WORKING NATURES: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF LOVE, LABOUR, AND ACCUMULATION ON THE BRITISH COLUMBIAN COAST

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Abstract

The primary question for investigation throughout this research is how the environmental knowledges of settler-colonists and their descendants have been formed through processes of work and dwelling in place. This dissertation results from over a year of fieldwork in an aging community where retired loggers, semi-retired fishermen, and retired exurban migrants are actively renegotiating the meanings of local places and natures as the local economy shifts from a base in logging and fishing to one in recreational and retirement real estate development. Through archival research, life history interviews and participant-observation with loggers, fishermen, exurban retirees and other long-term residents I explored the complications and contradictions inherent in learning to value nature through processes of transforming and intervening in ecological processes for economic ends. Writing against hard social constructivism I examine the ways in which the life cycles of fish and fish populations, the contingencies of weather, topography and currents, and, the physical form of the land are active elements in the formation of labour and settlement patterns in coastal British Columbia. As a contribution to the underdeveloped field of first world political ecology this work maps environmental knowledges and values developed in tense complicity with regimes of natural resource management and accumulation by dispossession. Central to this process is how people become agents of the commodification of nature and place in their everyday lives and work, and, how private property has become naturalized as a prerequisite to "protecting" self, nature, and community from precarity in the era of late capitalism. This dissertation tracks the various ways, both historically and in the present, that settlers and their descendants on the BC Coast have attempted to simultaneously make a living and make a home of an occupied place—the imperialist nostalgia and (neo)liberal white guilt endemic to the process.

For my parents, Paul and Dianne Yard, who first brought me to the Sunshine Coast and,

for my daughter, Brika Dorothy Mauro, born in Sechelt, British Columbia June 30th, 2008: for all the things that you continue to teach me, not least of which is that strict adherence to clock time is the impoverishment of life.

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I hope that the grouping of so many words of thanks does not undermine the genuine affection and gratitude with which they were written. The true privilege of my life is that it is so full.

-Jaime Yard
September 21st, 2012

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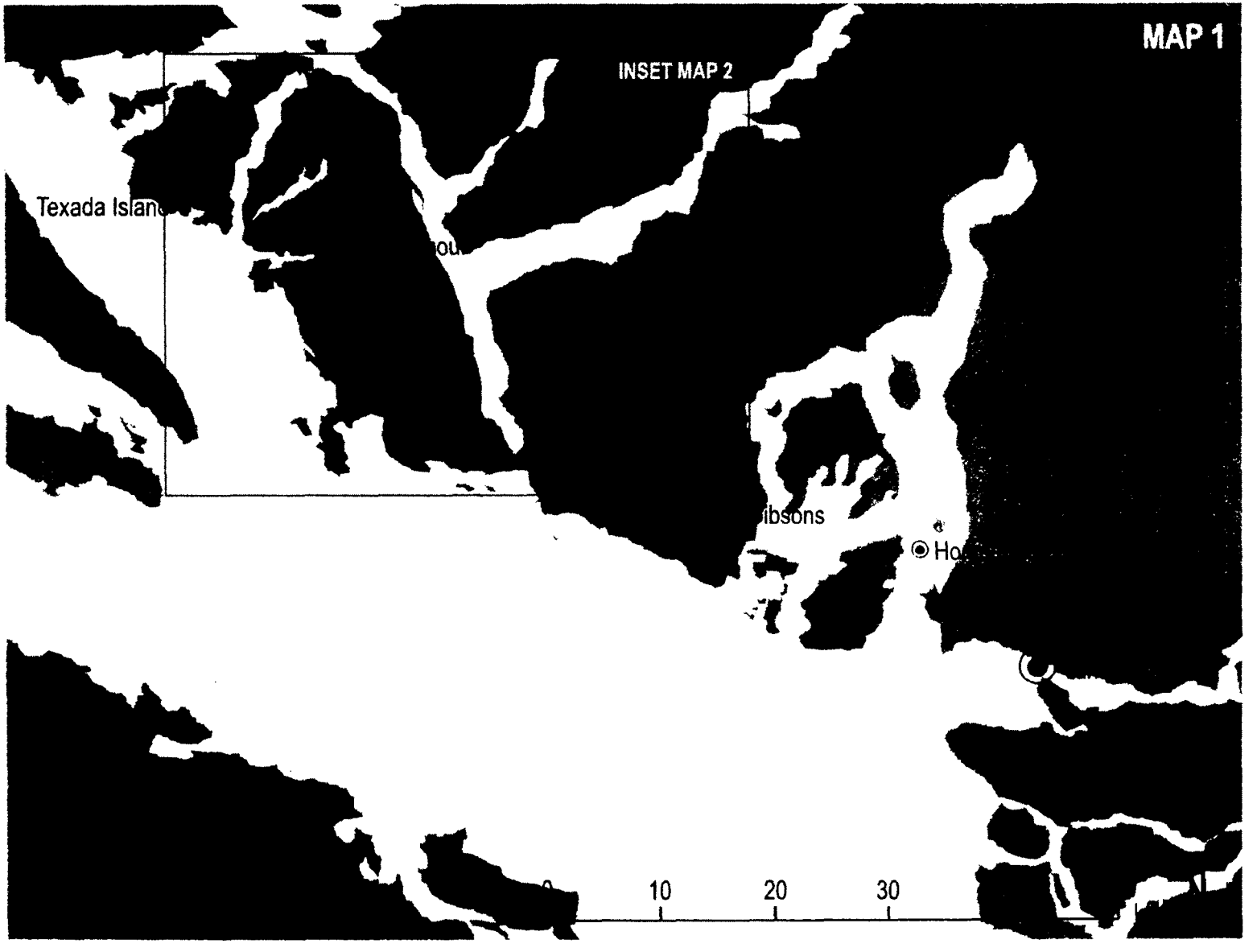
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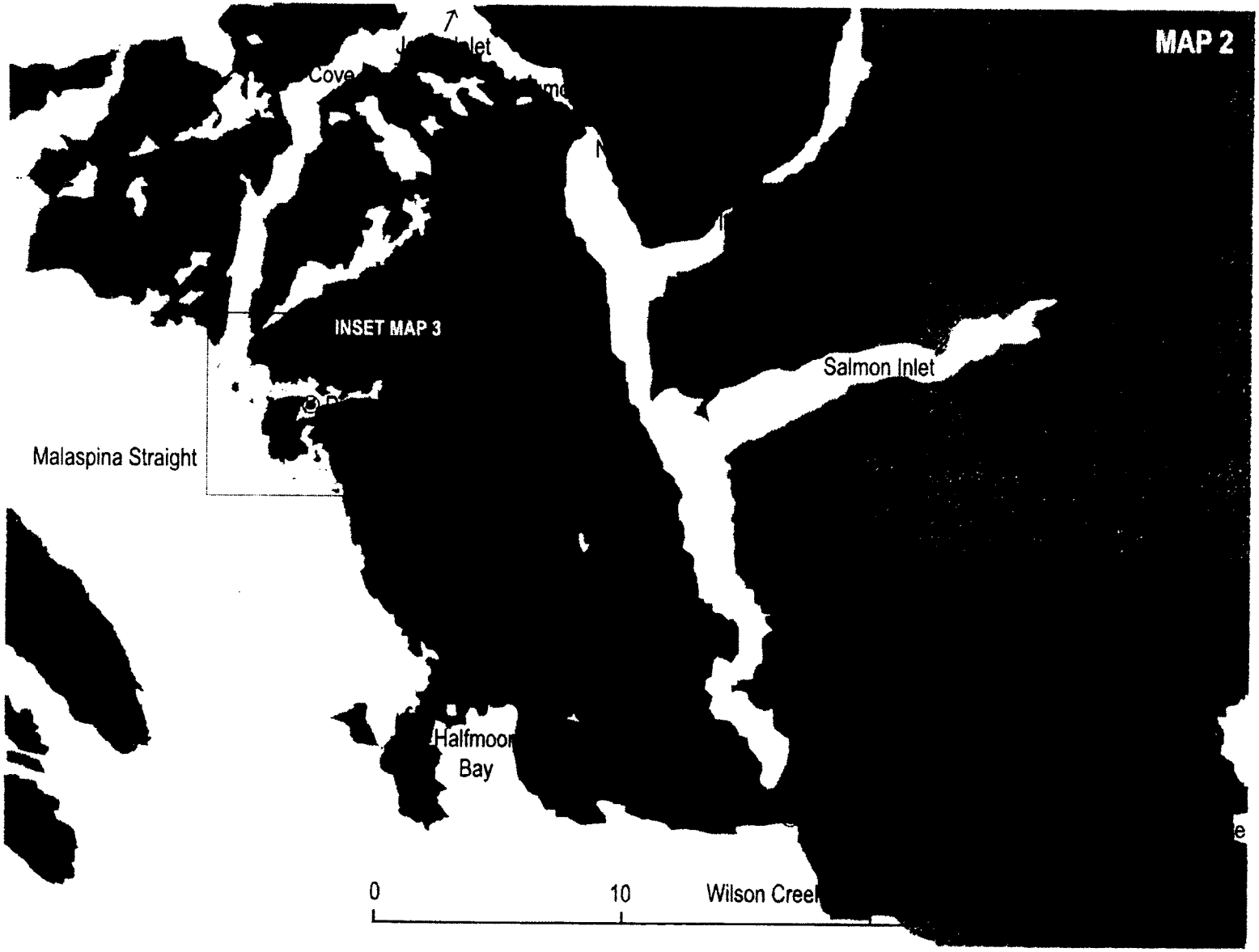
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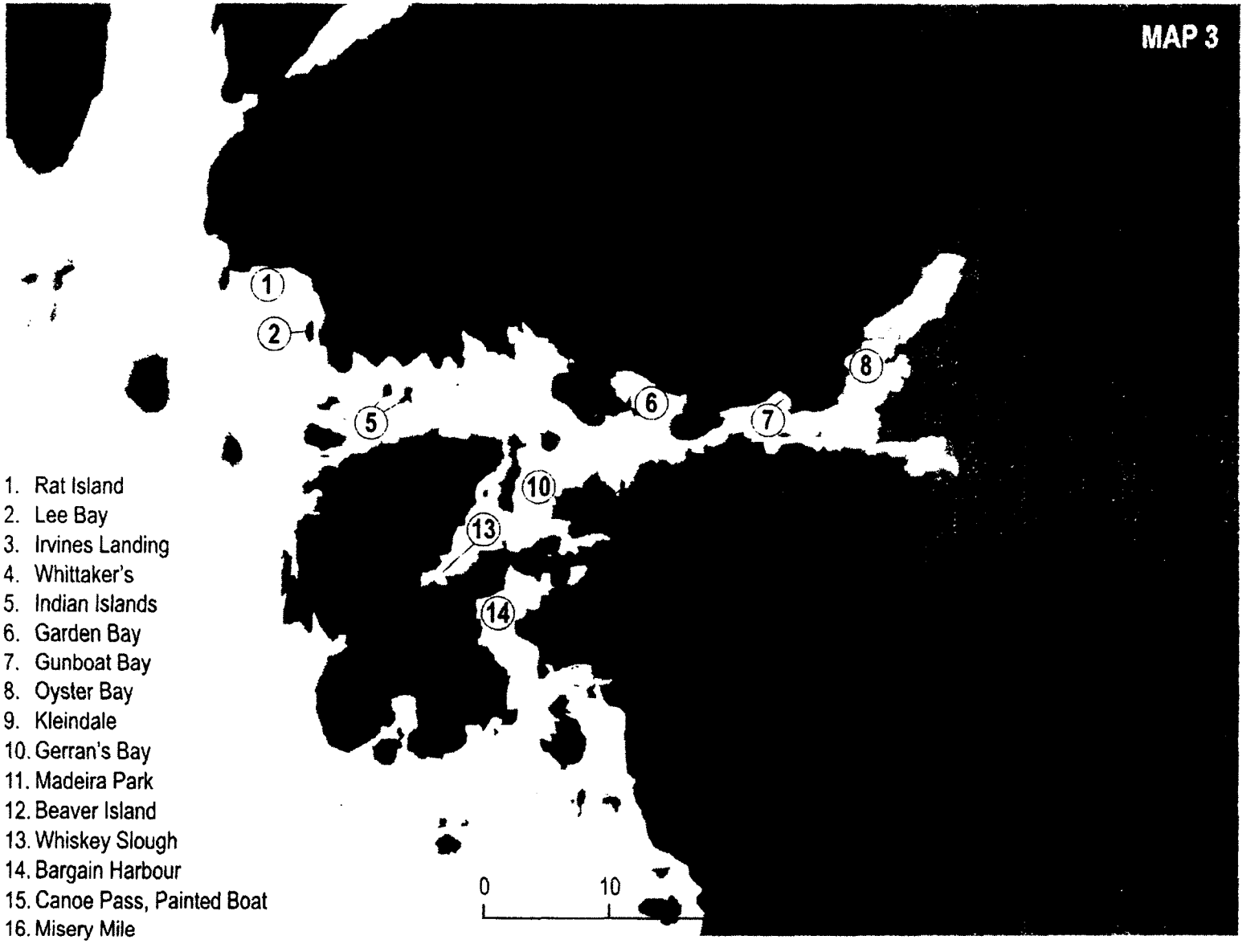

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Prologue: Colonial Love of the False Universal and the Reterritorialization of British Columbia

The second Premier of British Columbia, widely credited with the union of the two Crown colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and the Confederation of the westernmost province of the Dominion of Canada, was born William Alexander Smith in Nova Scotia in 1825. In 1854 he successfully petitioned to change his name to "Amor De Cosmos",[1] his own inaccurate potpourri of Latin, French and Greek that he took to mean "lover of the Universe." He proclaimed that his name was chosen as homage "to what I love most...Love of order, beauty, the world, the universal" (McDonald and Ralston 2000). De Cosmos was a shrewd frontiersman. He came West to California in the 1850s during the gold rush and made his first fortune, not from gold, but as a photographer who specialized in providing miners with proof of their stakes (Wild 1958:27). He gradually made his way from California to Northern Vancouver Island, expanding his fortune as a builder and contractor for the settlement that was rapidly emerging around the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Victoria. In 1858, the year British Columbia became a Crown colony within British North America, he started a newspaper called *The British Colonist* as a forum in which to criticize James Douglas, colonial governor of Vancouver Island, and the members of his administration. The paper survives to present day as *The Victoria Times Colonist*.

De Cosmos was tremendously adept at mobilizing white immigrants through appeals to ideals of rights to land and equal opportunity in a free market. He fashioned himself as an

[1] The capitalization of the "D" follows from De Cosmos' own signature. Historians note that he signed his name with the Greek epsilon until 1870 with a capital "D" followed by the Greek letter epsilon "ε", thereafter with a capital "D" with a diminutive "e."

advocate for the advance of "freedom," and for dismantling social, economic and political privilege. He presented himself as a colonial reformer committed to the liberalism of John Stuart Mill and John Locke. For De Cosmos, responsible citizenship was a natural result of the interests in public welfare that extended from private rights conferred through property and free enterprise. Order would extend from free market competition. Democracy and market freedom were his agenda in April 1882, when he addressed the House of Commons, arguing that the "manhood" and "self-respect" of British North Americans revolted at the very idea of remaining the political inferiors of England. "I was [born] a British colonist, but do not wish to die a tadpole British colonist" (McDonald and Ralston 2000).

Many myths are attached to De Cosmos, some that people suspect he started or perpetuated himself. One of the most interesting is a story that attributes to him the "longest speech on record," performed in defence of some poor settlers who had fallen upon bad times and needed the protection of a champion (Wild 1958:86). Historian Roland Wild traced this myth and uncovered not defence of the rights of the poor, but rather an opportunist land grab and political conflict of interest. In the 1860s a rapid boom bust cycle occurred in real estate in the greater Victoria area. Many landowners were left unable to pay their taxes and sold their property. De Cosmos and a partner Leonard MacLure filibustered for almost twenty-four hours, from two o'clock on the afternoon of April 23rd to one o'clock on the afternoon of April 24th 1866 (Woodcock 1975:91) to prevent a bill from passing that would grant a relief to landowners. Employing the aid of brandy, pamphlets, newspapers, the Bible, speeches of long-dead legislators and government reports, the two men held the house until the time period for the bills' potential passing expired (Wild 1958:88). It is widely suspected that both men had

acquired substantial real estate holdings through the tax defaults, though this has not definitively been proven (Woodcock 1975:92). Reports of the incident include cots being brought in for shift relay sleeping in order to maintain quorum. MacLure, apparently, never recovered from the strain of the incident and died six months later (Wild 1958:88).

While an ardent booster of agriculture and local food production, De Cosmos recognized that immigrant settlements in British Columbia would take on a different pattern than much of North America. Landscapes of hard rock, steep cliffs, dense trees and thin soil did not lend themselves well to farming. By 1918 it had been determined that only approximately five-percent of the land in the province was arable (Demeritt and Harris 1997:245). However, colonists who came to the BC Coast encountered a unique environment, because the region had more non-agricultural food than anywhere in North America, due to the marine resources and the temperate climate and rainforest (Harris 1997:20). De Cosmos, like many immigrant capitalists, saw the natural resources of the province as virtually inexhaustible, in need only of the application of industrious labour. Staples trade and speculation seemed to be the inevitable foundation of the BC economy. De Cosmos was unfailingly entrepreneurial in his business endeavours, from speculative real estate investments in Victoria valued at $118 000 in 1897 (owing in excess of $87,000 in mortgages) to the promotion of mines, sawmills, cattle farms and ferry services (McDonald and Ralston 2000).

De Cosmos wanted a "responsible government" for the colonies and became a booster for the union of Vancouver Island with British Columbia, Confederation with Canada, and finally the creation of an independent state with its own representation in imperial parliament. His political fervour and ability to rally popular support is presented in the historical record as

playing the pivotal role in making Vancouver Island a part of British Columbia and bringing the entire territory into Confederation. However, he never took well to being in a role of widely recognizable power. His great talent was for leadership in opposition. His tenure as Premier of BC lasted only slightly over a year (1872–74). His concerns and eccentric personality played well in Victoria, but were less welcome in Ottawa and London. He is said to have had a walking stick draped over one arm whenever he walked in public. Never used for its intended purpose, it was, rather, a ready-to-hand implement for the not-irregular street brawls in which he found himself.

For De Cosmos there was only one rightful path for "Indians" to claim territory and resources: assimilation and personal industry. Unlike other regions in Canada, few treaties were signed in British Columbia and negotiations over territory with both the provincial and federal government are ongoing to this day. Nevertheless, De Cosmos rallied against the treaty negotiations of his time which he saw as being overly generous. Yet for all of the faith that he placed in individual rights and land title to promote a just and responsible society, there were those who he considered inassimilable, especially Asian immigrants. One might think of his racism as less virulent than convenient to his business interests. Like many British Columbians to this day, he was less concerned with justifying the exploitation of women and non-whites as he was preoccupied with his own experiences of economic precarity and political exclusion. Late in the year 1895, at the age of 70, De Cosmos was declared "of unsound mind"; he died on the 4th of July 1897.

De Cosmos is most often presented as an eccentric abnormality in the historical record. He is portrayed as a man who could only make sense in a particular time and within the context

of the uncertain future of Western Confederation and economic expansion. My research, however, finds De Cosmos to be more of a white-settler archetype than oddity, who appears "first as tragedy, then as farce," as the saying goes (Marx 1963:1). In the social and economic development of the westernmost province of Canada, the spirit of Amor De Cosmos is alive and well. The strange confusion of economic opportunism with "freedom," his selective recognition of social and political injustices, the exuberant "love" of his namesake – that gathers in grandiose fashion all of social and ecological life under a western sign of social and political order – none of this is particularly aberrant in the history of British Columbia. I invoke De Cosmos because I want to tell a story of the BC Coast that is messy, a story in which a general and idealized love of "order, beauty, the world, the Universal," is rendered problematic by the active denials, violence and complications of making a home of an occupied place. Where desires for land and security are disordered, embodied and emplaced through processes of work in and with nature.

I have often found myself thinking of De Cosmos, perhaps because at times I have wondered whether a magical realist novel wouldn't serve better than ethnography to tell the story of British Columbian coastal space, place and nature that I want to here. De Cosmos already reads like the anti-hero of such a novel, the lover of the universe, with a dubious history (he was often both suspected and accused of having less than reputable reasons for changing his name). I imagine it as an epic tale in which false universals, binaries and imperialist love are *un*-settled by a cacophonous assembly of all of the peoples, beings and livelihoods that have been dispossessed in the short history of the province of British Columbia.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Accumulation by Dispossession

Throughout my fieldwork and continuing at the time of writing this, the entire Sechelt Peninsula has been under active treaty negotiation. Pender Harbour, where I lived throughout my fieldwork and conducted the majority of my research, was not only the traditional wintering grounds of the Shishalh Nation but is an area described by the band anthropologist as "one big archaeological site" (Moote 2004). In the pages that follow treaty claims of the Shishalh Nation to the territory are not examined or disputed. Rather, I focus my attention on the patterns of inhabitation of non-native people—I will discuss my choice of this terminology shortly—who have come to make a home of this occupied place: to log, to fish, to recreate and to retire. It is precisely because these activities have been naturalized as properly British Columbian activities and First Nations groups as properly anthropological subjects of study that I reverse the focus of this work. The unjust dispossession of native peoples from lands and resources is a foundational structuring process for non-native settlement in the province. Further, I assert that processes of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2005) serve as both the historical substrate of naturalized inequalities in access to resources, and the ongoing motor of the British Columbian economy: whether the resource view of timber, minerals and fish, or the natural vista view-as-resource in real estate markets.[2] I begin with two events that bring these assertions to life on the ground.

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[2] In order to interrupt the mythology of primitive accumulation—which "plays in Political Economy about the same part as original sin in theology" (Marx 1990:873)—and bring it into the present tense as continual and necessary to capitalist accumulation, I elaborate upon many of the processes and practices that have assembled it as a social and material force. I work to situate the acts, laws, and historical

1.2 Commons and Frontiers: Foreshores and Mineral Rights

On July 12th, 2004, approximately 150 non-native waterfront property owners from Pender Harbour and Egmont, British Columbia drove 45 minutes down the coast to intervene in a meeting taking place between the Sechelt Indian Band and the provincial government in the band's longhouse. The property owners were protesting their lack of inclusion in a discussion of an impending moratorium on foreshore leases that allow waterfront property owners to legally build wharfs to moor their boats. The provincial government called for this moratorium while an inventory of all docks, boathouses and floats in the area was compiled.

The foreshore is the area between the high- and low-tide watermarks, a zone occupied by a diverse range of aquatic life that is especially significant as spawning grounds and as habitat for shellfish. Legally, in British Columbia, the province owns almost all freshwater and saltwater foreshores, but has an obligation to consult with and gain the approval of First Nations for any developments or leases of foreshore areas that either extend from reserve land or are under treaty negotiation. There is also a role played by the municipal or regional government as the formation of the Official Community Plans, zoning, development and building permits that encompass foreshore areas that fall under their jurisdiction. Officially, the approval for new

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incidents of dispossession in a particular place, over the last 150 years since the formation of the colony of British Columbia. Rather than imagining primitive accumulation as a singular event in colonial history, I want to emphasize how dispossession and enclosure are ongoing processes necessary for the expansion and intensification of capitalist exploitation. This is in line with Harvey's reformulation of the concept as "accumulation by dispossession" (2005), a phrase that I will employ alternately with primitive accumulation depending upon context. I most often take up Harvey's reformulation because it places greater emphasis on the ongoing process of enclosure and the elaboration of mechanisms of dispossession in late capitalism. Throughout this work I explore how accumulation proceeds through the increased intensification of enclosure. This intensification has been elaborated by Harvey (2005:44-50) as operating through four main mechanisms: the privatization of common and/or public assets (of which pre-emption stands as an early example), financialization, the management and manipulation of crises, and state redistributions. Each of these is significant to the analysis included in the forthcoming chapters.

docks or improvements on existing floats is a multi-stage approval process involving Land and Water B.C. (the Crown Corporation responsible for approving foreshore leases) and the Sechelt Indian Band. As I learned through my fieldwork, however, historically, property owners in Pender Harbour and Egmont have been accustomed to building first and seeking permission only if forced to do so. This libertarian construction ethic has resulted in the necessity of the inventory of docks and boat houses in order to better coordinate band and provincial co-management of the foreshore. In the minds of some of the property owners who descended upon the July 12th meeting, however, the process of dock inventory was understood not as a necessary data gathering for treaty negotiation and administration, but rather, as one meeting crasher commented to the local paper, as "tyranny" (Moote 2004). Further, exclusion from talks between the band and the province was framed as "taxation without representation" (Moote 2004). In this response, it is not only the local naturalization of privatization of common public lands that is showcased. Some reckoning with primitive accumulation achieved through prior accumulation by dispossession in the conversion of native lands to private property is also demanded.

Flash forward less than a year to Jan 12, 2005 when B.C. introduced an internet staking system for mining claims in the province. By Jun 29, 2006 Pan Pacific Aggregates (PPA), a Vancouver-based, UK registered, publicly traded company (inc. Nov 2004), had claimed 29, 405 hectares on the Sechelt Peninsula for aggregate exploration and mining.[3] Holders of surface property rights to these lands were not notified that subsurface rights had been sold, nor could they refuse property access or "adequate" compensation from PPA as "free miners" who wish

[3] Aggregate mining refers to a variety of materials – sand, gravel, and crushed stone – used primarily in the construction of roads. The Sechelt Peninsula in British Columbia and Niagara Escarpment in Ontario are the largest deposits of limestone aggregates in North America.

to access the minerals within their claims. Property owners from all along the coast banded together to fight the PPA and the threat of dispossession of, if not their personal property outright, the diminishment of their enjoyment of their property on account of the environmental degradation, noise and air pollution that could be expected to result from having a fully operational aggregate mine as a next door neighbour [see Figure 1].

Figure 1: More Mining Planned for Sunshine Coast: used with permission of artists Elizabeth and Hal Lindhagen.

Since 2005 PPA share prices have collapsed. Most of the people I interviewed about the project believed that it was most likely intended as a paper mine designed to make a quick buck from foreign investors. It is important to note, however, that a paper mine is not materially innocuous. Extensive blasting and exploration are necessary to provide data to investors. Even if full scale extraction was never intended the environmental impacts are not benign. Further, the mine proposal has had profound social effects. For some property owners on the coast the PPA claim and the foreshore conflict not only presented the threat of declining property value, but also, like the foreshore dispute, served as a moment of reckoning with the colonial history of British Columbia. That accumulation by dispossession is the primary motor of the British Columbian economy up to the present day is clearly evidenced in both incidents even if this is denied or selectively recognized by non-native residents. At the very least, the faith of non-native residents in the sanctity of private property and the rights of use and safety conferred by it were shaken by both the ongoing foreshore conflict and the PPA mining claim. Although many non-native property owners simply responded to the incident with insistence that private property rights must be upheld and the terms of ownership more securely defined, they could not do so without having to justify this position vis-à-vis First Nations jurisdiction over the foreshore and lands claimed by the PPA. In the case of the sub-surface mineral rights, residents were brought to sudden awareness of the consequences of neoliberal reforms to the mineral tenures act that protects security in property only if the market value of a house as real estate exceeds assessments of the potential market value of minerals to be mined below a home. Property owners are not legally entitled to refuse compensation for their loss of above ground rights if extraction of, or speculation on the subsurface rights is deemed profitable. In the case of the foreshore, residents were forced to unsettle the common practice of many non-native

residents of the region that live "as if" no such contemporary native rights and claims exist, or, worse, believe the assertion of such rights is a form of reverse discrimination. Historicizing how such gross oversights of First Nations rights have been normalized for non-native British Columbians, and, ethnographically exploring how everyday patterns of non-native sociality subsume social, environmental and economic justice issues under market rationality, is a persistent theme in this dissertation[1]

Alongside the foreshore conflict, the unsettling claims of the PPA cast many of the same non-native property owners as vulnerable to the nuances of property law, and, in solidarity with the majority of the Sechelt Indian Band mobilized against the mine. In both incidents the majority of non-native residents rallied most forcibly to reinstitute and shore-up their rights-in-property (an effective strategy in any area where the value of the land and buildings as real estate is greater than the potential value of the minerals to be mined). These events operated as interesting openings to conversations throughout my fieldwork about organizing concepts and ideas that are often left un-interrogated in everyday settler-colonial British Columbia: how non-native British Columbians understand their relationship to the colonization and re-settlement of the province; the naturalization of non-native "settler" claims to being at "home" in place and having privileged rights in property; and the locally felt and articulated impacts of globalized resource speculation. An opportunity was opened to trace the contours and contradictions within the logic of business-as-usual. Throughout this dissertation I focus on work specifically because it allows for a useful tacking back and forth between the everyday embodied and affective experiences of workers and the broader socio-economic context in which they are embedded.

I employ the terms "non-native," "white British Columbian," and "white settler" alternately in this text depending upon context. Each term is a discursively and materially constructed category of privilege in the history of the province. The people that I worked with throughout my fieldwork could claim each of these with varying degrees of naturalization: British and Scottish immigrants and their descendants with relative ease as compared to Dutch and Portuguese immigrants and their descendants, or descendants of immigrants who married and/or had children with First Nations peoples. The politics of "passing" are complicated on the Sechelt Peninsula. Many First Nations people have reclaimed ancestry since the 1970s and 80s. It is speculated that one of the major motivating factors for the denial of native ancestry was discriminatory employment practices and wage rates in extractive industries, a lack of career advancement for natives seen to "correct" the balance of their not paying taxes, or, wages supplemented in fish providing subsistence (Menzies and Butler 2008; Muszyńska 1996). How and why each label has been claimed by Sechelt Peninsula residents often bears a strong relation to the relative market and property privileges that have been attached to identity categories. However, neither the categories nor the privileges attached to them have remained static. Categorical privileges have constantly been manipulated: sometimes as an attempt to redress historical wrongs, more often as a means of social coercion for economic ends. This is a point that will be elaborated in each of the chapters to follow. I examine both how immigrants of various descents and some people with First Nations heritage became "white" predominantly in relation to economic activities (labour and property ownership).

The British Columbian coast provides particularly provocative opportunities to consider the transformation of identities, land and seascapes through work because, as Harris argues,

"[a] transition that in Europe took millennia, here took decades" (1997:68). Many of the crucial dispossessions, enclosures and injustices of colonial settlement, and historical changes in the management of extraction and labour exist in the living memories and family histories of people who live on the coast. But the task of opening a conversation that goes against the "normative order of things," an order that is "structured on disavowal of dispossession" (Simpson 2011:212) is no easy feat. I attempt to open this conversation by examining the concept and practice of work: the ordinary everyday processes through which accumulation by dispossession is materialized. Working knowledges of natures provide an important lens through which to examine both historical and contemporary processes of accumulation by dispossession and to trace changes in these processes as they alter bodies, livelihoods, landscapes, terrestrial and marine ecologies. However, work is also a potent source of affective attachments, the means of providing for needs and desires for self and family, a source of cultural capital. The enclosure of territories, resources and forms of work—both human and nonhuman—simultaneously produces new frontiers and new limits to environmental and social exploitation. The question of quality—of life, environment, and labour—asserts itself in multiple forms as both a challenge to and opportunity for capitalist accumulation.

1.3 The Sechelt Peninsula/Sunshine Coast of British Columbia

The Sechelt Peninsula, or "Sunshine Coast" as a region, and Pender Harbour – Egmont where I conducted the majority of my fieldwork (referred to collectively as "Area A" in Sunshine Coast Regional District planning), are fascinating on account of the vision for development that has persisted for over an hundred years in this place. It is an interesting place in which to consider how competing and sometimes contradictory appeals to love, protect and/or exploit

nature and resources are elaborated in everyday practice. The narratives and practices I encountered in this place challenge dominant representations of rural labourers as anti-environmentalist and tourism as benign nature appreciation and force connections between each as a part of the political economic definition and elaboration of British Columbia since colonization. I examine how these stereotypical constructions have developed in relation to capitalist commodification of natures that organizes both extractive and personal consumption of natural resources along modern and anti-modern lines (a point I will elaborate shortly).

The area that comprises the Sechelt Peninsula begins on the other side of a forty minute ferry ride from Horseshoe Bay terminal in West Vancouver. After the motor vehicle ferry ride, the winding coast highway works its way through the communities of Port Mellon, Gibsons, Roberts Creek, Davis Bay, Sechelt, Halfmoon Bay, Madeira Park, Pender Harbour, Egmont and Earls Cove. Powell River, which lies on the other side of another ferry ride, is also considered a part of the region [See Maps 1, 2, 3]. Also commonly referred to as the Sunshine Coast, the region has been a popular tourist destination connected to Vancouver by steamship in 1891 (Keller and Leslie 2009:83) and has been a popular site for camping and second home ownership since the 1950s. Logging, fishing, aggregate mining and pulp mills were the major sources of employment in the region until the last few decades when a striking turn to construction, service and retail sectors occurred. Like many scenic and "natural amenity rich" rural areas in coastal British Columbia in the post Fordist-Keynesian era, communities on the Peninsula are attempting to attract outside capital in the form of real estate development in second-homes and retirement residences (Hines 2011).

The communities of Pender Harbour and Egmont in which I conducted the majority of my fieldwork are commonly regarded as logging and fishing communities. Gillnetters, seine boats and net lofts line the waterfront and it is not uncommon to see a logged plot on the horizon, or a multi-ton truck of logs winding its way down the road, or to stumble across rusted-out heavy machinery in the woods. Amid these mnemonics of extraction labour are construction projects and real estate "For Sale" signs almost everywhere you look upon the coast: from lavish multi-story single-family dwellings, to time-share condominium developments, to bare plots waiting for investment. I spent two seasons of fieldwork from November 2007 to August 2008 and from May 2008 to August 2009, conducting fieldwork. The community of Pender Harbour where I lived now boasts a population that is 20% retired (Pastrick 2011:6). This retired population is possessed of an incredible array of skills and networks developed over the course of their working lives. The new residents who have migrated into the region in retirement that I spoke with were typically a part of urban middle- and upper-class professions in their working lives and often held very different understandings of local places and natures from one another and from the longer-term fishing and logging families. A significant commonality existed, however, in how attachments to place were formed through processes of labour in nature.

Events like the foreshore conflict and PPA claim are potent disruptions to habitual ways of seeing and engaging that challenged residents to consider the co-eval cultural articulation of native and non-native lives, and, a reorganization of currently privileged categories and rights. As already noted, throughout this ethnography I will focus not upon First Nations rights claims as they are articulated by the Shishalh Nation on the coast, but, rather, as they are overwritten,

ignored and re-evaluated by the non-native majority on the coast. The place-specific working lives of loggers and fishermen, and recreational entanglements of cabin owners and exurban retirees that I will relate in this dissertation urge reconsideration of how non-native British Columbians think about and attempt to legitimate their privileged presence in, and epistemological and practical manipulations of, local environments.

1.4 Nonmodern Ethnography

There are many organizations and individuals on the Sechelt Peninsula expressly committed to environmental conservation, sustainable development and outdoor recreation. In interviews and conversations throughout my fieldwork concerns about environmental degradation was consistently expressed. However, the ways in which these concerns were articulated rarely broke out of a modern vs. anti-modern framing of environmental politics. These are terms that I borrow from Latour (1993), who I follow in arguing that these patterns of representing concern for degraded social and environmental conditions can be an impediment to collective planning and debate because they unquestioningly accept an epistemological and historical break that separates the natural from the social. Two particularly problematic constructions of modern epistemology were consistently reproduced by my informants in various forms: first, that the modern world can be understood as a place in which there are "victors and the vanquished" (Latour 1993:10) (whether culture over nature, or one culture over another); and second, that time is fleeting, chronological and irreversible. In western cultures that define themselves as modern, Latour suggests that such assumptions stunt democratic processes by constraining the expression of dissent to the artificial frame of the "anti-modern" position that leaves little room for anyone to secure their livelihood, for subsistence or profit,

from natural resources. This is a position that cannot be materialized as it too broadly calls for the end of domination – of human over human and human over nature – even as it preserves the fundamental modern separation of an object nature and subject culture. As a result, moderns and anti-moderns are unable to contend with relations within a shared and seamless environment that is full of hybrid social-natural things that are simultaneously real and constructed in both substance and effect. Examining this seamlessness is, by contrast, what is stressed in what Latour calls the nonmodern position that emphasizes connections and transparent processes of accounting for things (Latour 1993: 7, 9, 24), a position I attempt to take up throughout this ethnography.

