 8: 231-241.
- Atkinson, P. and M. Hammersley (1994). Ethnography and participant observation. Handbook of Qualitative Research. N. K. Denzin and Y. L. Lincoln, eds. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing: 248-259.
- Bagguley, P., J. Mark-Lawson, J. Urry, S. Walby and A. Warde (1990). Restructuring: Place, Class and Gender. London, Sage Publishing.
- Barnes, T. J., R. Hayter, and E. Hay (1999). "Too young to retire, too bloody old to work": Forest industry restructuring and community response in Port Alberni, British Columbia. The Forestry Chronicle 75(5): 781-787.
- Barnes, T. and R. Hayter (1994). Economic restructuring, local development, and resource towns: Forest communities in Coastal British Columbia. Canadian Journal of Regional Science 17(3): 289-310.
- Barnes, T. and R. Hayter (1992). 'The little town that did': Flexible accumulation and community response in Chemainus, British Columbia. Regional Studies 26: 647-663.
- Baxter, J. and J. Eyles (1997). Evaluating qualitative research in social geography: establishing 'rigour' in interview analysis. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 22(4): 505-525.

- BC Stats. (2005) Gold River, Village. Community Facts.
www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/datadd/factsheet/cf115.pdf. Last accessed: May 28th, 2006.
- BC Stats. (2001) 1996 Census profile of British Columbia's Census Subdivisions (CSD): Profile of Gold River, VL.
<http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/pop/maps/RegDist/RD25.pdf>. Last accessed: May 11th, 2004.
- Beckley, T. M. and W. Reimer (1999). Helping communities help themselves: Industry-community relations for sustainable timber-dependent communities. The Forestry Chronicle 75(5): 805-810.
- Beckley, T. M. (1995). Community stability and the relationship between economic and social well-being in forest-dependent communities. Society and Natural Resources 8: 261-266.
- Bennett, K. and P. Shurmer-Smith (2001). Writing conversation. Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers. M. Limb and C. Dwyer, eds. London, Arnold Publishers: 251-263.
- Binkley, C. S. (1997). A cross road in the forest: The path to a sustainable forest sector in British Columbia. Troubles in the Rainforest: British Columbia's Forest Industry in Transition. T. Barnes and R. Hayter, eds. Victoria, Canadian Western Geographical Press. 33: 15-35.
- Bird, S. R., S. G. Sapp and Y. L. Motoko (2001). Small business success in rural communities: Explaining the sex gap. Rural Sociology 507-531(66): 4.
- Bradbury, J. H. and I. St. Martin (1983). Winding down in a Quebec mining town: A case study of Schefferville. The Canadian Geographer 27(2): 128-144.
- Bradbury, J.H. (1982). Instant resource towns policy in British Columbia: 1965-1972. Little Communities and Big Industries. Toronto, Butterworth & Co.:82-105.
- Bradbury, J. H. (1978). Class structures and class conflicts in "instant" resources towns in British Columbia -- 1965-1972. BC Studies 37: 3-18.
- Bruce, D. and G. Halseth (2004). The role of small business in community economic development. Building for Success: Exploration of Rural Community and Rural Development. G. Halseth and R. Halseth, eds. Brandon, Rural Development Institute: 195-222.
- Bruni, A., S. Gherardi and B. Poggio (2004). "Doing gender, doing entrepreneurship: An ethnographic account of intertwined practices." Gender, Work, and Organization 11(4): 406-429.
- Buttimer, A. (1980). Home, Reach, and the Sense of Place. The Human Experience of Space and Place. Seamon, D. and A. Buttimer, eds. London, Croom Helm: 166-187.

