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Entrenched Instability: The Community Implications of Flexibility in British Columbia's Northern Interior

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Abstract

Economic restructuring of British Columbia's forestry sector, stimulated by the recession in the 1980s, has challenged the viability of the post-war institutions and economic landscape. This period marked an end the expansion of the forestry sector as industry and the province worked to contend with a number of global and local pressures. Restructuring instigated processes whereby engrained institutional arrangements were dismantled and redefined. This paper examines how forestry companies are redefining relationships at the local level, enacting flexibility outside of the mill, within communities. The analysis of case study findings from three communities explore how companies have negotiated flexibility and rationalized business practices in an effort to address uncertainty. These processes have exposed the inherent tension between companies and communities regarding relationships. Furthermore, corporate visions of 'flexible communities' ignore the structural and geographic realities embedded within resource-dependent communities. The push for flexibility within the forestry sector and resource-dependent communities has resulted in exacerbating longstanding issues of dependence, vulnerability, and disparity; a result that runs contrary to the interest of the province, resource-communities, and forestry companies.

Keywords: flexibility; restructuring; resource towns; forestry; local development

1.0 Introduction

The 2008-2009 recession highlighted the precarious position occupied by forestry communities. In British Columbia's (BC) northern Interior, rural communities faced a 'perfect storm' consisting of falling commodity prices and reduced demand linked to the US housing market, an appreciating Canadian dollar, and constricted timber supply and increased operating costs associated with the mountain pine beetle infestation. As a result of these factors, there were 17 permanent mill closures and 91 temporary and indefinite mill shutdowns in the Interior from 2006 to 2010 (MoF, 2011). This contributed to a 44% reduction in provincial forestry sector employment between 2004 and 2009 (Holmes, 2010).

This recession exposed and exacerbated many structural issues plaguing BC's forestry sector since the early 1980s. The recessions of the early 1980s marked the beginning of ongoing economic restructuring as government and industry sought stability. Research has outlined the different ways forestry companies have instituted flexibility within the production process, particularly on the Coast (see Barnes & Hayter, 1992; Hayter, 2000; Hayter & Barnes, 1997). This research contributes to the literature by examining the human dimensions of flexibility in

BC's northern Interior (Figure 1). This paper examines how companies have pursued flexibility outside of their mills, within forestry-dependent communities. More specifically, it highlights how companies have changed approaches to local business sectors and pressured municipal councils to help create 'flexible communities'.

Figure 1: Study area.



2.0 Economic and Rural Restructuring Within BC's Interior

The forest industry is divided into two regions, each characterized by distinct timber resources, histories and geographies of development. The early development of the Coastal region was driven by access to seawater for the cheap transportation of logs to mills and commodities to markets (Hayter, 2000). Longer, wetter growing seasons contributed to the rapid forest growth of tree species suited for high-value commodities. Sawmills were established in the mid-1800s to service European and global markets (Marchak, 1995). The Interior developed later with the establishment of railways, providing access to transcontinental markets (Farley, 1972). Shorter, drier growing seasons, produced lower volumes of smaller trees suitable for producing dimension lumber and pulp.

From World War II until the late 1970s, forestry in BC was organized along Fordist principles. Large, vertically integrated, multinational forestry companies mass produced a limited number of standardized commodities using economies of scale. Within mills, assembly-line production and dedicated machinery was coupled with scientific management of labour (Barnes et al., 1999; Hak, 2007). Large unions represented production workers who engaged in work structured by collective agreements with strict seniority principals and job demarcation. During this period high levels of productivity and low levels of unemployment characterized the provincial forestry sector.

In the periphery, communities enjoyed a period of relative stability and prosperity from the 1950s until the early 1980s. During these three decades a number of institutions were established that continue to shape the rural economies and

geographies of the Interior. In terms of local development policy makers and academics declared that resource communities had reached maturity (Lucas, 1971). Economic downturns were perceived to be temporary and were offset by collective bargaining agreements and government programs (Hayter, 2000). Prosperity meant that communities were heavily reliant on companies and government for funding and direction. Dependence and the influence of union culture worked against creating local entrepreneurs and independent leadership. This dependence and culture worked to curb the maturation and diversification of resource-dependent communities.