This is a nonmodern political ecological tale of the complicated social and material co-constitution of British Columbian space, place, and natures in the time of capital. In his book *We Have Never Been Modern* Latour suggests that the modern epistemological purification of the world into binary categories—of objects and subjects, human and nonhuman, politics and nature—has rendered those of us who live in so-called modern societies incapable of contending with the "seamless fabric of nature-culture" (1993:7) as it is elaborated and articulated through material and discursive practices in everyday life. Latour suggests anthropological analysis and fieldwork as the best methodological means to write against the misdirection of modern epistemology, and many anthropologists, especially those working in or alongside the burgeoning field of Science and Technology Studies, have investigated the applicability of his concepts in the field (cf. Cruikshank 2005; Lowe 2006). Curiously, however, when ethnographic research has been undertaken in (post-) industrial societies, either marginalized groups or knowledge elites have tended to be the focus of studies. There is less

analysis of whether the entangled ontology Latour wants us to accept is a present and productive part of the everyday lives of the very resource workers who would seem to accept, or at least practically enact, the externality of nature most readily. This is the challenge that I am trying to meet with this work, informed by some important precursors that I will now discuss with reference to their influence on this project.

One of the initial inspirations for this work was geographer Bruce Braun's *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture and Power on Canada's West Coast,* a book that persuasively outlines precisely the nonmodern perspective on British Columbian political ecology that I adopt here: that what we call "nature" is a social artifact, that the experience of nature as an external object is "made, materially and semiotically, by multiple actors (not all of them human), and through many different historical and spatial practices" (2002:3). Braun traces the production of West Coast forests and places as they are increasingly reduced to and encountered in a commodity frame (whether in the name of production or conservation). He articulates the contradictions of modern technological and individualistic subject formation in British Columbia as it is established through narratives of separation from nature, the erasure of indigenous indigeneity, and, the ongoing reproduction of modern British Columbian identity through a dialectical double-bind: modernity-as-progress/modernity-as-loss (Braun 2002: 134).

Braun's work centres on an examination of the conflict between logging companies and protestors in Clayoquot Sound in the early 1990s. He traces how the growing public support for conservation in this time period often relied upon a reiteration of colonial categorical distinctions that marked neither an end of industrial exploitation nor the necessary beginning of a more sustainable economy. Further, in his examination of shifts from resource extraction and

industrial production to more consumptive investments in natural resources, he highlights how discourses of disappearing wilderness, pristine nature, eco-scarcity and loss took hold in the province most forcibly not on account of an empirical threshold point of environmental degradation that the public would no longer tolerate, but rather at a time when nature, reified as an external entity, was overdetermined as a commodity whether for production or consumption. At this point even discussions of preserving the intrinsic value of nature were increasingly expressed by assigning a monetary value to conservation (spin off profits to be gained from tourism, service sector employment) vs. the profits to be gained from extraction.

Braun's work was researched and written at an historical moment broadly defined as late capitalist,[4] a term that I also apply in this work because of its primary focus on reorganizations of labour, capital and leisure in the post-World-War II era. However, my work was researched and written during an era where neoliberalism has displaced late capitalism as the preferred overarching analytic frame to describe many of the same processes, but in a different stage of elaboration. Arguably the key terms linked to analyses of late capitalism were globalization and commodification; presently, in the analysis of neoliberalism there is greater

[4] The term "late capitalism" is commonly used to refer to a stage of capitalist elaboration post-World War II. It was popularized by Ernest Mandel (1999 [1972]) and the later writings of Frederic Jameson (1999). It is capitalism confronting problems of technological efficiency that can result in a falling rate of profit. According to the schema offered by Mandel there have been three stages of capitalist development, each subsuming the previous stages. "These are market capitalism, the monopoly stage or the stage of imperialism, and our own, wrongly called postindustrial, but what might be better termed multinational, capital" (Jameson 1999:35). Late capitalism not only entails the widespread real subsumption of labour to capital and the capitalist mode of production (that is the displacement of pre-capitalist forms of technology and labour organization) but also the commodification and "prodigious expansion of capital into hitherto uncommodified areas" (Jameson 199:36). While critics have attacked the concept as historically imprecise, Jameson insists that just because the global world system is "unrepresentatable" in its totality does not mean it is "unknowable" (1999:53). Following Mandel he asserts that late capitalism, "far from being inconsistent with Marx's great nineteenth-century analysis, constitutes, on the contrary, the purest form of capital yet to have emerged" (Jameson 1999:36).

emphasis placed on global financial speculation, wealth redistribution, the "'return' of primitive accumulation to the Global North" (Glassman 2006: 618), and the exploitation of so-called "extra-economic" social and political circumstances in the service of capital accumulation (Ortner 2011). That is, instead of the reduction of global cultural diversity predicted by analysis of American corporate imperialism—whether in a laudatory modernization frame, or fearful repudiation of the coming McWorld—ethnographic analysis of the effects of neoliberal reforms in various locales around the globe often showcase the re-articulation of ethnic, class and gender divides and the appropriation and exploitation of personal and group affinities and categorizations in both the control of labour and market speculation.

While much of my theoretical approach was informed by Braun's work, he only engages in very limited fieldwork with non-native British Columbians grappling with these contradictions and their complicity in environmental degradation and social injustices. This is where I began in my fieldwork on the Sechelt Peninsula. I wanted to explore whether, and how, this double-bind of modernity-as-progress/modernity-as-loss that Braun discusses was reproduced and/or challenged in both the history and present elaboration of "settler" extraction and recreation on the coast. I also wanted to examine whether the framing of nature as an external, subordinate and necessary sacrifice for modernity might be changing alongside the local economic and social transition from organization around logging, fishing and mining to a base in recreational and retirement real estate development, (that is, in the shift to a greater emphasis upon speculative value in global markets).

However, I want to be clear that this shift has not been a sudden or complete. While there is a great deal more emphasis upon real estate, service and tourism sector related

development as the economic base of the region, these activities are far from new, and mining, logging and fishing continue to be important economic activities in the region. While extraction is very much current in a material sense, it is often discursively produced as a part of past and surpassed era on the coast. In my analysis I argue that this displacement is a result of both the public demonization of extraction and economic restructuring of the sectors that have produced a dramatic decline in local direct employment in logging, fishing and mining. The new era of accumulation is less dependent upon job creation from exploiting local resources and more dependent upon speculative investment and brokering of rights of access. This is the key economic shift that is traced, in different ways, in each of my ethnographic chapters. However, rather than focus upon policy changes, I try to trace the ways in which these broad economic shifts become grounded in the everyday lives of residents on the coast in the slow business of making a home and making a living in place.

Extractive industry and tourism development have long co-existed on the Sechelt Peninsula, especially since the 1950s when the province of British Columbia began to invest heavily in tourism promotion (Dawson 2004). During my archival research I came across the article below, which I found alarming not only for the gross misrepresentations contained within it – "Indians" discussed as "camping" on the land and the naturalization of non-native property rights – but also for uncanny similarity with how the community and the issues that it faces were presented to me nearly sixty years later during my fieldwork : the gesture towards a freer and bygone era of natural resource exploitation, discussions of the overexploitation of salmon and herring, declarations of the inexhaustible supply of timber, concern over fluctuation in property values, and notation of the extreme wealth that wanders through, without becoming a part of,

the harbour. I quote the article here at length because it showcases so many of the persistent social and material constructions of place and nature that I will be unpacking throughout this dissertation:

> The Coast News Thursday August 9 1951
>
> Pender Harbour
>
> Probably one of the finest and most scenic harbours on all the American continent, and certainly the most beautiful on the western coast is Pender Harbour, snugged deep in the fjord rutted shoreline 50 miles north from Vancouver.
>
> History of this sheltered harbour with its 38 miles of shoreline dates back to the late 1800s when the Hastings Logging Company was booming and Big Joe Perry the Cape Verde Indian who worked for Portuguese Joe Gonzales and his partner Steve Dames was throwing out drunks from the bar where whiskey and rum at $4 per gallon flowed.
>
> Built primarily on fishing, the harbour area with its new many thousand dollar school at Madeira Park has subsisted mainly on fishermen and fishing. Many of the Scottish lassies who came to Pender Harbour in the early part of the century are now elderly married women who have raised families in the Harbour and are some of the area's main citizens.
>
> These lassies were brought out from Aberdeen and Peterhead and Findhorn and Stonehaven to "put down" the millions of herring which used to be caught in the bay and shipped by the scowload to wherever fishermen bought bait with which to lure the lordly salmon.
>
> Within the area known as Pender Harbour are two main oyster beds now worth thousands of dollars. Shipments are daily from these cultured beds to the eager palate of Vancouver.
>
> When Gonzales and Dames bought the first store in the area from the builder, Charley Irvine, after whom the landing is named, Indians used to camp by the hundreds within the sheltered waters.
>
> Irvine, no mean man with his strength, soon cleared the Indians back from where he wanted his store. This resulted in the natives moving onto a one acre island which seems to guard the harbour entrance.

Said Oldster William Matier, who has been there since 1905, "I've seen that island when it was just an acre of red from the blankets set out to dry in the warm sun. Now there are only two Indian homes on the waterless and woodless isle.

Gillnetters who came for the herring have fished out the famous runs, only a few herring now venture within the rock portals of the harbour.

In the harbour are stations which weight in more than 300 tons of fish in a single season.

When Bill Matier in 1904 first arrived in the Harbour there were only 15 white families. The census just finished unofficially now sets the figure at 1100.

The Robson cannery used to be a busy place during the early days. Here it was the salmon were placed away ready for the eastern markets. Only now are the salmon returning to the mouth of Sakinaw Creek following years of fishing rights enjoyed by the cannery.

The place with the colourful name, Whiskey Slough,[5] once earned the title but now is the home site of many fishermen families who rate high on the social scale.

Gone are the days of the free flowing whiskey and the jolly comradeship of they who lived on the edge of the law.

In the early days deer, bear, grouse, and cougar ranged the hills. "It was not unusual to wake up in the morning and see many deer grazing in the bare patches of the hillsides."

Hastings Logging sold to P.B. Anderson very early in the century and that firm of experts made slashing inroads into the timber, starting from Bargain Harbour and logging with efficiency and dispatch. So great are the reserves that large scale logging is still going on and many millions of feet are towed down to the Fraser River mills and their eager saws.

Tourists started to "find" the garden spot following the first great war. Then they came in palatial $100 000 launches and little chug-chugs or "stink pots," as they are known to the canvas man.

Now the tourist still comes in with the same type of ship but added to that are many private planes which skim to a stop on the ever placid water of the harbour.

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[5] A small bay that contained a distillery during prohibition, see Map 3.

> [...]Pender Harbour is now waiting and watching the new car ferry system. In the words of Art Cherry, popular water taxi operator, "the main stream of traffic will probably bypass us on its way to Powell River but we have so much to give in the way of natural beauty it is logical to believe we can do quite well with tourists who want something other than a straight dusty road."
>
> Buses from Gibsons now call into Garden Bay and it will not be many moons before the long promised black top highway will just miss Pender Harbour and make that area still more valuable as a tourist centre.
>
> [...] Persons wishing to buy waterfront land will find prices running "hot and cold." Many Vancouver persons are buying with a view to retiring within a few years. Indicative of the taxes on land is the fact that many people, of ordinary means, are buying property and paying the taxes for years in order to hold it against the expected increase in population following the advent of the car ferry which will make five trips per day to Horseshoe Bay from Gibsons.

While the process of settlement in British Columbia is often framed in historical narratives as the conquering of the vast British Columbian wilderness, the article above speaks more of how Charley Irvine (after whom a prominent point at the mouth of the Harbour is still named) "cleared the Indians." The article clearly showcases "the erasure of indigenous indigeneity" (Barman 2007), that was most forcibly effected by the accumulation of lands through pre-emption, or, the granting of lands to white British subjects for a reduced rate in exchange for working the land. The "woodless and waterless isle" is still referred to as "Indian Island" by locals today, though there are no permanent inhabitants. While over time the overt and intentional racism of the process has perhaps become less evident, inequalities in access to resources and property rights persist. The Harbour has, for all intents and purposes, been rendered a landscape of white privilege, a concept that will be unpacked throughout the dissertation.

Pre-emption and the social and economic privilege in access to resources enabled by it are an important substrate of all further accumulation by white migrants and immigrants to the Sechelt Peninsula. Codified in the British Columbian Land Act of 1884, pre-emption was a method of acquiring private land that began as early as 1859 in the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia (BC Archives 2011). Under this act any white British subject could convert public land into private property through "improving" the plot: building a "dwelling house," and/or clearing and cultivating fields (Keller and Leslie 2009:44). The act allowed any man over 18 to stake up to 160 acres of land for farming purposes. The focus on agriculture within the act is a clear instance of managing for a desired, rather than an actual physical, environment. By 1918 it had been determined that only approximately five percent of the land in the province was arable (Demeritt and Harris 1997:245). However, many immigrants came to British Columbia with agricultural ideals and hoped for land that they could never expect to access in their countries of origin. Settling the province required this imaginary ecology.

The formation of new ideas of place, community, ethnic identity and environment that occurred during the incomplete and failed materialization of this imagined ecology over roughly the last 100 years is central to this work, as is the proliferation of the social and economic externalities that these attempts created. As environmental historian and geographer Cole Harris summarizes:

> Immigrants on pioneer farmsteads or in lumber camps lived in unfamiliar relationships with the land; all immigrants lived without a local past and amid a strange mix of peoples. Such mixing brought ideas of ethnicity and race to the fore, weakened somewhat the idea of class, and tended to turn what in other, more homogeneous settings were the unmarked details of everyday life into explicit and increasingly symbolic elements of difference. Of these, whiteness became the most generalized and powerful symbol and, as it did,

> racism was built into the landscape of settlement. The Lower Mainland was not a replica of any other place, yet its emerging human geography conveyed a complex of power that had come, broadly, out of the English-speaking North Atlantic world of the mid-late nineteenth century. (Harris 1997:102)

Provincial pre-emption records show that almost 90 percent of the first claims staked on the Sechelt Peninsula were abandoned after clearing the timber. Pre-emption at the time was easier than acquiring a hand logger's license and many saw it as a short-cut to accessing timber (Keller and Leslie 2009:44). The business of trying to make a living and claim a place on the Peninsula cuts to the centre of "[t]he essential problem, almost as old as the European settlement of Canada [...]: isolated settlements created by a staple trade were not easily converted to other pursuits" (Harris 1997:86).

Members of the Shishalh nation were also active in logging the area for money but under very different terms: they could neither pre-empt land nor acquire commercial timber leases. The Shishalh were only allowed legal access to the woods if they worked for wages. In 1875, members of the Shishalh nation cut and boomed 1.25 million board feet of timber, and they were paid $3/1000 board feet (Harris 1997:98). Since 1866 First Nations peoples had been blocked from pre-empting Crown land, as it was argued that "the Crown could not delegate its constitutional trust over Indian lands" (Harris 1997:86). They were instead granted small reserves. Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, the Indian Reserve Commissioner in 1878, urged the provincial government to either allow Natives in non-agricultural areas to take out timber leases or to grant good-sized reserves for the purposes of logging. Neither was done. Indeed, by the mid-1870 the possibility of expanding the size of these reserves was greatly hampered by government land sales to, and pre-emptions by, white British subjects. Despite instructions by Governor Sir James Douglas to make reserves as large as natives wanted, and the work of Sproat

to stake out large reserves, those plots were not well recorded and were quickly overwritten by other property claims (Harris 1997:92).

Enterprising immigrants encountered local environments on the coast with an eye towards commodification, or what resources could be harvested and sold. While agrarian ideals may have propelled the migration of many immigrants, fishing and logging were the most viable ways of securing a livelihood once they arrived. In his article "Discovering Nature in North America," environmental historian Richard White makes the simple but important point that the first parts of the natural environment in North America to be commodified by settlers were those that were most familiar, those goods for which a market and method to harvest were already known (1992:879). In the chapters to come I will trace how increased familiarity with the regional environment and available global markets expanded the range of resources to be exploited over time, and how technological changes have rendered distant markets more accessible. I argue that this process of commodification and increased technological intervention is not only a vital element in understanding the expansion of capitalism in British Columbia, but has also informed processes of local identity enculturation. For loggers and fishermen especially, technologies of extraction are apparatuses not only of labour, but also, apparatuses with which knowledges of natures were formed.

1.5 Enskilment and Attachment

Throughout the researching and writing of this project I have been interested in how people have formed knowledges of natures through labour. I hesitate, however, to mark this as an epistemological project. The working knowledges I trace bear a closer resemblance to a cumulative craft than system, more readily fitting with the realm of technē, often referred to as

know-how, or forms of practical vernacular knowing-through-doing, than to a prescriptive epistemological system. The writings of Tim Ingold on processes of environmental and cultural enskilment are crucial here (2000; 2011). Ingold argues that skilled labour and intimate environmental knowledge are often described according to a "mentalist ontology" (2000:55) that presumes cognitive cultural models that preexist processes of practical engagement, and, a process of enculturation through the transmission of rules of conduct from one generation to the next (2000:36, 55). Ingold argues that such explanations rigidly separate the realms of art and technology, the human and the non-human through the focus on rational models (2000:5-6). He suggests that we should instead focus upon "understanding in practice" or "enskilment" where "learning is inseparable from doing and in which both are embedded in the context of a practical engagement in the world" (2000:416).Akin to Bourdieu's conception of the habitus "systems of durable, transposable dispositions" in "representation and practice" (1990:53), I adopt Ingold's concept because of the greater emphasis he places upon situated action within a more-than-human environment, and, how enskilment as a concept undermines human exceptionalism. For Ingold non-humans are also skilled inhabitants of an area that make and remake ecology over time (2011:6).

Conversations about extraction so often get caught up in a modern/anti-modern debate where loggers and fishermen are cast alternately as heroes or villains with little room allowed for the exploration of the processes of enskilment through apprenticeship, or extraction workers as agents with complex understandings of, attachments to, and critiques of, all that their labour is caught up with. Paying attention to these processes is not equivalent to condoning the excesses of industrial logging and fishing. Instead, these processes are the very locations where

the epistemological distinctions reserved for modernity and industrialism—of objects, subjects, rationality, control—can be confronted as artificial cuts through complex more-than-human webs of significance. The lack of attention to the enskilment of logging labour is not only a problem in popular images and representations of logging in the media in Canada, but is also an oversight in the majority of the ethnographic literature. Furniss (1999) and Satterfield (2002) write eloquently about the contours of conflict between First Nations, environmental groups and loggers, in Williams Lake, British Columbia, and Oregon respectively, but both authors present rather reductive representations of loggers' environmental knowledges and place attachments as metonyms for normative modern national subjects. Focusing in upon how loggers and fishermen acquire and represent the skills of their labour with natural resources and processes, I emphasize the "performative and poetic aspects of speech and tool-use that have been marginalized from rationalism" (Ingold 2000:416). I want to stress the difference between straightforward acceptance of, and adherence to, the rule of law and markets, and the ways in which people are formed and split as subjects by their involvement with the exploitation of people, and the appropriation of environments, as labourers under capitalism.[6]

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[6] This opposition of compliance and complicity was formed for me through reading Judith Butler's The Psychic Life of Power, in which she outlines the complexity of modern disciplinary subjectivity. "As a form of power, subjection is paradoxical. To be dominated by a power external to oneself is a familiar and agonizing form power takes. To find, however, that what "one" is, one's very formation as a subject, is in some sense dependent upon that very power is quite another. We are used to thinking of power as what presses on the subject from the outside, as what subordinates, sets underneath, and relegates to a lower order. This is surely a fair description of part of what power does. But if, following Foucault, we understand power as *forming* the subject as well, as providing the very condition of its existence and the trajectory of its desire, then power is not simply what we oppose but also, in a strong sense, what we depend upon for our existence and what we harbour and preserve in the beings that we are. The customary model for understanding this process goes as follows: power imposes itself on us, and, weakened by its force, we come to internalize or accept its terms. What such an account fails to note, however, is that the "we" who accept such terms are fundamentally dependent on those terms for "our" existence" (Butler 1997: 1-2).

The line I have chosen through this work expands upon the works of Brown (1995), Kosek (2006), and Reed (2003) that provide nuanced accounts of environmental knowledges formed through the work of extracting resources, and the race, gender and class politics embedded in, and constitutive of, resource access conflicts. Kosek (2006), like Furniss (1999) and Satterfield (2002), depicts how discourses of tradition and indigeneity are mobilized to garner public sympathy for resource interests by appealing to a discourse of traditional rights and place attachment (132). He pushes the discussion further, however, in his efforts to upset the common juxtaposition of the sentimental and the rational in disputes over property rights (119). He argues that appeals to property rights often "stand in for bonds of affect toward nature" (119) and appeals to Williams (1980) to elaborate the point that property, labour, exploitation, race, class *and* affective bonds with nature are formed in processes of labour. To present extraction labour as merely instrumental exploitation is to conflate structures of capital with the embodied experience of labour in nature. I hope to persuade the reader that some of the impasses of understanding and communication between extraction labourers and environmental activists might be overcome by focusing attention on those aspects of labour and attachment that exceed the rationale of production.

My task here, as I see it, is not to cast judgment on resource workers, but rather to elaborate on the complexity of vocational identities and understandings of place and environmental processes formed through labour under capitalism. Here is the crux of the issue: knowledges formed in labours of resource extraction do not tend to travel very well. Processes of production/extraction are often rendered opaque by the combination of insider technological praxis and outsider romanticization or vilification associated with occupations of extraction on

land and sea. It is for this reason that I spend the pages of this dissertation wading into the intricacies of logging machinery, fishing gear types and housing construction. These technological apparatuses and built environments are ways of knowing and experiencing and of crafting relationships with local natures. I track some of the ways in which the task and skill based orientations to place and nature of resource workers are reorganized into a more direct service of profit accumulation, and how the protection of nature has become most prominently associated with conservation and protection, or has been relegated to a leisure pursuit of consumer environmentalists without due attention to the ongoing need to gather resources from our environment, or the understandings and experiences of rural extraction labourers for whom nature cannot be externalized or separated from work so easily. It is worth reasserting the obvious but often forgotten point that there are no technologies and no jobs in existence that remove us from nature (White 1996:182). By focusing on how white British Columbians come to understand and contend with their own complicity with, and agency within, processes of environmental degradation and social injustice I elaborate upon the actual work and disciplinary practices associated with work and leisure practices in nature in order to complicate and situate each, and their material effects in a specific location over several generations of white settler dwelling.

Work is an embodied activity in which, as White argues, "we encounter not ideas of the world but other bodies. We confront the intransigent materiality of the world itself" (1996:178). Working, we encounter the particularity of the logger or fisherman, tree or fish immediately in front of us rather than general knowledge of a labour category or species. To again invoke White, "[i]t is ultimately our own bodies and our labor that blur the boundaries between the

artificial and the natural" (White 1996:173); that make and form visceral understandings of, and makeshift solutions to, the contradictions and complexities of the social/natural lives of "things." Our bodies may appear to act autonomously, "as if" pure subjects and objects were in play, but, as any labourer will attest, they are merely more or less skilled at improvising in contact zones where people meet and enter into various relationships with nonhuman life (Haraway 2008:216-218).[7] In my discussions with both loggers and fishermen, the exercise of technical "skill" was consistently emphasized, never mastery. Marx instructively detailed the vital role that the de-skilling of labour has played in the management of labour and the advancement of industrial capitalism. However, as I will emphasize throughout this dissertation, it has historically been more difficult to de-skill dangerous extraction labour, to do without experiential knowledge of topological and marine contingencies—though there have been no fewer attempts to devalue it. The narratives of loggers, fishermen and other Peninsula inhabitants elaborate how "'the world kicks back' (Barad 1998) and how workers have accounted for, and responded to, being in the middle of such moments.

1.6 The Nature of Work and the Work of Nature

Vinay Gidwani, a geographer, proposes that we examine processes of accumulation and decline through specific attention to how the "nature of work" and "work of nature" is co-constituted in everyday routines of cultivation (2000:232). On the one hand this means to

[7] Haraway borrows the term "contact zone" from Mary Louise Pratt who used the term to refer to the improvised language, communication, identities and attachment formed between people and beings involved in continual relationships characterized by asymmetries of power. Crucially, this is not contact between previously reified groups, but rather, the processes of contact and inter-activity that contribute to the definition of self, other, and ethical interaction over time.

investigate how nature is constructed and understood through work. On the other, it also means to examine how the timelines and liveliness of natural processes complicate managerial and categorical schemes. Understanding the "nature of work" and the "work of nature" entails giving attention to how "nature as a biophysical reality" is "negotiated, transformed, and culturally deployed (in essentializing and dominating ways)" (Gidwani 2000:232) under a capitalist mode of production. Gidwani argues that in work people rely upon an idea of nature as a "referentially detachable" biophysical entity, and intervene according to certain observed regularities of lifecycle and need (2000:232). Knowing nature through work means knowing when and how to intervene, and when to let it be, in order to produce the desired use and exchange values for the market (2002:218). It also, however, produces something in excess of these. The "work of nature" upon which accumulation depends is never entirely predictable and often presents challenges or even crises to strategies of accumulation. Trees are incredibly dangerous to harvest, fish stocks collapse, soil erodes. Haraway reinforces this point when she highlights that: "[n]ature's agency, in short, has a simultaneously enabling and disabling character" (2008:233).

The work of trees and fish, and human interventions in the environments we share with them, are central concerns in this work. Each resource discussed in this dissertation operates in a very different time-scale than the humans who have depended upon them for their livelihoods. In a discussion of the classic opposition of hunting and gathering to cultivation Ingold suggests that in the case of trees, as enduring, slow growing large plants, the idea of cultivation as "making something happen" becomes very hard to support (2000: 86). We intervene, we let be, we attempt to manipulate for our own ends, but we do not "make" in the

sense of executing a pre-determined vision. This ethnography is written at a time when many forested areas like the Sechelt Peninsula are reaching "second growth" maturity, and an intergenerational assessment of silviculture and fisheries management is underway by both laypeople and professionals. In these assessments ecological contingencies are revealed as having many more impacts than were ever anticipated or factored into managerial schemes. Talking to fishermen and loggers, many of whom were from multi-generational fishing and logging families, I gained a great deal of insight into the space of the gap between the cultivated and the wild where their labour took place (Tsing 2005: 177). I argue that within the histories I collected about labour on the Sechelt Peninsula there is potential to politicize the objectified, second-nature landscape view without appeals to purity or mastery. The challenge is to avoid what in fisheries research they call shifting baseline syndrome: when the disparities between the archival records of the volume and diversity of pre-industrial stocks and the current resource "standing reserves" have become so stark that routine responses take the form of rejection or denial. In the former response, an anti-modern one, the post-industrial forest and the labourers who created it are rejected as an abject cultural object, the shadowy offspring of despoiled "pristine" "natural" "ancient" forest. In the latter response, a modern one, it is the historical record that is dismissed, deemed insufficiently scientific, or exaggerated, current stocks pronounced healthy, even flourishing: testimony to the power of regeneration and potential of perfection the management of an object nature. Both these responses hold fast to their object fetishes – the pristine woods, the productive regenerated forest – without engaging with relations and entanglements created by living within nonmodern hybrid geographies.

The "work of nature" is not the only thing that exceeds and lives in relation to, but apart from, market driven time and accumulation. The performance of labour produces not only use and exchange values but also, crucially, patterns of social interaction, social identity, self-worth and environmental knowledges that exceed the logic of production. People develop intimate ties with and dependencies upon the tools of their labour, the nonhuman agents with which they work, the places in which they work over time. The nature of the work that has historically taken place on the Sechelt Peninsula has produced specific ways of life, senses of place and "structures of feeling" (Williams 1977:242) that are particular to extraction labour, specifically logging, fishing, and mining.[8] The nonmodern ethnography I am after sees history as a process "wherein both people and their environments are continually bringing each other into being" (Ingold 2000:87).

1.7 Production, Consumption, and Labour in Political Ecologies of the Pacific Northwest

One final orientation of this work requires elaboration. I position this work in dialogue with the developing literature concerning political ecological analysis of the Pacific Northwest that explores the complicated material and discursive elaboration of the region through examination of the intersection of environment, capital, and labour (Hines 2011; McCarthy 2002; Walker 2003). Political ecology as a broader field has often been criticized for its lack of attention to global elites and focus upon marginalized populations, an echo of the longstanding

[8] There is a tension here to be flagged between the invocation of Stewart's (2007) conception of "ordinary affects" and Williams's (1977) concept of "structures of feeling." As Stewart herself identifies, the two ideas are "akin" to one another but not identical (Stewart 2007:2-3). For my own purposes I have found "structures of feeling" lends itself more easily to the examination of historical and literary texts and other broadly circulating discursive representations of logging and fishing labour, and "ordinary affects" is the more supple tool for thinking about fieldwork experiences where the more sensuous material presence of more-than-human agencies is immediately at hand.

call in anthropology for more researchers to "study up." Political ecologists working in the Pacific Northwest have been the most prolific and widely cited authors of the sub-field of First World Political Ecology. Although I have gained much from and draw extensively upon this literature, especially analyses of non-agricultural contexts, I am critical of the tendency in these works to emphasize extraction-production and consumption as separate and competing modes of capitalism rather than their co-elaboration in place. The labour histories I collected from loggers and fishermen re-animate the dead labour of forestry and fishing that contribute to contemporary housing markets in which the local environment is framed as a recovered, if not pristine wilderness. Certainly in the case of British Columbia, real estate development and speculation has always been a cornerstone of the economy, alongside logging, fishing and mining (and has proceeded according to very similar logics of accumulation by dispossession).

In his argument for a regional political ecology of the American West, Walker asserts that examination of exurban settlements in rural regions in the First World must be attentive to the competition between productive and consumptive interests in rural nature as "distinctive forms of capitalism with quite different relations to local environments – most broadly, an older resource-based 'production' economy and a newer amenity-based 'consumption' economy" (2003:17). I want to complicate this argument in three respects. First, it is important to remain attentive to the naturalization of the creation, and commodification of, private and Crown Land. These are what Braun has called the "buried epistemologies—often *colonial* epistemologies" (2002: 3 emphasis in original) that traverse economies of production and consumption in framing the environment as a set of resources rightfully regulated by the Canadian state and markets at various scales. For all the apparent incompatibility of, and conflicts between,

productive and consumptive forms of commodification, this is a significant shared substrate that too often is historically bracketed in discussions of the so-called post-productivist Pacific Northwest. By focusing attention throughout this dissertation upon the ongoing articulation and denial of structural white privilege (as opposed to racism marked by overt individual acts of hostility) I hope to keep this substrate present in my analysis of the Sechelt Peninsula.

Second, while it is certainly true that extraction and recreation activities present limits to one another in terms of future expansion and development, wilderness recreation depends utterly upon the cultivation of accessible physical nature enabled by extraction labour, and upon cultural constructions of wilderness as monumental and in danger of disappearing. Certainly this is a point that has been made persuasively by Cronon (1996) in his discussion of how wilderness recreation is situated at material locations that animate the western distinction of the sublime and the frontier (1996:72), and in Williams (1973) discussion of how the distinction between the country and the city developed in parallel with the industrial revolution. Both authors posit wilderness recreation as dependent upon natural exploitation, perceived scarcity and repetitive lamentations for lost and/or despoiled environments. McCarthy and Guthman reinforce the continuity of the wilderness-as-vanishing-frontier argument for analysis of the Pacific Northwest when they assert that this construction is as important to the late capitalist economics of organic produce and recreational real estate development as it was to the gold rush (1998:69).

Third and finally, throughout my fieldwork I noted how histories of extraction were a consistent component of the narratives of both commercial marketing materials and the individual place-attachment narratives of recreational consumers. The dependence of

consumption upon extraction is not simply the provision of physical access. Consumers buy in to the idea of having "evolved" away from natural exploitation towards leisured appreciation, but do not necessarily appreciate the losses felt by loggers and fishermen of appreciation for their skills, their working cultures and ways of life. More effort is often aimed at preventing new local extraction than at lobbying for modes of extraction that could be environmentally sustainable and provide ongoing local employment. As discussed throughout this dissertation extraction activity is ongoing in my fieldsite. The discursive production of the extraction economy as a part of the historical past and the naturalization of this displacement as positive chronological evolution of economic development is thus a cultural phenomenon that requires some unpacking. New residents in Pender Harbour and Egmont often represent local landscapes as in a process of recovery from cultures of extraction. When this path to recovery is perceived as threatened by new industrial developments, privatization has been as common a strategy as government lobbying for increased parkland in recent years. A green-libertarian ethic of privatization-for-protection is widespread, and often shared between long-term and new residents.[9] What is interesting to me about this development is how modern and anti-modern positions alike increasingly express themselves through monetary valuations and increased regulation of access to land and resources increasingly naturalized as external objects to be managed.[10] These three complications might be usefully read as processes of legitimation

[9] One noteworthy example is the collaboration of long-term residents with a Microsoft executive to create a large privately-funded public park.

[10] An additional point that might be considered in the opposition of production and consumption as problematic is that there is a tendency to position consumption as having less impact on the environment; in many cases there is not less impact, but rather less direct impact and the concentration of resources in fewer and fewer hands. The ability of wealthy persons (and nations) to import ecological carrying capacity (and therefore export the costs of their standard of living) and the tendency of capitalist production towards promoting wasteful expenditure on product differentiation challenges the idea that tertiary economies are more environmentally benign or green in underlying principles. This

for new forms of exploitation and rights of access and exclusion to resources in rural British Columbia.

Before proceeding to the ethnographic chapters, I wish to note that I am fully aware that the theorists I have gathered to work through this dissertation are uncommon companions. The ontological questions raised by Latour, who explicitly writes against Marxist political economy as limited (in his read) by an inherent acceptance of modern categorical differences (Latour 1987: 222; Latour 1993:126), and by Ingold, who may be a more faithful reader of Marx and Engels' statements on the nature of technology and non-human agency, but manages to skirt questions of political economy almost entirely (2000, 2011), produce a great deal of friction with the materialist questions raised by studies of accumulation by dispossession and of the political economy and ecology of property, land, and resources that I draw upon equally (Hall, Hirsch and Li 2011; Harvey 1996, 2000, 2005; Verdery 2003). I cannot resolve these tensions, and neither can I offer an account of webs of significance on the Sechelt Peninsula without both. For me, positing work/labour in nature as central has been the thread capable of keeping the tensions between these theorists, which are very much the tensions alive and present in everyday life on the Peninsula, in dialogue.

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is by no means a unique feature of late capitalism or tertiary economies, however, the range of products and market differentiation is perhaps unprecedented. Of particular interest is market elaboration in the direction of the provision of "simple" and "organic" goods that hold the promise of lesser ecological impact and how these correspond to economic inequalities in access to both good health and good environmental citizenship. It is a paradox of late capitalist reasoning that such goods can be included under the umbrella of conspicuous consumption and honorific expenditure.

1.8 Organization of Dissertation

In chapter two I outline my research methods. Between chapters I have inserted short written pieces, called moorings, to be explained shortly, that flesh out some of the complications of my research and analysis.

There are four ethnographic chapters in this work. The first, chapter three, *Taking Tea With Granddaddy Tough*, explores the enskilment and environmental attachments of loggers through triangulation of histories of technologies of extraction, life history interview data, and poems written by loggers about the landscapes of the Sechelt Peninsula. In this chapter I insist that the extensive histories of equipment contained in my interviews must be read *as* personal histories of social-natural entanglement rather than as histories of subject-object relations or technological mastery. In this nonmodern analysis the representations and realities of dangerous labour are contextualized by political economic conditions of work and dominant constructions of pioneer masculinity.

Chapters four and five most explicitly take up the dialectic of the "work of nature" and "nature of work" in fishing labour. In chapter four, *"But you are more or less your own boss,"* I examine the social and legal construction of fishing as something other than labour and interrogate how the social reproduction of fishermen[11] is organized through Pender Harbour and Egmont fishing families, and ties to fishing as local heritage. Chapter five, *Pender Harbour Herring: Keystone Species, Gift-Commodity,* is an analysis of the serial commodification of

[11] Throughout the dissertation "fishermen" is employed, rather than the gender neutral "fisher" or "fisherperson." This is on account of the local preference of both men and women in the harbour for this term.

herring, a keystone species with important ties to familial and local heritage pre-and-post immigration and on both sides of the prevalent contemporary roe commodity chain. I trace the transition of herring markets from the volume-based fishery of the Fordist-Keynesian era to the niche gift-commodity herring roe fishery that is exclusively for the Japanese market. I am particularly interested in this chapter in how distant local places form dependent relations under neo-liberal reforms to environmental management, and, how social relations and traditions are intertwined with the extraction and consumption of a keystone species.

In chapter six, *A Stranger Comes to Town, or, On Dwelling, Access and Exclusion,* I bring my discussion of the everyday work of making a home and making a living in a previously occupied place full circle and return to the resource conflicts with which I opened this dissertation. Through a tour of Pender Harbour houses and homes I explore how the dwelling perspective on environmental inhabitation as outlined by Ingold (2000), the nonmodern position of Latour (1993), and writings in political anthropology, economy, and ecology on the politics of exclusionary and privileged access to land (Culhane 1998; Harvey 1996, 2000, 2005; Hall, Hirsch and Li 2011; Verdery 2003) can be productively combined for analysis of resource access disputes and questions of value in a coastal settler-colonial place.