- Byron, R. N. (1978). "Community stability and forest policy in British Columbia." Canadian Journal of Forest Resources 8: 61-68.
- Carroll, M. S., K. A. Blatner, F. J. Alt, E. G. Schuster and A. J. Findley (2000a). "Adaptation strategies of displaced Idaho woods workers: Results of a longitudinal panel study." Society and Natural Resources 13: 95-113.
- Carroll, M. S., S. E. Daniels and J. Kusel (2000b). "Employment and displacement among Northwestern forest products workers." Society and Natural Resources 13: 151-156.
- Charmaz, K. (2002). Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis. Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method. J. A. Holstein and J. F. Gubrium, eds. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing: 675-693.
- Clandinin, D. J. and M. D. Connelly (1998). Personal experience methods. Methods in Human Geography. N. K. Denzin and Y. L. Lincoln, eds. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing: 150-156.
- Clapp, R. A. (1998). "The resource cycle in forestry and fishing." The Canadian Geographer 42(2): 129-144.
- Clarke, A. E. (2003). "Situational analyses: Grounded theory mapping after the postmodern turn." Symbolic Interaction 26(4): 553-576.
- Cloke, P., C. Philo and D. Sadler (1991). Approaching Human Geography: An Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Debates. New York, Guilford Press.
- Cloke P., Philo C. and S. D. (1991). Structuration theory: Anthony Giddens and the bringing together of structure and agency. Approaching Human Geography: An Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Debates. Cloke, P., C. Philo, and D. Sadler, eds. New York, Guilford Press: 93-128.
- Coffey, W. J. and M. Polese (1984). "Local development: Conceptual bases and policy implications." Regional Studies 19(2): 85-93.
- Cook, A. K. (1995). "Increasing poverty in timber dependent areas in western Washington." Society and Natural Resources 8: 97-109.
- Cowling, M. and M. Taylor (2001). "Entrepreneurial women and men: two different species?" Small Business Economics 16(3): 167-175.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design Choosing Among Five Traditions. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing.
- CS/RESORS Consulting Ltd. (1997). Women and the Forest Industry. Presented to Policy Development Branch, Ministry of Employment and Investment. June 23, 1997.

- Daily Commercial News and Construction Record (1999). Closure of mill leaves BC community without a meal ticket. Daily Commercial News and Construction Record. Online: B1.
- Dawe, S. (2004). Placing trust and trusting place: Creating competitive advantage in peripheral rural areas. Building for Success: Exploration of Rural Community and Rural Development. G. Halseth and R. Halseth, eds. Brandon, Rural Development Institute: 223-249.
- Dayton-Johnson, J. (2004). What does social cohesion contribute to the rural economy. Building for Success: Exploration of Rural Community and Rural Development. G. Halseth and R. Halseth, eds. Brandon, Rural Development Institute: 251-280.
- Dear, M. (1988). "The postmodern challenge: Reconstructing human geography." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 13: 262-274.
- Denzin, N. K. and Y. L. Lincoln (1994). Introduction: Entering the field of qualitative research. Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials. N. K. Denzin and Y. L. Lincoln, eds. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing: 1-17.
- DeWalt, K. M. and B. R. DeWalt (2002). Participant Observation: A Guide For Fieldworkers. Walnut Creek, AltaMira.
- Dovey, K. (1977). "Home as an ordering principle in space." Landscape 22.
- Dowler, L. (2001). Fieldwork in the trenches: Participant observation in a conflict area. Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: Issues and Debates. M. Limb and C. Dwyer, eds. London, Arnold: 153-164.
- Dye, J. F., I. M. Schatz, B. A. Rosenberg and S. T. Coleman (2000). "Constant comparison method: A kaleidoscope of data." The Qualitative Report 4(1/2). <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR4-1/dye.html>. Last accessed April 18th, 2005.): 1-9.
- Edwards, L. N. and E. Field-Hendrey (2002). "Home-based work and women's labour force decisions." Journal of Labour Economics 20(1): 170-181.
- Egan, B. and S. Klausen (1998). "Female in a forest town: The marginalization of women in Port Alberni's economy." BC Studies 118: 5-40.
- Entrikin, J. N. (1991). The Betweenness of Place: Towards a Geography of Modernity. Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press.
- Entrikin, J. N. (1989). Place, region, and modernity. The Power of Place. J. A. Agnew and J. S. Duncan. Boston, Unwin Hyman.
- Evans, M. (1998). Participant observation: The researcher as research tool. Qualitative Methods In Human Geography. J. Eyles and D. M. Smith, eds. Cambridge, Polity Press: 197-217.

- Eyles, J. (1998). Interpreting the geographical world. Qualitative Methods In Human Geography. J. Eyles and D. M. Smith, eds. Cambridge, Polity Press: 1-16.
- Filion, P. (1991). "Local economic development as a response to economic transition." Canada Journal of Regional Science 14(3): 347-370.
- Fontana, A. and J. H. Frey (2000). The interview: From structured questions to negotiated text. The Handbook of Qualitative Research. N. K. Denzin and Y. L. Lincoln, eds. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing: 645-669.
- Fontana, A. and J. H. Frey (1998). Interviewing: The art of science. Handbook of Qualitative Research. N. K. Denzin and Y. L. Lincoln, eds. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing: 47-76.
- Force, J. E., G. E. Machlis and L. Zhang (2000). "The engines of change in resource-dependent communities." Forest Science 46(3): 410-422.
- Force, J. E., G. E. Machlis, L. Zhang and A. Kearney (1993). "The relationship between timber production, local historical events, and community social change: A quantitative case study." Forest Science 39(4): 722-742.
- Freudenberg, W. R. (1992). "Addictive economies: Extractive industries and vulnerable localities in a changing world economy." Rural Sociology 57(3): 305-332.
- Georgellis, Y. and H. J. Wall (2005). "Gender differences in self-employment." International Review of Applied Economics 19(3): 321-342.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (1994). "Stuffed if I know! Reflections on post-modern feminist social research." Gender, Place, and Culture 1: 205-224.
- Gill, A. and M. Reed (1997). "The reimagining of a Canadian resour town: Postproductivism in a North American Context." Applied Geographic Studies 1(2): 129-147.
- Gill, A. (1990a). "Women in isolated resource towns: An examination of gender differences in cognitive structures." Geoforum 21(3): 347-358.
- Gill, A. (1990b). "Enhancing social interaction in new resource towns: Planning perspectives." Tijdschrift Voor Economische en Sociale Seografie 81(5): 348-363.
- Gill, A. (1990c). "Friendship formation in a new coal-mining town: Planning implications." SSR 74(2): 103-109.
- Gramling, R. and W. R. Freudenberg (1990). "A closer look at "local control": Communities, commodities, and the collapse of the Coast." Rural Sociology 55(4): 541-558.