The provincial government designed new tenure arrangements to attract investment in resource mega-projects by large, multinational companies. Government also invested in transportation, communication, and power infrastructures to drive expansion into the northern Interior (Edgington, 2004; Porteous, 1987). These policies and infrastructures worked as incentives to investment by transferring risks and costs to the public sector (Gunton, 2003). The provincial government also assumed responsibilities in the creation of several new 'instant towns' to house labour forces adjacent to remote resource reserves. This suite of policies and investments contributed to the rapid growth of the provincial annual cut from 22 million cubic metres in 1950 to 55 million cubic metres in 1970 (Rajala, 2006). Most of this increase came from the Interior.

A number of deep and severe recessions in the early 1980s and 1990s instigated restructuring of the provincial forestry sector. This period marked an end the expansion of the forestry sector as industry and the province worked to contend with a number of global and local pressures (Munro, 2004). Restructuring was a contentious process as engrained institutional arrangements were dismantled and redefined. New actors also sought to influence forestry practice and policy frameworks (Hayter, 2003). Changing public attitudes associated with the rise of environmentalism began to challenge the established forestry model. First Nations, long excluded from resource economies, also challenged corporate access to the forest through a series of land claims (Wallace & Shields, 1997). Concerns over environmental degradation, management practices, and depletion of the resource base led to a series of protests and boycotts that threatened the entire timber commodity chain (Hoberg, 1996; McCarthy, 2006). These concerns were related to 'falldown' where cut levels were expected to fall as old growth forests were depleted and timber quality and quantity decreased (Pearse, 1992; Pedersen, 1995).

A number of global pressures were responsible for destabilizing the provincial forestry sector. New technologies enabled other low-cost regions to supply lumber and pulp to global markets (Marchak, 1995). At the same time, protectionism also constricted access to the US market as a series of softwood lumber disputes curbed exports (Zhang, 2007). The rise of Japanese markets, which initially helped to offset the contraction of American markets, shrunk with the Asian economic crisis in the late 1990s. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s industry experienced sharp oscillations between record losses and profits.

In response, industry underwent numerous rounds of restructuring in search of flexibility. Government reconfigured management practices in an effort to address conflict and instability with varying degrees of success. In general, meaningful change to the industrial forestry framework has not occurred because government is dependent upon resource revenues. As a result, successive governments, regardless of political orientation, have sacrificed environmental goals and

economic development opportunities to support the established forestry regime. The search for flexibility has put the region in a state of prolonged unrest as industry and communities lurch from one crisis to another (Lawson, 2010).

Companies have also sought different forms of flexibility from labour and communities (Hayter & Barnes, 1997). Within mills flexibility has taken on different forms with regards to labour. The biggest implication of adopting flexible production is the loss of jobs due to reorganization of production and investment in technology. Increasing contract, part-time, and temporary workers have been employed to mirror companies' labour needs and reduce costs (Holmes, 1997). New collective agreements have linked employee pay to mill performance, usually through a series of bonuses, payments, or profit-sharing arrangements. Computerization of the production process has increased efficiency and flexibility and allowed greater control over quality and the end product. Each of these changes has come at the expense of high-paying union jobs. Within communities restructuring also changed the way companies conducted business (Markey et al., 2005). In general, the search for flexibility within communities meant reduced support for community organizations, fewer part-time and summer jobs for university students, and reduced municipal taxes. For communities the search for flexibilities has been a painful and contested process resulting in "entrenched instability" (Ostry & Davis, 2009; p. 22).

Government has responded by instituting a decidedly neoliberal version of flexibility that emphasised market-based flexibility of the forestry sector and reduced requirements and restrictions on production (Haley & Nelson, 2006; Markey et al., 2005). First, prescriptive regulations were abandoned in favour of 'results-based' regulations that evaluated management on achieving desired results rather than adhering to established practices. Second, companies were allowed to temporarily suspend production when necessary, close inefficient mills without public review, and redirect logs to desired mills for processing. Third, restrictions on tenures were relaxed, allowing companies to trade and divide tenure without review. Fourth, BC Timber Sales was created to institute market-based stumpage where the value of timber auctioned on the log market determines provincial stumpage rates (Young & Matthews, 2007). Finally, limits on company outsourcing were removed leading to a rapid expansion in the number of contractors (Lawson, 2010).