Moorings I: Diffraction and the Written Word

If you have spent any amount of time on boats then the statement *"Reduce Speed to Minimize Wash"* will be familiar to you. If not, it will require some explanation. In harbours and bays where boats are tied up to floats and docks, boaters are requested to travel at very low speeds to minimize the wake they produce. It is considered extremely selfish and disrespectful to travel at high speeds close to public or private wharfs. The waves, known as wake or wash, produced at high speeds not only rock docked boats and their inhabitants violently, but they also cause unnecessary wear and tear on both boats and docks. The injunction, however, is not only for the good of those on shore. It is extremely unwise to travel too fast in an unknown harbour. You run the risk of damaging your own boat. Many rocks and logs that can damage a hull or motor are obscured. There are, of course, GPS systems and depth sounders that will represent these unknowns to you, that confer an illusion of mastery and objective vision, but overreliance upon these technologies probably will not make you many friends in a boating community, and will leave you high and dry should they break down. Your GPS cannot tell you why socialnatural things are assembled as they are, and it certainly does not excuse you from following basic boating etiquette and the need to acquire a sense of local particularities in order to find your way around.

Throughout this dissertation I have inserted what I have come to call "Moorings" and "eddies." Moorings are found between chapters, and contain augmentative information, stories, ethnographic material, and "supplementary logics—of things that don't quite add up even as they add to" (Ivy 1995:21), my translations of the complex co-constitution of the nature

of work and the work of nature on the BC coast. One can moor a vessel in many ways: to the bottom of a waterway, to a dock, to a buoy. Crucially what is moored still moves but becomes more limited in range. The danger always persists of being set adrift by various forces. A mooring is a moment when judgment calls have been made and from which new diffraction patterns are formed.

Within chapters, perforated text boxes or "eddies" are inserted. Within these boxes are stories, statements and histories, sometimes very inconvenient for the argument that I am trying to establish. In water currents an eddy is a reverse current created when an obstacle is encountered. The eddies found here are included not only as a means of tracing how some of the key issues that I discuss were presented to me but also as an invitation to reach other conclusions, to think of other lines of inquiry that might extend or diffract from my choices for chapter content. I employ my fluid metaphor liberally, creating space for ideas and statements that are stuck somehow in an anxious but productive spiral, and statements that I want to dwell on because I find them pleasurable for other reasons. I may be protecting my "informants," I may be protecting myself; in the end there are no clear lines among social etiquette, self-interest, and environmental concern. They diffract.

Of course, I have still made editorial decisions concerning what to include in these diffraction patterns. They are still more of a textual experiment than biomimicry.[12] However, it is my modest hope that through these interruptions of the chapter by chapter progression I can emphasize the permeable boundary between what we, as authors and researchers, make into objects and subjects of inquiry, "reading insights through one another in ways that help

[12] "Biomimicry (from bios, meaning life, and mimesis, meaning to imitate) is a new discipline that studies nature's best ideas and then imitates these designs and processes to solve human problems. Studying a leaf to invent a better solar cell is an example. I think of it as "innovation inspired by nature" (http://biomimicryinstitute.org/about-us/what-is-biomimicry.html, accessed March 19th, 2012)

illuminate differences as they emerge: how different differences get made, what gets excluded, and how these exclusions matter" (Barad 2007:30).

Chapter Two: Methodology

> If comparative anthropology is indispensible, it is thus not because it offers a reservoir of exoticism thanks to which whites might succeed in exiting from their uniquely secular and material conception of the objects of nature, but, on the contrary, because it makes it possible to extricate Westerners from exoticism they have imposed on themselves—and, by projection, on others—by thrusting themselves into the impossible imbroglio of an entirely politicized nature. (Latour 2004:43)

This dissertation results from field research conducted during two periods: the first from November 2007 to August 2008, the second from May to August of 2009. During these time periods I lived in the community of Pender Harbour and pursued my research primarily through the following methods: archival research on "settler" families and extraction labour at the Sunshine Coast Museum and Archives in Gibsons, BC; participant observation of everyday activities in the harbour, attendance at community meetings, and assistance with a local historical book project; life/labour history interviews with retired loggers (six, all male) and fishermen (eight, five male, three female) who worked locally, real estate agents (three male) and developers (two male) and residents both long-term (nine, six male, three female) and newly settled in retirement to the area (six, two male, four female); and, walking tours of local landscapes, renovations and construction projects with various community residents. I describe the importance of each to my broader project here briefly—the details are fleshed out throughout the dissertation.

2.1 Archival Research

The Sunshine Coast Museum Archive hosts an extensive photographic record of the region (circa 1920s – 1940s), various archaic hand tools and machinery, a complete collection of all the newspapers of the coast,[13] and records of many of the pre-emption era families and land claims. I spent one day a week for several months in the archive, working my way through these records to assemble a richer understanding of the history of resettlement and landscape transformations. Perhaps uniquely, my archival research overlapped significantly with participant observation, as I joined a team of retired women preparing a women's history of the region, in part as a response to the overwhelmingly masculine focus of "pioneer" history.[14] Throughout my archival research I engaged with both projects. The women in the history project were exclusively new permanent residents in the community who, over the course of several years, had interviewed any consenting women in the community of Pender Harbour who had been residents since 1970 or before. This collective, and the women they interviewed, were generous enough to share these interviews with me.

For the group history project we scoured the archives for genealogical information and descriptions of the everyday lives of women to augment the interview data. Without these women and this project I am quite certain that I would not have formed such a rich understanding of the commitment of new permanent residents to the community and the roles women played in multiple waves of the resettlement of the coast. However, to represent my fellow researchers solely as "new residents" is not quite appropriate. Many of these women and/or their partners spent parts of their childhood at summer cabins on the coast and have

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[13] *The Coast News* published from 1945 until 1994; the Peninsula Times published from 1948 to 1950, went under, resurfaced in 1971 and continued until 1980. I also conducted targeted searches of the electronic archive of the current major local paper, The Coast Reporter.

[14] The result of this work, *Women of Pender Harbour, Their Voices, Their History* was independently published in 2010.

brought their children and grandchildren; thus, they also had a multi-generational attachment to the coast. Through long hours of planning, researching and writing the book (in which I played only a minor role), I learned a great deal about the process of transition to retirement, the challenges of housing renovations, meanings of and attachments to the local landscape, and the potential of retirees as resource for regional development.

It is impossible to overestimate the role this collaborative process played in preventing my own research from ignoring the lives and work of women on the coast, so often invisible in histories of fishing and logging. The records that I focused on were primarily articles and petitions related to logging, fishing and regional planning, which rarely mentioned women at all. I have at various times encountered challenges to both my own project and the women's history project, on the grounds that any research that focuses on "settlers" constitutes a re-inscription of prevailing representational norms that overshadow primitive accumulation from the Shishalh Nation, naturalizing the presence of the "pioneer" as an historical inevitability. The women's history project in particular was challenged several times by colleagues as simply augmenting a bankrupt representational paradigm. Despite these critiques and the necessary challenges within them that I continue to grapple with, I remain interested in and proud of the work accomplished by the project. Notably, I believe that the project complicated "pioneer" histories of the coast in interesting ways, and it has forged connections between long-term and new community residents through the process of its production and circulation in the community.

The women's history project was also incredibly valuable to me for the ways in which it brought the subtler cyclical domestic work of place-making to bear against dominant white masculine histories of natural resource extraction. The project stands as an interesting study in augmentative history, not simply in adding women's history to an existing male history of

pioneer British Columbia but in adding the different stories that are enabled by working through conversation and community relationships. In many of the interviews conducted by the women's collective, stories of mixed ancestry were told that had been buried for several decades. Without the women's history project I think it would have been very difficult for me to begin to access and think about the ways in which bodies and local spaces are ordered or the contradictions in these classificatory systems as they formed and took root locally. It was explained to me many times that even though First Nations ancestry was common local knowledge, as recently as the late 1970s denial of First Nations ancestry was almost unilateral. The women's history project rendered these hidden genealogies more open for public discussion and re-evaluation in a different historical and economic context. This is a history that perhaps would not have been told if the same project had been attempted even twenty years ago or through purely text based research.

Thus, pressing white immigrants and their descendants to acknowledge and reckon with colonial histories of social and natural exploitation was revealed to me as a project of forcing recognition of both the internalized and repressed and the externalized and oppressed. Confronting histories of First Nations erasure and resisting the subsuming of both women's bodies and native bodies into nature are not the same project, but the projects can inform one another so long as differences that matter are constantly sought out and held in the foreground. Similarly, although significantly more laden with potential landmines, histories of rural and native exclusion are not mutually exclusive but overlap in complex ways that at times have promoted division and at times solidarity between whites and First Nations at a distance from centres of power. Tracing a history of the nature of work and work of nature, I found many instances of both solidarities formed in cooperative labour and family ties. I also found a

proliferation of management techniques that demarcate and enlist racial differences as a tactic to divide and conquer.

2.2 Participant Observation

One of the most common reasons people give for moving up the Peninsula and/or staying there for many generations is the privacy afforded by the rural life. Other than weekly charity meat draws at the local pub there are few occasions that find regular large assemblies of people; most social gatherings occur through semi-private networks and volunteer labour. There was no place in the area that I could live that would afford me easy access to neighbours and easy meetings with people: the minimum mandated lot size in the area is 2.5 acres, and historically has been 4.0 acres due to the necessity of septic systems. This, of course, presented a significant challenge to me in terms of making contacts and gathering information in the community, and is one of the main reasons that I worked through interviews to such a large extent. The local papers were vital to me for their listings of community meetings and events that provided opportunities for me to meet people and get a better sense of who was actively involved in local governance. I am grateful to the local independent paper that allowed me to write and run a story on my research. This provided an opening for me in many conversations.

The second major resource at my disposal was being young in a community composed mainly of people over 50. Residents wondered and asked about the young (read "under 40") pregnant woman who came to live in the middle of winter, and in some cases this was enough to start a conversation. A great deal of the information gathered for chapter six on housing emerged from my participation in a common form of social interaction in the harbour: touring other people's renovation projects and homes. It was a common courtesy to be shown around if you asked, and I learned much about the desires behind and the materialization of retirement

"dream homes" through these tours. My discussion of the role played by participant observation in my research is largely embedded in the individual chapters and is better understood in context.

2.3 Life/Labour History Interviews

Paul Robbins has suggested that narrative analysis in political ecology has always faced challenges, especially because "people do not always believe what they say and belief does not always lead to predictable action (2004:124). Perhaps there is no place where this pronouncement could be more apt than in the effort to think through the complications and complicity of white immigrants and their descendants with the appropriation of native land and the exploitation of nature and labour in British Columbian extraction industries. However, throughout this dissertation life and labour history interviews form an important basis for my analysis. I suggest that such narratives, even when possibly disingenuous or ideologically overdetermined, are a good starting place to consider naturecultures in need of regeneration. Rather than a definitive record, the stories I gathered were an oral history of sorts with many openings for questions and redirection from the established "facts" of historical "progress."

That I worked almost exclusively with retirees is significant to how my interviews unfolded. In some cases the mere fact of intergenerational conversation about environmental issues was significant, steeped as environmental discourse is in concepts of intergenerational equity and responsibility. Ecologically speaking, intergenerational education in the settler imaginary has broadly taken the form of an extremely negative pedagogy: the imperative to learn from your elder's mistakes. This project is not, however, about casting blame. Many mistakes have been made, and they are complex, but, as I will argue repeatedly, they cannot be confronted if they

are artificially bounded in the historical past. Much of the material assembled here regarding melancholic relations to nature was assembled in the subtext and moments of impasse during interviews where there was an inability to find satisfactory language or an emotional outburst disrupted the flow of conversation. I focus on complicity with processes of domination rather than blame.

That the vast majority of people I talked to during my fieldwork were retired is consistent with the general composition of the coast population: over fifty, retired or semi-retired. A recent report projects that non-employment income accounts for more than 40% of local income, the greatest source being pensions (Pastrick 2011:6). Some people spent their working lives in the region as loggers or fishermen, while others settled in the area after retiring from professional careers in the city. I am nowhere near retirement myself. In my mid-thirties, I have yet to establish myself in my career. Many of the new residents I spoke with had children, or even grandchildren, my age, and I am sure this in no small way affected our interactions. In most cases I found people incredibly open and even grateful for an eager listener for their accounts of their lives.

Examining the economic and social constraints that influence the practices of retirees in Pender Harbour revealed to me interesting patterns of attachment: to place, to the self as useful, and to patterns of consumption and social interaction formed during working life. While all of my interviewees share "retirement" as a stage of life, I want to disaggregate the category a bit and hold onto the ways in which working lives influence the use of time and space after a salary gives way to a pension and investment dividends. I think that all of the people I spoke with exhibited a "labour" habitus linked to their primary employment before retirement. Each habitus, or "embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history—is the

active presence of the whole past of which it is the product" (Bourdieu 1990:56), includes dispositions, orientations and patterns that are only slowly, partially, and mostly unconsciously restructured in the "leisure" of retirement.

I had naively assumed going into my fieldwork that I would have an easy time scheduling retirees for interviews. I was quickly disabused of two rather stubborn assumptions that I had held during the research design phase of my project: first, that retirement is a time of rest, and second, that there could not possibly be much going on in a town of 2500 permanent residents. I chased after some interviewees for months. I tried my best to keep my calls infrequent enough so as to remain respectful of people's privacy and attempted to work through networks. Contact with new residents was relatively easy once I joined the women's book project. I may never have made any headway with loggers and fishermen without the assistance of a few key locals who decided I was okay. I took to liberally dropping the names of the few contacts I had in a feeble attempt to penetrate the dense social networks of families who have lived on the Peninsula for generations and were bound to regard with some suspicion my desire to talk to them at length about logging and fishing for an project affiliated with a Toronto-based university.

As local fishermen still participate actively in local resource planning meetings they were easier to arrange to meet. Retired loggers presented the most formidable challenge. Amongst loggers, respect comes as a result of being perceived as a "worker," a "doer." As I was to learn, being able to read or write in a logging camp was not something that you advertised. The only people who openly took pen to paper were the men responsible for keeping camp records, derisively known as "ink maggots." If not for a particularly stubborn cold that circulated during

the winter, giving many of the men I wished to talk to nothing better to do, I might never have made any headway.

With only a few exceptions, I conducted interviews in people's homes. This added a great deal to my understanding of the different everyday habits and spaces of the incoming community of retirees and the loggers and fishermen who had been there before. While for the former the home seemed to operate as a self-conscious display of self and cultivated taste, for the latter two groups homes were more oriented towards functionality. I arrived at each interview with a prepared set of questions, some of which were standard to all, including the all-important "How did you come to live in this place?" The answers to these questions helped me to justify the broad categorical groupings I have made of loggers, fishermen, and ex-urban retirees. The last group tended to follow my questions through the entire interview; my meetings with fishermen tended to be conversational; my meetings with loggers were most often lectures, with me as the urban student in need of an education. In what is perhaps a counterintuitive result, the transcripts of my interviews with loggers were easiest to work with and find patterns within.

My first interview with a logger took over two months to arrange. It lasted over four hours in which I barely spoke. As I drove away from this interview I thought about all of the questions I had prepared but did not ask and what this meant for the question of methodological consistency. I had managed to sneak in a question about what the general public should know about logging and what some of the misconceptions might be. Pete, a seventy-plus retired logging operation boss responded to me with what I interpreted to be suspicion and

defensiveness, the only hint of either of these I felt in the entire encounter.[15] Listening to my tape of the interview, this question—nearly the only one I asked—marks a brief moment of awkwardness in an otherwise unbroken narrative. The interview consists almost exclusively of a history of technologies and processes of logging. However, re-listening to our conversation I found that what Pete was telling me was far more interesting than the answers my prepared questions might have solicited, or the conversation we might have had if I had insisted that we "stay on topic." The interview began with a request that he tell me about local logging. He did exactly that, only I had not yet learned how to absorb what he had to say.

Pete's narrative, more than any preparation before fieldwork, structured the questions I asked of all subsequent interviewees. This revisiting of the interview revealed to me that perhaps the methodological challenge in fieldwork is not so much finding the right question to solicit the type of information you want as it is listening to the information provided to understand what the relevant questions might be. From that point on, I more or less showed up to my interviews with loggers and said "tell me about logging around this area," prompting only as much as was necessary (and it was rarely necessary at all). It was not uncommon for interviews to end with a hug, offers of more help whenever necessary, or, once, even tears.

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[15] The consistency of this moment with the following description published by Martin Allerdale Grainger in 1908 is something that I continue to think about: "A man in this country does not walk right into a store or a hotel and ask point-blank questions about what he wants to know. I do that sort of thing sometimes, and very disconcerted I become. That is because I am impatient and want to find out things at once; forgetting that very little can be torn out of a man by a direct question. There is no means of gauging the value of isolated statements made in hasty answer after the mental shock your question gives. You must let conversation grow, not tear it up to see the roots (Grainger 1908: 113). Grainger is a controversial figure in both the history of BC forestry and literature. He worked as an occasional journalist, though he primarily made his living in extractive industries and government. From an upper class background, Cambridge educated, he came to British Columbia after serving as a private in the Second Boer War. He spent a short time as a logger before becoming the secretary of a royal commission on logging practices in British Columbia, and he wrote most of the report that led to the Forestry Act of 1912 and the creation of the BC Forest Service. In 1917 he was appointed chief forester, a position he held until he retired to his private lumber business in 1920.

What had begun as a struggle to secure even a single interview had turned into a complex patchwork of personal-political-natural-technological histories of coastal British Columbia. Each interviewee endeavored to offer me the "facts of the matter" while I scrambled to follow. This leads to another revelation that came to me in working with loggers and fishermen, the importance of attending to vernacular language.

2.4 Vernacular Language has Never Been Modern

The importance of tools and technology in all of the interviews I conducted with fishermen and loggers cannot be overstated. The vernacular landscape history that I was offered could not be understood without extensive additional research into the nature and operation of machines. Over time, with the aid of many out of print histories of logging, archival National Film Board of Canada films and YouTube videos, I began to be able to access more of these histories, and to see how the "second growth" landscape I was situated in might look different through a logger's eyes. I am very grateful to Howard White, the founder and Editor-in-Chief of Harbour Publishing, a publishing company based in Pender Harbour that has operated tirelessly since the 1970s to collect local histories of the BC coast. My conversations with him and my extensive reading of the press's back catalogue helped me to understand that tools needed to be understood as playing a central role in the organization of extraction labour: they were not simply mechanical implements.

The working definition of the vernacular that I draw upon is taken from post-colonial theorists attempting to counter the false universalism appealed to in such ideas as the "the global," "the cosmopolitan," or even "the environment." Much has been made by various

scholars about the complex etymology of the word vernacular (cf. Bhabha 1996:202; Illich 1981:27-51). For my own purposes I invoke the term vernacular to refer to forms of expression that develop in place and as a part of work in nature: the parole of everyday life and labour. Crucially, my emphasis is upon the dialectical nature of practical vernacular in, as it is employed to bridge the gap between managerial and categorical systems assembled at a distance and the everyday inter-agentive process of labour where people, machines and resources meet. Making sense of the relationships between regulations, local natures and processes of labour, and the broader markets, structures, and processes in which they are caught up is an active and dynamic process where nonmodern epistemology lives. As Bhabha puts it:

> the "vernacular" shares an etymological root with the "domestic" but adds to it [...]"the process and indeed the performance of translation, the desire to make a dialect,: to vernacularize is to "dialectize" as a process; it is not simply *to be* in a dialogic relation with the native or the domestic, but it is to be on the border, *in between*, introducing the global–cosmopolitan "action at a distance" into the very grounds—now displaced—of the domestic. But such resistance is not a "negation" of the rule of the universal or the dereliction of either representation, responsibility or judgment [...] it is to take your position at the point in space and time of the "unexpected transformation." (Bhabha 1996: 202)

Working knowledge and language does the messy work of making sense of and making do with the resources at hand. It occupies and translates the hybrid space of nature-culture in ways that both perpetuate and resist capitalist expansion and intensification.[16]

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[16] Throughout my fieldwork a conspicuous absence was noted in local vernacular: the Peninsula is a place, like many (perhaps most?), where the classic Marxist dichotomy of capital and labour according to the dictates of ownership of the means of production has never seemed to resonate personally on a widespread scale, even where it made sense structurally. Nonetheless, this analysis does take labour as a primary analytical category central to understanding the social and material construction of nature in this place. To keep this category even as the people I spoke with were broadly dubious about it, requires a shift in how labour (and class for that matter) is thought of, a shift that, I assert, is especially

Throughout this dissertation I suggest that if we examine in detail the vernacular of laboured knowledges of natures what we find is not prideful, boastful statements of humanity's triumph over nature or others but rather "the peculiar turning of a subject against itself that takes place in acts of self-reproach, conscience, and melancholia, that work in tandem with processes of social regulation" (Butler 1997:19). Vernacular language, whether a practical word for a job, a colloquial place name [see map 3], or short-hand for a place-associated family tradition, is more about relations than systematic categorization. One of the most fruitful sites for accessing local vernacular was going on walks with people in the community. There was, as already noted, no central location for me to access people, but walking was a process I could repeat with various people and through it open up place.

2.5 Walking and Wayfinding in a (Post?-) Industrial Landscape

"How does one walk in a straight line through the forest?"
"Methodical deforestation." (Pogue-Harrison 1992:113-114).

From the early conception of this project it has been important to me to attempt to understand not only how people say the local environment has changed but to see what evidence people can show me of these transformations in the land itself. Further, I was

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appropriate considering the dual extraction and real estate base of the British Columbian economy. Instead of thinking of "class" and "labourers" solely as relations to the ownership of the means of production, I follow Harvey who offers "positionality in relation to capital circulation and accumulation" (102) as a more serviceable definition. This definition allows for greater movement within the contradictory spaces of capital where the labourer is viewed simultaneously as a "worker, consumer, saver, lover" and "bearer of culture" (Harvey 2000:102). This definition can even allow for the labourer to be the "occasional employer and landed proprietor" (102), something that is absolutely necessary for my analysis of fishing and logging as carried out on the Peninsula.

interested in examining how the same space was approached and ordered differently by different people. The seemingly simple act of going for hikes with people helped me overcome my selective hearing, by materializing what was being said. Motivated by the long history of landscape analysis that seeks to re-presence labour in the land, I could see no better way to follow this impulse than to walk with people who had worked this land and whose families had lived on it for multiple generations. As Raymond Williams has argued, the landscape view erases work; it becomes subsumed under an aesthetic norm and nonhuman growth that shrouds the traces of this labour (Mitchell 2003; Williams 1980). From a distance landscapes "display the normative order of the world" (Mitchell 2003:24) but, as I will argue throughout this work, actually working on the land and seas produces different understandings and relations.

This process of walking as a methodology in environmental studies has been discussed by Sandilands as a form of flânerie that is productive for the urban-reared academic precisely because of the disjunction produced by taking a philosophy born of urban anomie to a new crowd, not of people but of more-than-human livelihoods and traces of prior human interventions (2000). For Sandilands, nature in late capitalism is overdetermined by commodification. Flânerie as a method is form of immersing oneself in a constructed environment in order to track how the "allure," "shape and form" (2006:42) of nature-as-commodity has been assembled. She suggests that there is a double-ness to the flâneur: both immersed in the flow of broader natural and social processes and distinct in his/her particular individual interpretation of and orientation to this experience. She points to the trouble with wilderness framed as an external consumable natural object, but holds onto embodied experience in nature as the source of particular knowledge that provides a tenuous opportunity

to contemplate the totalizing commodity fetishism of the view from nowhere (Cronon 1996:86; Sandilands 2000:44).

Sandilands' wilderness flânerie was usefully augmented for me by Ingold's idea of wayfinding with informants as a dialogic method in anthropology and mode of understanding different conceptions of space and place (2000:155).[17] To Ingold, wayfinding is a crucial element of the everyday experience of moving in a more-than-human world, where what matters to people are not fixed locations on a universal grid but the process and interpretation of linking one location to another through movement and narrative. On account of my long-term familiarity with my field site, my shared walks were exercises in re-sensitization, in de-automatized wayfinding through tracing the habitual paths of new companions. Each of my guides possessed a different set of situated relations to the local landscape. Thinking these experiences with and through one another was not an exercise in pluralism—where I, the researcher, gather, weigh and contemplate the "rightness" of various interpretations—but rather an attempt to open up what it is possible for me to access and interpret with, thus assembling a deeper understanding of socialnatural multiplicity in place, of the liveliness of differences in material and representational practices of encountering a place as familiar. In all of the paths and views there were forms of commodification, but they were not the same, and all were connected with broader discourses of value. Nonetheless these layered attachments to nature as a personal, common, and economic resource are grounded in the same place and have a cumulative impact. I want to push for a view of the Peninsula that resists strict

[17] With less success, I also got around the harbour in a "kicker" a small aluminum boat with an outboard motor. While the house I lived in during my fieldwork was quite central by boat access it was a long drive to the highway and into town, and, while I had high hopes to travel by boat throughout my fieldwork, I knew that with West Coast weather this would not always be practical. I quickly learned that the rip-cord of an outboard motor was less compliant in frost and snow, especially for an off-balance pregnant woman.

chronology, i.e., from First Nations territory to extraction to post-productivist landscapes of consumption, by keeping the coeval and co-constitutive nature of intersecting paths in a multiplicity at the fore. As Deleuze and Parnet (1987:vii) argue, "[i]n a multiplicity, what counts are not the terms or the elements, but what there is 'between'" (cited in Law 2004:42).

Chapter Three: Taking Tea with Granddaddy Tough: Accessing the Affective Topography of Logger Poetry

"Grandaddy Tough" (abridged)
by Peter Trower

Grandaddy Tough's
got a history of logging
in his hard hands
the cold-decked[18] memories
lie eager for the telling

he's old and young
the manfires
smoulder in him
He has stripped more sidehills
than I'll ever know
lost spar trees[19]
shudder in his eyes

He has walked with legends
and all unknowing
become one
beyond the heyday of his boots
the forests thrown down
regrown
and thrown down again

Among the boys he walks
careless with experience
Grandaddy Tough
a bridge of gristle

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[18] Cold-decked: logs piled up to be brought into a landing later on, or a pile of logs at sawmill awaiting processing. Cold-decking only emerged as a common practice when increased mechanization in the woods created a situation where timber could be felled much faster than it could be hauled.

[19] A spar tree is the central component of a high-lead logging operation. Historically, the tallest tree on a plot of land set to be logged would be selected, topped, and cables would be anchored to it in order to haul cut logs from the woods and arrange them for transport. Popularized in 1916, high-lead logging is a means of lifting logs by a series of elevated cables above the forest floor in order to move them without obstructions. Initially, the layout of roads and railways to get logs out of the woods would be determined by the location of natural spar trees. These were later replaced by steel spars that could be moved into location by rail, and subsequently truck. This advancement eliminated many jobs, as it was no longer necessary to send a rigging crew ahead of fallers to prepare a spar tree. It also increased access to timber and the rate at which it could be felled (Rajala 1998).

between then and now

The steam pots the skylines
rust on remembered ridges
but he lurches on
under trees of steel
in the knotty triumph of his trade

3.1 Field Reflections of the "Ink Maggot"

According to all of the loggers I talked to during my fieldwork, I arrived too late. The person I really should have talked to died a couple of years ago; there were no "real" loggers left on the Sechelt Peninsula. With almost every cold call I made in an attempt talk to retired local loggers, some rendition of the same exchange seemed to happen. After I explained that I was interested in how loggers understood and accounted for the impacts of their labour on the local landscape some version of "well, I don't know what use I can be" would be offered. At my insistence that any information would be useful it was agreed that we could "have a bullshit" anyway, "what the hell," and an interview would be set for "the next time it rains" or "tomorrow, if it rains." Before I had even conducted my first interview, this repeated encounter introduced me to several important social facts: first, that there was an internal hierarchy of loggers; and second, that bad weather is just about the only excuse for sitting around talking during the day when you could be working (retired or not). Over the course of my fieldwork I became increasingly interested in the discursive construction of the "real" logger and the relative distance from this historic figure noted by all of my interviewees. For the men I spoke with, this felt distance was amplified by the changed provincial social context in which loggers had passed from admirable pioneers to enemies of the environment in the eyes of the broader public.

Neither of these representations was an adequate descriptions of their experiences. In this chapter I examine how the figurative passing of the "real" logger and the material conditions and effects of local logging labour were presented to me in life history interviews and reinforced by published logger poetry. I suggest that the repetitive representations found within these two sources—of the dangers and value of logging labour—be interrogated as something more nuanced, interesting and grounded than mere masculine self-mythologizing. Crucially, by placing my focus on discussions of labour skill and its representation, I want to emphasize logging labour, even heavy industrial logging, as a mode of socialnatural enskilment rather than of modern subject-object nature dominance. By focusing upon the engagement of loggers with machines, landscapes and crew, and the representations of these engagements in logger jargon and poetry written by loggers, I write against stereotypical mainstream representations of loggers as heroic pioneers or enemies of the environment. This work, following Ingold, "takes as its ontological starting point the inescapable condition of human beings' engagement in the world, and [...] foregrounds the performative and poetic aspects of speech and tool-use that have been marginalized from rationalism" (2000: 416). Modern forest management may operate according to reductionist logics of nature and culture, subjects and objects, but it is abundantly clear from my research that loggers and their labour do not fit these categories at all.

Most of the men who did agree to talk to me were retired and between 70 and 95 years of age. Their work experience ranged from small camps of two or three men to "the show," yarding logs—moving and stacking cut logs for transport—with 30 or more other men. As was a requirement for my research, all had spent time logging the local landscape. Another commonality was time spent "gyppo" logging, which I came to understand meant not only that they worked in small crews with minimal equipment, but also that operations were

characterized by a certain kind of mad ingenuity, where equipment might be repurposed to serve an immediate need and the safety of a crew was regarded more as a consequence of the experience of the workers than of adherence to written safety regulations.[20] Over the course of many hours of conversation, a picture of the "real" logger emerged, most succinctly described by the poem above: a man with exceptional technical know-how and a strong back who entered the forbidding forested landscapes of British Columbia and emerged with pride in his labour and more than a few good yarns. The real logger was made in the doing. His status was affirmed socially when his work—his experience and survival—spoke for itself.

For the non-logger, however, this labour does not speak for itself. The technical nature of the work and the jargon that accompanies it are significant obstacles to accessing the insider's perspective. Building rapport is further complicated by the assumption that outsiders are likely to be hostile. To the outsider, the celebration of logging as a culture often appears to be reducible to a celebration of rugged individualism and masculine prowess. Certainly these tropes are ubiquitous in both official provincial histories and the stories that people told to me, but I began my research with the conviction that this was neither the entire, nor the most important, story. These representations of logging are but a small after-effect of the process. Becoming a logger is not primarily a matter of enculturation but rather is predominantly a matter of enskilment, by moving about in the forest and learning to engage in particular embodied, mechanically mediated ways (Ingold 2000:55). There is no escaping the topic of danger in discussions of logging labour, simply because the work *is* dangerous. The important task is to resist collapsing the realities of these dangers into caricatures of loggers as possessing a

[20] The gyppo system expanded exponentially with the widespread adoption of truck logging after the Great Depression. Gyppo loggers worked largely as subcontractors to larger firms and "received a fixed rate for logs delivered to the mill or railroad, absorbing the lion's share of risk and supervisory responsibilities" (Rajala 1998:38).

simple man-against-nature perspective on environmental issues. It is not a new revelation in anthropology that tropes of masculinity in working cultures often shroud more complex issues in political ecology and economy (Bernard 1967, 1987). This chapter is not about whether it was 'right' to log the coast, but rather, how the skilled labour employed to log the coast resulted in particular modes of knowing and being within the British Columbian extraction economy.

I asked the men I spoke with to explain to me both how local landscapes had been worked and what they thought of the present health of local forests. Overwhelmingly, the stories I was told in response to these questions were about the machines with which the men worked and the challenges presented by various trees and topography. It quickly became clear that if I wanted to know how loggers felt about environmental issues I would first have to learn more about the machines through and with which the men I was speaking to came to know local environments.

The consistent moral within narratives provided to me by loggers was an inversion of the conservation ethic predominant in environmentalist discourse in British Columbia: knowing nature came from the labour of altering and manipulating it. For these men, the most elementary and ethical relations to nature are achieved through active transformation of the body and spirit through hard work on the land. None denied that their labour had contributed to the destruction of old growth habitat, but this decline was attributed primarily to government and corporate mismanagement. What a logger is, *or was*, was still something to be proud of, something that exceeded the rationale of production. To the men I spoke with, logging was a culture,[21] a vanishing way of life, a terrible wonderful freedom to know what could be

[21] Many researchers before me have struggled with how, or whether, to address this claim (cf. Brown 1995; Furniss 1999; Reed 2003; Satterfield 2002). I have taken this claim of logging as a culture

performatively produced in the "ontological choreography" (Haraway 2003:100) between humans, machines and the British Columbian landscape. Over time I came to appreciate the highly skilled labour of felling timber and the intimate attachments loggers formed to local environments even as they tore them down.

Despite the daily presence of trucks carrying multi-ton loads of logs on the highway, logging is now predominantly spoken of as a marginal local industry. Forestry sector work accounts for 3-5% of employment in the area (Statistics Canada 2007). A few entrepreneurial loggers have begun to clear land for real estate developments, or have become developers themselves. Still others continue the gyppo logging tradition, working for larger companies and the Sechelt Community Forest down the coast. The importance of understanding that both logging and fishing (which I will discuss in the next two chapters) are still vital economic activities even though they have become less significant as sources of local employment cannot be overstated. When I started my fieldwork, part of what I wanted to understand was why an active contemporary industry was consigned to the past by loggers and non-loggers alike on the Sechelt Peninsula. Through my research I identified four major causal connections to this social phenomenon of temporal displacement. First, the management of both fishing and forestry has shifted from extraction from a found environment to global management, brokerage and production of these resources, with changed proprietorship regimes. This has resulted in a more deeply entrenched division and separation between local and market valuations of natural resources. It is easy to argue that in the past people had a more secure idea of what resources and labour were worth, that they are fuzzy entities in the present tense. Second, there are the

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seriously—after all, it fits any classic anthropological definition of culture as a combination of shared values, beliefs, material culture—but with a firmly critical stance against apolitical pluralism and cultural relativism.

active efforts by contemporary logging companies to re-brand the industry and distance themselves from a history of clearcutting and mismanagement in the logging industry. Third, new machinery has consistently been developed to access more remote timber and reduce the number of labourers. Thus, fewer loggers were necessary and cut-blocks are less visible around densely populated areas: most visible stands on the coast are in a stage of regrowth. And finally, there is the local effort to somehow hold onto the prideful, if spectral, place of the logger in history. "The illusion that logging is a thing of the past may [also] comfort ex-loggers and let them think that they are not missing out on current employment or profits" (Margaret Critchlow, personal communication).

Throughout my fieldwork, attempts to justify the actions of loggers, who figure so prominently in provincial histories of natural and colonial exploitation, were common. Narratives were offered to me that constructed the logger as a free, hardworking, pioneer settler who was ignorant of, manipulated by, or powerless against larger political and economic forces. These attempts at reconciliation always struck me as melancholic in form, a defense against culpability that circumvented a richer conversation about contemporary legacies of the logging these men took part in and by which they were shaped. The repetitive displacement of the "real" logger into an imagined past where the myth of the self-made man still rang true seemed most forcibly to mark the hurt experienced by the men I spoke with when their labour passed from being something celebrated to something vilified in public discourse. However, it also marked the difficulty in translating a complex embodied enskilment to a general population that knew nothing, or little, of the experience of extraction labour.

I conducted labour history interviews with six retired loggers during the course of my fieldwork. All the interviews were conducted in the loggers' homes. Despite this intimate

setting, it was difficult to extract what I would conventionally consider a personal comment. I had prepared questions about work history and interpretations and understandings of natures formed through working local landscapes. Very few answers to these questions were aired. Interviews that were so difficult to come by seemed to be almost instantly transformed into crash courses in everything my interviewees felt that I needed to know about logging. Seated at a table, often over tea graciously provided by wives who were happy to have some reprieve from their husbands' lectures (this much is not conjecture and was said), I struggled to simply keep up let alone conduct an interview. Pete, a second-generation logger, now 76 years old, entered his first logging camp "as soon as he was old enough to do anything." His first year in camp he started washing dishes in the cookhouse, and he was also assigned the rather gruesome task of ridding the camp of dozens of feral cats with a single-shot pistol. He was working on the boom by 11 years old, a high-rigger[22] by 17, and he does not remember ever having a summer holiday. We sat around his dining room table, and over the course of four and a half hours armed with a well worn copy of *Working in the Woods* (Drushka 1992), he gave me a history of logging at breakneck speed, in reverse chronology from truck logging to horses and oxen.