- Green, E. and L. Cohen (1995). "'Women's Business': are women entrepreneurs breaking new ground or simply balancing the demands of 'women's work' in a new way?" Journal of Gender Studies 4(3): 297-314.
- Halseth, G. (2004). Introduction. Building for Success: Exploration of Rural Community and Rural Development. G. Halseth and R. Halseth, eds. Brandon, Rural Development Institute: 17-26.
- Halseth, G. and L. Ryser (2004). Gender at work and gender at home: The mediating role of the household economy in Northern British Columbia's Resource Dependent Towns. Structure and Dynamics of Rural Territories: Geographic Essays. J. Ramsey and B. Bryant, eds. Brandon, Rural Development Institute: 162-193.
- Halseth, G. and L. Sullivan (2003). "'The bright lights of the city': Intra-regional migration and the challenge for resource dependent towns." Geography Research Forum 23: 138-168.
- Halseth, G. and L. Sullivan (2002). Building Community in an Instant Town. Prince George, UNBC Press.
- Halseth, G. (1999a). "Resource town employment: Perceptions in small town British Columbia." Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie 90(2): 196-210.
- Halseth, G. (1999b). "'We came for the work': Situating employment migration in BC's small, resource-based communities." The Canadian Geographer 43(4): 363-381.
- Halseth, G. and J. Lo (1999). "New voices in the debate: The Quesnel Women's Resource Centre and sustainable community development." The Forestry Chronicle 75(5): 799-804.
- Hayter, R. (2003). "'The war in the woods': Post-Fordist restructuring, globalization, and the contested remapping of British Columbia's Forest Economy." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 93(3): 706-729.
- Hayter, R. (2000). Flexible Crossroads: The Restructuring of British Columbia's Forest Economy. Vancouver, UBC Press.
- Hayter, R. and T. J. Barnes (1997). Troubles in the rainforest: British Columbia's Forest Economy in Transition. Troubles in the Rainforest: British Columbia's Forest Economy in Transition. T. J. Barnes and R. Hayter, eds. Victoria, Western Geographical Press. 33: 1-11.
- Hayter, R. and T. Barnes (1997). "The restructuring of British Columbia's coastal forest sector: Flexibility perspectives." BC Studies 113: 6-34.
- Hayter, R., T. Barnes and E. Grass (1993). Single Industry Towns and Local Development: Three Coastal British Columbia Forest Product Communities. 1-21