Rural BC has also undergone restructuring exposing many of the longstanding weaknesses within resource-dependent economies. Further, new regional economic development policies marked a shift in the relationship between communities and companies; policies have effectively un-tethered capital from community (Prudham, 2008). Communities have left in control of economic development planning for the first time, a task for which many were ill prepared due to the lack of entrepreneurs and small leadership pools (Barnes et al., 2001). Interestingly, corporate and rural restructuring also represented an ideological shift where communities were viewed obstacles rather than a necessary asset for production (Young, 2006). In many ways this has pitted companies and communities against each other leaving communities with an increasingly uncertain future.

The implications of these changes were apparent in Mackenzie where companies temporarily closed operations and diverted capital and fiber to more efficient mills until the market recovered. Local businesses, labour, and council were left to bear the costs of the recession. The community also worked with companies during this

downturn to address outstanding taxes. Municipal council was called upon to lobby the government regarding fiber arrangements to make shuttered mills attractive to investors. Canfor decided to reopen the mill in 2010 when workers accepted pay cuts (almost 30%), council cut property taxes by 25% for three years, and the stumpage for spruce was reduced (Ebner, 2010).

3.0 Methods and Case Study Background

This study focuses on the changing community-company relationships in Houston, Mackenzie, and Quesnel, three forestry-dependent communities in BC's northern Interior. This research used a qualitative case study approach to conduct an in-depth analysis of community-company relationships within a community setting. The data presented here are from 67 semi-structured key informant interviews with local community leaders, leaders of community organizations, businesspeople, union representatives, forestry sector workers, and mill managers (Table 1). Three focus groups were also conducted with forestry workers in each community. These data were analysed using thematic analysis and were triangulated with community histories constructed with census data, archival data, local/regional newspapers, company newsletters, local histories, union newsletters, and municipal records. The primary data presented in this paper are drawn from the key informant interviews.

Table 1. *Key Informant Interviews by Occupational Group*

	Houston	Mackenzie	Quesnel
Community leader	3	4	3
Leader of a community organization	4	3	6
Mill manager	5	2	3
Businessperson	4	7	2
Union representative	1	1	2
Forestry sector	3	7	7
Total	20	24	23

Houston, Mackenzie and Quesnel are rural forestry-dependent communities. Their local forestry sectors are dominated by a few large mills that control most of the local timber supply. Mackenzie is an 'instant town', created to support two large pulp mills and three sawmills. The village of Houston grew rapidly after it was established as a company town to support a large, integrated forestry complex. The community gained independence when the failing mill was purchased by Northwood and the company distanced itself from many established paternalist roles. Two large sawmills, one of which is amongst the largest in the world, dominate Houston's forestry sector. Quesnel is home to five sawmills, two pulpmills, a plywood mill, and a medium-density fibreboard plant. The local economies are characterized by 'high' (between 30% and 49%) levels of dependence on forestry, 'high' (> 45%) levels vulnerability, and are among the 'least' diversified in the province (Horne, 2009). Labour shedding in the forestry sector has contributed to declining populations in each community (See Table 2).

During data collection the mills in Houston and Quesnel experienced a number of temporary shutdowns and shift curtailments. In Mackenzie, the local unemployment rate reached 70% (the provincial unemployment rate during this time was around 5%) as the mills were indefinitely shut down (BC Stats, 2012; Faiola, 2008).

Table 2. *Population Change in Study Communities: 2001-2006*

	2001	2006	% Change
Houston	3,557	3,163	-11.6
Census rural (%)		859 (27.2)	
Census urban (%)		2,304 (72.8)	
Mackenzie	5,206	4,539	-12.8
Census rural (%)		223 (4.9)	
Census urban (%)		4,316 (95.1)	
Quesnel	10,044	9,326	-7.1
Census rural (%)		0 (0)	
Census urban (%)		9,326 (100)	

Source: BC Stats, 2008

4.0 Findings

This section presents two categories of findings outlining how companies have enacted flexibility outside of the mill, within communities. The first category examines how forestry companies have rationalized business practices with local businesses to increase flexibility. Within the study communities these practices have weakened local businesses and increased instability. For instance, centralized purchasing policies have ignored the conditions faced by local businesses and eroded their ability to compete. Companies also increased their use of large, extra-local contractors in an effort to reduce costs. Remaining local contractors were pressured to reduce costs during the economic downturn. While these changes helped companies achieve flexibility, they contributed to economic leakage and erosion of services within communities. The second category of findings outlines how companies have negotiated flexibility within communities. Policies were not simply dictated by corporate offices, rather they were negotiated over time with municipal governments. At the local level, companies increasingly worked indirectly to influence planning and decision-making. Direct involvement has reduced over time and is usually reserved to address issues that threaten local production.