During the interviews I was regaled by tales of climbing inside 200-year-old rotted cedar trunks with dynamite, of learning the hard way how to boom a log lest you be tossed in the "salt-chuck" in November, and of coming of age in the woods. Work in logging camps for many of the men I spoke with began between 10 and 15 years of age, often with little formal education. Many believed that there was a direct correlation between personal wealth and how hard you were willing to work, at least until the concentration of logging leases fell into the hands of a few

[22] The high-rigger is perhaps the most iconic figure in the history of BC logging. The job of the high-rigger was to climb the tree that was chosen for the spar, top it at about 75-150 feet and attach, or "rig" the appropriate cables and blocks for a high-lead operation.

corporations. This concentration of leases was discussed in interviews mainly as the ability or inability of gyppo operations to manage quota, but in broader historical context can be attributed equally to production-oriented conservation policies of sustained yield beginning in 1947 (Rajala 1998:86) and the extraction-intensive provincial leadership of premier W.A.C. Bennett from 1954-1972 (Barman 1991: 280-7).

The widespread belief in the idea of the self-made man was typically reinforced by an appeal to interviewees' personal experiences or associations. Examples abounded of men who came from modest roots and made something of themselves. While it was perhaps an atypical experience, one interviewee, Frank, who immigrated to Canada from Denmark during World War II as a young teenager, recalled that by the time he was 18 he "made twice as much as the foreman was making and three times as much as the average worker." Social mobility, understood as impossible by his parents in Denmark, was achieved over the course of a few years in British Columbia. Still, in interview after interview it was insisted that it was never about the money but rather a desire to "go out and work with the men [...] to be loggers" in a bygone era when a logger was "a respected person." They described a freer past when a man could take out a hand-logging license, stake a logging claim and work it, or simply sell his labour to the highest bidder.[23]

On the surface of things, it might seem that my preoccupation with local environmental transformation and my choice to work with retirees were the real sources of the nostalgic frame in interviews and conversations. Perhaps my methodological choice had consigned the practice

[23] The playing field was far from even, however. The social mobility afforded to new immigrants was denied to First Nations and people of colour. As Menzies and Butler note, native participation in extraction industries was widespread in both logging and fishing but differential wage rates were applied and justified by the government and bosses on the basis that natives didn't pay taxes (2008:147).

of logging to the past even before I began my research and analysis? However, the patterns of representation I discuss here extend well beyond the narratives of a few retired loggers. They are also evidenced in popular and professional representations of logging from sources that range from the pages of the trade journal *Truck Logger* to the permanent exhibition halls of the Royal British Columbia Museum. The decision to interview retirees was made initially for a practical reason: I assumed that these men would have more time available to speak with me. I went in search of loggers on the Peninsula to act as translators, to provide me with their particular labour histories of material interventions in the local landscape. However, as my research progressed it became increasingly clear that when speaking of the productive capacities of landscapes, bodies or tools—whether a previously logged area rendered a park, a logger collecting a pension, or a rusted-out donkey engine in the woods—"retired" did not mean "at rest."

There was so much more to these conversations than simply what was said. When I lost my bearings in a long explanation of the changes in the particular configuration of hooks for yarding logs, or in a rudimentary diagram of a steel spar, I found myself trying to comprehend the men themselves in their immediate embodied presence. On the surface, they bore all the typical signs of old age: hearing aids, dentures, liver spots, hair where once no hair grew. However, on the couple of occasions when I had the opportunity to hike with them, the illusion of decrepitude was instantly shattered: they moved like teenage boys in old-man drag, bodies miraculously preserved rather than destroyed by years of physical labour. I was even laughed at once as I struggled to keep up after my 70-year-old companion spotted a spring-board notch in a tree 100 yards away and chased after a dog that came with us. What became abundantly clear on these walks was the profound difference between my representational academic knowledge

of forestry and the practical accretion of knowledge these loggers formed over decades of work. It was not simply that they were in good shape for their age. They were in a different forest than I was; they had learned to read and move more efficiently over the uneven forest floor. So much of this knowledge could only be poorly imagined from around a kitchen table.

There is a veritable industry surrounding the production of texts representing logging in the Pacific Northwest. Academic books in the social sciences tend to concentrate on the machinations of national and international forestry policies (Hayter 2000, Hessing et al 2005, Marchak 1983), working class culture (Brown 1995, Carroll and Lee 1990, Dunk 1994, Reed 2003), contested ontology and epistemology in environmental conflicts (Braun 2002, Kosek 2006, Satterfield 2002) or First Nations co-management areas (Goetz 2005, Nasady 2005, Pinkerton 2000). Sitting around kitchen tables with my interviewees, my background knowledge of these topics was useful, but not nearly as useful as fluency in mechanical engineering, an understanding of the differences between steam, gas and diesel powered winches, or knowledge of trucking weight loads might have been. Some rudimentary understanding of the technē of logging was crucial for me to access what my informants were trying to tell me. In order to understand the practical craft of logging—the animals, machines and people who combined their labour to drastically redefine the geography of coastal British Columbia—I returned again and again to books put out by Harbour Publishing. Logging is highly skilled labour with its own dense history of machines and terminology, and in order to understand what the men I spoke with told me I found myself afterward, after every second sentence or so, digging for a definition of a technical or colloquial term, or scanning a diagram of logging procedures.

It was through this historical research that I came across the poems of Peter Trower and other loggers who had taken pen in hand to document their reflections on work, ecology,

landscape, machines and love. Perhaps it was the seemingly unlikely existence of these poems that compelled me to read them closely: ambivalent odes to industry and technological innovations, laments over the state of natures—human and non-human—embroiled in the progress of modern forestry, ballads detailing the labour of brave men of strong body and spirit. In the history of British Columbian forestry provided by these poems, psychical losses and environmental catastrophes are described in vivid detail. I argue that logger jargon and these poems, some of which I present herein, need to be understood in connection with the process and embodiment of logging labour. Even as the poems contribute to the hyper-masculine individualist ethos of logging folklore, they also, and to me more importantly, provide other points of access for considerations of logging labour, the conditions under which it was (and is) performed, and its socialnatural consequences. I consider the poems of two logger poets who wrote in different periods, Robert Swanson and Peter Trower, alongside my labour-history interviews, in order to explore, first, how logger's depictions of their own labour have changed over time, and, second, why the "real" logger is so difficult to hold in the present tense.

The intersection of relations between small local logging operations, technological innovations, and the changing political, scientific and economic context of forestry was surprising to me. It was only upon returning to Ingold's work on enskilment that I began to understand the connections between "the vocal artistry of speech and song and the technical artistry of craftsmanship" (2000:416).The ethnographic work that informs this chapter began for me the moment that I realized that the exhaustive histories of equipment contained in my interviews must be read *as* personal and communal histories of socialnatural entanglement rather than histories of subject-object relations or technological mastery. What happens if we read the detailed accounts that I was offered of donkey engines and spar trees, truck logging and

chainsaws—in interviews and poems alike—as histories of intimacy, of heterogeneous relations composed between bodies, landscapes, tools and machines? Or, stated alternately, what happens when we think of the logger not as a property of individuals but instead as shifting enskilment, a property of particular human-non-human-mechanical relations, with shifting categorical significance under different political economic conditions?

3.2 Situating the Representational Praxis of Logger Poetry: The Performative Poetics of Logging

In the performative production of logger identity, some things have become relatively sedimented over time. If there was one thing that everyone could agree upon it was this: a logger was a worker, and the work of logging is a highly skilled combination of particular energetic capacities of man, machine and nature. Proficiency with technology is significant to what makes a logger, an aptitude or "knack" with machines was repeatedly given as a prerequisite to entering into this specific entanglement with nature. Comments like the following were common in interviews:

> I don't know; machinery came easily to me. I've trained a lot of guys. Some of them are just natural and some other ones better go and find some other kind of a job because they never will be good at it. It's just something that you've either got it or you haven't. I didn't spend much time on a machine before I could operate it, no matter what it was.

The quick development of proficiency with new technology was also a source of pride as it directly correlated to gaining and maintaining employment. Two factors are significant here. First, the logging industry gradually mechanized many labour-intensive jobs out of existence. And second, profitable timber was increasingly remote and difficult to access, requiring technological innovation. In any given era of logging, technological proficiency meant negotiating

power for labour. The embodiment of a logger has always been "about significant prosthesis" (Haraway 1991:195). The story of logging is a tale of connections between the labour of men, the labour of natures and the labour of machines; from the "great skill and nerve" (Rajala 1998:13) of the bull-puncher who drove timber-hauling teams of oxen to the chainsaw-appended logger who could fell more trees in a day than a team of hand-fallers.

In stating that the making of a logger is a performative process of enskilment, I do not simply want to point to how the logger is made into a social fact through repetitive acts. While this would capture the emphasis on practical realization of identity over a notion of essence, it is not expansive enough. It does not account for either the non-human forces engaged in this process or the discursive constraints placed on the representation of a logger's labour. I want to emphasize, in tension with arguments that stress the social construction of nature, that the "world kicks back" (Barad 1998 cited in Whatmore 2002:5). The non-human world introduces surprises, challenges and even chaos to neatly ordered systems of understanding and intervention. Natures exceed the representations, predictions and calculations of modern systems of management.

In no place have I found the critique of hard social construction, or the position that the world cannot in any way pre-exist its assemblage in human representations (cf. Demeritt 2001a, Hacking 1999), more relevant than in the analysis of representations of logging and fishing (to be discussed in chapters four and five) I was offered in literature and interviews. The logger must be in a constant state of readiness to respond to unpredicted behaviours of men, machines, and non-human forces. The active and constant engagement of the logger with non-human forces produces, in its aftermath, the appearance of man's triumph over nature. These discrete oppositional categories—nature on one side, culture on the other—are produced in

representations of logging labour, but were more problematic on the ground in the craft of felling and transporting trees. Both the loggers I spoke with and the forests they laboured within are the products of survivals. By stating this I do not intend to contribute to a romantic view of the heroics of logging but merely to emphasize that, from the standpoint of knowing of the labouring body, illusions of technological control over nature are not easily sustained. Logging, viewed as a product of human/non-human/mechanical relations, is a semi-structured pursuit at best: weather, topography, mechanical failures, production pressures and skills are but some of the factors that play key roles. In retrospect, the men I spoke with attributed their survival of logging equally to resiliency, technological innovations, tenacious will and plain dumb luck: skills and character gained during the process were emphasized, while mastery was not. In the narratives and poems that I present here, loggers are *not* the architects of forest destruction. Instead, they have been shaped by their entanglement with nature at the point of impact.

Logger poems were never presumed to have broad appeal. They are dependent in both their production and consumption upon a direct relation to material logging practice. They were written and published with a specialized audience of other loggers and folklore enthusiasts in mind. Logger poets have always existed somewhat on the margin: too rough to be incorporated into the official canon of Canadian high culture, too literary to be consumed by loggers without some suspicion (Diotte 2006). Much of the early written logger poetry is attributed to Robert Swanson, who lived between 1905 and 1994. The vast majority of "his" poetry was simply transcriptions of traditional songs and oral performances from logging camps, a tradition that his transcription served to reinforce. Swanson worked for years as a logger, but he is primarily remembered for his mechanical expertise in fixing steam donkeys and for his verse. His brother, "Seattle Red," was apparently the recognized logger in the family, equal to the mythic figure of

the hard living, hard working logger who did not take crap from anyone.[24] The accusation was repeatedly levelled by some of the men I spoke to that Swanson ripped off "Red's" stories and perhaps received a bit more credit than was due to him.[25] While Swanson's four volumes of poetry were very popular in camps throughout the Pacific Northwest—they sold upwards of 80,000 copies (Diotte 2006:77)—Howard White, the founder and editor-in-chief of Harbour publishing, told me that:

> there was always a sort of disapproval of Swanson because he had published it in books. He had sort of set himself up as *the* logger poet, whereas a lot of the loggers thought that he was stealing their idea and making something out of it that they didn't approve of, something sort of official [...] "Seattle Red" was the more typical type of logger poet who composed in his head and recited in bunkhouses or beer parlours for small groups. An awful lot of the old timers when you get them at their ease and get a few beers into them would admit that they had a poem in them and start reeling it off to you.

Nonetheless, it was reportedly not uncommon in a 1960s-era logging camp to hear men on the job quoting a stanza or two from the poems published by Swanson. Ballads like "The Ambitious Whistle Punk" or "The Cat Skinner's Prayer" would be invoked "to illuminate particularly snarly situations or bolster unlikely arguments" (White, H. 1992:10). As these titles suggest, logger poetry is full of colloquial expressions specific to the logging trade.

Swanson wrote ballads about logging life that concentrated upon the delineation of specific jobs and machines, and offered laments for the loss of rural life. His tales of noble men and trees, legends and yarns, all praise the simple life in the woods as juxtaposed against the debauchery and "comfort" of the city. This excerpt from his poem "The Call of the Timbers"

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[24] It is rumoured that in 1926 alone, "Red" worked in "no fewer than 35 logging camps" (Crosby 1998), a rumour that is suggestive not only of his hot temper but also the small size and extremely loose employment practices in logging of that era.

[25] Perhaps the accusation of appropriation for personal gain has some merit. Although legally named "Bob" he changed his name to "Robert" himself, desiring to become the Robert Service of the BC woods. Robert Service is famous for his poems of the Canadian North, including "The Shooting of Dan McGrew" and "The Cremation of Sam McGee."

serves well as a sample of his writing:

> A saw in the hands of a logger, with rippling muscles of brawn,
> As he thrills to the holler of "Timber-r-r," and the monarch falls dizzily on –
> To crush in its falling the younger, "side winders"[26] crash noisily down,
> And the air is alive with the branches that were draped as her sylvan gown.
> The "bucker"[27] with saw, axe and hammer, his wedges and bottles of oil,
> Will butcher the monarch in log lengths, by the sweat of his brow and his toil.
> The glistening ribbons of "chokers,[28]" in the hand of a fast "rigging crew,"
> Will whisk the monarch to "spar tree," 'midst snoring and hull-a-baloo,
> And steel-fingered "tongs[29]" of the loaders, when handled with dexterous skill,
> Will send the monarch a-rolling on cars to the hideous mill.
>
> O! Could I stand on the side-hill, where echoes the rigging crew's call,
> Or to crouch on the brow of a canyon, that's brimful of thundering brawl;
> Or to float on the "boom" as they're dumping and witness the spume and the spray
> As the logs tumble off in the salt-chuck and the booms are floated away:
> Or I wish I could stand on a "brow log[30]" and gawk at the rigger on high,
> 'Till my eyes are watered and smarting by gazing so long at the sky,
> And I'm pining to sit on a "speeder," a "locie,[31]" or car on the track,
> For the call of the camp is within me, it's throbbing and calling me back.

Despite the readily apparent industrial-mechanical focus, it is interesting to note that logger poetry is largely written in a romantic geohistorical mode, lyrical and full of reverence for the spirit of the land and labour. There is a moral geography to the work of Swanson, common to the Depression era in which he was writing: the city will only corrupt a hard-working man's spirit with its "comforts" and temptations; masculinity is rooted in hard labour on the land (Barman 1991, Ekers 2009, Harris 1997).

The overwhelming emphasis upon work within this literature and the conversations that

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[26] "A falling tree that twists and slides backward off its stump" (Davis 1950:119)

[27] "One who saws (bucks) fallen trees into specified log lengths before they are removed from the woods" (Davis 1950:116).

[28] "A short length of wire cable having a patented hooking device that is passed around a log and fastened like a noose, literally choking the log" (Davis 1950:116)

[29] "Large tongs used to load logs on trucks or railroad cars" (Davis 1950:120)

[30] A brow log is a large log placed beside the track or road at a log dump or landing to prevent logs from swinging or kicking back against the railroad cars or logging trucks.

[31] Steam powered logging locomotive.

I engaged indicates a culture of masculinity with tremendous coercive power. Nancy Quam-Wickham has suggested that in extraction industries in the west, "skill served as the most important component of a workers' culture [...] it contributed to workers' ideas about manhood and class pride" (2001:92). Initiation rites, story- and myth-telling, and occupational language were common components of the creation and reiteration of the particular constructed masculine ideal (Quam-Wickham 2001:92). There is a very clear hierarchy of jobs in any logging operation. At the bottom there is the "whistlepunk," a signal wire operator, usually the youngest of the rigging crew or an older logger no longer physically capable of performing other duties; at the top of the hierarchy are the "hooktender" and "side rod," the foremen of the rigging crew and woods crew respectively (Davis 1950:118-121).[32] The skill required for each job varied enormously; however, even the whistlepunk held the lives of all the other workers in his hands. It was vital for all of the men to trust one another and to work together. In this context the emphasis upon hard work is a matter of survival, as one man's laziness could get you killed (Davis 1950: 113).

Publications of logger poetry often come with large glossaries of logging terms attached, to make them more accessible to the layperson, but a great distance remains between a theoretical understanding of the terms and the praxis they represent. The emphasis on the practical labour of logging is not only present in the poems and their extensive use of logger jargon, it is also a component of every author biography appended to a poem or text. As the primary audience for these works was other loggers, the authors had to firmly establish

[32] Logger jargon contains names for job-specific roles and their associated machines, common dangers in the woods and shorthand indicators of tasks. The language of logging is, as Canadian nature poet Don McKay has observed, "already three-fifths of the way to poetry [...] Donkeypuncher, hooktender, whistlepunk, chokerman, guthammer, truckjammer [...] an arsenal of consonant-clashing compounds, often dramatizing the fusion of man and machine in a compact nugget" (McKay 2004: 12).

themselves as skilled loggers in order to have their words taken seriously. This necessary relationship between representation and practice was emphasized in many conversations I had, and it was insisted that experience could not be faked. When I listed the names of people I had been reading to interviewees, a hierarchy of experience was often reported back to me. It would be noted that one author "was a tourist," i.e. he did not log for very long, or another "was better at fixing an engine than running one." Thus, the authenticity of their writing, if not its quality, would be called into doubt.

All of the logger poets that I spoke to emphasized that their interest in reading and writing was something to be kept quiet in logging camps, as it was likely to be the object of ridicule. This last point presents a particular challenge for situating both the production and reception of logger poetry. The pervasive emphasis placed upon work and upon the logger as a "doer," as a boundary-making practice, both enables and constrains loggers. Within the ranks of logging camps it created solidarity and trust between coworkers, but it may have also limited the range of possibilities for political advocacy or, worse, served to heighten the exploitation of natures and loggers alike.

The insistent emphasis placed upon hard work was characteristic of British Columbia as an immigrant society built upon an economic base of extraction labour (Harris 1997:260). Identity politics in British Columbia took on a strange layered character; as long as men were white their identity became more related to occupation than ancestry: they became loggers, miners and fishermen.[33] Contrary to the social order in the countries from which many of these men had come—and on the foundation of the mass accumulation of lands and resources by the

[33] Even when the exact same labour was performed by First Nations, Asian and white workers, different wage rates were applied in all of these occupations.

dispossession of native peoples—it was actually possible for whites to gain social status and wealth through hard work. All that was required was the re-categorization of an inhabited land as an un- or underutilized wilderness. The creation of the "self-made man" narrative was a vital component in the creation of the province, and the dominion of Canada, as a white territory. It served as a powerful ideological tool for creating loyalty to the British colonial government and the subsequent Canadian state.

The construction of a masculinity rooted in hard physical labour in nature as a means of personal advancement was internalized by many of the men that I spoke with. This was masculinity defined less with reference to an imagined "soft" feminine nature as in opposition to non-white others, specifically First Nations peoples and Asian immigrants, and to the scientific-intellectual masculinity that regulated forestry practices in the name of conservation-for-production with ever-increasing vigour from the late 19th century onwards (Demeritt 2001b, Wynn 2004:29). It was not that these loggers opposed conservation; rather, they were highly suspicious of political appeals to ecological scarcity. Such appeals had historically always favoured large corporate interests. The regulation of the forestry sector was significant to the loggers I spoke with, as it gradually led to the concentration of lands in the hands of a few forestry companies by the end of the 1960s. The Social Credit government in power during this period not only adopted the resource management policy of sustained yield,[34] but it also adopted the view that long-term large leases were the most effective means of implementing this policy (Barman 1991: 286). Smaller gyppo operations were gradually pushed out of lease-holding and into subcontracting (Hak 2007: 54-64). For many loggers, ink maggots who

[34] For a detailed analysis of economic, scientific and political conditions that informed Sustained Yield policies and implementation in Canada and the United States see Rajala, 1998.

documented, quantified and supervised were deemed to be lesser men, incapable of, or too soft for, the hard physical labour of logging. This judgment arguably developed as a defence against a feeling of being powerless against those men who exerted control over the loggers' livelihoods.

The particular discursive formation of masculinity depicted in Swanson's poems is characteristic of early-to-mid 20th century British Columbia, most clearly articulated in the response to the crisis of capital experienced during the Great Depression. The Great Depression hit British Columbia's resource extraction dependent economy particularly hard. The collapse in commodity prices caused a rapid increase in unemployment. A detailed analysis of the particularities of Depression-era governance in BC is beyond the scope of this chapter; however, it is important to consider one particular government strategy employed to assuage the hardship: the work camp. Highway development, forest infrastructure, park infrastructure development and initial reforestation were the major projects undertaken by such camps in BC (Ekers 2009:305). The disdain for idleness and the association of labour-in-nature with producing honourable and properly masculine subjects presented in early logger poetry echoes the government propaganda geared towards recruiting unemployed men into federal Depression-era work camps. All British subjects were eligible for short-term employment in the wilderness as a means of gaining both temporary relief and training for independent employment (Ekers 2009:308).[35] In this context, practical education and training was emphasized over book learning.

Employment in logging was often characterized by the men I spoke with as conferring great freedom to sell labour power. If a worker wanted a job they asked for one, and when they

[35] Ekers argues that this call for British subjects was mainly intended to dissuade labour organizers and communist sympathizers from coming to the camps, an interesting naturalization of "British-ness" as anti-communist (Ekers 2009:308).

wanted time off they took it. Men went to work camps, however, out of dire necessity: short-term contracts once imagined as an advantage to loggers who did not want to be constrained by contracts were now refashioned as a disciplinary tool under new economic conditions. In the camps, men were employed for only short periods of time before being forced to reapply for work as a means of discouraging "dependency on the government in order to foster an attitude of initiative and independence whereby men had to become acquainted with the habit of looking for work" (Ekers 2009:309). The intent was to create a strong but deferential work force, to differentiate those unemployed by the overarching economic conditions of the Depression from the "tramps," "chronic dependents" and communists unsuitable for labour in the service of capital (Ekers 2009:308, Suzik 2001).[36]

Depression-era work camps were followed by the recasting of timber extraction as an essential service during World War II. Logging in the province boomed again as resources were harvested rapaciously for the war effort.[37] In the interwar period, concerns were increasingly expressed over the declining state of timber resources and the increased difficulty in accessing them. Despite increasingly vocal opposition to the rate and modes of timber extraction, when Britain was cut off from its traditional timber supplies in Scandinavia by World War II, harvesting intensified in BC to supply the British war effort.[38] At the war's conclusion, the growing scale of logging was enabled by the cheap sale of surplus trucks and other equipment from the war

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[36] Local history is fairly sparse regarding Depression-era employment on the Sechelt Peninsula. However, it is widely known that a work camp was present on a site that was later converted to a family campground called Silver Sands in the late 1970s. The labourers in this camp worked on road construction. The second source regarding Depression-era support is anecdotal. Apparently, mysterious forest fires broke out with some regularity during the Depression years, forcing the Forest Service to recruit local men to fight them. These fires, it is said, coincided with periods marked by the greatest local economic need (Keller and Leslie 2009:148-150).

[37] See especially the National Film Board of Canada film "Timber Front," Frank Badgely, 1940.

[38] Although shipping to Europe was limited, the need for materials for airports constructed to train pilots in Canada (Rajala 1998:189), and a particular type of cedar stripping used for the fuselages of planes drove local extraction (personal interview).

effort to contractors and lumber companies. The 1940s had also seen the introduction of lightweight chainsaws that could be operated by a single man. For many of the men I spoke with, the period after World War II and before the massive consolidation of logging companies into a few corporate hands was the brief heyday of local gyppo camps.[39]

This context is important for understanding the poetry of Swanson and its singularity in unqualified celebration of logging life. For Swanson, the woods had presented the possibility of redemption from the idleness and moral wasting of the city. To the logger poets who succeeded him, the threats presented by *both* urban and rural life were remarkably grittier than mere spiritual decline. The conditions of labour and machines worked with began to favour speed over skill, reduce the size of working crews and time spent in relations of apprenticeship. The poems of David Day, Patrick Lane and, most prolifically, Peter Trower are saturated with melancholic and violent relations to natures both human and non-human. Especially in the poems of the 1960s and 1970s,[40] the bush is transformed from the staging ground for masculine identity to a retreat for recovery, for rehab from booze, heroin, and other drugs. The urban

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[39] To place this in a longer historical chronology of logging licenses and technologies: the first loggers on the Sechelt Peninsula were handloggers with "roving licenses" that allowed them to cut trees anywhere. Theoretically they were limited only by skill and determination, though simple saws and animal-powered hauling (if employed) dictated that they cut only where timber could be felled directly into the water for transport. Approximately twenty of these licenses were still in operation on the coast as late as 1960, still under the original terms of operation (Keller and Leslie 2009:103-105). These licenses were gradually replaced by more restrictive ones tied to specific plots of lands. A total of 250 licenses for small operators on the Sunshine Coast were filed between 1905 and 1908, giving an idea of the widespread enthusiasm for independent logging in this era. These were mostly small skid-road operations employing horses and oxen (Keller and Leslie 1996:122). During the 1910s and 1920s, larger leases for railroad logging were purchased in the area, operated initially by the Hastings Sawmill Company of Burrard Inlet, which subsequently sold to American interests (Keller and Leslie 1996:111-112), but the Sechelt Pennisula was still largely the domain of smaller operators. In the mid-1930s, when the economy began to recover from the Depression, another wave of small operators employing donkey-engines, wooden spars, caterpillars and the high-lead system took to the woods (Keller and Leslie 1996:126). Timber surveys between the 1930s and 1950s fluctuate in their estimates of available timber for extraction, as new technologies increased access and aerial photographs taken during the war were declassified, offering a more comprehensive view of timber stocks (Keller and Leslie 1996:148-149).

[40] See especially: Day, David 1975 *The Cowichan.* Nanaimo: Oolichan Books.

neighborhood, however, through which all of these addictions circulate, has never changed: the downtown eastside of Vancouver is to this day one of the most socially and economically depressed districts in Canada.[41] Trower's poetry exhibits an ambivalent relation to the woods: logging is presented as a hard life where the work was "something like a war" waged against rugged landscapes and internal demons in the service of capital; yet his representations are overwhelmingly nostalgic (Trower 1999: 38-39).

I met Trower at his apartment in North Vancouver in the spring of 2008. He presented me with tapes and CDs of his work. The interview was stilted. He spoke of his weariness of being pigeon-holed as a "logger poet," and I could not help but feel like a bit of an imposition afterwards. Throughout the interview it seemed that he could hardly sit still. Every comment or question prompted him to get up and fetch something for me to take a look at: the comic books of working class life he'd drawn, collected volumes of poetry he was in, a video series he was currently watching, copies of his novels. After a little over an hour of talking we retired to a local pub for a drink. Being six months pregnant at the time I ordered a non-alcoholic beer. With no children of his own, and having spent so much time in the exclusive company of men who were often recovering alcoholics, he gave me a solemn, understanding nod, completely overlooking my obvious pregnancy. He summed up his ambivalent relation to logging with the following description of the job: "dangerous, exciting, horrible...sometimes exhilarating. It was a love-hate relationship for me." Contrary to many of the men I spoke with, Trower had never desired to become a logger: he acknowledged necessity as his primary motivation for going into the woods.

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[41] Often referred to a "skid row" it is of interest to note how the connotation carried by this term today of a dilapidated and economically depressed area has an historic connection to the origin of the term as a road constructed of sand-covered logs placed perpendicular to the direction of the road in order to create a means of passage over a boggy area.

For Trower, the war of the woods was not about the "timber front,"[42] mounted against the external threat of fascism, but rather the exploitation of men and casualties of nature in the clash of capital and labour.

As Don Mitchell has argued, "human *culture* never does anything: human 'culture' does not go to work on nature; people working under specific historic and geographical conditions do" (2003:239). Under the Social Credit government of W.A.C. Bennett, between 1954 and 1972 conditions for investment in extraction industries were radically liberalized. By the mid-1950s, over half of the investment in BC forestry was American, and logging exports increased exponentially from $675 million in 1952 to $3.3 billion in 1972 (Barman 1991:281). For the men that I spoke with, these were not simply numbers. This increased production also represented increased mechanization and a rise in the dangerousness of labouring in the woods. This perception is echoed in statistics from the Workers' Compensation Board of BC.[43] It is important to guard against an interpretation of injury and fatality statistics that would attribute increases solely to isolated technological changes, non-human influences and/or human error. All of these factors must also be contextualized within the boom and bust cycles of capital. The only consistent correlation has been between increased pressure for production and worker injury (B.C. Ministry of Forests and Range 2007: 4-27).

In almost all of the interviews I conducted, statements were made regarding an increased awareness and regulation of safety in contemporary logging practice; however, it was consistently questioned whether this was equivalent to progress in terms of actual worker safety. The worst years on record in the BC forestry sector were 1927, with 73 logging related deaths;

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[42] This term is taken from the title of Frank Badgley's 1940 film which chronicles the contributions of Canadian Forestry to the war effort during the Second World War.

[43] http://www.worksafebc.com/about_us/history/statistics_and_chronology/default.asp, accessed March 27th, 2012.

1929, with 84 logging related deaths, 1969, with the highest number of worker injuries in the history of the province (all industries—no logging specific numbers could be found); and 2005, with 51 deaths in the forestry sector and 110 serious injuries (Bradford 2007:1; Niemann 2006:89; Smith 2007:11). Each peak in worker injury and fatality rates corresponds to a point when broader economic cycles placed tremendous pressure on workers to increase production in order to generate wealth for the province. Trower's poem, "Lightening Rod,"[sic] sums up these points in a single stanza:

> Maybe they'll shut her down!
> Shouts Johnny the chokerman hopefully
> "Maybe," I say but I know they won't
> those wood greedy bastards (Trower 1999:30)

The "lightening rod" referred to in the poem is a steel spar tree. In terms of naturalcultural analysis, the most interesting jobs in logging are those, like the chokermen, that were most difficult to mechanize out of existence. The labour of the chokerman was constantly at issue as a source of profit-loss and risk (Rajala 1998:45-46). A chokermen was needed to respond to the surprising behaviours of logs in response to machines, weather and topography, but he was being increasingly disciplined to keep up with the mechanized pace of extraction.

The chokerman is the logger responsible for hooking and unhooking logs to hauling lines, so named on account of one of the first systems, whereby lines would be lashed around logs like neckties. The role of chokermen is an especially interesting standpoint from which to take up the idea of ontological choreography in logging, situated as the role is between logs and machines, provided with job protection by uneven topography. I have no final determination of whether it is significant or merely coincidental that many logger poets worked primarily as chokermen. David Day, a logger poet who published the critically and popularly well received

collection of logger poetry *The Cowichan* in the 1970s, recalled to me in an interview that "they tried everything to get rid of the chokerman but they couldn't find a machine that could do the job except on flat ground. So they spent millions on a machine to get rid of guys they were paying next to nothing."[44] Mechanization in forestry, as has been deftly demonstrated by Richard Rajala (1998), has always been primarily concerned with the de-skilling of the labour and increased production: safety was a secondary concern at best.

How then to account for the longing present in Trower's poems? His nostalgic framing of a lost community of practice and belonging that loggers were a part of, which prompts him to write about "the beer-parlor bull sessions / where the toughest shows were yarded - / the highest log-counts taken - / the tallest trees topped - / the closest shaves experienced / and every whistle-punk / was a hooktender for the night" (Trower 1999:75). In my conversations with Trower I was always struck by how his critical consciousness about the political economy and ecology of logging did not seem to dissuade him from contributing to the ongoing mythologizing of modern logging in BC. The title and organization of his major work, *Chainsaws in the Cathedral* (1999), is telling. *Chainsaws* brings together over two decades of Trower's writing organized under three themes: "the doing," "the remembering," and "the legends." The "love-hate" relationship Trower has with logging is vividly depicted throughout in poems that range from odes to hand fallers to elegies for devastated landscapes. Following the work of Bruce Braun, I believe that what is exhibited in Trower's work is not a critique of modernity but rather a distilled version of its founding ideological coupling: modernity-as-progress/modernity-

[44] This perception is reinforced by accounts of the expensive and stilted development of the grapple-yarder, a machine that could grip and stack logs but was never effective in old-growth timber. Smaller, more uniform, second growth trees and relatively flat terrain are the ideal conditions for the employment of the grapple-yarder. The chokerman had to be tolerated until nature was reconfigured to favour commercial interests (cf. Rajala 1998: 40-49; Hak 2006:147-154).

as-loss (2002:136), where the loss marked is a spectral idea of and sense of belonging to a tradition (2002:91). In the gesture of taking pride in the skill of their labour even as they are being exploited, the loggers that I spoke with were simply proclaiming themselves as simultaneously traditional and modern subjects.

The nostalgia exhibited in Trower's poems, and the repetitive construction of the "real" logger, is perhaps not an expression of mourning for glory days once felt but lost, but rather an effort to secure a desire that was neither really met in the past, nor possible to meet in the present, a security that Susan Stewart argues can only ever be achieved through narrative form (2003:23, see also Santner 1990:22). Further readings of Trower's work reveal it to be full of contradictions: glorifications and damnations of logging, masculine prowess and hubris, love of the hard-livin', hard workin' life, admiration for skillful men that one could never become, and remorse for trees, lovers and friends lost or missed in the bush. Braun's argument that there is pleasure in the rehearsal of mourning, that in the absence of an ability to escape modernity there is a compulsive repetition of its founding break, finds strong support in the words of loggers. These two seemingly opposed valuations—modernity-as-loss/modernity-as-progress—argues Braun, are actually complementary in the construction of modern subjects. Progress comes at a cost; nature and human freedom are sacrificed for efficiency and productivity.

Braun introduces this process of mourning as an extension of Rosaldo's idea of "imperialist nostalgia," whereby people distance themselves from accountability for the destruction in which they are complicit through repeated narcissistic marking of their own sense of loss. Nostalgia, argues Braun, is dependent upon a prior and vital element of modern epistemology, a particular chronological conception of history that endlessly situates the present in relation to that which was prior and has been superseded (Braun 2002:135-6, Rosaldo

1989:69). For those that critique the modern categorical order but still live under it and accept its terms, the habitual antimodern rehearsal of mourning becomes integral to being. In highlighting the narcissistic relations to nature exhibited in Trower's work, I do not mean to single him out, but rather to point to how we might enable processes of mourning to move from narcissistic marking of personal losses to a nonmodern reconfiguration of socialnatural collectives (Latour 2004). I believe this to be precisely the challenge faced by contemporary cultural politics of nature in British Columbia.

I will return shortly to a detailed discussion of two of Trower's poems written about logged landscapes on the Sechelt Peninsula. First, however, I need to address a rather glaring question: what exactly happened between the romantic odes of Swanson and the violent depictions of men and their relations to nature offered by Trower? Certainly part of the explanation is technological change, and the increased displacement and mechanical pacing of labour. However, there is an important caution to heed on this point: I never heard a logger damn machinery. Quite the opposite: I received painstakingly detailed explanations of machines and learned of their capacities as embroiled with the skill of loggers. As has been witnessed in other sites in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest by Braun (2002) and White (1996), logging technologies are often assessed on a continuum from relatively benign instructive preindustrial technologies to destructive industrial ones. To some extent, this continuum is paralleled in the already mentioned local assessment of who a "real" logger is, and the poems of Trower and other logger poets, but with an important corrective: it is not the technologies themselves that are problematic but the reasons behind their development and the mode of their employment.

Following from my assertion that a logger is performatively created, an effect of co-

constitutive relations forged between men, machines and natures with some historical contextualization, it can be argued that due to differences in the tools and machines employed, the overarching government regulatory system for forestry, the health and eco-diversity of the forests, and, especially the corporate control of leases that had become remarkably concentrated between the 1920s and 1970s: Swanson and Trower were embedded in different relations of enskilment. Certainly there were continuities—these formed much of the basis for the deep friendship between Swanson and Trower—but, there were also significant discontinuities. Swanson's poetry is indicative of the adoption of the ideology of the "self-made-man" whose masculinity and economic success were firmly rooted in hard physical labour, a view that Trower shared. However, the poetry of Trower exhibits an historic moment when the poetic and logging practices were de-socialized, individuated and the contradictions, exclusions and dispossessions the ideology of the self-made man could no longer be ignored. These assertions can be further explored in the local context of the Sechelt Peninsula through two of Trower's poems.