- Heald, S. (1991). Projects and subjects: Women, the North, and job creation. Social Relations in Resource Hinterlands: Papers from the 27th Annual Meeting of the Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology. T. W. Dunk, ed. Thunder Bay, Lakehead University Centre for Northern Studies Series. 1: 105-121.
- Hesse-Biber, S. and P. Leavy (2004). Distinguishing qualitative research. Approaches to Qualitative Research: A Reader on Theory and Practice. S. Hesse-Biber and P. Leavy. New York, Oxford University Press: 1-16.
- Himelfard, A. (1982). The social characteristics of one-industry towns in Canada. Little Communities and Big Industries. Toronto, Butterworth & Co: 16-43.
- Holstein, J. A. and J. F. Gubrium (1994). Phenomenology, ethnomethodology, and interpretive practice. Research Methods In Human Geography. N. K. Denzin and Y. L. Lincoln, eds. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing: 262-273.
- Hughes, K. D. (2003). "Pushed or pulled? Women's entry into self-employment and small business ownership." Gender, Work, and Organization 10(4): 433-454.
- Hutton, T. A. (1997). Vancouver as a Control Centre for British Columbia's Resource Hinterland: Aspects of Linkage and Divergence in a Provincial Staple Economy. Troubles in the Rainforest: British Columbia's Forest Industry in Transition. T. Barnes and R. Hayter, eds. Victoria, Canadian Western Geographical Press. 33: 233-260.
- Jackson, P. (2001). Making sense of qualitative data. Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers. M. Limb and C. Dwyer, eds. London, Arnold Publishers: 199-214.
- Jean, B. (1989). Development in its place: Issues in local development. Canadian Journal of Regional Science 11(1): 5-8.
- Jones, L. (1991). Nootka Sound Explored. Campbell River, Ptarmigan Press.
- Jones, S. (1985). Depth Interviewing. Applied Qualitative Research. R. Walker. Vermont, Gower Publishing: 45-55.
- King, T. The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative. Toronto, Anansi.
- Korber, D., T. Beckley, M. Kuckerty and W. White (1998). Cultural, geographical, and sectoral refinements to measures of forest industry dependence. Canadian Journal of Forest Research 28(9): 1380-1387.
- Koster, R. and J. E. Randall (2005). Indicators of community economic development through mural based tourism. Canadian Geographer 49(1): 42-60.
- Krahn, H. and J. Gartrell (1983). Labour market segmentation and social mobility in a Canadian single-industry community. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 20(3): 322-345.

- Kruger, L. E. and P. J. Jakes (2003). The importance of place: Advances in science and application. Forest Science 49(6): 819-821.
- Kusel, J. (2001). Assessing well-being in forest dependent communities. Journal of Sustainable Forestry 13(1/2): 359-384.
- Kusel, J., S. Kocher, J. London, L. Buttolph and E. Schuster (2000). Effects of displacement and outsourcing on woods workers and their families. Society and Natural Resources 13: 115-134.
- Leach, B. (2000). Transforming rural livelihoods: Gender, work, and restructuring in three Ontario communities. Restructuring Caring Labour: Discourse, State Practice, and Everyday Life. S. Neysmith, ed. Don Mills, Oxford University Press: 209-225.
- Ley, D. (2003). Forgetting postmodernism: Recuperating a social history of local knowledge. Progress in Human Geography 27(5): 537-560.
- Ley, D. and A. Mountz (2001). Interpretation, representation, positionality: Issues in the field of research in human geography. Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers. M. Limb and C. Dwyer, eds. London, Arnold Publishers: 234-249.
- Liepins, R. (2000). New energies for an old idea: reworking approaches to 'community' in contemporary rural studies. Journal of Rural Studies 16: 23-35.
- Little, J. (1997). Employment marginality and women's self-identity. Contested Countryside Cultures: Marginalization, Rurality, and Otherness. P. Cloke and J. Little, eds. New York, Routledge: 138- 157.
- Lofland J. and Lofland L. (1995). Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis. Belmont, Wadsworth Publishers.
- Lombard, K. V. (2001). Female self-employment and demand for flexible, non standard work schedules. Economic Inquiry 39(2): 214-237.
- Loscocco, K. A. and J. Robinson (1991). Barriers to women's small-business success in the United States. Gender and Society 5(4): 511-532.
- Lucas, R. A. (1971). Mintown, Milltown, Railtown: Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- MacAulay, S. (2004). Contradictions between aims and practice in community economic development: The case of New Dawn enterprises. Canadian Journal of Development Studies 35(3): 445-461.
- Machlis, G. E., J. E. Force and R. G. Balice (1990). Timber, minerals, and social change: An exploratory test of two resource-dependent communities. Rural Sociology 55(3): 411-424.