4.1 Changed Approach to Conducting Local Business

The adoption of centralized purchasing by forestry companies became common practice over the past 20 years in an effort to rationalize operations. Centralized purchasing weakened local economies through increased economic leakage as fewer supplies and services from local businesses. These policies were rigid, limiting managers' ability to accommodate for local circumstances. Policies set in core regions increasingly ignored variation between communities and took a 'one size fits all' approach to conducting business. As a result, many local businesses

did not have an opportunity to provide skilled services as corporate policies precluded them from obtaining contracts. Beginning in the 1980s, companies removed many policies or contract provisions aimed at benefitting the community. For example, as a local businessperson outlined, some companies used to ensure that local businesses would receive contracts if their quotes were close to other bids:

I own a small business that supplied the mills. I supply the mills less today than before, there has been a shift...There was a centralization of purchasing which meant that less and less was being purchased locally... We started to see this shift thirty years ago towards bigger and better. Global operations and global products have made it hard for the local economy. There is this perception that nobody local can compete local businesses and don't get a chance. It is a trend amongst companies and consumers. Economic leakage [from the local economy] is worse than it has ever been.

Forestry companies have increasingly awarded contracts to large, independent contractors to reduce costs and increase efficiency. Large contractors are more efficient because they can purchase specialized, expensive equipment. Many local businesses were replaced by large corporate franchises, particularly within the logging sector. This diverted capital from local owner-operators to owners and shareholders outside of the region (Bowles et al., 2002). A community leader argued this shift has made "the local forestry industry less 'community-based'. For instance, if managers want to purchase from one of the local businesses they have to talk to a purchasing department in Edmonton." A local businessperson asserted that remaining local businesses are increasingly used in emergency situations rather than as main suppliers:

Purchasing of goods and services is going to businesses in Prince George more and more. I mean we have lost services like BC Bearing. Only local branches of big multinational companies like Finning get contracts. The services in Mackenzie that are used are generally on a Saturday night when they can't get anybody else. Local businesses are used for emergency purposes only, not for day-to-day stuff. That has really hurt our industrial area. You hear stories about company guys that needed stuff and they could get it in town but are not allowed to because central purchasing got everything out of Prince George. Everything became slower and the local merchants just don't have much of a chance to bid on these items.

Concentration of local forestry sectors in the hands of a few companies also contributed to increased vulnerability amongst businesses. For example, in Quesnel some businesspeople felt that West Fraser's dominance of the local sector gave small businesses and contractors few options or leverage when negotiating. This has allowed forestry companies to pressure local contractors to reduce costs and increase flexibility. Companies responded to this recession by demanding concessions from communities, employees, and contractors. Many contractors indicated that they were forced to choose between operating at a loss and going out of business. One contractor outlines the implications for local businesses and labour:

Recently one of the [companies] cut 20 minutes off of the [logging truck] cycle time. The trucks already drive too fast under horrible conditions. It is unprecedented to take a look at cycle times, that are already dangerously short, and say, “we’re pinched for cash guys you have to drive faster.” I just don’t get it.... Well I guess I do, it is like everything else that happens with companies. It is money based, but at some point somebody really has to take a look. It is unsafe for the drivers... It just means that it forces drivers to work longer, make one more trip, do something to make ends meet. This just places more stress on an already stressed out logging industry. This move will force experienced operators out of business and bring in inexperienced operators under the assumption that they can make some money if they really pinch.

4.2 Negotiating flexibility

Forestry companies also exerted pressure on municipal councils to reduce demands and constraints upon industry. Over time, companies have decreased their direct involvement in municipal politics and governance to reduce demands upon management and resources. However, companies remain key actors in municipal governance by influencing planning, agendas, service provision, and vision for economic development. My analysis also found that companies continue to directly engage municipal councils on issues such as taxation that restrict flexibility and threaten profitability.

Since the 1980s, company involvement in municipal politics has become predominantly indirect. Companies prefer to remain detached from municipal politics unless issues impact their operations. Reflecting on this new approach by companies, a community leader in Mackenzie stated, “Companies are more detached now, they are content to let the town council run the town with little input from the company”. This approach was adopted across the forestry sector as, “as local politics exerted less influence on the corporate bottom-line” (Beckley, 1996; p. 44). Regarding involvement in municipal politics, an interviewee in Quesnel explained companies’ approach, “they try to stay out of municipal politics and local decision-making. They tend to stay within their area of expertise”.