3.3 Local Poems: Topology, Technology, Capital and Danger at Mount Elphinstone and the Natural Philosophy of Alders at Skookumchuck

Both Mount Elphinstone and Skookumchuck have been extensively logged and today contain parcels of parkland or, as one interviewee put it, "the kind of nature you city folk want to get to." These landscapes were the topic of much local debate and discussion and were also worked in and written about by Trower. His own words perhaps serve best to introduce the first poem, "The Last Spar tree on Elphinstone Mountain":

> When you're going up on the ferry if you look to the right of Elphinstone, the ridge behind there, I logged in there. That's one of the worst places I ever logged. The show was so steep we kicked up all

the top soil. It's never grown back. We just created a moonscape up there. So every time I see it I just think of the weird and horrible experiences up there. It was so dangerous I quit for awhile I was so scared. There were all these rotten snags. This is why I use these war images so much; it was like waging war. I mean it was...the situation you got into it was like the country was fighting back, y'know?

The Last Spar tree On Elphinstone Mountain
for Al Purdy

The last spar tree on Elphinstone mountain
through drunken Sunday binoculars
pricks the blue bubble of the sky
on that final ridge where the scar tissue peters out
Been four years quiet now on the battered mountain's back
except for shakecutters[45] hunters and stray philosophers
The trucks are elsewhere some of the drivers dead
and the donkey gone to barber another hill

I'm always shooting my mouth off about mountains
sometimes climbing them
and sometimes just distantly studying them like this
My eyes need no caulk boots[46]
I can vault to that ridge in my mind
stand at the foot of that tree, forlorn as a badly-used woman
become merely landmark and raven perch
I can touch its bark sun-warm as flesh
feel the engines still shaking it functional
with vibrations that never quite die

It's either a cornfield or a catastrophe
Either a crop or a tithe or a privacy
has been taken from this place
What matter? it's done Beyond that ridge is a valley
I helped hack and alter There's a gully there
three-hundred feet deep in places
where we tail-holted[47] on its rim
Dizzy abyss that scared the wits out of me
you furrow down the mountain like God's own drainage ditch

---

[45] Cedar shakes or shingles used for roofs and siding for houses are made by splitting strips of cedar with the grain of the wood. Prior to WWII most shakecutters on the Sechelt Peninsula were Japanese settlers. During the war they were forcibly interned. Few Japanese settlers returned to the coast after the war.

[46] Pronounced "cork": nail-soled boots, a standard element of a loggers working attire.

[47] Any secure fastening.

and stopped a forest fire in 1965

At your foot is the dirtiest show of them all
where we logged in the box canyon with the debris crashing down
and the rotten hemlock snags trembled over
and the haulback[48] stumps pulled out like bad teeth
and the hooktender said: "She's a natural-born bitch"
and the lines broke and the omens spoke
and I quit from fear to become a brief boomman

I'm getting melodramatic again but it's hard not to
Logging's larger than life Keep your sailors and cowboys
And I'm always stressing the sombre side
there was much of comradeship and laughter
great yarns beside noon donkeys hillhumour between turns
excellent shits behind stumps with the wind fanning the stink away
even sweat smelling good and cigarette smoke, celestial

Dream on in peace, old tree
perhaps you're a truer monument to man
than any rock-top crucifix in Rio De Janeiro
(Trower 1999: 100-101, *typeset and dedication in original*)

The Last Spar Tree on Elphinstone Mountain is perhaps the most cynical poem in all of Trower's work. The last stanza proclaims the death of both God and the good in man in three short lines. The nostalgia, however, attached to logging labour—even a sort of New Age spirituality associated with it—persists. Logging remains "larger than life," full of celestial cigarette smoke, excellent shits and direct confrontations with mortality. The ocularcentrism of late-capitalist, leisured wilderness appreciation is satirized in the figure of Trower examining the hillside from a distance through "drunken Sunday binoculars." He cannot seem to preserve the view from a distance. He can "vault to that ridge" in his mind, recalling the full embodied experience of the slopes. A few attempts to make light of the trauma he experienced quickly give way to a depressive stance.

[48] A line used to pull a cable back to its original position after a log has been yarded.

Mount Elphinstone has been intermittently logged since the 1890s. With each technological innovation more timber on the mountain became accessible. It continues to be logged today, although 139 hectares have been set aside as parkland. A struggle continues to increase the park's size to 1500 hectares. A large forest fire swept through this area in the 1800s, leaving many char-stained trees. Opinions diverge widely on the state of the second growth. While one interviewee felt that previously logged areas were now completely regenerated, Trower clearly felt differently. All seemed to agree that it was some of the most dangerous logging that they had ever been involved in, sometimes referring to it as a "suicide show."

A story told to me by one logger—the same Pete introduced at the beginning of this chapter—serves well to augment the depictions of the dangers of logging Mount Elphinstone and how these dangers of logging are vitally interrelated with economic, topological and technological conditions of labour. He recalled being hamstringed working on Elphinstone because of a technical issue with the whistles used to signal between workers in a logging crew. At a particular stage in the development of whistles the high elevation of Mount Elphinstone introduced a new and significant danger. This story emerged from the following discussion of the evolution of whistle technology:

> when they first started they used to take horns out of car—being inventive buggers—as long as they could, the wife or whoever [was acting as whistlepunk] they could see the guy, but as soon as they couldn't see 'im—about 1957, '56 they started experimenting with electric whistles. They'd used them before but they didn't get the angles right and one of the things we ran into there was we logged on the top of Mount Elphinstone which is in behind Langdale, so yóu can imagine where you looked over to Sechelt, looked over to Howe Sound, looked over to Vancouver Island, well, people in Vancouver Island got the same whistle as we did, and they could set their bugs—as we called 'em—and they would blow our whistle, or we would blow their whistle, and that was pretty dangerous 'cause here you've got people working and waiting for the whistle to go and all-of-a-sudden

> the whistle goes and bango! So what they did is whenever they made an electric whistle they made sure that the frequency couldn't get out of that circle.

During this period of time when whistles would get crossed between distant locations, Pete recalled that there would be "standoffs" regarding which crew would get to work on any particular day. As emphasized in the above passage, the whistlepunk had a crucial role in communicating to men in the woods when logs overhead were going into motion. High-lead logging of this type is implicit in Trower's poem, emblematized by the abandoned spar tree. The presence of partially-suspended logs constantly in motion across work sites, being "yarded" from a logging site to waiting trains or trucks with the aid of an overhead rigging system, raised the risk of accident and injury to logging crews. So, too, did the increase in the work tempo, since employers had higher expectations regarding work efficiency and production speed as well. Despite this increased danger there is little evidence of organized or sustained resistance to the technology (Rajala 1998:29). Most men who had a close call, like Trower, simply quit.

As extraction was pushed to higher elevations on the slopes of Elphinstone, danger increased. The slope of a plot of land introduces complications at every stage of logging, from planning and road construction to the felling, yarding and transport of logs and, by extension, drastically increases the potential for accident and injury. The valorization of technical skill again asserted itself in discussions I had with men about learning to read and work difficult landscapes. It was repeatedly argued by the men I spoke with that this skill could not be taught in a school, and it has been noted elsewhere that loggers often cited a lack of field experience by forestry planners as a significant threat to safety in the woods (Bradford 2007; Rajala 1998:9). However, despite some disparaging remarks made against remote planners by loggers, they generally uphold the predominant discourse of personal responsibility for accident and injury (Bradford

2007). The considerable pride taken by loggers in practical knowledge and skill carries with it the ominous shadow of absolution of capital and state from responsibility. The adoption of this rugged individualist perspective has been cited elsewhere as a significant barrier to unionization—of small and large operators alike—in the woods (Hak 2007:66). The pride taken in complex labour is clearly reflected in the following passage where Pete, cited above, reflects upon the particular challenges presented by trees and logging road construction:

> In the logging business it takes quite a bit because every tree is different. You can go out there and I don't give a goddamn how good you are you can look and every tree is different and it's thick as the hair on a dog's back and every tree is different. I've walked through timber all my life and every tree is different and that's one thing that keeps a logger, that keeps your brain going because everything you do is a challenge. If you're building a road, you get a piece of road here that's gravel here and a government guy with a bunch of ribbons goes along and well any guy with two eyes and half a backside can see where to build the road and what to do, you troop into steep country and you've got to build a road and get a truck down off a 20 or 30 percent grade and you're blowing out of solid rock you've got to have something up here [taps temple]. It's a challenge; everything is a challenge. To build your road in the right place so you can get logs, to build your culverts in the right place for your water so that you can get drainage, it's a challenge. It's what makes it very interesting. A logger can never ever, in theory you can never retire out of the thing, there's always something different.

The implied increased danger of road construction on a steep grade is overshadowed by a narrative of personal skill. The ongoing challenge of logging is presented in contradistinction with government knowledge of how things work. With every question I raised about "safety" or "injury" in the woods I would be met with a response regarding "skill" and "hard work." Yet in all of these encounters there was more going on than this simple equation of skill and hard work as being sufficient for the assurance of safety. No one had been unaffected by the dangers of logging. The more time I spent with these men, the more this equation appeared as a socially

constructed defence against both the real physical dangers of logging and the psychical losses and traumas experienced in the woods. These able-bodied men were survivors of logging, their "skill" defined against those who had not been so "lucky" and soft government workers who had the luxury of changing their position on issues with each election. The most vehement disdain was reserved for urban "greeners" who loved trees they could not identify and caricatured logging as a pitiable chauvinism of false consciousness.

The able bodies of loggers were always defined in relation to the disabled bodies of friends and co-workers, and landscapes like Mount Elphinstone that they had helped create. Raising questions about logger injuries and fatalities was always a delicate issue for me, as I knew that the questions were equally related to issue of policy and regulation, tools and technology, crew size and experience, production pressure, and, crucially, personal losses and traumas in the woods. There is a vast difference between talking in tall tales and myths of rugged individualist heroes and asking about the specifics of real men lost and injured in the woods. Direct and curt acknowledgement of the topic was most often quickly followed by a change of topic or an attempt to make light of it:

> I had a few guys I knew get killed, both in falling. I knew a couple of guys who got killed in the rigging and in the landing...they weren't so strict in those days. I was really lucky; I got working with a guy who started falling when he was sixteen years old. He was a real pro; he was 55 when I worked with him. Charlie Murray his name was. I learned more about falling in that time than I had learnt in the two previous years.
>
> Lot got hurt and crippled, less you heard of them [... *long pause*]back to town. A lot of them hobbling around with broken backs...

The tone of these comments often conveyed more than the words themselves. In reviewing and transcribing interviews I was often struck by how crass and unfeeling the abstracted words

seemed removed from the context. It makes a considerable difference to know that the pause in the second comment quoted above was long, around ten seconds of dead silence. The man who spoke these words was a former gyppo camp boss, a job that he depicted as unrelenting: "[l]ogging is like... you put everything you can into it. It's your whole everything. There's no taking it easy in the camp. You're running the thing [...] everything a person could put into it, it demanded." As a gyppo camp boss he not only took on the responsibility for other men's lives and safety as a part of a working crew; he also worked in a managerial capacity. The place of the gyppo operation in extraction work is significant here. Either working as independent lease holders or more commonly as sub-contractors to larger corporations, the profit margin of a gyppo operation was thin, as was its ability to keep up with necessary safety improvements. The relative autonomy that came with gyppo logging—to determine where and how much you would work—came with significant risks, against which "skill" and "luck" were the main defences. I asked him about this responsibility and was met with the following gruff response after a long pause: "[o]h well, you don't want them to get hurt, but at the same time you wanted to see him get off his ass."

All of this leads to a series of situated questions of tremendous importance. For the loggers I spoke with, is personal or environmental rehabilitation possible? Had it occurred locally? What happens to a landscape and to the worker after a logging scar has been established? How can logging practices be changed in order to be less socially and ecologically damaging? The losses sustained and mourned by loggers are immense, yet even in the most melancholic moments and sentiments a belief in some form of regeneration was expressed. Take the following selection from Trower's collection *Chainsaws in the Cathedral.* From "the doing" section of *Chainsaws*, this poem was written about a local logging camp at

Skookumchuck, a constant local sight/site of controversy. Skookumchuck is a Chinook[49] word for "turbulent waters" or "rapid torrents," and it currently draws kayakers from across North America. On a three-metre tide, 200 billion gallons of water flow through the narrows. A total of 40.5 hectares of the area were turned from provincial forest to parkland in the 1950s, an area which has increased over the years to its current 123 hectares. The park offers spectacular views of both this frenetic water and of logging and mining incursions into the landscape. What I want to point out in this poem is that the most active "doing" is the encroachment of alder trees swaying on a logging scar:

Skookumchuck

Reprieved for a merciful moment
from repetitive conversation
in the ramshackle evening bunkhouse,
I watch the alders move like great grey reeds
to a wrinkling wind
below the ruined watersheds wrung slopes
where new roads snake past the snowline
and the black amputated claws of charred stumps
grip dirt in the scarcountry

I have stumbled back to the woods
after drunken years of absence
driven again by several needs –
found my way to this woebegone place
of weatherbattered buildings
where a disused landing barge
landed forever
rusts in the bushes
like all my hamstrung dreams

[49] Chinook jargon refers to a Creole of many West Coast First Nations languages used for intra-group communication prior to colonial contact, which incorporated many French and English terms post-contact. By 1962 the Summer Institute of Linguistics estimated that approx 100 Chinook speakers remained in North America, and by 1990 the Creole language was considered nearly extinct. It was officially used in trials and surveys as late as 1913-1916.

Sing a song of recompense –
noisy joshing suppertimes
in a cookhouse with a broken guthammer[50]

Sing a song of necessity
in this ancient logging camp
by the tidal rapids called Skookumchuck
which means Strong Water
and must be drunk
beyond bottles.
(Trower 1999:62, typeset in original)

The alders in this poem are the life and reprieve of Trower. The ruined self that he sees reflected in the Skookumchuck hillside is interrupted by the new growth of alders, invoked continuously by many logger poets to signify the beginnings of natural regeneration on a recently logged plot. Alders, according to Trower, are the "forest fixers," "bandaging brown wounds" (Trower 1999:104),[51] the reassertion of wildness in landscapes that humans have tried to rationalize and control. The specific alder discussed in these poems is the red alder, partial to the wet soils of the lower coastal climate. All alders have an important symbiotic relationship with nitrogen fixing bacteria: they are described as a "pioneer" species, laying the foundation for a new forest. Despite their vital role they are often treated like a weed, as they are not very profitable in a direct economic sense, being used only for specialty hardwood products. What more romantic vision of labouring nature and self could there be than this, the alder: underappreciated, essential. Erosion, the physical and emotional losses materialized in the land, is counteracted by accretion, the gradual growth of new life from what remains. The despair of Trower's reflections on the "ruined watersheds," "wrung slopes, " and "scarcountry" "where a disused landing barge/ landed forever/ rusts in the bushes/ like all my hamstrung dreams" is subtly assuaged by

[50] Dinner bell.
[51] These quotes are taken from another poem, "The Alders."

the growth of alders, not so subtly by rapid torrents of water that flow below. In the explication of the commodification of natures, human and non-human, that takes place at Skookumchuck, a reversal takes root, "in which losses emerge as excessive survivals" (Ivy 1995:25).

Amidst the overwhelming despair of the poem the re-occupation of the alders comes as a comfort, a suggestion that the tenure of human and machine will ultimately be superseded by forces of nature and time. I am inclined, however, to think this assertion far too passive, too easy a refuge from engagement with the complex elaboration of contemporary resource politics. It is on this note, and from a viewpoint on a provincial park trail within Skookumchuck Narrows Provincial Park [Figure 2], that I want to turn to the culminating discussion of this chapter. This viewpoint offers a unique opportunity to undermine the artificial separation of landscapes of production and landscapes of consumption so often promoted and practiced in British Columbia. Swanson, Trower and the men I spoke with have helped me to compose an account of local logging history: what remains to be developed is what this account might help us to understand about logging and loggers in the present tense.

The viewpoints within this park are unique due to the prominent presence of gravel mining, commercial fishing vessels and multiple logging scars. These types of industrial incursions are usually quite deliberately separated from the wilderness views afforded from provincial parks. In the photo, across the Skookumchuck rapids, landscapes of industrial production and parkland consumption are placed in dramatic contradistinction—sawing and hauling versus kayaking and hiking—even as both are still contained within the same overarching logic of commodification. The land within the 123 hectares of the park has been

Figure 2: Logging Scar and Rapids at Skookumchuck 2008. Photo accessed from http://uwexplorers.net/?page_id=988, March 27th, 2012.

protected from extraction, but not from a commodity view of nature. As Sandilands states, "[t]his is, then, a different sort of contradiction: with the restoration of nature to a particular state, the park has been protected from one sphere of consumption but, in the same move, has been more fully inserted into another" (Sandilands 2000:46).

In his elaboration of "landscapes of loss and mourning," Braun argues that the almost compulsive desire to point out places that have been marked by modern industrial production is a strange but omnipresent part of nature tourism in BC (2002:112). The viewpoint at Skookumchuck stands as a blatant visual display of the double-vision (and double-bind) of BC's political economy of nature. Landscapes of production and landscapes of consumption are vitally interconnected. The former quite literally clears paths for the latter and confers a sense of precious urgency to "wild" landscapes. Asked to stand as resource for the extraction economy

and as wilderness for the tourist, the view of the forest at Skookumchuck is all about connections. However, the task of bridging the space between the environmental experience of the logger and that of the tourist "nature lover" might not be overstated by the difficulty of crossing a 30 kilometre per hour tide full of eddies and undertow.

I asked each of the men that I interviewed: "Do you consider yourself an environmentalist?" Each in turn accepted the title, but went on at length to define what it meant for them and the people with whom they would not like to be associated with under that categorization. Tirades against "greeners" who get in the way, are overly emotional and do not really understand the ecology of the area ensued. What was most insulting to many of these men in the encounters that they had experienced with environmental activists was the assumption that a logger ignored the specific ecology of an area, had no respect for the environment, and was motivated only by personal greed. The opinions of the men I talked to were widely divergent in their assessment of the state of local re-growth, however, what I want to emphasize here is that neither the loggers nor the logger poetry I discuss here depicts a disregard for nature, a lack of reverence, a distinct ontological separation, or pure quantitative relation.

The acceptance of the label "environmentalist" by all of these men was based in part on a practical desire to support oneself on a sustained basis. It was taken as a matter-of-fact assumption that you could not discount nature without putting your own livelihood into jeopardy. Stated succinctly:

> Me: "Do you consider yourself an environmentalist?"
> Frank: "Oh well, that's where I make my living. Oh sure. I think so."

This statement highlights a practical semantic interpretation of environmentalism. However,

extra-economic attachments to nature were also consistently expressed, most notably in declarations of love for the camping, fishing and hiking opened up by logging roads. These recreational activities were also touted as contributions of the logging industry which arguably literally cleared the paths for increased public access to nature, and, by ironic extension, awareness of its intrinsic value. Also, concerns were consistently raised about local production being directed by geographically distant corporate forces, an objection that surely would be shared by most environmental activists.

The environmentalism described by the logger quoted here has elsewhere been deemed a "producer ideology," focused on the efficient and sustained use of resources for industry (Hays 1987, cited in Wynn 2004:29). This is contrasted with the consumer environmentalism that emerged as a strong cultural force in the 1960s (Wynn 2004:29). I would argue, however, that what I have presented here exceeds a strict producer ideology and might help us to think more productively about the tensions between loggers and environmentalists, loggers and forestry management. As has been argued extensively elsewhere, from the perspective of the logger the fundamental objection to environmental activists who oppose logging is actually based on spatial and class distinctions; that is, different valuations of nature as spaces of production and consumption (Dunk 1994, White 1996). What is so interesting about the transitioning economy of the Sechelt Peninsula is how these spaces, which have long been in tension with one another, come to reveal themselves as enmeshed in dependent relations: the threat and survival of modern production increases the fervour of consumption of places where a more "natural," "rural" lifestyle can still be had, perhaps for a limited time only.

3.4 Re-Wilding the Local Landscape

"All hoping it'll be different / Beyond second growth" (Lillard 1973:32)

"'Second growth' what an absurd idea!" (Haraway, Santa Cruz 2008)

Over time I observed that the primary desire exhibited in both the recreational conversion of the Sechelt Peninsula and the narratives of retired loggers was not to displace logging in space, but in time. To secure logging as a part of the historical past not only allows for the maintenance of the comforting distance between spaces of production and spaces of consumption, but it also expands the possible range of recreational pleasures beyond that of appreciating pristine nature. One can pass the time marvelling at past technologies of production in heritage sites adjacent to parklands which showcase the regenerative capacity of natures. Machinery prominently exhibited in the yard at the Egmont Heritage Centre, across from the Skookumchuck Provincial Part trailhead, is one such example. While current logging stands as a threat to local watersheds, property values and vistas, the logger of the past has secured a vital role in what makes the culture of the area unique and valuable, and what has made the nature of the area tame enough for recreational development and activities.

The logger of the past is denounced and forgiven in the same breath for the reckless overharvesting of timber, a process that Santner has deemed "homeopathic renunciation" (1990:15): taking up the issue of the excesses, violence and losses of modernity in a small dose, as a means of inoculation against a more consequential contemplation of what could have been, and could still be, different. The structural and personal transgressions of the loved object—the pioneer-settler vis-à-vis colonialism and the capitalistic exploitation of nature—are acknowledged, and a loss is felt. This loss marks the self as separate and enlightened. Bounding the pioneer-logger in the historical past enables the simultaneous retention and rejection of this

problematic historical figure. His hard work and determination as an element of personal history and heritage can be kept; his role in the dispossession of native peoples from their land, exploitation of natural resources and patriarchal masculinity can be distanced from the self and forgiven as characteristic of a past, surpassed era. Rather than constituting a reckoning with the colonial foundation of British Columbia and environmental exploitation, this formulation operates *as if no such reckoning is, or ever was, necessary*. This type of historical play is especially potent in sites of so-called "second growth," where the forest can be encountered as in recovery or recovered from industrial forestry.

Clearly, hiking in the woods and razing them are dramatically different in terms of their immediate environmental impact. I am not arguing that these practices are equivalent. What I am trying to draw attention to is twofold: first, that they are both bound up in commodity relations to nature, and, second, that the local natures of recreational consumption are dependent upon a particular historical relation to natures of production. An example of a local environmental struggle that actively engages with both will serve to demonstrate these points. The donkey engine[52] pictured in Figure 3 was left by loggers in the 1950s in a forest a short distance from where I lived during my fieldwork. Known locally as Bear Bay, this forest was auctioned as a cut-block on BC Timber Sales and logging began there in November of 2009. There was strong local opposition to the re-logging of this forest and extensive efforts to protect it. When I first arrived in Pender Harbour, guided tours of the forest were offered every Saturday by local conservationists attempting to get the cut-block protected. I attended a series of these tours and became friendly with the people spearheading the conservation efforts. Along the trail

[52] Donkey engines are mechanical winches first powered by steam, then gas, and finally diesel. The basic components of any donkey engine are "a vertical boiler, an engine and a winch mechanism mounted on an iron or steel frame" (Rajala 1998:14).

the conservationists had made there were markers of many forces that had contributed to the construction of the forest. The evidence of storms and prior logging was used as a touchstone for narratives of environmental and social change. A few old-growth trees that were left when the area was logged in the 1950s stand in the block, mostly on account of imperfections in the wood that would have resulted in a lower sale price. These trees which stand far above and distinct in the layered canopy of the forest are always cause for pause and comment, but people lingered at the donkey engine for much longer than any other spot along the trail.

Figure 3: Bear Bay Forest Moss Covered Donkey. Photo by Ryan Logtenberg. Used with permission.

Abandoned donkey engines are common features along hiking trails in British Columbia,

regularly highlighted in guidebooks and accounts of hikes as points of interest.[53] However, the discussion of laypersons approaching these machines was vastly different from what I had encountered with loggers and in logger poems. When the hikers I observed stopped at the moss covered donkey in Bear Bay the range of questions and comments was enormous. Many wanted to know exactly how it was built and worked, others when and why it was left in this stand of trees, still others simply pause in awe before this industrial-totemic interruption of their wilderness walk. What struck me most keenly was how *in place* the donkey seemed, as much an embedded part of this local landscape and the pedagogical process of the nature walk as surrounding cedar stumps and sword ferns. On one of my trips into the forest, our tour met up with a couple in their thirties who had come *only* to view the donkey. Our guide, a local naturalist, and the man we met exchanged notes for over twenty-minutes on where other donkeys and mechanical logging relics could be found on the local coast. The man we met explained how tracking such abandoned machinery was a hobby for him, and he spoke with great animation about the excitement afforded by decoding when and how an area had been logged by referencing the machinery used, a sort of lay-archaeology of socialnatural histories of extraction.

Many forestry-dependent communities across the province of British Columbia are attempting revitalization through tourism development (cf. Markey et al 2005, Young 2006). The revitalization of local cultures and natures alike is discussed as "second growth." This framing, however, is problematic in multiple ways. The isolation of forest time and structure by the second growth moniker assumes not only a linear and predictable time sequence for natural

[53] A quick search on "donkey engine" and "West Coast Trail" is particularly insightful in this regard. There are several derelict donkey engines along the popular 75 kilometre trail. Comments typically note fascination in seeing the relics and ignorance of the practical operation of the machines.

processes and growth (rather than cyclical or symbiotic relations between organisms for example), it further reifies nature within a commodity frame. The beginning of natural history in British Columbia is marked as the moment of first commodification, with blatant disregard for the continuous use of natures by First Nations from pre-colonial times or for non-human habitat needs. Displacing logging in time or in space does little to undermine the overarching commodity structure that still governs relations of both production and consumption to nature in British Columbia.

Through the activism of local conservationists and business owners, the size of the cut-block up for auction in Bear Bay was eventually reduced by 12 acres; the cedars, the aforementioned, imperfect older trees *and the relic donkey engine* were protected. Bid restrictions were also created that confined logging activity to between October and May. During this period of time the ground is likely to be partially or fully frozen, which prevents soil erosion and also conveniently keeps logging operations from working during prime tourist season. When viewed from the water, the logging scar produced (see Figure 4) is slightly larger in size than a nearby housing development.

Figure 4: Clearings – the Bear Bay cut left, new housing development right. Photo by Author.

In the chapters to come I further explore how the classification of natures of production and consumption are brought into close contact, producing friction on the Sechelt Peninsula. This discussion of "the doing," "the remembering" and "the legends" of local logging is only one piece of the complex politics of nature operating here. There is no denying that forestry practices in British Columbia are, and have been, horrifically exploitative and short-sighted—at no point in this chapter am I arguing against that assertion. In my attention to the socialnatural enskilment of loggers, I am simply countering the tendency in environmentalist discourse to consign the embodied practical experience and knowledge of the logger to the slag heap (or "bone yard" in logger jargon), along with these overarching regimes of environmental exploitation. To reify the

complex socialnatural entanglements of loggers as historical artefacts is to categorically dismiss valuable knowledge about how local landscapes were constructed. In the poems of Swanson and Trower and in the labour histories of loggers, we can begin to trace the entanglement of nature, humans and machines as they have been imagined and inscribed materially in this landscape, in order to begin to deconstruct the naturalized second-nature view.

Moorings II, Frank White: "What you're doing to me I don't know."

At one point in our interview there was a long silence. We had been speaking of the challenges facing contemporary forest management and of accident and injury in the woods. I thought I had offended him with my questions and waited anxiously for his next comment. When it came it was quiet, distant, his voice caught in his throat: "What you're doing to me I don't know." "I'm sorry" I responded quietly, searching his face for context and feeling the intrusion of a conversation marked as research and accompanied by a digital recorder. "No," he responded, surprised, and looked up at me kindly: "I don't want you to go." I turned off the recorder and we began to chat about kids, grandkids, great-grandkids and he told me how his family was always bugging him to write all his stories down. "You should," I urged, "I don't think you can know how extraordinary this all is for people who didn't live it. Have you tried?"

He took to me to his computer and together we fumbled for a while to find the document in question. We looked at pictures of his family. Finally, the file in question was discovered: a nine-page point form sketch of a life entitled simply "subjects for stories." I read the document while he waited patiently and when I finished I looked at him and said, "It's a poem, I think," a comment which made him blush. I asked if he would be willing to give me a copy and he readily printed one off for me. We sat and talked for some time after that about changes in the community, and Richard Dawkins (of all things). It seems many people were either asking for Frank's stories, with the unspoken idea that he would not be around forever to tell them, or lending him books by leading atheists to offer another way of thinking about being-towards-death that might provide him comfort after his vehement rejection of the church in his early life.

Under what conditions are we asked to give an account of ourselves? What are the differences between poetry, a life-history interview and autobiography? If I had actively sought out a document to speak to the gap between these genres I could not have found a better one than "Subjects for Stories." The interview that was granted to me, and the outlined autobiography, were produced with different audiences in mind. The agenda with the former was clearly mine, while the latter document was written for family members as a pre-emptive strike against the loss of the stories in the flesh. The outline has been left more-or-less unchanged for over ten years. Maybe this is a simple lack of interest on Frank's part, but I suspect that it is more likely that Frank just wants to remember the stories as he told them, responding to multiple occasions and audiences. Print just makes them seem small, or ideological, or a product of their time, or just so much less full of life.

It took me over a year to secure an interview with Frank. He is an icon in the local community, and many people were very protective of him with me. They were dubious about whether he would want to bother speaking with me, a perfectly understandable response to the prospect of speaking to a stranger about your life's work. No matter how many times I meet with people for research purposes, I never shake that feeling of imposing myself. A life-history interview cannot escape being an interpellation of sorts. I decided to be old-fashioned about it and wrote a long letter by hand detailing what I had learned about him in the community and why I was interested in speaking to him. I received a lovely reply via email from his wife, who employs a secretary to transcribe her writing a couple of days a week.

Immediately beneath the title "Subjects for Stories" the words "Do not edit; for record only" appear. As soon as I read the document I knew I wanted to include it in my dissertation somehow, and I was given Frank's permission, but I was just as readily confronted with the issue

of *how* to include it. I thought about using sections within my direct discussion of logger poetry, but I think doing so would commit a violence of decontextualization to a piece that Frank self-consciously labeled as a record and intended for other purposes. The document is a list of stories that Frank thinks are important, stories that he would like to tell, or that he feels the responsibility to narrate. I love the idea of sitting down and making such a list in response to impossible questions: "Who are you?" "What was your life about?" "Why did it matter?" and "Who mattered to you?" Most of the people mentioned in the piece are already deceased. Frank makes his love of the living around him pretty obvious, which perhaps explains why he does not write about them. He marks those he does not forget; he gives them new narrative life.

The request for an account that gave rise to "Subjects for Stories" came from Frank's family, and most particularly from a son in publishing with tremendous admiration for his father and his life, especially his ability to make do in difficult circumstances. My research interest produced different information, different stories. That the request to know more about a person might be interpreted or understood as a desire for confirmation or denial of the person already formed in the mind of the interpellator stands as a potential threat. It certainly gives rise to anxiety. Do I know you? Can I know you, divided as we are by generations and experience? Do I want to know you better and in the process transform the way we relate to one another, or do I simply want confirmation and expansion of what I want to know? I hope that all of the men I interviewed understood that my questions were always posed with a desire to be surprised, transformed even, in a small way, by our interactions. On the majority of days throughout my research I think that was what occurred.

"Subjects for Stories" appears below in full, unedited, exactly as it was given to me. World wars, industrial technologies, masculinity, the great depression and work appear in intimate snippets that invite further conversations, perhaps ambivalently. I admit I have not taken up the invitation since that day. I did not know how to, even though I know full well that the answer to "how" would be in the doing, and the opportunity has not passed. I have not made the time. We met in my second season of fieldwork; I was trying to fill in the gaps in my research, taking care of my then one-year-old daughter, interviews scheduled for naptimes: and here we are again at the difference between sufficient and mundane reasons. But there is also this: I think I became attached to the autobiography-as-promissory-note form of "Subjects for Stories," the cryptic particularity of it as an interruption to other stories I have ended up telling about work and nature, of sustained yield and wartime exemptions from military service for loggers, its blatant refusal to reduce the past to something less full, complex and messy than the present, like a crude "I was here" carved into the flesh of sweeping historical accounts.

Pages 7, words 2034, lines 349, paragraphs 294, Mar. 18, 08.
Subjects for Stories 1997
Do not edit; for record only

Father's early life
His story to us
the story told to a salesman.
love for Ireland
some Irish folklore
Ottawa, Family, Mystery of Uncle Bill White's relationship
Tax free Property, Marquis of Lorne, Boxing,
telephone, Blacksmithing.
His father, Duluth and the mining towns, Deadwood, Montana
Sandon, New West. Gulf Islands, Cloverdale, great bank
robber chase; Shop and house in Cloverdale.
Homestead on county Line road, Shortreeds,

Immigration, White Toch. Len Collishaw.
Abbotsford, the shop and operation
AS A FATHER. As a stockman, as a citizen
Partners with Fred Carmichael, the parting.
The 1919 truck and the mill freight,
Working with Dad, His attitude to Apprentices
The meat business then, Buying and slaughtering.
Travels with the Model T.
The refrigeration plant,
delivering to Tretheways camps
Summers at White Rock
Father buys a 26 Chev new, lost in 1929.
Meeting the police, Sgt. Greenwood. Getting my license
in 1927 at 13 years.

Mother and her family, The old place at Bradner
Sister Hazels wedding, 1922,?.
Christmas at Gledhill's. Bradner. Mission.
Last reunion Mission 70 people, 1927

County line. The memories, my first girl friend. The model T
The baker, Albert Lee. Aldergrove in 1919.

The ride with Uncle Tom, "Wake me up if a car comes" !
Move to Abbotsford. The house on Hazel St. Living with
Uncle Fred
The donkey tracks and the derailment caper.
First airplane.
Moving to Yale road. Getting water. getting wood,
bathing. The cold house in the morning, the scene around
the tin heater.
McKinnon's and the Books of Knowledge. They win a car.
McGowans, the Tretheway kids and Wesley's dog.
Gladys (Happy), and Beryl (Teetee), and the returning
Hazel and Glen
Growing up in Abbotsford
The house by the tracks. Starting school. Wesley's birth.
Beryl remembers the Orange Hall. 1920
The mill, the Whistle, the crew; hindoos, Japs, Chinks

The mill lake, the oil wells by Mill lake, on Sumas prairie
and County line road.
Sumas Lake and draining it. The tobacco farms. Spencer's farms.
The hop yards. The Mennonites in Yarrow.

riding the Locie and the crew, Ditching the train
stealing hand cars, Joe Tretheway, senior and Junior,
Sam Tretheway. The Museum, The logging camps. Mrs. Murray,
Mr. Moret and the San Hill, A, L, M and D Company and its property.
The Banas Bros.
The Great Northern Railroad and the trestle above the town.
The weekly Auction sale, I get a horse, FANNY
My life with her. I find the Doctor's books.
The B.C. Electric Interurban and Milk train, The freight
interchange and theft of the railroad??
The salmon in our stream

XX

The school, the Orange Hall and The Superior school, (1923)
The teachers and the school boards
Gaulthier's store, sold to Daley, early supermarket.
The Gazely hall, Knowles hardware. the fire. The Post Office
Haddrells: Goslings; Weirs; Hunts; Witchelo; Daley;
Albert Lee, store and bakery
Desmazes; Charlie summers;
The Man who lived in a stump
The old Shoemaker by the tracks, Williams?
Harry Atkins, Bill Gardner and the Atangard Hotel
The old fire rack and cart by the tracks. The cenotaph
Delivering meat to the men in the mill, the boarding house,
logging camps, Mrs. Murphy ??
Getting my drivers license
Dads philosophy about apprentices, Jim Mitchell,
Fern Moret, Dalton Lonsdale

Killing cattle, pigs, calves, killing mothers sheep,
Rendall McKinnon and our jobs. Counting the pennies.
Killing pigs at fourteen years old. Driving the cows

home. The time the cow fell in the ditch. Castrating pigs.

My brother, his love. His volunteering. HIS DEATH.
Circumstances. visiting his grave
Gladys death, Hazels death. Wesley's death, his grave
Wesley, his short life. Double crossed by his Government.
A prayer for his nephews and nieces
Jim Warnock worked at York Island.

The Oyster Bay Café; Pete Carscallen and the two percent
joint. His life style.
Charlie the cook and my insult.
Jack Sparrow and basketball games.
Losing my Sled, Halloweens.
Getting Fanny, her life and death.