- Mackenzie, S. (1999). Restructuring the relations of work and life: women as environmental actors, feminism as geographic analysis. Gender, Place, and Culture 6(4): 417-430.
- Mackenzie, S. (1986). Neglected spaces in peripheral places: Homeworkers and the creation of a new economic centre. Cahiers de Geographie du Quebec 31(83): 247-260.
- Mackenzie, S. and G. Norcliffe (1997). Restructuring in the Canadian newspaper industry. The Canadian Geographer 41(1): 2-6.
- Marchak, P. (2001). Logging the globe: The changing context for Canadian Forestry. The Forestry Chronicle 77(5): 854-859.
- Marchak, P. (1983). Green Gold: The Forest Industry in British Columbia. Vancouver, UBC Press.
- Marchak, P. (1990). Forest industry towns in British Columbia. Community and Forestry: Continuities in the Sociology of Natural Resources. R.G. Lee, D. R. Field and J. W. R. Burch, eds. Boulder, Westview Press: 95-106.
- Markey, S., J. Pierce, K. Vodden, M. Roseland. (2005). Second Growth: Community Economic Development in Rural British Columbia. Vancouver, UBC Press.
- Massey, D. (1991). Space, Place, and Gender. D. Massey. Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press.
- Maxwell, J. A. (1996). Qualitative Research and Design. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing.
- McCann, L. (1998). Interpreting Canada's heartland and hinterland. Heartland and Hinterland: A Regional Geography of Canada. 3rd Edition. L. McCann and A. M. Gunn, eds. Scarborough, Prentice Hall Canada Inc.: 1-41.
- McCann, L. (1982). The changing internal structure of Canadian resource towns. Little Communities and Big Industries. Toronto, Butterworth & Co.: 61-79.
- McKenna, M. K. and R. A. Roberge (2001). Restructuring, gender and employment in flux: A geography of regional change in Cornwall, Ontario. The Canadian Geographer 45(2): 223-236.
- M'Gonigle, R. M. (1997). Reinventing British Columbia: Towards a new political economy in the forest. Troubles in the Rainforest: British Columbia's Forest Economy in Transition. T. J. Barnes, and R. Hayter, eds. Victoria, Western Geographical Press. 33: 37-53.
- Miller, W. L. and B. F. Crabtree (2004). Depth interviewing. Approaches to Qualitative Research: A Reader on Theory and Practice. S. Hesse-Biber and P. Leavy, eds. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 185-202.

- Nadeau, S., B. Shindler and C. Kakoyannis (1999). Forest communities: New frameworks for assessing sustainability. The Forestry Chronicle 75(5): 747-753.
- Neil, C. and M. Tykklainen (1992). Introduction. Coping With Closure: An International Comparison of Mine Town Experiences. C. Neil, M. Tykklainen and J. Bradbury, eds. London, Routledge: 1-25.
- Norcliffe, G. (1994). Regional labour market adjustments in a period of structural transformation: An assessment of the Canadian case. The Canadian Geographer 38(1): 2-17.
- Northern Women's Task Force Report on Single Industry Communities (1977). Northern Women's Task Force Report on Single Industry Communities. 2-100
- Oberhauser, A., J. L. Mandel and H. M. Hapke (2004). Gendered livelihoods in diverse global contexts: An introduction. Gender, Place, and Culture 11(2): 205-208.
- Oberhauser, A. (2002). Relocating gender and rural economic strategies. Environment and Planning A 34: 1221-1237.
- O'Toole, K. and A. Macgarvey (2003). Rural women and local economic development. Journal of Rural Studies 19: 173-186.
- Overdeest, C. and G. P. Green (1995). Forest dependence and community well-being: A segmented market approach. Society and Natural Resources 8: 111-131.
- Osnowitz, D. (2005). Managing time in domestic space: Home-based contractors and household work. Gender & Society. 19(1):83-103
- Parkins, J. R., R. C. Stedman and T. M. Beckley (2003). Forest sector dependence and community well-being: A structural equation model for New Brunswick and British Columbia. Rural Sociology 68(4): 554-572.
- Parkins, J. R., R. C. Stedman and J. Varghese (2001). Moving towards local-level indicators of sustainability in forest-based communities: A mixed method approach. Social Indicators Research 56(1): 43-72.
- Parkins, J. (1999). Enhancing social indicators research in a forest-dependent community. The Forestry Chronicle 75(5): 771-779.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). Qualitative Research Evaluation and Methods. Newbury Park, Sage Publishing.
- Penfold, G. E., P. G. Dixon and D. Pinel (1999). Economic Development Strategy Update For the Village of Gold River Final Report. Prepared for the Village of Gold River Economic Development Committee. July 30, 1999. 1-89

- Philipson, J., K. Bennett, P. Lowe and M. Raley (2004). Adaptive responses and asset strategies: the experience of rural micro-firms and foot and mouth disease. Journal of Rural Studies 20: 227-243.
- Platz, J. (1992). Gold River Initiatives Society Employment Services/Resource Centre Study Final Report. August 28, 1992. 1-35
- Pocius, G.L. (2000). Place to Belong: Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland. McGill-Queen's: Montreal.
- Porteous, J. D. and S. E. Smith (2001). Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home. Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Porteous, J. D. (1987). Single enterprise communities. British Columbia: its resources and people. C. N. Forward. Victoria, Western Geographical Press: 383-396.
- Porteous, J. D. (1976). Home: The territorial core. Geographical Review 66(4): 383-390.
- Porteous, J. D. (1976). Quality of life in British Columbia company towns: Resident's attitudes. CONTACT: Journal of Urban And Environmental Affairs 8(3): 332-346.
- Porteous, J. D. (1974). Resource towns in BC opt for wilderness suburb. Habitat 17(1): 3-7.
- Porteous, J. D. (1970). "Gold River: An instant town in British Columbia." Geography 35: 317-322.
- Pred, A. (1984). Place as historically-contingent process: structuration and the time-geography of becoming places. Annals of the Association of American Geographers. 74: 279-97.
- Rainbow Society Research Committee (1988-1989). A Community Needs Survey From a Women's Perspective to Understand the Overall Status of Women's Lives in Gold River as a Single Industry Town. 1988-1989. Gold River, Gold River.
- Randall, I. and G. Ironside (1995). Communities on the edge: An economic geography of resource-dependent communities in Canada. The Canadian Geographer 40: 17-35.
- Reed, M. G. (2003a). Marginality and gender at work in forestry communities of British Columbia, Canada. Journal of Rural Studies 19: 373-389.
- Reed, M. G. (2003b). Taking Stands: Gender and the Sustainability of Rural Communities. Vancouver, UBC Press.