Companies preferred to be indirectly involved in municipal politics in an ‘advisory role’ unless direct involvement was necessary. Community members had mixed feelings about the lack of direct involvement by forestry companies in municipal politics. On the one hand, local managers’ expertise and skill-sets are underutilized in community planning and decision-making. This is a particularly important issue in rural communities where companies remain valuable sources of human capital in small, isolated, remote places. On the other, communities were grateful for increased independence from companies and indicated that there was no desire to return to paternalistic relationships. As a forestry worker noted:

If companies wanted to be involved in the community they could be highly influential. So the fact that they aren’t [involved] as much, maybe that’s a good thing. But on the other hand, maybe we are missing some really good management talent that exists [in companies]. In a community like this that is so dominated by forestry having the forest companies at arm’s reach

from your government is almost [as important] as the separation of church and state [*laughs*]. You want to kind of maintain that separation!

Company personnel have worked indirectly with municipal councils to shape agendas that favour forestry companies. This is possible because forestry companies continue to hold and wield great influence with local governments. This allows companies to shape or guide the agenda of council to address pressing issues. Some interviewees indicated that because companies were able to influence council to remain focused on forestry it kept the community from addressing economic diversification and community development. In Houston, the leader of a community organization recounted company influence over the municipal agenda:

All of our eggs are in one basket here. The relationship between the forestry companies and council was as thick as can be. The companies [have always] called the shots and everyone in town jumped. Some councillors were employees of the big companies. The current mayor's husband was a manager at Canfor. Everyone jumped to the tune of the companies, which is a bad thing from my point of view.

Council members with ties to forestry were important in advancing favourable agendas for companies. These council members have a vested interest in establishing conditions that contribute to the profitability of the local sector. For example, municipal councils worked diligently to determine how to support local mills during the recession with the goal of sustaining local employment. In Quesnel, council secured investment from West Fraser in a sawmill by granting tax concessions. In Mackenzie, municipal government worked with Canfor and the provincial government to keep their local sawmill operating through the downturn. In Houston, community members and leaders indicated municipal council formally adopted a favourable approach to companies, consisting of policies aimed at fostering a strong local forestry sector.

Municipal taxation was the exception that caused direct involvement. Taxation levels were identified as a catalyst for companies to become involved in municipal politics. As one interviewee commented, "The main intersection between company and community are the efforts to reduce taxation. This is understandable from their point of view that forestry towns have very high industry taxation." As a result, there was direct industry involvement regarding issues, plans, and expenditures that affected, or were perceived to affect, industrial taxation levels. Companies felt taxation should be flexible to accommodate industry during crises. Due to pressure from companies, councils worked to reduce taxation in an effort to secure investment, address stability of the local sector, and reduce dependence on industrial taxation.

In terms of municipal politics it is sort of on the fringes. There are mill people on council. There is a bias towards the forest industry on town council from people that were involved in forestry on council. You have seen that over issues with taxation. There is not as much direct involvement in local politics but pressure is there to reduce taxes and influence the agenda of council.

The most vivid example of company involvement regarding taxation was in Quesnel where companies formed the Industrial Ratepayer Association to address

industrial taxation, a longstanding local issue. Community leaders from Quesnel viewed high industrial taxation levels as being ‘inequitable’ and ‘unfair’ because it composed a large proportion of the city’s total tax base. Council worked to address the imbalance between residential and industrial taxation to relieve burdens on industry. However, some community leaders argued that municipal taxation accounted for a small portion of each mill’s operating costs, making the impact of reduced municipal taxation negligible on the sustainability of local industry. Moreover, industry did not address the disproportionate requirements and impacts on infrastructure of industrial users relative to residential users.

Companies argued for reduced taxation by asserting that they do not use many of the services provided. This argument was found to be effective in influencing municipal spending. Municipal councils indicated they consider companies’ opinions when allocating spending on services and infrastructure. As a leader in Houston stated, “If you are going to fund services or infrastructure with tax dollars it is often contentious with industrial ratepayers if they do not use the service. The needs of industry affect decision-making regarding funding with taxation dollars”.