1929
Dr. Swift, and Father. The radio.
The trip to the upper country,
The summer in Oliver. The trip home, Back to work in
Safeway
Fathers decline and death.
Nov. 1929
Discovery of grave plots, still on the books since 1910
Checked, 1997, still there.
Fathers death, no money, The widows pension instituted
under the conservatives. The cursed Church.
1929
The Depression in Abbotsfrod; Harry Schafer and the Stock market.
Settling of the ALM & D lands
The scene on Essendene Ave.
Safeway, Milton Nelles and Lester McGarva
The scene from the milk truck. Drinking with the men.

The story of municipal police, Nelles and the barn fire
Bill Moore and Mrs. Porter. The Tar and Feathering.
The fierce competition for milk hauling, Irving Parberry,
The scene in the Abbotsford beer parlor, drunk every day for a month
Trucks, 1929 Chev, 1931 Ford, 1932 Chev, 1932, 34, 35 Fords. 1934,

34 International. The 1936 Dodge truck
Poling up 1934 Maple Leaf truck 1935???

1937 HUNTING
The (caribou .37) the hunting trip, Dutch Parberry;
Little Joe. The Terraplane; The hamburgers in Chilliwack
The porcupine; Seventy Mile House. The people; the
grouse, cooking; hunting moose, the strangers, sick with
a moose; The rancher in a wagon taking supplies home for
the winter, last trip; the isolation of the people;
stopping at Spence's Bridge, the camp, up the hill, the
strange piles of horse manure around the pines the pile of
soda, the lake, the cabins, the smell, preparing to stay
overnight. The old man and his dog; the cabin inside and
the story.

1939
Declaration of war,
Wesley, Younie, My marriage.
I am working in Safeway, Kay waits outside Saturday Night.
Howard Boley's ranch, Sumas. Howard and the Mrs.
History of the Boley's, the grandfather and the home ranch.
Friction in the Family, Howard leaves the (Nelles) place and moves
To ? (Harrison) (Dewdney)

Kay rides with me. She gets a job in town.
Our love grows, I am still working for small pay, I do pick up
money on the side, 22 people get on and off the truck one day.
Bootlegging Potatoes is profitable, I get caught.
1937/8
Les finds the pace too much, takes his brother in to the company.
The problems with divided ownership of the trucks.
The partnership with John, the sale, the takeover,
the battle. The court case. The Lawyers, McAlpine and??
Judge Manson

1942 NOTE

Bill Schnarel Cleaning up B&K timber.

the crew, Curley Chittenden, Roy Wells, Albert Wells
The size of Logs, Keeping the truck on the road
the new trailer
The camp, the tires, Charlie Philip, Bill buys Macks.
We buy a house from Bill.

We move to Nanoose
our life there, Kay is pregnant. Marilyn is born
Life with Schnare's trucks. Move to B & K working on the
road, The Old Chinaman, Dave Thicke. I find an interest in Geology.
Wells, Haines, Joes, the Indians. Chick Johnson, The sharks.
Wartime conditions, Jim Robson and the tires
Moving the house, Powder point;
Nanoose Bay, Lantzville. The Chinamans claim.
The islands, fishing, My first boat
B&K log., Brown and Kirkland. K.B. Fraser, cruising
timber
Old Straights mill, Empire mill on reserve
Les visits. Proposes we buy a truck
Own truck; Hauling logs, Van Isle; Duncan and Saltspring,
??/Lake. Cowichan Bay. Ted Robinson
Maple Bay and Marilyn.
Loading the truck on the ferry (Cy Peck)
The Englishmen from Burma.

Beryl and Abigail visit. Harry Bradsaw, Beryl and the pass line.
The spar tree.

I turn the water down the road to get back up the hill.
Blondie Swanson, A.P.L, North West Bay and Doug Dollar,

The Military in Nanaimo, The rebellion not told yet

Getting tea
Hauling from Coombes. Snowed in for Christmas. Year??

The Keats Island bust.
I hire on with CN Express for pre Xmas rush

Campbell River. The Willows hotel, Loading the truck.
The Narrows, The rock.
Palmer Bay and Clair Smith. The camp. Gunnar Johnson.
The bear and the road man, a near miss.
The boat compass and Gunnar.

Lester takes the money., I go to see him.

The call up. The CN boat
Little Mountain and Judge Manson
Death of Lester.
Death of Irving Parberry.
Death of Dutch Parberry

Garibaldi, Les Kirz, Harry Hearns. Wars end, building and
THE tight line, loading small logs.

Moving the house
Back in Abbotsford. Building houses

Charlie Baines and I buy a great old barn in Clayburn, tear it down, use timbers for our house.

Abbotsford.

I buy a $700.00 Clothes press for Beryl's store and start a Dry Cleaning business. Deliver cleaning around the valley, Marilyn rides with me.

Carlie Philp and the Macks. 300 miles of road, Sixteen trucks, Gordie Cochrane. Scaling the loads
Best man on the road with the worst truck
working night and day, lost the ability to sleep

Bob Hallgren and I decide to go contracting
Contracting for Dr. Dumont. His camp
North Bend and Bob Hallgren
Building the shack
Roy Hallgren and the lamp
Kay and the gold stream.
Howie and the Karholmes

Boston Bar and the Cog grinder. ???

Contracting for Len Hashie,
Finishing the lumber order
Winter at Northbend
The skunks, Washtocks cattle

Sam Hately, The winder of 1948,
I work clearning the railroad yards. The rotary snowplow from
Revelstoke falls in the round house pit.
The Locomotive freezes up in the tunnel, they cut it up.
The Extra Gang and the C.P.R., Conductors and the hierarchy
The engineers can't drink beer with conductors, Track men
are out in the cold; can't come into the bar.
Leaving Boston Bar, the slide
The extra gang has to ride beside the light to wipe off the lens.
Back to Abbotsford,

Charlie Philp and the phone. Greens Bay
Arbutus Logging and Charlie Trebbett. The camp.
The trucks, Rigging. Frank Campbell. Shooting down the
arial
The Clark truck. (ROY)?? Lehman the compensation inspector

The, ride down the hill the Clarke truck

Boat trouble, Building one, Trouble with Charlie,
The solution. Don't hit for the face. B.C. Forest Co. and
the Controller ??? Make a check. Bill Manson

Sam Hately again. One man falling with a two man saw
What a man. I buy the lot; all that land west of the road. $700.00
The move to Pender Harbour.
Jumping the cookhouse
Working for Blondie

Charlie Philp and the Estero Basin
Estero bey. I go down to get a boat.
the suez, blowing up on the Beach at Davis Bay.

before Greens Bay. When??

Buying Charlie Heid's House, Then his corner
Kay moves our cookhouse, I come home to see it

Building the house
the kids in school

Klowholme 1956???. cost plus.

1956,

I meet Ralph in Sechelt on my way to Van. to look for a job.
Klowholme Falls and the camp. I get on a Shovel.
When I worked for Blondie I chased on the shovel for a while
Then went to work on the shovel at Clowholm for Salt Spring Contractors
Meet Bill Klein.
Join the union,
Salt Spring Contractors, cost Plus. Double time, Bob Lee can't take It.
THE JOB FINISHES, Sam and I buy up some of the bunkhouses and pull them apart for the lumber and float it to Pender Harbour.

I buy a backhoe from Reg. Jackson in Sechelt for $800
Contracting in Pender. Howie and Donnie. The deckhand says's to me, "Didn't you put a truck on the boat tonight?" My truck fell off the ferry, Cindy is lost for a while.

I get Marilyn to drive the truck hauling gravel.
The Kleins, Charlie and John Klein call me Si,;
Carlie Heid.

1970 Building the service station.
The Tick Doleroux.
Cindy, School, her work, her help in the Station
The station, a family affair.
Earles Cove land.
Marilyn, her school. Our pride, she gets to University.
Growing disgust with the station.
Building house in Pender, Wrecking camp at Clowholme
A tree falls on the house.

hike to San Jose Bay and town
trip to Alaska
Falling with Sam on Texada, Sam on Nelson I. Pioneer Saws

New Brunswick, McDonald's point
Cullier, Bulyea, Belyea: Wetmores, Smiths grave
Carmichael in the bank ?.
The Churches in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick.

The Presbyterian influence, phony Victorian morality.

Chapter Four: "But You're More-or-Less Your Own Boss": On the "Entrepreneurial" Freedom of Local Fishermen

Billy: "You get tired, you get sleepy, you get dirty and smelly. Iris, I think, summed it up: the fishermen's union, the women wanted to be called "fishermen" not "fisherpersons" and not "fishers." She said particularly she didn't want to be called a fisher because a fisher is a dirty, smelly, bad tempered little animal, but then she said after a week on the boat, at the end of the week, maybe it was appropriate. [laughs] But when you're dead tired and you can't sit down because you can't fall asleep, you're still running trying to find shelter in the pitch black rain, a storm, and you're trying to find a place where you can drop the anchor where you won't drag, sometimes, you feel a little sorry for yourself. I'd always cheer myself up by saying "Well, would I rather be here or have a job?"

Me: "How is it not a job?"

Billy: "You're more or less your own boss. You have a set of guidelines by the fisheries—sometimes sensible, sometimes not—you have to obey those, and you have to respect the closed areas and the open and close times (because you're allowed to set at a certain time and you're supposed to finish at a certain time). So you have these rules to abide by and now we're very limited. I can only fish north to Cape Caution I can't fish the whole coast anymore and instead of paying $20/year I now pay $4000/year for a permit. But you're more-or-less your own boss."

-Personal Interview with Billy, Seine Captain, May 2008

What is to be made of a situation where being your own boss is discursively produced as freedom from the constraints of waged employment even as exploitative conditions of labour are clearly evident? How have different policy and market regimes governing BC fisheries influenced the construction of Pender Harbour as a "fishing community?" This chapter explores the vulnerability of fishermen and their families to corporate exploitation and public misrepresentation, as enabled by the extra-economic ties that fishermen have to their labour as a part of familial and local heritages. Further, I will argue that a willing and skilled labour force and local resources are maintained in the area thanks to attachments to place and environmental stewardship that are continually reproduced as irrational in the predominant scientism of public fisheries discourse. In other words, the ongoing attempt in policy to purify

fish-human relations and render them in solely bioeconomic terms has enabled the demonization of "greedy" fishermen in popular and governmental discourses alike, deflecting attention from a sustained critique of overarching economic structures that have radically constrained the capacity of fishermen to act as stewards of their home places and receive a consistent fair price for the fish upon which they depend. Policies governing resource extraction in British Columbia, whether of the post-war Fordist-Keynesian era or the current neoliberal reorganization, have always favoured protecting a system of property rights and attendant cycles of accumulation, not fishermen or fish.

The argument in this chapter is not simply that the bioeconomic vision is oversimplified, or that it abjects social influences on fisheries, but that such plans in British Columbia have always been implemented in bad faith, selectively capitalizing upon the very extra-economic ties that they deny in their formulas. I want to suggest that the discounting of the knowledge and practices of fishermen as folkways in need of rational scientific management and control, and systematic devaluation of local stewardship work on which the fisheries have always depended, be viewed through the lens of feminist theories of care that emphasize how cyclical and continual labour is continually devalued, "taken for granted, if not rendered invisible" (de la Bellacasa 2011:93), like in the bioeconomic management of fish. In theory, bioeconomic models and policies are presented as a co-management of the natural and the social, but in form and practice they constitute a naturalization of economic models as the rational choice to manage marine ecology by. Set adrift from centres of calculation, landing in places like Pender Harbour, fishermen and their families attempt the complex work of implementation of management plans with greater sensitivity to local social and ecological effects. Through my conversations with fishermen and their families who lived and worked on the water over generations, it became

clear to me that, ironically, the implementation of bioeconomic models depends upon those commitments to fishing as a way of life and the value of local ecological particularities that are officially and explicitly deemed irrational for successful implementation. The blurring of natural, social and economic interests in fish is vital in keeping a ready supply of fishermen-labourers through good runs and bad.

The contours of this fundamental contradiction will be elaborated through four sections. I begin with an explanation of how the argument in this chapter extends from the specific relationships between fishermen and fish that I encountered in Pender Harbour, British Columbia. In the second section, I outline the two predominant ideological framings of BC fisheries, and how they inform and contest one another. The third section consists of a list of five key issue sets that are prevalent in debates about BC fisheries management. The fourth and final section returns to the question of how extra-economic attachments to fishing as a way of life enable exploitation in the fisheries.

4.1 Waves, Ripples and Tides: How the Local Takes Shape

The material assembled in this chapter was gathered through a process of narrative diffraction: the questions, complications, redirections and elaborations that I see as extending from eight life history interviews conducted with fishermen and their families in Pender Harbour and Egmont, British Columbia. From the first interview I conducted, the necessity of allegorical analysis was apparent. I never felt that I could take any of the information I was given at face value. Interactions were full of jarring declarations that I didn't expect: for example, constant advocacy to reintroduce a price-per-head seal cull. There were conspicuous absences as well,

such as any substantive critique of fish farms, even though they had driven down salmon prices for decades and had been the cause of a major local ecological crisis in the 1980s (see moorings III following this chapter).[54] There were long pauses after my questions. A mutual hermeneutic of suspicion began to pervade my work with the fishermen. I started to look for the motivations behind the particular representations chosen by my interviewees. I knew people were talking about "the girl who moved into the log house in Gunboat Bay" and it unsettled me to have gossip about my work outpace my own representations of it. With few exceptions, I never felt that people were candid, but rather felt that we were engaged in a dynamic reading and negotiation process: what and why did I want to know? What message might it be important for me to take away? I am not accusing my interviewees of any sort of malicious manipulation. Rather, as I unpacked the transcripts and continued my research on fisheries history and policy I began to see this phenomenon—of hedged strategic statements and suspicion—as endemic to communication between parties interested in fish and fisheries.

I insert these fieldwork moments not to offer evidence that I am properly reflexive about the processes, challenges and limitations of my fieldwork. Reflexivity cannot escape the model of copy and original, authentic and derivative, authoritative and colloquial knowledge. What I provide here is not a representation of the facts that I have uncovered regarding the lives of fishermen. Very early on in my fieldwork it became clear to me that the category of fishermen

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[54] I gained some possible insight regarding this reluctance from Hebert who found in her study of Alaskan salmon fishers that the general consensus was that, while farmed fish have driven salmon prices down, they have also created a greater demand and broader markets for salmon products. It is also noted that most retailers sell both wild and farmed fish. It is theorized that any attack on farmed fish (based on health, labour conditions etc.) might cause a decline in the salmon market as a whole, as consumers are not always aware of the differences at point of sale. It is argued that emphasis should instead be placed on distinguishing salmon as a healthy food source and further distinguishing wild salmon as the best quality (2008:338). Of course, not all fishers are silent on this issue. The collaborative work of Alexandra Morton and Billy Proctor in the Broughton Archipelago is a useful case in point. Morton, Alexandra and Proctor, Billy. *2005. Heart of the Raincoast: A Life Story. Toronto: TouchWood Editions.*

contained a great deal more diversity—of opinions, practices, histories—than I could have possibly imagined. Add to this the complexity of an identity formed in relation to a mobile, perishable, seasonal, unpredictable resource. The livelihood capacities of fishermen is negotiated in the interstices of provincial, federal and international policies, both those that contain explicit reference to stock and habitat health and access, and those that impact them indirectly. Instead of trying to render the complexity of BC fisheries into a single argument, or advocacy for a single lobby, I want to hold onto the fact that the complexity of BC fisheries exceeds the capacity to be known. I want to do this precisely because the debates in fisheries are so often artificially constrained within a pluralistic war of positions and interests. Adherents of various positions and interests strategically and consistently invoke the limits to knowledge about the ocean and the complexity of marine environments in order to undermine their opponents' knowledge claims and bolster their own. I argue that Haraway's formulation of diffractive methodology (1992), elaborated by Barad (2007) and Code (2006), offers a different way to consider the complexity of fisheries regulation, practices and knowledges. An emphasis upon diffraction showcases how different positions are developed and articulated in relation and response to a cacophony of competing claims and experiences and are not sufficiently understood as straightforward antagonism among market, traditional, indigenous and scientific rationalities. What a fisherman, politician or marine biologist knows about fish cannot be separated from what they know or assume about fisheries and the "political and politically constructed knowledge" (Butler 2005:5) that is developed in order to influence policy and publics. An emphasis upon diffraction, when thought about through the metaphor of waves, ripples, wakes and tides, also allows fleeting glimpses of cultural ties to fishing as a way of life and affective ties to cycles of labour and nature that are all too often dismissed out of hand as

backward rural attachments that must give way to an era of more flexible labour and accumulation.

Diffractive methodology is a never-finished process of tracing differences that matter, how they matter and for whom (Barad 2007:90). Fishermen learn to watch for differences that matter as an occupational necessity. Past experiences with weather, waves and gradually accumulated knowledge of uneven, unseen and changeable matter "below the surface" are of the utmost importance to the ordinary labours of fishing. I work through diffraction in an effort to reveal the shifts and conflicts—both subtle and not so subtle—that are contained within an apparent, though never fully encapsulated, whole of marine life and interactivity. Unlike the lobbies advanced by the incredible range of interest groups invested in BC fisheries, inquiry that proceeds through diffraction offers no fixed position to reflect from, no fixed object or subject. Diffraction, as Barad has it, "unlike methods of reading one text or set of ideas against another where one set serves as a fixed frame of reference [...] involves reading insights through one another in ways that help illuminate differences as they emerge" (2007:32). BC fisheries are a multiplicity, a set of ideological, material, ecological, economic, social and embodied relations that cannot be separated from one another. Positions bleed into one another and the economic, social and ecological possibilities are co-constitutive.

From a representational point of view, Pender Harbour, British Columbia was and continues to be defined as a fishing community. Roads were not part of the original settlement. Life was oriented towards the water. Although employment in fisheries has declined, there is still an active local prawn fishery and packing plant, and docks are lined with commercial vessels with licenses attached that span the British Columbia coast. Pender Harbour is often presented as a place to fish in tourist literature. When I began to study the area I assumed, naively, that

local boats would hold local licenses. I was quick to learn that in the evolution of BC licenses, from providing a simple right to fish the entire coast to strictly regulated openings of particular areas, the licenses of local fishermen became scattered, linked to where they had a history of bringing in large landings of fish. The current licenses of the fishermen I interviewed were often several days journey from the Harbour, and many lamented the negative effect the cost of fuel had on their earnings. The area has also been a popular sport fishery destination since the 1950s, primarily for salmon and groundfish, though these stocks are severely depleted. Each of the families I spoke with revealed degrees of culpability in these stock collapses, but the point was reiterated again and again that the major decisions were always made from a distance by people who did not know what was going on locally. The correspondence, or lack thereof, between paper fish and real fish, between predicted and actual runs, reported and actual catches, is a source of palpable anger on all sides.[55]

To the families I spoke with it seemed clear that the sustainable management of fish had never been a provincial nor a federal priority. As Taylor has argued, with so many overlapping issues of jurisdiction, inherent unpredictability and the need for long term investment, it has rarely been a politically savvy move to take up the cause of fishermen or fish (1999:250). Further, fish and fisheries are federally regulated while land and resources are provincially regulated. This means that the province has an "awkward and easily avoided role in the fisheries" (Marchak 1987a:15). In addition, the economic productivity of fisheries in BC is relatively minor in relation to logging and mining, two industries that have had profoundly

[55] The ongoing mystery of marine biology was most clearly evidenced recently with the large sockeye salmon run of 2010 that arrived in the midst of the opening proceedings of the Federally Appointed Cohen Commission formed exclusively to investigate the decline of the Fraser River sockeye.

debilitative impacts on both spawning grounds and overall marine health.[56] From an economic standpoint, the drive to conserve fish habitat and stocks is severely hampered by more productive interests in BC. What concerns me here specifically are the multiple ways in which the livelihood capacities of fish and fishermen are assembled between different knowledge and management practices of fishermen, of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO),[57] and of canneries and fish brokers, all of whom purport to care for fish or at the very least have a conservation-for-production interest in the long-term viability of stocks. How are the state of the ocean, fish stocks and fishermen brought into public debates and shaped by inclusions and exclusions of matter and mattering?

4.2 Metanarratives of Mattering in the Fisheries

Through a survey of fisheries policies in Canada, I have identified two predominant representational metanarratives in fisheries policy literature. The first, succinctly referred to as bioeconomic fisheries management, extends from the now classic pieces *The Economic Theory of a Common-Property Resource: the Fishery* by Gordon (1954) and *The Tragedy of the Commons* (1968) by Hardin. The case is well-worn: open access to a common resource encourages overexploitation as individual users of the resource have no incentive to protect the resource even when incomes begin to decline. Individual abstention will only harm the individual and do nothing to protect the resource. On the contrary, the worst exploiters are rewarded in the short term. The enclosure of common resources into some form of property with attendant rents,

[56] For example, in 1980 the aggregate value for all fish landed in BC was $153 million vs. $6996 million in forestry shipments and $2949 million in mineral production (Marchak 1987a: 14).

[57] While currently officially "Fisheries and Oceans Canada," the previous title of DFO is still in broader circulation, and I use it because of its ubiquity.

rights and responsibilities is the only way to ensure continued supply of the resource.[58] Hardin's work is the classic argument invoked in the ongoing attempt to ensure continued profits and sustenance from the fisheries through mechanisms that attempt to render the right of access to fish as a form of public-private property. Central in the policies that extend from this line of argumentation is a belief that advances in science and technology can render mobile, seasonal, perishable and unpredictable fish populations more manageable, thus laying the groundwork for more stable property rights: that is, the right of access can become tantamount to the right to fish as property, the more closely monitored and regulated catches become. It is argued by bioeconomic fisheries management advocates that this will, in turn, stabilize market prices. In this narrative, fish are, first and foremost, an economic resource. The task of oversight in licenses is to secure the system of property rights and the resulting process of accumulation even when it "adversely affects property holders of a previous cycle" (Marchak 1987a:12). Conservation is argued to emerge as a natural bi-product of efficiency and the vested interests of property holders who wish to maximize profitability over the long term.

Bioeconomics is the dominant discourse of fisheries science and management. Premised upon a foundation of the pre-fishing "pristine equilibrium" of fish stocks in their marine environments, bioeconomic instruments calculate the demographic changes in fish populations due to fishing pressures (Hannesson 2006:45, St. Martin 2001:124). By the late 1930s the concept of maximum sustainable yield (MSY) emerged, postulating that sustainable harvest volumes could be calculated and put into effect by controlling fishing efforts. MSY

[58] While Hardin is most commonly invoked as an advocate for private property, he did acknowledge the possibility that resources could be communally managed, an argument that was explored in the work of Elinor Ostrom. Gordon invokes the use of magic to regulate land-tenure among the Trobriand Islanders as evidence "that only those primitive cultures have survived which succeeded in developing such institutions" (1954:134-35).

presents efficiency in catchments as a normalized statistical distribution. MSY theorists presume that as fishing effort increases catches will likewise increase until the MSY is reached, after which catches will decline (St. Martin 2001:124). Beginning in 1954, the concept of Maximum Economic Yield (MEY) was added to this formula: "MEY was the point where economic returns would be maximized relative to cost" (Bavington 2010: 29-31, St. Martin 2001:124). MSY and MEY adherents argue that the private enclosure of fish resources is the only way to limit entry and thus ensure sustained profits in the fisheries.

Two problems lie at the heart of bioeconomic fisheries management: first, the practices and motivations of fishermen and policy makers alike exceed the enframing of the ideal rational economic actor that these theories are premised upon; and second, the complexities of marine environments and fish life cycles have continually defied predictions of appropriate volumes for the sustainable harvest of a renewable resource. In the bioeconomic vision of BC fisheries, fishing is a mere category of labour, neither an identity, nor a heritage, nor a voter constituency, nor an integral part of embedded regional identities or cultural practices. Vessel and gear types—troll, gillnet, seine—are tools of the trade for the more or less efficient harvest of a particular species, not integral to the formation of particular identities of fishermen and knowledges of fish. Fish are natural capital with no value outside of anthropocentric logic. Rather than confront these persistent differences that matter in fisheries, bioeconomic models continue to present them as the backward thinking of local people, as attachments to be overcome.

The second narrative begins with fishing as a cultural right and a way of life. Central to this story is a belief in the inherent right to existence of rural coastal communities, both native and non-native. This story takes as its centre not John Stuart Mill's Economic Man, but instead

humans engaged in reciprocal and ecologically embedded livelihood strategies. In this story, markets may be accessed as a means to an end, but they are not the sole arbitrator of, or the sole orientation for, how decisions are made. Pre- and extra-economic ties to fish are elaborated as necessary considerations in the allocation of licenses and the outright refusal of external regulation of folk management practices.[59] Care and respect for the intrinsic value of fish and labourers are invoked as reasons for regulating fishing. It is assumed within this narrative that local management encourages responsible stewardship of marine resources and will generate fair conditions of labour and access. Although on the surface this sounds like an idyllic narrative, it is important to note that decisions made with primary response-ability to local particularities and needs are not always responsive to extra-local realities and, as Ostrom (1999) has forcibly demonstrated, a population or scalar limit is present to management schemes that depend upon intimate knowledge of local environments and continued social relations of reciprocity (see also Harvey 2011).

Each of these metanarratives contains within it assumptions about human nature, relations to non-human nature, and seed visions of a just society. They represent and offer up different views of the world for approval or condemnation. I delineate them here not in order to take a stand in the camp of one or the other, but as a precursor to a more radical restructuring of a constrained narrative field. I map these metanarratives for two reasons: because they circulate with great rapacity in debates in my field site and throughout the province of British Columbia, and because the statements and practices of the families I spoke with do not fit neatly into either metanarrative. In practice, the boundaries between these narratives are fluid. Fishermen

[59] Ecosystems Based Fisheries Management represents an attempted middle-ground between the metanarratives I identify here. For a detailed critique and discussion see Dean Bavington's *Managed Annihilation* (2010).

invoke their rational economic decisions one minute and their love of fish and fishing as a way of life the next. It is on this note that I return to narrative diffraction. I want to suggest that, in order to think about fisheries from the standpoint of the Sechelt Peninsula, a shift of attention is necessary, away from the ideological war of positions to the examination of differences that emerge in the friction between positions, to how fishermen's identity, labour and practices are performatively created, negotiating the seemingly contradictory but mutually reinforcing roles of fishermen as labour and fishermen as heritage.

I asked eight families, five of whom are profiled below, to give an account of their work history in the fisheries and to offer opinions on the state of fish stocks and the policies of the DFO. In each of the narratives I was given, fish and fishermen were tenuously rendered into concrete objects and subjects, "'hailed' through ideology into their subject positions in the modern state" (Haraway 2003:17). In her elaboration of the ethics and politics of interspecies interdependence, *The Companion Species Manifesto*, Haraway elaborates on the composition of significant difference in human-non-human relations: "co-constitution, finitude, impurity, historicity and complexity" (2003:16). This framework offers no safe ecological vantage point, no heroes or pristine stocks, only problematic human protagonists attempting to account for the systems under which human and non-human livelihood capacities are determined. As in my work with loggers, all of the people I spoke to were white, though, as I was to learn, in fisheries, though ethnicity is a continuous and very important axis of difference, it is not the only one deemed significant. The species fishermen catch, their licenses, gear and vessel type, were also constantly commented upon and had a remarkable impact on how fisheries issues were framed and understood. Although none of these categorizations is mutually exclusive, fishermen tended to be educated on a particular gear type and, eventually, were tied to species-specific licenses.

Most of the men I spoke with had been fishermen for generations, some families even both pre- and post-immigration to Canada. A common local narrative is the story of working in logging camps to save enough money to build a boat. Many men also worked in logging camps in the off-season and in years when the fishing was poor.

Sonny, gillnetter, and his brother built their first boat when they were 10 and 11, the *Little Toot*, shortly before the Second World War. He states that he "made more money than my schoolteacher so I couldn't figure why I should go to school." They caught salmon for fresh and frozen markets and herring for bait. Licenses were simple and cheap and applied to the entire coast of British Columbia. He built his first real commercial boat when he was 16. For a short time in the 1970s he caught and sold killer whales to aquariums. He ran a live bait business for recreational sport fishermen. From the living room of his house he can see the entire bay and keeps a close watch on the etiquette of prawn traps and lines. He and his wife are semi-retired but still spend part of the year in Bella Bella where they have kept a license. They say this is mostly because they love it there and can't imagine not fishing. Two of their three daughters work in the fish farm industry. The third is a lumber scaler.

Billy, seine boat captain for over 52 years, is an active fisherman though now in his seventies. He is widely cited along the Sechelt Peninsula as a fisherman who knows and respects fish. Like most fishermen, he was born into the trade. His grandfather was a fish warden guarding against creek robbing (where nets would be set to intercept salmon as they made their way to spawn), his father was a fishermen, his mother a published naturalist. Billy currently holds salmon and prawn licenses for North of Cape Caution, though historically he has fished ling cod, black cod, halibut and herring as well. His family came to Pender Harbour in 1920. His Dad worked in a logging camp in Menzes Bay, "saw the error of his ways," and fished ever after. One of his uncles was killed logging, a couple of others badly hurt. He had a series of accidents himself. Billy told me that after a bad week logging, in which he had many little accidents, he left the woods forever: "you can only use up so many lives, unless you're a cat." As we sat at his kitchen table talking, Billy presented his home as the product of exchanges: salmon built most of it, but he owed a lot to the forest too. When he is not fishing he is actively involved with salmon enhancement activities and the local wildlife society; the new community ecology centre is named after his late wife Iris.

Ron is a gillnetter turned troller. He made his money during the boom in the herring roe fishery in the 1970s. Modesty is argued to be a quality of great local importance and there is nothing flashy about him. Although he has no prawn licenses he owns the local prawn packing plant which he leases out. He is a regular contributor to the local paper on all fishery-related issues, and other fishermen continually defer to his knowledge. He fishes actively with his brother. His son grew up working as crew on boats and recently made a capital investment after much deliberation.

Richard is the son and Edith the widow of a much beloved local troller, John, who died in the late

1970s. John is a spectral figure in local fisheries politics and conservation. The local wildlife society, a very active contemporary conservation organization, was inaugurated to oversee the care of a park created in his memory at a spawning creek. He was the co-founder of the local chapter of the United Fishermen's Allied Worker's Union (UFAWU). He travelled the country advocating for fish. He has been immortalized in a best-selling work of non-fiction, *Fishing With John* (1992), written by Edith Iglauer, a former White House correspondent and columnist for the New Yorker who moved to Pender Harbour in the 1970s to write a story on fishing. She eventually married John, her key informant. John's son Richard grew up working on the boat with him. John actively discouraged Richard and his brother from entering the fisheries. Richard instead became an anthropologist and was one of the expert witnesses in the landmark *Delagamuukw vs The Queen in Right of British Columbia* case that restructured treaty negotiations in Canada. I managed to interview him while he was on a brief visit to Pender Harbour from his current home in Norway. He is an active lobbyist for increased regulation in fish farming.

Ray and Doris have worked as both fishermen and fish buyers. Their two sons are still in the fisheries, and Ray and Doris act as their onshore support staff. They reminisce about their days as fish buyers, when Pender Harbour fishermen would support each other up and down the coast. Ray was instrumental in setting up the local chapter of the United Fishermen's Allied Workers Union in the 1940s with his best friend John, though he was very pessimistic in our discussion about what they had been able to accomplish. Ray outright declared to me that "[t]o understand the fisheries policy is almost impossible." At many points in my research I have felt the truth of this warning.

4.3 Constructivism at a Critical Impasse: Assembling Accounts of British Columbian Fisheries

There are five key issue sets that I have chosen to emphasize from my examination of marine policy literature and interviewee comments. Undergirding all of them is the complex and evolving scientific and folk understandings of the fish themselves and their lifecycles carried out within a dynamic marine ecology. The first issue has already been introduced. It concerns the challenges and ethics of rendering fish as a "fugitive resource"[60] into a stable economic engine or, stated otherwise, the challenge of license management. The trajectory of fisheries policy and permits has, broadly speaking, been a narrative of the increased enclosure of real and/or paper

[60] "Resources such as air, oceans, groundwater, and fisheries are *fugitive resources*, meaning it is difficult or impossible to brand individual resource units or partition the stock of the resource into individually owned parcels. Fugitive resources are less likely to be private property and more likely to be common property, state property, or open access" (Hackett 2001:134).

fish as, first, state property, and subsequently the property of fishermen in the form of a right of access to areas or a portion of the Total Allowable Catch (TAC). There are three major ways in which use rights to fish resources might be defined: (1) rights to catch a certain quantity of fish, (2) rights to own and operate a fishing vessel, and (3) territorial use rights (Hannesson 2006:56). In BC, all of these mechanisms are employed, sometimes in overlapping and contradictory ways.

Marchak (1987a:18) argues that relations between fishermen and the DFO have consistently been "symbiotic" and "neurotic." The relationship "requires that the bureaucrats steadily increase their watchdog role over the capture, and thereby frustrate fishermen and cause them a loss of income. But it also requires that the bureaucrats support fishermen in their attempts to salvage the industry" (Marchak 1987a:18). The objectives of fisheries management in BC have always been contradictory, trying to maximize resource utilization while conserving the resource, improving incomes and retaining rural employment. Waves of government subsidies for vessel improvements have been followed by drastic fleet reductions. Training programs have been succeeded by buy-outs (McMullan 1987b:107-152). In these contradictory policy decisions, we see the two metanarratives outlined above bleeding into one another in policy and practice. Current research into fisheries policy emphasizes that the enactment of these contradictions has been drastically restructured with neoliberal fisheries reforms (Burke and Phyne 2008, Ecotrust 2004, Pinkerton and Edwards 2009, Young 2008). The argument, in brief, is that neoliberal policies attempt to treat the resources in a region and the adjacent communities as different kinds of economic entities. Fish resources are placed in more direct relationship with global markets, with impacts upon both individual employment and community organization occurring vis-à-vis resource sectors. I return to this argument in the next chapter's case study regarding the evolving management and commodification of herring.

The second issue set concerns how the labour of fishing is defined under Canadian law and what this has enabled and constrained in terms of collective action either for the rights of fishermen or the protection of fish. As vessel owners, fishermen were defined under the Canada Combines Investigation Act of 1923 as "co-adventurers" or "independent businesspersons" rather than as labourers. Using this definition, canneries argued into the early 1970s that it was illegal for fishermen to collectively organize for better fish prices/catch shares. When the United Fishermen's Allied Workers' Union was formed in 1945 it based its argument for treating fishermen as labour upon the premise that legal control of a vessel did not constitute real economic power vis-à-vis the highly concentrated fish buyers (mainly canneries) or, as is stated in much of the literature, oligopsonic markets (many sellers, few buyers). The union elaborated that fishermen were often so constrained by debts (owed to the canneries and the government for vessel maintenance and improvement), a limited season, and the natural lifecycles of the fish themselves, that their position as "co-adventurers" was worse than it would have been in a labour-simple relation (Marchak 1987a:21). Indeed, this argument unfolds in the abandoned experiments with cannery-owned fleets. Not until 1973 did the BC Labour Code include the category of "dependent contractor" in its definition of employees, thereby creating an opening for the expressly legal collective bargaining of fishermen (Marchak 1987a:27).[61] Seine boat captains are a notable exception to the right to organize. While the crew on a seine boat can be union members, the captain cannot because of the catch-share system on seine vessels. Arguably, this system more firmly posits a seine captain as capitalist, even though many of the same dependent relations outlined above to canneries, and now fish brokers, still apply.

[61] The Canada Labour Code followed suit but failed to include the inverse, that is, those that hired fishermen as contractors were not deemed "employers." However, the BC Labour Code was written mainly with reference to miners and woodworkers and has always remained ambiguous in the case of fishermen (Marchak 1987a:27).