- Reed, M. (2000). Taking stands: A feminist perspective on 'other' women's activism in forestry communities of northern Vancouver Island. Gender, Place, and Culture 7(4): 363-387.
- Reed, M. (1999). "Jobs Talk": Retreating from the social sustainability of forestry communities. The Forestry Chronicle 75(5): 755-764.
- Reed, M. and A. Gill (1997). Community economic development in a rapid growth setting: A case study of Squamish BC. Troubles in the Rainforest: British Columbia's Forest Economy in Transition. T. Barnes and R. Hayter, eds. Victoria, Western Geographical Press. 33: 263-284.
- Relph, E. (1976). Place and Placelessness. London, Prion.
- Relph, E. (1989). Responsive methods, geographical imagination and the study of landscapes. Remaking Human Geography. A. Kobayashi and S. Mackenzie, eds. London, Unwin Hyman Inc.: 149-163.
- Richardson, L. (2004). Writing: A method of inquiry. Approaches to Qualitative Research: A Reader on Theory and Practice. S. Hesse-Biber and P. Leavy, eds. New York, Oxford University Press: 473-491.
- Riffel, J.A. (1975). Quality of Life in Resource Towns. Ottawa: Ministry of State, Urban Affairs Canada: Ottawa.
- Robinson, I. M. (1962). New Industrial Towns On Canada's Resource Frontier. Chicago, Department of Geography, University of Chicago.
- Rowe, B. R., G. W. Haynes and K. Stafford (1999). The contribution of home-based business income to rural and urban economies. Economic Development Quarterly 13(1): 66-77.
- Rubin, H. J. and I. S. Rubin (1995). Qualitative Interviews: The Art of Hearing Data. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing.
- Russell, B. (2002). Sampling. Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. B. Russell, ed. Walnut Creek, Altamira Press: 141-162.
- Russell, K. C. and C. Harris (2001). Dimensions of community autonomy in timber towns in the inland Northwest. Society and Natural Resources 14: 21-38.
- Sayer, A. (1984). Method in Social Science: A Realist Approach. London, Hutchinson.
- Seamon, D. (1979). A Geography of the Lifeworld. New York, St. Martin's Press.
- Seidman, I. (1998). Interviewing As Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and Social Sciences. New York, Teachers College Press.

- Shantz, P. (1997). Socio-economic sustainability in forest dependent communities. Journal of Sustainable Forestry 4(3): 185-196.
- Silverman, D. (2000). Analyzing talk and text. Handbook of Qualitative Research. N. K. Denzin and Y. L. Lincoln, eds. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publishing.
- Sixsmith, J., M. Boneham and J. E. Goldring (2003). Accessing the community: Gaining insider perspectives from the outside. Qualitative Health Research 13(4): 578-589.
- Smith, E. D. (1990). Economic stability and economic growth in rural communities: Dimensions relevant to local employment creation strategy. Growth and Change Fall: 3-18.
- Smith, M. D., R. S. Krannich and L. M. Hunter (2001). Growth, decline, stability, and disruption: A longitudinal analysis of social well-being in four western rural communities. Rural Sociology 66(3): 425-450.
- Smith, S. J. (1998). Constructing local knowledge: The analysis of the self in everyday life. Qualitative Methods In Human Geography. J. Eyles and D. M. Smith, eds. Cambridge, Polity Press: 17-38.
- Statistics Canada (2001). Community Profiles -Population Statistics for Gold River (Village), British Columbia, Statistics Canada. <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/profil01/CP01/004>, place name: Gold River. Last accessed: February 14th, 2005.
- Statistics Canada (1996). Community Profiles – Population Statistics for Gold River (Village), British Columbia, Statistics Canada. <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/>. Last accessed: November 18th, 2004.
- Stedman, R. C. (2003). Sense of place and forest science: Toward a program of quantitative research. Forest Science 49(6): 822-829.
- Stedman, R. C. (1999). Sense of place as an indicator of community stability. The Forestry Chronicle 75(5): 765-770.
- Stelter, G.A. and F.J. Artibise (1982). Canadian resource towns in historical perspective. Little Communities and Big Industries. Toronto, Butterworth & Co.: 47-59.
- Strauss, A. L. (1987). Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Strauss, A. L. and J. Corbin (1990). Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques. Newbury Park, Sage Publishing.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1975). Place: An experiential perspective. Geographical Review 65(2): 151-165.
- Vennesland, B. (2004). Social capital and networks in forest-based rural economic development. Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research 19(5): 82-89.