5.0 Discussion

Companies have successfully pursued their flexibility agenda by reiterating a vision of the ‘footloose’ nature of capital and increasing irrelevance of space. Communities have responded by making themselves attractive places for investment. In essence, communities feel they are competing with one another for industry jobs. However, communities often have little to bargain with other than creating favourable municipal conditions via regulation, or lack thereof; providing land for development (Harvey, 1989); and reduced taxation levels (Bowles et al., 2002). With regards to community-company relationships, this creates a situation where state governments relinquish companies from corporate citizenship duties reducing economic benefits to the community, which adversely impacts community well-being (Bliss et al., 1998).

There is an inherent tension between company and community expectations regarding the nature of relationships. This tension is rooted in a history of linking forest utilization to community stability. Communities strongly feel the forest industry has a responsibility to address employment stability and play a role in community development. Interviewees stressed that changes to how industry operates within communities are not just about the economy. This view is too narrow because the roles companies assume have implications for the social and economic well-being of forest-dependent communities (Gale & Gale, 2006). Despite restructuring and policy changes, companies remain integral local institutions due to their de facto influence over local economic activities, rhythm, culture, and governance.

Furthermore, companies continue to rely on communities to play important roles in production. Indeed, Cox and Mair (1988) find that despite companies’ efforts to eliminate local dependence, it remains a necessity. Resource-dependent communities in BC continue to be remote, rural places located adjacent to resources. Local managers and community leaders agreed that attractive, functioning communities play an important role in attracting skilled workers to such places. In the study communities, skilled workers were the first to leave and the hardest to attract back. At the time of this writing, companies are still struggling to recruit skilled labour back to the region as lumber prices rebound and

production ramps up. Companies attempted to address this issue during mill shutdowns in Mackenzie by keeping a core group of skilled labour hired at the mills while laying off production workers. At one of the mills, skilled workers were kept on to patrol the empty mill as security guards. In another case, skilled workers were retained during the shutdown because they were seen as being integral to the saleability of the mill.

There are also contradictions between company discourse and actions regarding the importance of communities in the production process. Company discourse has reiterated that communities place too many demands on capital, making them unattractive places to do business. As such, companies have increased pressure on communities for concessions to increase flexibility. However, forestry companies continue to rely on communities to fulfil many of their traditional roles. Furthermore, companies continue to play important indirect roles in service planning and provision, and various community policies thought to impact operations, suggesting that contrary to discourse, companies and communities continue to rely upon one another.

While industry has been quick to point out that taxation levels between residential and industrial users are disproportionate, nothing was said about impacts of their usage relative to residential users. Companies also fail to acknowledge that the structure of forest-dependent economies discourage the development of other industries, which might have shouldered the cost of providing local services (Freudenburg & Gramling, 1998; Polèse & Shearmur, 2006). A study by Slack et al. (2003) indicates that tax assessments on resource-based industries are higher in rural remote communities due to the absence of other industrial and commercial ratepayers and the high costs of providing services within these communities.

Besides reduced involvement outside of the mill, companies also adopted a different approach to communities. Communities characterized this new approach as a corporate approach to business. Companies have increasingly adopted an economic rationale towards community involvement and dealings with local businesses. Local businesses were weakened by this strategy. Certainty and stability were drastically reduced for local retail outlets, contractors, and service businesses, as forestry companies moved to become lean and flexible. While community groups and organizations could look to members for funding as corporate donations dried up, local businesses had fewer options. For many local businesses, offsetting the loss of business in a remote, rural setting was an insurmountable task.

6.0 Conclusions

While industry and government are clearly attempting to generate a fix for the crisis within the forestry sector, there is an urgent need to reassess support for communities. The experience of Mackenzie during this recession is a vivid example of how flexibility has drastically different implications for communities and companies. In each community flexibility weighs heavily on the everyday lives of residents who are less mobile and flexible than capital. While this research did not find any evidence that a return to paternalism would be beneficial or desired, support from government and companies is needed in the form of financing, planning, and infrastructure. This fits with the rural development and restructuring literatures, which calls for all parties to balance company and government support with community independence (Halseth et al., 2010).

Communities will require support and resources to transition from, or lessen, staples dependence. They cannot be left to fend for themselves by industry and government. Inadequate support would likely exacerbate relationships and economies of dependence, vulnerability, and disparity. As Amin (2005, p. 630) states, "regeneration cannot be a localist affair or a matter of local responsibility alone, but has to be part of a wider political economy of decentred power and redistributive justice". This will require government, communities, and companies to enter into new relationships based upon support and reciprocity rather than on dependence and reliance.

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