[The UFAWU]...a vestige of what it was years ago. At one time it had a necessary function because a lot of the prices were set even here in BC for salmon. But now we're such small players on the international stage and everyone has access to prices across the world. So, if you're a smoking outfit in Vancouver you can get your fish from anywhere in the world; it can come from Russia; it can come from Alaska; it can come from Japan; so all you have to do is see who's going to give you the best quote. So holding a strike in BC really doesn't affect world prices. So that's one issue. Then, a lot of the companies that they used to control with an iron fist went non-union, so no longer can you break down production by putting a picket line up in front of it, the processors. A lot of independents came up, so that broke the shoreworkers...and I guess just a combination of events that kind of got out of the scope of what a union could handle. A lot of the strong dyed-in-the-wool guys from the fifties sort of passed on and so there was nobody really representing with a strong voice. Now we're so fragmented.-Ron

The question of capitalist or labour gets even more complicated when the third major issue set is introduced: technological conditions of access. I quickly learned that, even though some boats have licenses for multiple gear types (or "stack" licenses), whether one is a seine, troll or gillnet fisherman is deemed a difference of great significance in policy and to the fishermen themselves.[62] Historically, gillnetters have predominated in Pender Harbour and the local experience with this gear type has been influential in policy and catch regulations (as will be discussed in the next chapter). A gillnetter is the smallest of the vessel types (30-40 feet in length) typically with only one or two fishermen on board. Fish are trapped by their gills in nylon nets that are size selective. There are different methods of setting the net, but the most common is to rig a net between the boat and a float. A gillnetter has very limited storage capacity and so is likely to sell to fish buyers local to the fishing grounds. Menzies argues that gillnetters are best understood as "dependent commodity producers" as they are "compelled into a relationship with monopoly capital" in order to make a living (1992:86). Trollers are the

[62] For illustrative animations and pictures of each gear-type alongside, see the Fishing Methods page of the Monteray Bay aquarium: http://www.montereybayaquarium.org/cr/cr_seafoodwatch/sfw_gear.aspx

mid-size vessels (30-55 ft), with smaller vessels carrying one or two fishermen and larger vessels with freezer capacity carrying four or five. A troller drags lines rigged with hooks and lures behind a moving vessel like large stationary fishing rods. Trolling has perhaps achieved the widest acceptance by the public as a sustainable fishing method as catch-and-release of small or undesired fish is relatively quick and easy with this method. It is also the vessel and gear type that has been most broadly romanticized, a social construction perhaps tied to their more firm status as independent commodity producers, bringing fish to the open market (Menzies 1992:86). The final vessel/gear type operating out of Pender Harbour are seine boats. These are predominantly associated with industrialized efficiency in catchment. Seine boats (50-90ft) are typically built with large storage areas below deck and require a crew of at least three fishermen to operate. Historically crews were typically five-six fishermen, though capital investment in vessels and necessity have seen boats going out with fewer fishermen. A large drum, now almost exclusively mechanically rather than manually turned, sits on the stern of the vessel. When a set is made a wall of netting is constructed in the water and then gradually drawn into a circle surrounding the fish. Seine vessels are predominantly associated with volume fisheries and capitalist commodity production where the majority of crews work for a wage or quasi-wage in the form of a catch share (Menzies 1992:86).

Amongst the fishermen I spoke with devotion to one's primary gear type was consistently expressed as were gripes regarding the perceived special privileges granted to other gear types. While it was always stressed that sustainable management had much to do with the skill and care of the crew and a well-determined TAC, animosity was expressed by all the fishermen I spoke with about how each gear type was framed and even stereotyped in the public's perception. Although each gear and vessel type has evolved over time to the point that

many people emphasize the rashness in comparing a contemporary seine or gillnet boat to one from the 1950s or 1960s, the differences between gear types tends to receive more emphasis than the internal changes in each vessel and its gear. A gear type was seen as integral to the ways in which fishermen knew and interacted with fish: to the enskilment of the fisherman.

"Well, we've increased our efficiency enormously. That's partly why we have these limitations; we have the overharvesting capability. Couple dozen seines could catch all the fish that need to be caught for the whole coast probably, doesn't take very many. Hundred definitely could. We don't need 300 or 350 or whatever we've got now, and we certainly don't need the 650 or whatever. See, we used to make a set with a seine and it'd take about an hour to pull the net back out of the water on the stern of the boat. Now you make a set and it takes about 15 minutes to load it because of the hydraulic drum." – Bill

This relates to the fourth issue of capacity and capitalization. Vessels and the licenses attached to them are both increasingly referred to as "overcapitalized." In the case of vessel capacity, the issue is the technological efficiency in catchment that outstrips the regenerative cycles of fish as a renewable resource. It is in the economic interest of fishermen and processors alike to make vessels as efficient as possible. However, efficiency is not simply measured by catching the greatest quantity of fish. Capital investment in vessels is also a matter of ensuring the best condition of fish for market. Government requirements to increase the survival of by-catch have also resulted in vessel investment. Each gear type presents different challenges for minimizing and caring for by-catch, and there is a great difference of opinion on how well fishermen handle and report their by-catch. The second form of capitalization has occurred over time in regards to licenses. Between 1969 and 1982, the capital value of licenses went from $0 to $145 million, and the capital value of vessels increased almost 500%, from 91 million to 432 million, despite a reduction of 1500 vessels from the overall fleet (McMullan 1987b:135). After the introduction of Individual Transferable Quotas (ITQs, sometimes referred to as Individual Fish

Quotas or IFQs) to the management of some stocks, capitalization in licenses has been rapid and exponential, sometimes greatly outstripping the value of landed catches themselves (Ecotrust 2004). ITQs involve granting a property right to a certain portion of the TAC, rather than a simple right of access. Quota holders can fish and/or lease their quota to other fishermen.

Capitalizations in licenses and vessels are significant barriers to entering the fisheries and have caused sub-contracting relationships to proliferate. The creation of a class of "armchair fishermen" was a topic of constant comment in the interviews, as BC licenses have no requirement that the holder of a license be an owner-operator present on the vessel.[63] There is strong suspicion that all fisheries management in BC is being moved towards management under ITQs. The move toward ITQs has been bolstered by an influential article that appeared in the journal *Science* and which presented a strong correlation between ITQ management and conservation (Costello, Gaines and Lynham 2008). What is not depicted in this article, or by the advocates of ITQs, are the increasingly exploitative conditions of labour under ITQs, especially for skipper lessees and their crews. For example, consider the halibut fishery that has been under a quota management since 1991, transferable quota since 1993. Before ITQs, crew members received 10-20% of the sale of the catch; under the ITQ system the average has been 1-5% (Pinkerton and Edwards 2009: 710). Between 1990 and 2007 the value of the halibut fishery has increased by 25%, while the value of the crew share has dropped by 73%. This is on account of a

[63] I asked one fisherman, "How do you become an armchair fisherman?" His response: "You could become an armchair fisherman. So all you have to do is go and buy some halibut quota." This claim starts to break down, however—I asked him, "Who gets quota?" He responded: "people with money" and those that are "grandfather'd in, that is inherited quota." This particular fisherman estimated that 60-70% of armchair managed quotas are held by ex-fishermen, fishermen who have come ashore. One anecdote I have been unable to confirm concerned a license holder with 40 herring licenses who "runs his whole empire from Hawaii." What interests me about the involvement of former fishermen in armchair fishing is the complicity with the financialization of resources and the distancing from direct observation and interaction.

"lease-fee" taken out of crew shares; that is, a portion of the quota fee is taken out of their wages (Pinkerton and Edwards 2009: 710). Licenses and quotas are increasingly viewed as investments to be leased to the highest bidder rather than as direct rights of access. The value of quota has often outstripped the landed value of the catch due to speculation and made it difficult for fishermen to make a good return on their labour.

"It used to be we'd get out on the dock and we'd talk about the price of fish and what was happening and now we get out on the dock and talk about what pills we're taking." - Jim

"You don't have to know anything now you just do what they tell you to. Before a fisherman had to have some know-how, now you just do what the fisheries tell you, they do your thinking for you." - Sonny

"We're now trying to unload the whole works because we're getting too old and all the paperwork" [...] "we've actually turned into business people, we're not really business people, but you have to be, y'know?" -Ray

"I talk to other fishermen my age and they say that the bureaucracy of fishing is going to push them out before the actual fishing." – Ron

Most of the fishermen I spoke with are nearing retirement (though many will never retire fully from the fisheries, either due to necessity, choice or some combination of the two). Many fishermen have received windfall gains from the allocation of ITQs, while others have lost out entirely. These allocations are typically based on a record of previous fish landings. Billy, seine captain, argued that he felt much of the license allocation and re-allocation in BC had been carried out in a "mean-spirited" manner, robbing fishermen whose impact on the environment was benign of their livelihood and identity, while rewarding fishermen who aimed for high volumes. Under ITQ systems, licenses are increasingly concentrated in fewer hands, often far from their corresponding fishing grounds. Under ITQ reforms, fishermen have been offered a way out: to become complicit sub-contractors in a system they often broadly disagree with.

This leads us to the fifth major issue set in fisheries policy and management, and it remains the most controversial one. It concerns the ways in which commercial fisheries licenses and practices have overwritten and threatened First Nations rights and traditions throughout the province. Rallying cries for "one DFO!" from non-native fishermen and laments over relationships between native and non-native fishermen that have been fractured by the introduction of new policies were common in conversations. It was argued by many non-native fishermen that the fact of First Nations' dispossession from land and resources cannot be redressed through "preferential" or alternative licensing, that fish cannot pay the price for "historical" wrongs. I never heard non-natives dispute the right of First Nations groups to traditional subsistence fisheries, but a sense of entitlement to dictate what gear, uses and quantities could bear the stamp "traditional" was, and is, ubiquitous in the conversations of fishermen and policy analysts alike (e.g., Hannesson 2006). Even while arguments are advanced against what is seen as preferential treatment in licensing, the potential to profit in the future from the "social" management of BC fisheries has been imagined. It has been suggested that the swift increase in the value of ITQ licenses has been driven in part by speculation surrounding unresolved First Nations claims to access rights. The expectation that the federal government will have to buy back quotas to settle claims has been partially behind the inflation of quota prices (Pinkerton and Edwards 2009:710). ITQs are treated as *both* speculative investments and a right to catch a certain quantity of fish.[64]

Ethnic segregation in the BC fleet is longstanding, and historically white-Canadians have been the majority beneficiaries. The Canadian Fisheries Act of 1888 made a distinction between

[64] It is interesting to note that speculation surrounding the settlement of treaty negotiation is a longstanding issue in British Columbian fisheries. It is important to examine the material conditions that give rise to racist statements rather than condemn the speakers outright. As Menzies argues one can understand the fears of these fishermen without agreeing with their views (1994:777)

the right of Indians to fish for food and the right to sell, trade or barter fish (Menzies and Butler 2008: 142). This regulation erroneously codified into law selling, trading and bartering fish as non-indigenous practices (Menzies and Butler 2008:142). In 1912 the discrimination against native fishermen was expanded by a Memorandum of Understanding between the province of British Columbia and the Government of Canada to "create a white-settler dominated fishery" (Menzies and Butler 2008:142). One example of policy that extended from this was the licenses that were reserved for veterans of World War I, as a strategy for re-enfranchisement. Another insidious white-nationalist moment of definition was the long tradition of Asian-Canadian exclusion, enshrined in policy intermittently for decades. These policies, demanded jointly by white and native fishermen, were in place throughout the 1920s. During this period, the number of licenses issued to Asian-Canadians was systematically restricted and reduced until the Canadian Supreme Court finally overruled these discriminatory practices in 1929 (McMullan 1987b:112).[65] However, this victory for Japanese-Canadians was shortly followed by internment, in 1941, during the Second World War. Many of the fishermen in Pender Harbour that I spoke with mentioned the tremendous upset in the community when Japanese-Canadian fishermen and their families were divested of their property in the Harbour and interned in the British Columbian interior. The Ikeda family, who were local fish buyers, were repeatedly discussed. Billy related sadly how his father tracked down the family in the camps in order to pay an outstanding loan. This history highlights that so-called "special treatment" in the fisheries is a

[65] In 1921 both the number and timing of Asian-Canadian licenses was reduced. In 1922 regulations for the salmon troll fleet became more restrictive in favour of "non white British" and "Native" fishermen and the fisheries commission recommended a further 40% reduction in "Oriental" licenses. In 1923 the hand-line cod fishery which was previously unlicensed to further reduce Asian participation in the fisheries. 1925 saw further reductions so that Asian-Canadian fishermen now held only 24% of gillnet licenses, 10% of salmon trolling licenses, and Asiatic employment in seining and dry-salting herring was reduced 50% from what it had been in 1924 (McMullan 1987b:111-112).

longstanding controversial issue.

4.4 Self-Super-Natural-Exploitation

I want to move now to a proposition for how to think through the entanglement of economic and extra-economic factors that shape the nature of labour and the labours of nature in BC fisheries. In the next chapter I outline in detail how the uses for and structures surrounding regimes of extraction have undergone enormous changes in the last hundred years in local herring fisheries. Here I want to think through the question of why families in Pender Harbour have remained in the fisheries over generations whether or not it made economic sense, and how they make sense of their continued involvement from the standpoint of a contemporary moment of stock declines. Foremost in this analysis are the ways in which fishing was often represented as more than a job and how it was understood as a vital part of local and familial heritages. The prospect of leaving the fisheries in retirement without the ability to pass on the tradition to one's heirs—either because the money to be gained from selling a license or a vessel was necessary to retire or because none of the kids were interested—was noted as creating a sense of loss. All of the families I spoke with have invested a great amount of time and energy into the restoration of local spawning habitat and spoke of this as an integral part of being fishermen.

While these activities are certainly laudable, I want to think through local environmental and familial relations of care and the attachment to fishing as something other than, or in excess of, work, and as they are appropriated for capitalist exploitation. What does it mean to frame fishing as part of individual and local heritages, and how does this affect the long-term prospects

of Pender Harbour fishermen and Pender Harbour fish? How do processes of accumulation in fisheries capitalize upon extra-economic attachments even as they deny their rationality? In order to examine these issues I want to invoke the concept of "superexploitation" as applied by by Anna Tsing (2009) and Gidwani (2000). According to Tsing, superexploitation is:

> exploitation that depends on so-called noneconomic factors such as gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, sexuality, age, and citizenship status. Superexploitation is exploitation greater than what might be expected from general economic principles; the use of these so-called noneconomic factors to determine the rate of exploitation would be one conceivable use of the term. My use of the term does not require worker abjection but it points to the inability of workers to negotiate the wage in the manner imagined in much of both Marxist and neo-classical economics: that is, as abstract "labor," without the obstacles of these "cultural" factors. In the definition I use here, all exploitation is probably superexploitation. This does not render the term meaningless: it continues to focus our attention to these so-called noneconomic factors in class formation. Supply chain capitalism, I argue, encourages conflations between superexploitation, in this sense, and self-exploitation. Workers establish their economic performance through performances of the very factors that establish their superexploitation: gender, race, ethnicity, and so forth.[66] (2009:158)

Prior to Tsing's definition of the concept, Gidwani used the term to describe the utilization of kin networks in agricultural production in Gujarat. His working definition adds a nuance that I think is important to note, highlighting Marx's distinction between "labour" and "labour-power" and its significance for the analysis of the place-specific "nature of work" and kin based labour organization (2000:242). While labour-power refers to "a certain number of hours of work" (242) that can be purchased, "labour," he argues, remains something in excess of economic renumeration; it entails "the effort, commitment, and creativity that a worker puts into his or

[66] A classic Marxist analysis might call the same phenomenon the social reproduction of labour, but there is a nuance in Tsing's concept of superexploitation, making it especially applicable to neoliberal economies, that is not present in this original concept.

her creation" (242). I want to suggest here that the work of fishermen and their families should be considered through the lens of superexploitation as outlined by these two authors alongside the feminist ethics of care literature already invoked.

I anticipate that my invocation of Tsing's concept of superexploitation might be challenged on the grounds that many of the fisher families I spoke with have done quite well financially and are part of the white-settler majority. Indeed, BC fishermen and processors were amongst the highest paid in the world from the 1970s until the 1990s (Burridge 2007:297). This type of dismissal, however, is precisely the kind of purity politics that is crucial for the perpetuation of superexploitation within supply-chain capitalism where profits are made at many points of transaction in a global commodity chain. The claim that rural white BC fishermen are not exploited because they experience relative prosperity (in comparison to non-white fishermen in BC, fishermen in other nations, regions, etc.) is no different than the claim that wages in foreign factories are acceptable because the employees earning them are better off than their unemployed neighbours; we are speaking of differences in degree and variations of a general modality of exploitation, not of its presence or absence. As Tsing argues, exploitation within supply-chain capitalism benefits from the presence of "ambiguous liminal figures, caught within the contradictions between *varied* forms of hierarchy and exclusion. I suggest that we pay attention to these figures, rather than rejecting them as flawed protagonists" (Tsing 2009:154, emphasis in original).

The importance of understanding the labour of fishing as both an economic and an extra-economic practice was underscored for me by the narratives regarding why many of the families I spoke with had stayed in the fisheries for generations, despite major and minor misgivings about how the industry was managed. Not infrequently, I commented on how foreign

the habitus of fishing, the seasonal routines, the acquired habits and ecological understandings formed by fishing labour and life were to me. These statements were met with the recognition that, to these fishermen, "9-to-5" urban living was equally incomprehensible. Fishing and logging were "all we knew" and "how we grew up." For many generations, taking or training for a job other than fishing meant much more than a career change; it involved leaving family and community behind. Into the 1950s there was no way to pursue an education beyond elementary school without leaving the community and boarding with family and strangers in the city (Vancouver or Victoria). I met many who attempted this transition and quickly returned to the Harbour. Anecdotes about returning to fish because the money was good were interspersed with tales of loving fish and fishing and desiring to fish regardless of the economic returns.

In the bioeconomic literature these attachments to the fisheries have been treated as mere social pathology. Take for example this section from Gordon:

> Two factors prevent an equilibration of fishermen's incomes with those of other members of society. The first is the great immobility of fishermen. Living often in isolated communities, with little knowledge of the conditions or opportunities elsewhere; educationally and often romantically tied to the sea; and lacking the savings necessary to provide a "stake,"[67] the fisherman is one of the least mobile of occupational groups. But, second, there is in the spirit of every fisherman the hope of the "lucky catch." As those who know fishermen will have often testified, they are gamblers and incurably optimistic. As a consequence, they will work for less than the going wage. (1954:132)

This passage is indicative of the kind of selective accounting of fishermen's lives endemic to

[67] As noted earlier, most Pender Harbour fishermen that I spoke with did have a "stake," bought with money earned through logging. What is interesting now is the lack of desire expressed by their children to purchase a "stake" regardless of financial ability to do so. This was widely attributed by local fishermen to the increased surveillance and bureaucratization of fisheries management, while industry analysts point to the increased complexity, competition and number of variables concerned in globalised fisheries (Burridge 2007:304).

bioeconomic policies and management. Fishermen and the rural areas they inhabit are framed with reference to their deficiencies vis-à-vis the general (read: urban, middle-class, white) population. The desire of fishermen to fish is explained through the framing of fishermen as natural gamblers and optimists with insufficient education. Neither the lack of a legal right to organize for better fish prices from processors nor the lack of voice in fisheries policy in the period is mentioned. Gordon is not incorrect in saying that there is something very different about the nature of fishermen's labour; what is offensive in his statements is the assumption that there is nothing more to fishermen's attachments to their labour than rural ignorance and false optimism. While he acknowledged that there are extra-economic factors influencing fishermen's decision making, he instantly dismissed these attachments, naturalizing economic rationality, or economics as rational, in the process.[68]

One of the primary features of superexploitation as outlined by Tsing is the proliferation of debates around "whether workers are contractors or employees and the ideological implications associated" with each of these roles and their performative (re)definition (2009:169). As I illustrated earlier, it was only in the late 1960s that fishermen became able to legally organize as labour. This right was acknowledged at the same time as major reforms in fishery policies were introduced and a major rescaling of fish markets was begun. It is important to note here that there has never been a uniform opinion amongst fishermen themselves on the

[68]In his book *Our Box Was Full* (2005), Richard Daly, an anthropologist and the son of a prominent Pender Harbour fisherman, has asserted commonalities between the "workshop learning" entailed in on-the-job training in resource extraction industries and the social construction of the individual through common forms of collective productive activity in BC First Nations communities (191-192). This form of individuation through collective labour is placed in stark contrast to the "formal, individual and competitive scholarly learning tradition and habitus of the middle class" (192). An interesting parallel (though not equivalent) paternalism can be found in the regulation of First Nations populations in BC and the regulation of fishermen. The paternalism with regard to fishermen is evident in the above passage from Gordon (1954). Currently, approximately one-third of the BC fleet is owned and operated by First Nations fishermen (Burridge 2007:304).

capital/labour question, and that many fishermen were neither members nor supporters of the UFAWU even when it possessed considerable bargaining power. As evidenced in the quote from Billy at the beginning of this chapter, fishing is still constructed as somehow "not a job," as a freedom to live close to and benefit from natural resources away from the surveillance and crowding of urban environments. It was also explained to me many times that to speak of the "working class" never made any sense locally. A fisherman might control his or her boat and equipment and have a capital investment in a licence bu rarely have they exercised much power over the market price for their catch. Further, similar to my discussions with loggers, people differentiated themselves more by the nature of their labour and skill than by class categories. In the case of fisheries labour especially, being a fishermen is regarded as more than a job: it is regarded as a way of life.

That a fisherman is *what one is* and not simply a job is the essence of the complex and incomplete integration of fishermen within structures of capital. Extraction is at once a site of commodity production and something in excess of production. This excess has been described in Hebert's ethnography of the Bristol Bay salmon fishery "as a site of intimacy in which relations are forged that, at moments, can interrupt the objectification of work into labour, and even undermine the partitions of activity and belonging through which such distinctions are drawn" (Hebert 2008:54). Several authors have pointed to the relationship between the ambiguity of classification in such moments of work/labour performance[69] and the thin line of distinction

[69] I follow Hebert here in taking up Hannah Arendt's differentiation between "work" and "labor": "While Hannah Arendt ([1958] 1998) differentiates "labor" from "work"—energies required for sheer survival versus those directed toward the creation of material and conceptual artifacts beyond mere need—many fishers describe how they enjoy the activity of fishing precisely because it subverts what I would express as dichotomies like physical and mental, work and play, necessity and desire. At moments, then, fishing becomes even more than just not-labor, but that which breaks open categories of work and labor altogether" (Hebert 2008:218).

between complicity in one's own exploitation and pleasure in the work itself. Stated otherwise, these authors try to understand the role played by the labourers' desire to consume the use-value of the affect of the work itself (Tsing 2009:157, Spivak 1987:162). In my research and reading this use-value of the work itself was consistently linked to both the freedom to determine the conditions and pace of work so long as they remained as independent petty commodity producers or dependent-capitalists (depending upon gear-type) instead of employees. Historically, fishermen were never struggling to gain employment or subsistence, simply a fair price for fish. For "oldtimers", the right to fish however, was consistently linked with a sense of pride, whether or not a fisherman was able to turn a profit. Now that fish are increasingly brokered on global markets and farmed fish have driven down the price of many species it is not surprising that self-contradictory statements abounded in interviews regarding the motivation to fish. At one moment a love of life on the water or rural coastal regions where licenses were held would be invoked. In the next moment I heard statements about money and explanations of how reduced crews still made it worthwhile financially. Sometimes mutual obligations among crew members were cited as the reason for fishing. Billy, the seine boat captain in his seventies I have been citing throughout this chapter, is one such example. He fishes with a reduced crew of three or four on a boat designed for a crew of five. As evidenced here and in the previous chapter, the line between self-exploitation and entrepreneurial freedom is thin.

It must be kept in mind that, according to Marx's formulation, exploitation is the extraction of surplus value from labour power at the point of production, not the extraction of surplus product. Surplus product might be achieved by other means: capital investment in

vessels for example, or "natural" fluctuations in the size of fish runs. I want to suggest that the deeply embedded ideas of fishing as personal, local and familial heritage that I found in my field site contributes to the creation of surplus value and thus the exacerbation of exploitation. Fishermen present an interesting proto case study in the "innovate or vacate" logic of neoliberal government reforms for the management of rural areas in BC, whereby communities and resources are treated as separate entities linked by entrepreneurial development (Young 2006, 2008). However, I am not arguing that all extra-economic attachments to fishing are a matter of false consciousness or subsumed by capitalism. I simply ask that we pay attention to the ways in which these attachments serve to create and reproduce a ready and willing labour force, and inspire much of the labour of care crucial for local resource stewardship.

The relevant relations of care are twofold. First, as has been elaborated by many feminist Marxists, there are the ways in which the socializing and ideology-forming functions of the family are a direct means of producing the worker and thus surplus value for the capitalist (see, for example, Hareven 1982, Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988). Hareven (1982:71) in particular emphasizes the attachments to hard labour that formed amongst immigrant populations, how economic vulnerabilities experienced during settlement entrenched gendered forms of familial labour organization, and the tendency for children to follow their parents' line of work. Arguably, the pride associated with "taking care of one's own" still serves as an effective disciplinary apparatus for labourers.

Second, there are the voluntary habitat restoration and enhancement activities of fishermen who take an active role in caring for spawning streams and creek beds. These relations of care are often ignored in outsider accounts of fishermen's labour. This is perhaps most evident in common statements in newspapers and popular discourse that stress the

"laziness" of fishermen who only work for a couple of months per year. The assumption within these statements is that if the work is unpaid or indirectly paid, then it is external to the operation of the total economic system and has no value. In some cases this is tantamount to the externalization of the majority of the labour of fishermen and their families. Salmon and herring, the predominant fisheries for the families I spoke with, are seasonal, involving a very short period of extraction. For some, the active fishing season, and thus the period of their paid labour, is extremely short, even when the families are involved in several fisheries. However, fisheries work is constant, including everything from local ecological stewardship and gear and boat maintenance to regular attendance at multiple meetings regarding particular species and associations.

"Your true fisherman has always been a conservationist. They know if you wipe it out, there's nothing 40 years from now. Now whether that's an economic argument or not, I think it's a legitimate way to think [...] I've never seen fishermen that would wipe stocks out deliberately, though I guess in the past that's not strictly true because there has been a lot of creek robbing" -Jim

"All my living, my kids' education, my house, my boat, everything was paid for by pinks and chums. I owe them everything." -Billy

"You should respect the fish. Especially if, like me, everything you've got is due to the fish. There's very little that's come from the forest, I did get a little first to get my hydraulics and stuff like that for my first boat, but after that fish paid for my second boat and paid for this present boat and as I said my kids' clothing and education. My kids worked on my boat as crew to pay their own way through university [...] If we're taking fish for food, we're taking it to feed the world, we can't help but kill. I'm a killer by trade, but I'm not a wanton killer. When there are things that I can't take because it's too small I want to release that so that it can do its thing. So that it can get eaten by a seal or a bear, or it can spawn. If you treat the fish decently, with respect, what you bring in for food for the world is good quality and what you release can still go and do its thing and that's good not just for the bears and the seals, it's good for the forest [...] the bears follow fish and eagles follow bears and the fish. It's all a part of the ecosystem. If you log off all the trees right to the stream's edge, the water temperature's bad, the flow is bad, the fish can't spawn, you destroy the fish. But if you take all the fish from the stream then you're destroying the forest because you're not getting the fertilizer. Everything washes down from the mountains to the sea, the only thing that brings nutrients back from the sea to the mountains is the salmon. They swim back up the rivers and spread the nutrients back into the land." -Billy

"Ask fishermen what they like about it and they'll tell you it's about making money. Most won't tell you that it's how they make that money that sustains them through the rain and the wind and the long nights rolling around trying to stay awake. My friend Josh Young said years ago that fishing is the purest way of making a living that he could think of. 'I put my net in the water and then pull $10 bills out of it.' It's why many who claim they can't quit don't." -Brian

"Fishermen have a passion for fish, they love the fish they're killing [...] He [her late husband John, a troller] felt that they were giving their lives for something that was needed, so he thought that we ought to give it back to them." -Edith

Many of the parks in and around Pender Harbour are the result of private lobbying and donations of lands. Notable amongst these is John Daly Park, a twenty-five acre site that incorporates some of the most sensitive salmon spawning habitat along Anderson Creek. The park was created out of lands donated by a logger in memorial of a troller. Daly's widow created the local wildlife society in order to care for the park, an organization that has grown into a very active environmental group instrumental in the creation of an ecology centre that runs environmental education camps for children and green building workshops for adults. John Daly was one of many fishermen who witnessed the devastation of local streams due to the effects of logging and housing developments. His son Richard explained to me how his father went out with "a shovel, a pick axe and a power saw, cleaning up the creeks around Pender Harbour, and then he shamed some of the loggers into helping." The legacy of John's efforts is the most talked about in the community, but he is not alone in devoting a great deal of time to the stewardship of the local environment.

All of the fishermen I spoke with talked at length about the various conservation activities that they were involved in: from official positions with the Salmon Enhancement Society to unofficial work walking local streams to monitor spawning conditions. The cumulative list of activities was impressive. Understanding as much as possible about fish life cycles and

supporting their proliferation locally was considered a priority. Being knowledgeable about fish was crucial for gaining respect within the community of fishermen. Fisher families engage in a complex intergenerational transmission of knowledge about fish and fisheries, especially regarding local habitat and conditions. Local stewardship work was actively commented upon by fishermen and non-fishermen alike and well documented in the archival history of the area. Overarching governance of extraction work has shifted dramatically, from Fordist-Keynesian to neoliberal policies, but local environmental stewardship activities have served an ameliorative function throughout.

"The fishery was very good in Pender Harbour here for a number of years. It's good to see that there's still an active prawn fishery. Y'know I'm not involved in it but it's good that there's still a fishery here to remind people what was one of the things that built this place. What I'm afraid of is if nobody's fishing a lot of people are just going to lose interest in the fish and then it just continues down like." -Jim

"I'd have a massive seal kill right off the bat, then enhance all the streams." -Sonny

On the experience of working with the Habitat Restoration and Salmon Enhancement Program of BC, 1997-2002, as one of two fishermen on the Board of Directors: "What could we do that would improve the whole system? And I said, because I was a smart ass, the first thing that I would do would be to take 10-90—10-90 is what they used to call Pender Harbour—I would take everybody in 10-90 and make it mandatory that they couldn't keep their jobs unless they spent six weeks in the fall on the rivers with a shovel in their hands and their gumboots." -Ray[70]

[70] Although beyond the scope of my argument here, it is worth noting that salmon enhancement activities involve both the enhancement of streams and hatchery development. While the former is uncontroversial, the latter is a social-natural hybrid of tremendous debate and concern. Hatcheries as social-natural hybrids are placed in historical context by Joseph E. Taylor in his book *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis (1999).* Some more contemporary debates around this issue are traced by Rik Scarce's *Fishy Business: Salmon, Biology and the Social Construction of Nature (2000).*

4.5 It's Much Harder to Attack A Moving Target

The key question that I end this chapter with is this: if in the history of bioeconomic theory the backwardness and inability of fishermen to adapt or conform to rational economic models has been emphasized, how is it supposed that fishermen will adapt to the radical restructuring of local employment under neoliberal reforms? The answer: they are not supposed to. While some fishermen will retire to a life as armchair fishermen, leasing quotas, others will leave the industry entirely. A willing and surplus labour force in fisheries continues to be ensured by the long-term cultural construction of fishing as something other than a job, and knowledge of the nature of the work passed down through generations within families. I do not deny the validity of such attachments, but I believe they must be examined from a new angle: instead of admonishing fishermen for their reluctance to behave in a more rational economic fashion or painting an idealized picture of the romance of fishing and fisher knowledge, I have tried to show how both appeals are necessary for the continued exploitation of labour in the fisheries.

The right to fish has been continually redistributed; this has been done in the interest of ensuring the continuation of cycles of accumulation even when this occurs at the expense of property holders under a previous regulatory system. I want to suggest that the vulnerability experienced by fishing families due to this lack of trust in regulatory systems has played a significant role in both the perpetuation of environmental decline through the encouragement of a short-term benefit mentality and the naturalization of processes of superexploitation at the familial and community levels. The local environmental stewardship activities of fishermen are categorized as "voluntary" labour and are thus neither tracked nor included in bioeconomic

models. It becomes very easy to point the finger at fishermen as the source of over-exploitation. Stewardship and family apprenticeship processes are invisible to the broader public, and fisheries management remains so changeable and technocratic that the complexity of fishing labour remains opaque for the broader public.

The structure of BC fisheries is changing rapidly in the era of late-capitalist market globalisation. With the move towards ITQ management systems, investment in aquaculture production, international processing and commodity chains, and the consolidation of seafood distribution, it is more difficult than ever to imagine the effective organization of fishermen as labourers. The consequences of neoliberal reforms are especially disconcerting for labour. While the challenges to labour organization have always been formidable, as evidenced above, it is perhaps even harder to imagine mobilization in BC against Japanese consumer desires (see next chapter) and loosely structured, seasonal contract labour arrangements with armchair fishermen. Hannesson, a strong advocate of neoliberal reforms in fisheries, had one piece of advice: if you want to make changes, move quickly; do not stop for input; it is much harder to attack a moving target (2006:173).

Moorings III, "Morts", or, Venturing Domestication

On the Sechelt Peninsula there are signs posted along every salmon-bearing creek and stream, "Salmon Habitat Please Protect Our Heritage." These signs have been an ever-increasing source of interest for me. I know that they are meant as an entreaty to not dump, pollute or otherwise despoil the sensitive habitat, to point to the historical identity of the Harbour as a fishing community. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, heritage refers to "property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance." But who or what exactly is included in the collective "our" called into being by the signs? I have always loved the very sensual description of how wild anadromous salmon smell their way back to the very river, stream or creek that they were spawned in, an instinctual, inherited migration with origins in time immemorial. But both the rivers and the salmon of the Pacific Northwest have been radically altered over more than a century of exploitation for profit, and the birthright of the fish to return and spawn has been overwritten with multiple use rights and overlapping property claims.

The overwhelming answer in recent years to the difficulty of maintaining all of the riparian and marine environments crucial for the healthy spawning and development of wild fish has been to sidestep the matter by increasing investment in and the scientific management of aquaculture. Fugitive resources no more: these fish are owned commodities "from egg to plate" (Bavington 2010). The first salmon aquaculture license ever issued in the province of British Columbia went to Allan C Meneely on June 6, 1972, and his farm was located on the Sechelt Peninsula close to Earls Cove (Keller and Leslie 2009:187). While the farm closed by 1976, after a series of tax, regulation and supply problems, it was only the first of many finfish farms on the Peninsula. In May 1981, the Sunshine Coast Regional District, the major governing body on the coast, created an economic development commission to encourage new enterprise and

development in aquaculture. The industrial experiment was promoted as a business suited for the area, and Norwegian investment followed, encouraged by loose Canadian regulations on the industry (Keller and Leslie 2009:190). Corporate investment largely took the form of matching funds from regional government loans taken on by individuals and families. They would set up operations and run the new ventures with little training and most often no experience with managing fish in captivity. By 1985 there were 20 farms and 130 people employed in the local industry (Keller and Leslie 2009:192). By the end of 1988 there were 48 salmon farms, four processing plants, and seven private hatcheries on the coast. Today, only a handful of finfish farms remain, owned by Greig Seafoods, a Norway-based global aquaculture giant, and Target Marine. The former raises Atlantic, Coho and Chinook salmon on its eight farms in Sechelt, while the latter raises these salmon varieties and white sturgeon in containment (Pastrick 2011:17). What happened between the "family farms" and corporate concentration is an ecological tragedy that is rarely mentioned anymore. It is also a story of transnational corporate devolution of risk to a local environment and families. The story stands as a powerful indictment of fantasies of human control and calculations designed to better manage marine environments for the more "efficient" production of fish commodities.

During the height of finfish investment and production, in July 1986, the conceit of treating the coast as a controlled environment for experimentation in domestication was disrupted by a harmful algal bloom. It is estimated that 150 000 fish met their end due to a plankton called *Heterosigma akashiwo.* When fish encounter this plankton they produce mucus that clogs their gills (Keller and Leslie 2009:192). Fish died by the ton from suffocation and stress. In 1989, a heavy storm led to high escapement, and this was combined with another large growth of *Heterosigma akashiwo* that lasted from August until mid-October (Keller and

Leslie 2009:194). At first, farmers dumped the dead fish over the side of the pens. When the fish became too numerous they buried them in limed pits on the shore. When farmers ran out of space to do this they started trucking their "morts" (mortalities) to the local dump and illegally barging them out to uninhabited islands. Local residents worried about the bears attracted by the fish and the potential contamination of groundwater. Purportedly, the only real financial winner in the brief boom in salmon farming on the Peninsula was Freddie George,[71] "the million dollar mort man" who converted his log hauling company specifically for the transfer of dead fish.[72]

Describing the complex connections and intra-actions that contribute to harmful algal blooms involving the dinoflagellate *Pfiesteria piscicida* in the US mid-Atlantic Ocean, Science and Technology Studies scholar Astrid Schrader suggests that we think of these events as context-dependent developments where the contributing elements of the lifecycle of the bloom cannot be isolated in form or substance, time or space; where "[b]oundaries between organism and environment do not simply become blurred, but rather the entire process of boundary construction has to be reconfigured (2010:283). The uncertain ontological boundaries of a harmful algal bloom, however, in no way absolve laissez-faire capitalism of primary responsibility for the hundreds of thousands of dead fish and the ecological damage that occurred on and around the Sechelt Peninsula throughout the 1980s.