- Village of Gold River (2003). Village of Gold River Community Profile Updated October 2003. Gold River, Gold River:1-29
- Village of Gold River (1999a). Municipal Stabilization Funding Proposal: Village Vision Statement September 22, 1999. Gold River, Gold River: 1-5
- Village of Gold River (1999b). Gold River Transition Study: Phase 2 Final Projections Municipality. Report to the Community Stabilization Committee June 1, 1999. Gold River, Gold River: 1-8
- Walker, R. (1985). An introduction to applied qualitative research. Applied Qualitative Research. R. Walker, ed. Hants, Aldershot: 3-24.
- Wall, E., D. J. Connell and T. Fuller (2004). Profitable associations: The role of social capital in rural economic development. Building for Success: Exploration of Rural Community and Rural Development. G. Halseth and R. Halseth. Brandon, Rural Development Institute: 281-308.
- Walter, G. R. (1997). Staples, Regional Growth and Community Sustainability. Troubles in the Rainforest: British Columbia's Forest Economy in Transition. T. J. Barnes, and R. Hayter, eds. Victoria, Western Geographical Press. 33: 287-301.
- Warf, B. (1988). Regional transformation, everyday life, and pacific northwest lumber production. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 78(2): 326-346.
- Warren, L. (2004). A systematic approach to entrepreneurial learning: An exploration using storytelling. Systems Research and Behavioural Science 21: 3-16.
- Westlund, H. and R. Bolton (2003). Local social capital and entrepreneurship. Small Business Economics 21: 77-113.
- Willems-Braun, B. (1997). Colonial vestiges: Representing forest landscapes on Canada's West Coast. Troubles in the Rainforest: British Columbia's Forest Economy in Transition. T. J. Barnes, and R. Hayter, eds. Victoria, Western Geographical Press. 33: 99-125.
- Williams, D. R. and J. J. Vaske (2003). The measurement of place attachment: Validity and generalizability. Forest Science 49(6): 830-840.
- Yung, L., W. A. Freimund and J. M. Belsky (2003). The politics of place: Understanding meaning, common ground, and political difference on the Rocky Mountain Front. Forest Science 49(6): 855-866.

Appendix A

Letters of First Contact Distributed to or Read Over the Phone to Potential Research Participants

My name is Lindsay Dalton and I have given you this letter because I hope you will participate in a study I am doing as part of a Master of Arts degree in the Department of Geography at the University of Victoria.

My study is about women and economic development in Gold River. I have asked you to participate in this study because you are a resident of Gold River who could be considered self-employed and/or someone who owns/co-owns/operates a business in Gold River. I have a list of questions I would like to ask you, but I am generally interested in your perspectives generally on the past, present, and future in Gold River.

Gold River is like many communities on Vancouver Island that have experienced profound change in the last few years. I hope that my study will inform not only the academic community but provincial and regional policy makers. I anticipate that my work will serve to identify women as participants in the local processes of community and economic development in resource communities, such as Gold River. However, I also want to know what you would like done with this study: where should it go?

In terms of participation, I would ask that you participate in a one-on-one interview with that should take only an hour of your time. The attached participant consent form is an explanation of this study that I need to have signed if you decide you would like to participate. Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. I will be conducting interviews in Gold River from November 4th until November 13th, 2004; if is this inconvenient, a telephone interview can also be arranged. If you would like to participate please contact me via email at ldalton@uvic.ca or at 250-360-2771. I will also be contacting you again in the next week to see if you are willing to participate in an interview.

If you have any suggestions, concerns, or questions about my study, please do not hesitate to call me at either 250-721-7345 (office) or 250-360-2771 (home). My work is supervised by Dr. Holly Dolan, a professor in the Department of Geography, you may contact her at 250-721-7342.

Thank you in advance for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Lindsay Dalton.

Appendix B

Participant Consent Form for "The Place of Women: Exploring the role of place in shaping self-employment as a livelihood strategy for women in the Resource Dependent Community of Gold River, B.C."

You are being invited to participate in a study titled **Restructuring the Place of Women: Transition in a Forest Dependent Community**, that is being conducted by Lindsay Dalton. I am a Graduate Student in the Department of Geography at the University of Victoria; I may be contacted if you have further questions by emailing ldalton@uvic.ca, or by phoning (250) 721-7345.

As a Graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a Masters in Geography (MA). It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. A. Holly Dolan, who may be contacted at hdolan@office.geog.uvic.ca or (250) 721- 7342.

The purpose of this research project is to ascertain if and how women's social and economic participation in the community of Gold River has changed following the closure of the Bowater pulp mill in 1999. Research of this type is important in understanding how women contribute and adapt to changes in their community. You are being asked to participate in this study because you have lived in Gold River for longer than thirty years and/or you are a local entrepreneur or a member of the chamber of commerce.

If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include an interview that will take approximately 45 minutes. The interview will be recorded on a digital audio recorder. You have the right to refuse having your interview recorded; in such a case your interview will be recorded by hand. Recorded interviews will then be transcribed for use in analysis. You might also be asked, at a later date, to review a typed transcript of your interview in order to ensure the accuracy and clarity of your statements. Participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you, chiefly the time it will take for the interview and the verification of your interview transcript.

There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research. The potential benefits of your participation in this research include giving voice to your experiences in Gold River and a validation of your contribution to the community of Gold River.

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study your some your data will be included in the research. If however, you do not want your interview included in the final analysis, all accumulated information will be returned to you or immediately destroyed.

Since community members and participants are assisting me in identifying potential interview participants, I cannot assure your anonymity. However I will ensure that the confidentiality of the information disclosed during your interview will be preserved. To that end, I will assign to you a pseudonym that will be known only between you and I. A master list of pseudonyms will be kept in a secure location that is accessible only to me. Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by storing all accumulated information in a password protected computer and/or kept in a locked cabinet. Data from this study will be archived on a protected computer, accessible only by myself. Shredding the hard-copy documents and erasing the hard copy files will dispose of data from this study.

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the form of a written thesis and oral dissertation to a committee of academics. It may also be published in academic journals such as *Society and Natural Resources* or *Gender, Place, Culture*, or less formally in media such as the *Times Colonist*. I may also present my research at academic and professional conferences.

In addition to being able to contact the researcher [and, if applicable, the supervisor] at the above phone numbers, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Associate Vice-President, Research at the University of Victoria (250-472-4362).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix C

Research Questions for Participants

The following is a list of questions that served as an interview guide. As interviews were semi-structured, the ordering and wording of questions changed dependent on the interviewee. Further, where appropriate, other questions were asked in order to pursue stories, themes, and ideas that were introduced by research participants during our interviews. These questions were used only as a guide.

Background Questions

1. Please tell me a bit about yourself.
 - b. How old are you?
 - c. Where were you born?
 - d. Are you single? Married? Common law?
 - e. Do you have children?
 - f. What is your educational background?
 - b. Why did you move here?
 - c. Do you own your own home?

Questions Related to Women's Livelihood Strategies

2. As you are self-employed, please tell me what it is you do.
 - b. For how long have you been self-employed?
 - c. Where do you do most of your work?
 - d. What are your typical hours of work?
 - e. Do you work alone?
 - f. Do you have any paid employees?
 - g. Who is your clientele? Where are they from?
 - h. Do you have other paid employment?
3. Did you have help starting to become self-employed?
 - b. Did you have help from friends or family?
 - c. Did you have financial support to help you get started?

- d. How did you learn the skills necessary to maintain your self-employment?
 - e. Did you access any training programs?
4. Do you think it is easy to be self-employed in Gold River?
- b. What are some of the barriers to maintaining self-employment here?
 - c. How are you dealing with some of these barriers?

Questions Related to Restructuring

5. How did the closure of the mill (either newsprint or pulp) affect you?
- b. How did closure affect your self-employment?
6. How do think it affected the community of Gold River?
- b. In your opinion, have women contributed differently to the community since the mills closed?

Questions Related to Women's Perspectives on and Participation in the Community of Gold River

7. Are you a member of any community groups in Gold River?
- b. If you are, what do you do for those groups?
 - c. Why do you continue to participate in those groups?
8. Do you think that your business contributes to 'community' of Gold River?
- b. If so, how?
9. In your opinion, are there a lot of women who are self-employed or who own/co-own/operate a business in Gold River?
- b. Do you think this is important?

Questions Related to Women's Perspectives on the future of Gold River

10. Why do you continue to live in Gold River?
- b. How long do you expect to live here?

11. What are your future visions for the Village?
 - b. What should change in Gold River?
 - c. What should stay the same?
 - d. Are there enough services here for you?

12. What would you like done with the results of this study?