One of the few fish farmers who managed to steward his fish through the harmful algal blooms did so by keeping his pens at a lower density and feeding the fish by hand. A former aquarium director, he had relevant experience for dealing with fish in containment. He refused

[71] I have assigned a pseudonym in this case as I have been unable to speak to the person in question.
[72] The British Columbia Harmful Algal Monitoring Program (HAMP) was established in 1999.

to farm Atlantic salmon and regularly moved the pens to discourage the build-up of wastes on the sea floor. He continues to farm fish and has independently domesticated sablefish that he sells to niche markets. He notes that he has had much interest in his new product from both the specialty retail giant Whole Foods and financial investors, but he would be unable to farm enough fish sustainably on a regular basis to satisfy either.

Aquaculture continues to be promoted on both of Canada's coasts as an economic strategy for isolated rural communities transitioning away from extractive industries.

Chapter Five: Pender Harbour Herring: Keystone Species, Gift-Commodity

In his essay "Consider the Lobster," the late David Foster Wallace presents a rich historical and theoretical account of the Maine Lobster Festival and the interests of its nonhuman namesake (Foster Wallace 2004). He traces the evolution of lobster as a culinary item from a food taboo in the early 1800s, deemed fit for consumption only by the poor and institutionalized, to the near pinnacle of gourmet cuisine. The essay tacks between descriptions of the festival and its tourist trappings, and a bioethical mediation on human responsibility toward lobsters. The real triumph of the piece, however, does not lie in its thick description or careful and tactful framing of key questions of animal rights, or in its accounts of human-nonhuman encounters in seafood markets, but rather in where the article appeared: the August 2004 issue of *Gourmet* magazine. Refusing the terms of alienated encounters with the commodity fetish, Wallace appealed to *Gourmet* readers and consumers to be curious about how boiling a crustacean alive became not only acceptable, but the pinnacle of gastronomic fashion. In this chapter I call upon the spirit of the late Foster Wallace to ask that we "consider the herring" through its gradual increase in value through its serial commodification since the 1920s: from their use as a subsistence diet staple of both the Shishalh nation and European immigrants, to uses as bait and fertilizer, to the export of herring roe, a luxury holiday commodity in Japan.[73]

[73] I find the comparison of lobster and herring interesting also because of similarities of post-settlement abundance. As Foster Wallace states of east coast lobster: "One reason for their low status was how plentiful lobsters were in old New England. 'Unbelievable abundance' is how one source describes the situation, including accounts of Plymouth pilgrims wading out and capturing all they wanted by hand, and of early Boston's seashore being littered with lobsters after hard storms—these latter were treated as a smelly nuisance and ground up for fertilizer" (Foster Wallace 2004).

5.1 Becoming-with Herring

In telling this history and elaborating the present importance of herring to Pender Harbour residents and fishermen I want to consider not only the use and exchange value of the herring through these different markets, but also, the "encounter value" formed through generations of dependence (Haraway 2008:46): how herring have become a central part of how community identity and history are constructed in Pender Harbour through asymmetrical relations of power in fishing and cohabitation. Over the long history of this place, being-with herring has formed an important part of local identity and conceptions of environmental responsibility. The current herring roe fishery is lauded by fishermen, fisheries economists and biologists alike as a model sustainable fishery. For my purposes here I am not interested in proving or disproving this claim, but rather to illustrate the new dependencies created in the roe fishery that depend upon a moral economy of conservation at the oceanic sites of extraction, and upon a deeply embedded historical tradition of exchange at the site of consumption. The niche commodity development of herring roe is held up as an example of successful neo-liberal environmental management through "highest-and-best" market exploitation. However, detailed examination of this case suggests market price is only one component of a much more complex gift-commodity chain.

The story of relations between Pender Harbour herring and humans is a far from equitable relationship, but it is a detailed "ongoing becoming with" (Haraway 2008:16)—that is, a relationship that has spanned several human generations and thousands of spawning cycles—that reveals much about how encounters between humans and local ecological liveliness comes to matter. This is true both for definitions of local community identity and in international economic markets. One of the primary arguments I am trying to make throughout this

dissertation is that vernacular knowledges of natures matter, even those formed in relations of killing. This is far from suggesting that the killing relations in extraction are categorically justifiable, but rather to ask what forms of respect and care are possible and assembled in these uneven encounters? How do people who have made their living through the capture of the "work of nature" understand and manipulate the systems within which they labour? Who benefits? How does place, or the "where" species meet, play a role in the formation of understandings of both relational multispecies complexity and ethics (Lorimer and Davies 2010:32)? From a fishermen's perspective this might be stated in a more straightforward manner as remaining curious about and responsive to fish and their needs in extractive encounters. As one fisherman explained to me: "[y]ou should respect the fish. Especially if, like me, everything you've got is due to the fish."

But what does respect entail in such encounters according to fishermen? In the historical unfolding of a socialnatural place called Pender Harbour, the direct empirical observation of decline in herring and other fish stocks has had significant mobilizing effects. As traced in the previous chapter, extensive local environmental stewardship and enhancement projects have been undertaken by local fishermen. Through tracing the serial forms of commodification of herring over time I want to not only thicken an understanding of how things get caught up and discarded in global markets, but also emphasize the local encounter values that remain and in part anchor the herring industry. What can the encounters of Pender Harbour fishermen tell us about the fish with which they are entangled?

Following Haraway I will suggest that the fundamental tenet of human interspecies respect is curiosity (2008:22): that is, not only an openness to particular surprises introduced by nonhuman agents, but also a recognition of how the processes, places, and conditions of

encounter shape what can be known. To foreground curiosity is to abandon guarantees, and accept that not all the players are defined in advance. Herring are especially interesting to analyze because as a keystone species they are entangled in many complex lifecycles and processes, and, through the progression of various herring fisheries it has been necessary to understand herring not only as a resource-commodity for human use, but also as a vital food source for other fished species like salmon and hake. At many points in the history relayed here the importance of herring to nonhuman life has been ignored or insufficiently attended to, something of which the fishermen I spoke with were acutely aware. Throughout this chapter I work to trace vernacular knowledges of natures formed through fishing labour and how fishermen on the Sechelt Peninsula have struggled to make a living and care for the fish on which they depend under various market conditions. I concur with the suggestion of many multispecies and science and technology studies scholars that meaningful articulation of a situation depends upon fine-grained, situated attention to spatial multiplicity in which agency is not confined to human labour alone (Hinchliffe 2010:35, Law 2004:42).

5.2 Herring Reduction, Bait and Roe

Herring are a small pelagic schooling fish that inhabit inlets, protected waters, and near-shore waters early in their life cycle (BC Ministry of Environment 2010). The protected bays and inlets of Pender Harbour provide feeding and spawning conditions in which herring can thrive. There are six major herring populations on the BC Coast (Hay and McCarter 2010).[74] Debate

[74] Prince Rupert, the central coast, Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands), the West Coast of Vancouver Island, Johnstone Strait, and the Strait of Georgia.

remains over whether Pender Harbour herring are genetically different than the Strait of Georgia schools, but they are believed to be a less-migratory local stock (Lee 2009:16), or "homesteaders" according to vernacular terminology (Foodwest Resource Consultants 1979). As the waterfront of Pender Harbour has been more developed, spawning area has decreased (Lee 2009:16). There is concern especially about herring spawning on creosote[75] pilings that anchor wharfs, which has led to the recent installation of herring curtains hanging off of local wharfs as an alternate place for local herring to spawn (Vines et al. 2000; Squamish Streamkeepers).

Historically Pender Harbour fishermen have harvested herring for three main fisheries: reduction, bait, and roe. Pickled and salted herring were also an important diet staple for the Shishalh and settler families. Scottish and Norwegian immigrants especially described the practice of preserving herring as a part of family tradition before and after arrival to Canada.[76] A strong argument can be made that it was the herring that attracted these immigrants to the harbour, further cause for my insistence that keystone species are not simply important in the analysis of ecological systems, but in the persistence of socialnatural traditions. Into the 1930s herring were so plentiful in Pender Harbour that one settler, Martha Warnock, stated that the place "was polluted with herring, you'd kill a thousand just rowing to the store, clobbering 'em with the oars, you couldn't help it" (White, H. 1996:71). Initially the choice to focus on herring was based on simple criteria: they were a species harvested locally and at one time or another all of the fishing families I spoke with were involved in one, or all, of the above listed herring

[75] A chemical compound distilled from tar that is lacquered on wood pilings to prevent rot.

[76] A dry salt industry existed 1900-1940. The dry salt industry entered a phase of decline in the 1930s as the reduction fishery was on the rise. Herring have always had a very limited domestic market as a food product (Foodwest Resource Consultants 1979; Edwin Blewett and Associates 2001). A saltery was towed to Pender Harbour in 1914. Firm dates for when this saltery stopped production could not be found (Faulkner, Park and Jenks 2010: 36-37). During the same period, one local family had a smokehouse near their wharf and supplied kippered herring to the Woodwards store in Vancouver (Faulkner, Park and Jenks 2010:36).

fisheries. Herring also point to the ways in which local species, available markets and forms of community organization and association are vitally interlinked.[77] Further, they raise the question of how an attachment to a species can persist, even when it is no longer locally harvested. Herring are no longer caught in Pender Harbour, though local fishermen continue to hold roe and roe-on-kelp licenses that create employment for 20-40 fishermen per season (by most estimates) to fish in other areas. Neither are herring caught in Japan, the major market for the fish, though herring roe continues to be considered a vital part of Japanese New Year's celebrations and gift exchange practices surrounding the holiday. This persistence in connection to herring in the face of loss of local stocks prompts two questions: what if herring is a keystone species not only for local ecology, but also for local sociality and identities on two ends of a commodity chain? What different obligations are caught up in the "keystone" concept if people define themselves in relation to local ecological resources and niches?

While herring had long been a local diet staple, in the 1920s the BC herring reduction fishery was introduced to augment the processing of pilchard stocks fished for reduction. By the end of the Second World War pilchard stocks were severely depleted and herring became the mainstay of the reduction fishery (McMullan 1987a:42). Reduction processing converts large shoals of herring into meal, oil and solubles for agricultural feeds and industrial products. Reduction was a seine fishery and the industry more than doubled the size of the BC seine fleet, from 128 vessels in 1923 to 332 vessels in 1927 (McMullan 1987a:42). Some of the aftermath of

[77] Herring are but one of an abundance of marine species that local livelihoods have depended upon. As families listed for me the species that they have captured and killed as career fishermen, the complexity of relations between market opportunities, global politics and local ecology came into stark relief. To give a brief and nowhere near exhaustive list provided by the eight families I came to know: salmon, fished for canning, smoking, and fresh markets; dogfish during World War II for the vitamin A in their livers, for export to British fish and chips, and for the production of glue; rock and ling cod for fresh markets; seals culled for $5 a head (to stem competition for salmon); killer whales captured for the Vancouver Aquarium; prawns, fresh and frozen; halibut.

this expansion and continued volume exploitation is suggested by a pair of newspaper articles I uncovered in the Sunshine Coast archives dated five years apart. On, May 8, 1958, an article "Fish Catch Still Small" notes that catches are down 50% in monetary value from the previous year, mainly attributed to a drop in herring prices. On Feb 7, 1963 another article reveals that 1958 was to hold the ominous honour of the highest volume landings on record in tons. While the easy explanation would blame fishermen for overexploiting the resource in order to secure a living wage, this is an oversimplified picture.

The machinery of reduction processing plants is incredibly capital intensive, requiring large volumes of fish to turn a profit. Largely automated, "[i]n periods of heavy herring fishing, reduction plants could be operated twenty-four hours a day and often could process over 1,000 tons of raw fish per 24 hour period" (Foodwest Resource Consultants 1979:17). In 1967 the Pacific Coast herring reduction fishery was closed due to depleted resources and fears of extinction. The two major companies involved in the reduction fishery in BC proceeded to take seine boats to Canada's Atlantic Coast via the Panama Canal and moved operations to reduction plants built in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Quebec. The herring populations on the east coast were decimated and operations shut down in just a few short years (Foodwest Resource Consultants 1979:18). On the Pacific Coast, the herring reduction fishery has remained closed and reduction plants are limited to processing waste materials from other fish processing.

In Pender Harbour, accounts of local herring are constantly invoked for their instructive and nostalgic content. For many community members, herring fishing during the reduction era is the iconic example of mismanagement of a resource and a related loss of local heritage. The story of local herring as an anchor for community sociality was offered to me many times. This anchor was remarkably different from the logging case in that it involved men, women and

children working and socializing together. Into the 1950s local families would spend evenings jigging herring in the many bays of the Harbour. Ray and Doris provided me with one such account:

> *Ray:* We used to have big local stocks in the Gulf of Georgia which Pender Harbour was a big part of and when I was a kid you could count on every day in the summer time that the herring would[...] be out in Lee's Bay and they'd generally circle around Rat Island, close to the beaches, they came through Rat Island pass and come through the mouth of the Harbour and in the evening about 5, 6 o'clock they'd start coming through the entrance of the Harbour there and they'd come all the way in the Madeira Park and go back out again until the next night, that was the cycle they did. And so we'd get all these jigger and local guys down there, they'd all be sitting there waiting for them, they'd see the bubbles coming to the surface and "Here they come! Here they come!" In the matter of like half an hour they'd come in the Harbour and all around Gerrans Bay, some people liked to fish there and some people would fish out further and everybody would be down there fishing.
>
> *Doris:* It was Pender Harbour's social event for the summer evenings.
>
> *Ray:* And the Japanese cod boats, they'd sit there and they'd get their bait there every night, they had these big tanks.
>
> *Doris:* We'd go out, my mom and I would go out in our row boat and somebody would have an anchor down there on their bigger boat, and we'd tie our row boat off the stern end of their boat and sit there and talk and jig fish.
>
> *Ray:* But then into the 60s they had the herring reduction fishery – you can read about it, Ron's got his letter there in the *Spiel* [the local paper]. When I was a kid you could look out there when we were out at Texada [Island] over towards Pender Harbour and it was like a city there at night, the big seiners would sit out inside Pearson Island and they'd shine their lights down, they'd go in with their lights off and then turn them on and they'd just slowly move out until they'd sucked all the herring out of Pender Harbour and every place they could.[78] In the morning they'd set a couple hundred tons, next morning same

[78] The lights referred to here are sodium vapour lights that were used to attract the herring. Use of the lights was later banned as they were found to damage immature salmon (Foodwest Resource Consultants 1979:24). Some fishermen described the entrance to the harbour as looking like a city at night when the lights were in use.

> thing, they did the same thing at Egmont. So I really think that's where the herring went, they never ever have come back since the 60s like they were. It really has nothing to do with the herring on the coast. As a herring fisherman I know this. They come back, generally, they come back to the same areas every year. Y'know they spawn, they come back, but they go out 20, 40, 50 miles, wherever they can get the plankton they're after to feed out there, and about November, October, September they come into the Gulf and they don't seem to eat any more after that. They're big and fat and they've got huge stores of fat in their system, and they come in the Gulf and they just play around.

All of the herring fishermen I spoke with talked about their active efforts to get the reduction fishery reduced or shut down for decades before it was. Billy quit fishing herring in 1954, 13 years before the fishery was officially shut down, because of concerns about how the industry was being managed. Ray and Doris spoke of fishermen leaving when the price was still very high because of concern for the stocks.

Research in marine biology has revealed that herring are a tricky fish to manage and predict. On account of their tendency to gather in large shoals, catches are not likely to immediately reflect reductions in the aggregate volume of herring. As was explained to me many times, fishermen know how to find fish and still made large landings, but fishermen also knew that the landings were becoming harder to come by. The schooling behaviour of herring, an instinctual defence against nonhuman predators, has historically been a great disadvantage in encounters with fishing nets. Added to the false impression offered by large landings is the mystery of spawn size/survival ratios. Fishermen began to notice in the 50s that large spawns did not always result in large populations of herring. Some suggested that thick spawn might actually harm the lower layers and that thin spawns had a greater survival. It was also originally assumed that older fish should be caught, while younger ones should be left to spawn. Over

time the opposite correlation was revealed between age of fish and survival of spawn; that is, the older the fish, the greater the spawn survival even if the spawn volume was lower. Leaving only juvenile fish to replenish the stocks was insufficient. Efforts to communicate these observations to the DFO were unsuccessful. Ray related to me the experience of attending meetings organized by the DFO to gather the local ecological knowledge of fishermen, only to dismiss it:

> They called all the fishermen together for a meeting and they said, y'know "oh you must have a lot of knowledge amongst you" so they get all of the fishermen into a hall for a meeting and then when they gone through all their logbooks and their presenting it and they're relating it and then they said "no that's just local lore, it's not science-based."

Dean Bavington, in his study of the Newfoundland cod collapse, has detailed the considerable lag time that exists between the recording of these types of practical empirical observations of fish stocks and their official legitimization (2010:73-76). The testimony of fishermen is often dismissed as colloquial or folkloric knowledge until it can be legitimated by standard scientific testing. In many cases the testing of such hypotheses is contrary to economic goals, and thus there is a vested interest in dismissing the observations of fishermen. Direct interaction and observations without hypotheses and extensive documentation are deemed insubstantial evidence.

"When we almost cleared out herring, two years before the herring got closed down there was a license holders meeting and Charlie Clark was pleading with the fisheries to shut the herring fishery down – Charlie Clark was the best herring fishermen there ever was, probably ever will be – and he was pleading with them, and they said "Nah, there's more, no reason to believe there'll be less herring." Well, two years later they did shut it down. We very nearly ran the herring extinct. .It's in pretty bad shape, the herring population, even yet –places Howe Sound right to Knight's Inlet. It's very poor on this side of the Gulf – down around Yellow Point down near Nanaimo and Deep Water Bay. It's a mystery to me, the place where we've been hammering them all of these years with the roe fishery around Comox and Courtenay and down

around the Island, they're still in pretty good shape up until last year and this year. They seem as abundant there as they ever were, maybe even more, but the other areas, they're poor. I don't understand that, it's a mystery." -Billy

"1967, thereabouts, companies still had quite a lot of say over what happened there in the water, they were still saying 'there's lot of herring out there' but the fishermen who were on the boats could see that they were being pushed further and further up every little bay and inlet like Pender Harbour and that there was going to be an end to it. Not only that, the critics could see that they were catching a lot of salmon, little immature salmon with the herring so they just said "to heck with you we're not fishing anymore, the men said that! They said that's the end of this road, and they were getting like $13 a ton I think as their share out of the catch." -Ray

"Before they had noticed this, Brett Taylor noticed it 35 years ago. He mentioned it. He noticed that there was no correlation between a big spawn and a bunch of herring running around, well now they've found that if there's too many layers of herring spawn then much of it dies...even the surface layer." -Billy

"It's incredible y'know. Some of this stuff, well, it was stuff that the Indians told them and they're finding out now that they're right on." - Ray

The second local herring fishery was the live bait trade for sports fishermen. Many young men began their work as fishermen jigging for bait to be sold to local cod fishermen, as referenced in Ray and Doris' narrative. Concurrent with the province wide promotion of BC tourism that began in the 1950s, Pender Harbour expanded as a recreation destination. Family resorts and campgrounds were a major summer business, and salmon, cod, and lingcod fishing were the main attractions. Live bait would be sold out of bait tanks built into docks, often through an honour system of putting out a bucket to place cash in when fetching your own. In the survey of the local paper I conducted at the Sunshine Coast Museum and Archives the results of annual sport fish derbies always made the news. In the fish derby of July 1963 a 35 pound salmon was the winner. Contrast this to the following piece from September 2006, entitled "Salmon Derby Skunked":

> Carl Seabrook won the $250 cash prize in the Legion Salmon Derby last month...for a ling cod. For the first year ever, not one entrant

> managed to land a salmon, although there were no fewer "the one that got away" stories than in past years (Lee 2006:15).

By the early 2000s a strict limit was set on rockcod and lingcod catches, and salmon were rarely caught.[79] This was concurrent with the rapid expansion of groundfish extraction in BC from 15% of the provincial catch in the 1970s to 75% of the catch in the early 2000s (Burridge 2007:303).[80] Through the 1980s and into the 90s there were half a dozen places to buy live bait in the Harbour. It was difficult if not impossible to get live bait in the area during the period of my fieldwork (2007-2008). As two fishermen formerly engaged in live bait businesses expressed to me, there just isn't a market for it when there aren't many fish to catch.

The final local herring fishery of significance represents a significant change in BC fisheries, from producer-driven to buyer-driven commodity chains. In the 1960s, after having exhausting domestic stocks, Japan looked to BC for roe supply. BC fishermen had the product for a demand that already existed but could not be filled after the collapse of Chinese and Japanese herring stocks.[81] The implementation of the 200-mile-limit imposed domestically by fishing

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[79] See "Rockfish Conservation Areas Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Pacific Region. 2006." Available online (accessed July 29th, 2011) http://www.pac.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/fm-gp/maps-cartes/rca-acs/booklet-livret/RCA_Area13.pdf

[80] Groundfish involves four distinct fisheries: groundfish trawl, sablefish (or blackcod), halibut and hook and line (rockfish, lingcod, and dogfish).

[81] Even before the imposition of the 200 mile limit, harsh restrictions to Japanese fishing off the Pacific Coast were applied as a part of peace negotiations at the end of World War II. The fallout from these restrictions was a consistent issue in international negotiations especially between Japan and the United States. A delegation to Ottawa representing 32 locals of the UFAWU and its women's auxiliaries and the Pacific Trollers Association was formed in 1963 to lobby specifically to exclude Japanese fishermen from the herring harvest off the West Coast of Vancouver Island. This was during the era of the gradual imposition of 12 mile limits. The statement itself makes implicit claims regarding the ethnic and national limits of common property in fish resources: "We are alarmed at the threat to our fisheries represented by the proposals of the North Pacific Fisheries Commission to give away our herring and halibut fisheries to the Japanese;" "We urge all British Columbians and all Canadians to join us in forcing the government to halt this sellout, which must be based on factors having no relation to the welfare of our fishing industry. We believe Japan is blackmailing Canada into going along with these proposed giveaways on the basis of economic pressure and the U.S. dictated military concessions." "We want to make it perfectly clear that we fully support conservation treaties on fisheries resources. At the same time we believe Canada must tell Japan and the U.S.A. that we will not go along with more

nations in late 1970s[82] prevented Japanese fishermen from simply harvesting Western Pacific Coast herring themselves.

The herring roe fishery was opened in 1972, a mere five years after the reduction fishery was closed. Since gillnetters and seiners already captured salmon and herring, existing gear could be used. Initially licenses to fish the resource were granted to anyone with an "A" license, a license that in the 1970s allowed its bearer to fish almost all species. This type of license over time has been changed into an exclusive salmon license, and the roe fishery was eventually limited to those with a history of landings. One of the fishermen I spoke with dated this transition to 1974-75. Eighty-five boats participated in the roe fishery in its initial year (Muszyńska 1996:217).[83] At first, herring were predominantly captured by the same purse seine method, the seine boats having more experience fishing the species, but over time gillnet catches proved to deliver fish of better size and roe in better condition, as they were not so easily crushed in the nets. Pender Harbour fishermen are noted as significant in their attentiveness to the desired end-product, which led to the preference for gillnet caught herring in the roe fishery. "A gillnet is size selective, and the fish were caught at the time of spawning when the roe was mature so there was better recovery," a local gillnetter, Jim, explained to me. "Seine fish was usually caught when the fish were still offshore before the schools broke up and

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and more concessions to maintain a 'treaty at all costs.' This would only nullify the major purpose of a treaty since it would lead to greater exploitation and depletion of the stocks of salmon, halibut and herring upon which our industry depend for existence" (Coast News1963).

[82] The genesis of the 200-mile limit actually came in 1948 when US president Harry Truman, after WWII, proclaimed that all resources on and underneath the seabed on the continental shelf of the US were the property of the US government. While the US was primarily concerned with oil, other countries wanted it to apply to fish resources. Iceland was the first to establish such a law with regard to fisheries in 1948. Argentina, Mexico and Panama followed suit (Hannesson 2006:31). The 200 mile limit took effect in Canada in the mid-70s, preceded by the twelve-mile limit begun in 1958 (Marchak 1987b:154).

[83] One question that I was not able to systematically address with fishermen was how fishermen decided whether or not to enter the roe fishery? What did they base their personal assessments of the recovery of the resource on? Was the financial incentive too great to refuse?

the fish headed to the beach to spawn, so there could be a lot of variability in the maturity of the roe."

Spawning usually occurs between February and April, and meticulous test fishing is necessary to harvest the fish before the spawn is released.[84] Consistent with the reduction fishery, almost all processing has gradually been mechanized. While originally there was substantial human labour involved in the sorting and popping of roe, now, female and male herring are mechanically separated by a machine (Burridge 2007: 301).[85] The roe are popped from the females, whose carcasses are sent for processing with the males. Uses of the carcasses range from reduction to smoked and salted products. During the 1970s, herring roe prices were extremely high and the price spurred on another expansion of the BC seine fleet, which expanded 29.5 % between 1968 and 1977. On account of extremely tight controls upon openings in the roe fishery, as short as 12 minutes in a season (McMullan 1987a:42), vessel capacities were also enhanced to minimize fishing time lost in transport. These short openings also gave rise to co-operative labour pools between fishermen to maximize catches (Menzies 1993:160).

Exclusively for the Japanese market, BC herring roe is some of the most valuable in the world due to particular marine conditions that create the most highly fetishized texture.

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[84] There is also a roe-on-kelp fishery that harvests the spawn after it has been released.

[85] There was also controversy in the 1970s regarding processing as Japanese firms initially imported labourers to process both salmon and herring roe. Japanese firms claimed that Canadian workers did not have the required skill set. The UFAWU fought this arguing that the skills could be taught to local workers (Muszynski 1996:216). "Between 1971 and 1978, an estimated 400 working permits were granted. Union members suspected that these labourers were paid much lower wages." (Muszynski 1996:216). Another tactic used was differential wage rates between women and men, when roe operations expanded, women were paid 34 cents less an hour than men had been paid to perform the same job when salmon eggs were pulled for bait (Muszynski1996:216). In the late 1980s the US successfully challenged the right of the province to retain raw unprocessed fish in British Columbia rather than exporting it for cheaper processing elsewhere, a preliminary blow in the long process of creating global commodity chain processing of fish products (Muszynski 1996:17, 221).

Although Canada plays a small role in the overall global herring trades it is the largest exporter of herring roe to the Japanese market (Burke and Phyne 2008:84). The roe fishery is a case of economic gains achieved through the valuation and qualification of a particular local ecological resource in a foreign niche market. "In 1991, Canada (all provinces) exported over 61% of the total herring roe (17,800 tonnes) consumed in the Japanese market; while this fell to just over 51% of the total (9100 tonnes) in 1999, Canada was still the largest exporter of roe to Japan" (Burke and Phyne 2008:84). This is of course only a very small portion of Japan's overall imports in marine resources. The shift of Japan from a net food exporter to the world's largest net food importer is well documented (Bestor 2004: 31, Pinkerton 1987, Burke and Phyne 2008). While the Japanese market is the cornerstone of both the prawn and herring fisheries that Pender Harbour fishermen are involved in, Canada is not even on the list of top thirteen fish exporting nations to Japan (Bestor 2004:33).

The roe fishery in the 1970s represents one of the few moments when fishermen have had the upper hand in negotiating prices with BC processors. Much lower barriers to entry existed in processing roe herring, as only brining and freezing are necessary. These processes are much less expensive to set up than the heavy machinery involved in canning. In some cases processors were forced to pay fishermen outright for roe instead of applying the price against outstanding salmon debts, in order to not miss out on the enormous profit to be made in the product (Pinkerton 1987:83). Herring fishermen won a price increase of 140% over the reduction era (Muszyńska 1996:217). This loss of control over price, and thus control over labour, by fish processing conglomerates in BC at the beginnings of the boom in herring roe is illustrative of a paradigmatic shift in the structure of fish processing and the organization of BC fisheries. At their apex, canneries and reduction processing plants exercised control over fish prices and

considerable vertical integration of the commodity chain was in place, especially in the canned salmon industry (Pinkerton 1987:68).

5.3 Producer and Buyer Driven Fisheries

Over the past four decades there has been an enormous expansion in fresh and niche commodity seafood markets. Technological innovations that have made getting fresh fish to distant markets more possible, the framing of seafood as a health food in domestic markets, and collapse of stocks near nations that include fish as a large portion of their traditional diet have all been factors in the shift from producer-driven to buyer-driven commodity chains. From the perspective of fishermen this represents a shift from a heavy dependence upon a small number of processors who tightly control prices, to a dependence upon consumer markets to set the price for their product (Burke and Phyne 2008:82, Young 2006:205). In both cases, however, BC fishermen are generally cast as price takers rather than setters.

I argue, following Young (2006, 2008), that this change in primary economic relations for BC fishermen is illustrative of a broader shift in the management of resource extraction, from post-war Fordist and Keynesian approaches to neoliberal strategies occurring throughout BC and Canada. The Fordist-Keynesian model for economic development was extensively applied to the management of resource extraction in Canada, and in British Columbia in particular, under the twenty year premiership of W.A.C. Bennett (1952-1972). This form of governance can be summarized as intensive state-corporate partnerships to manage national economies and social welfare. From the post-war era into the mid to late 1970s, the adoption of Fordist-Keynesian principles meant significant government infrastructure development to bolster both production

and consumption. Much of rural BC was shaped by policies of this era that attempted to regulate employment by linking access to resources to local area processing. The health of provincial and national economies was posited as central to policies that supported large infrastructure development to create jobs through resource exploitation (Young and Matthews 2010:29-35).

A re-scaling of rural economies is taking place under neoliberal reforms. Neoliberal reforms of economic organization have shifted the vulnerability of Pender Harbour herring fishermen from a dependence upon canneries to a dependence upon a foreign market. Open and "free" markets are now posited in policy as the driving factors in economic development, rather than national or provincial markets. In short, the livelihoods of local BC roe fishermen are vulnerable before extra-local economic flows without their direct participation, nor detailed understanding of the complex socio-cultural dynamics of the Japanese market. This highlights their vulnerability as the ongoing prosperity of BC roe fishermen is dependent upon an ability to understand, predict and even influence the desires of Japanese consumers. These are the challenges of the new entrepreneurial relations put forward by neoliberal resource economy reforms in British Columbia. While both the Fordist-Keynesian and neoliberal economic development programs rely upon a certain amount of state intervention to stabilize the economies of rural areas, under the former this was largely attempted through capital assistance to large fish processors or mills. Under the latter, the strategy is to offer grants for entrepreneurial development at the community level. Fishermen and other community members are tasked to innovate or vacate rural areas.

Young argues forcibly against the idea that these reforms are simply a re-articulation of classic rural exclusion. He posits instead that relationships between local resources and global

markets are becoming intensified through this separation of community-based and resource-based economies (2006:132), and that local economies are being restructured through the "liberation" of valuable sectors from traditional linkages in order to facilitate insertion into global trade. The premise of these changes is the idea that entrepreneurial development on the ground can better capture opportunities for value-added processing of local resources before export. Ideologically, neoliberal reforms proffer a minimum of government intervention in the economy. In practice, Young continues, there are two main forms of intervention in local economies. The first form is "to foster, force and develop entrepreneurial tendencies in local government;" the second is "to 'steer', sponsor, and otherwise encourage local actors into a more direct relationship with extra-regional and/or global markets" (Young 2006:132). In fisheries this is commonly expressed as trying to move from "fishing for pounds" to "fishing for dollars:" that is, as illustrated above, to find the market, handling and forms of processing that will gain the best price for the local natural resources (Burke and Phyne 2008:85).

Entrepreneurial development in BC is split between the creation of new products and the ongoing effort to bolster the reputation of the particular local marine environment that produces BC roe as top-quality. The branding of "Made in BC" as a significant factor at the point of sale has to be constantly shored up. The success or failure of local fishermen hinges not only upon on the continued demand for herring roe, but also upon the continued production and construction of roe from BC waters as "the best" and most desirable by Japanese consumers. This type of local economic vulnerability potentially pits the viability of locality against locality even within a nation, as is the case between herring roe producers in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and British Columbia.

Swyngedouw has termed this reorganization "glocalization," or the replacement of

national economies with development strategies that depend upon direct relationships between localities and global forces (Swyngedouw 1997:153-9). In fishing industry papers from across Canada and the U.S., the BC herring roe fishery is touted as a success story, a local natural resource that has been placed in a foreign niche-market that ensures maximum economic returns (Carlson 2005, Renwick 2001, Scharien 2008), extracting as much value as possible from the transition of herring roe to a niche commodity: *kazunoko.* However, the consistent issues of a staples economy remain present, most notably the question of value-added processing. Roe are typically exported with minimal processing. Attempts to process and package the roe in BC have been unsuccessful (Burridge 2007:299). Further, beginning in the late 1970s, Japanese firms started heavily investing in BC seafood processing in order to secure raw materials in the least processed state and through this influence over operations, effectively blocked Canadian domestic value-added processing (Burridge 2007:299; Foodwest Resource Consultants 1979).

Industry specialists are attempting to bolster and create demand in existing markets for herring roe in Japan (Roe Herring, Burke and Phyne 2008). *Kazunoko* has historically been regarded as a "seasonal delicacy that epitomizes the New Year's holidays" (Bestor 2004:24). It is traditionally regarded as symbolizing fertility, prosperity and luck (Scharien 2008). Dense social networks and hierarchies are reaffirmed through the New Year's celebrations, which entail offerings to Shinto shrines, tributes to family members, and corporate gifting (Rupp 2003:108-115). Despite this metonymic tie with one of the most important annual holidays in Japan, the vulnerabilities of a buyer-driven commodity chain are evident in the current decline in both the demand and price for BC roe. While the security of the herring roe market might seem to be protected by its tie to New Year's traditions, Rupp notes in her ethnography of Japanese gift economies that the offerings made to altars within homes are guided by the likes and dislikes of

family members, as the gifts are conceived as primarily intended for living members of the household (2003:115). BC roe industry analysts point to a demographic shift away from traditional New Year gift boxes that would often include roe (BC Ministry of Environment 2010). Alaskan analysts point to a steadily increasing market share held by Russian suppliers and the increase in preference for the convenience and taste of lower-grade artificially flavoured roe over traditional salted roe among younger Japanese (Carlson 2005: 8-10). The creation of lower-grade-but-still-quality "masstige" (mass + prestige)[86] roe products has created the option for consumers to save money and preserve and expand use of a traditional product at the same time. While BC roe might retain its association in Japan with the highest quality salted roe, industry reports are consistent in finding that the demand for this traditional product is on the wane (BC Ministry of Environment 2010, Carlson 2005, Scharien 2008).[87]

How does context matter to determining what is a gift and what is a commodity? In her ethnography of Japanese gift-giving practices, Katherine Rupp works to undermine the persistence of the strict dichotomy between the gift and the commodity upheld in much anthropological research and social theory. This dichotomy holds that "gifts move between interdependent transactors as inalienable extensions of their donors, while commodities circulate between independent transactors as alienable objects" (Rupp 2003:182). Rupp suggests that the idea of the gift as possessing a part of the spirit of the giver is overblown in anthropological writings on Japanese gift practices (2003:197). She urges that instead we pay

[86] "Masstige" is a term that originates from marketing. Michael Silverstein and Neil Fiske popularized it in their 2003 book *Trading Up*. The term is meant to indicate "premium but attainable" products for the middle-classes. I am indebted to Hebert 2008 for bringing this term to my attention.

[87] One of the most interesting causes of the decline in demand was a public-private gift scandal in 1996 where high end gifts in excess of regulations approved by the Japanese cabinet were exchanged and discovered between politicians, bureaucrats, and businessmen (Burridge 2007:301).[87] Where is the line between a gift and a bribe? This is an omnipresent question for both anthropologists who study Japanese gift-economies and business ethics regulation in Japan.

attention to gift practices as both "material embodiment of a social and cosmic order" (197) – an order that is constituted and constantly reformed in dynamic ritual practices – and, as securing short-term transactions related to individual competition. In this statement I read a parallel argument to the demand that equal attention to be paid in commodity chain analysis to the fetishism of signs and substances; that is, examining commodity relations in late-capitalism requires simultaneous attention to cultural and economic factors that cannot be disentangled.

Urry has captured the complexity of this relationship nicely with his challenge to the idea of market globalization as spatially indifferent. While indifference is perhaps true in theory, in practice he argues that meanings of place and place-based heritage are becoming more rather than less significant in the era of market globalization. He suggests we pay attention to the "irreversible and mutually interdependent processes by which globalization-deepens-localization-deepens globalization and so on" (2003:84). I suggest that the importance of "made in BC" to a roe brand circulating in Japan on the consumer end of a commodity chain, and the importance of ongoing gift traditions to BC fishermen on the producer end, is one such case. However, these relations remain volatile no matter how consistently appeals to social and ecological heritage and quality are made by those with vested interests.

5.4 The Burden of the Keystone Species

When I began my fieldwork I had no idea that I would come to research, write and think so much about a fish that I had previously known only as bait. It was only upon reviewing my fieldnotes, newspapers and interview transcripts that I really came to appreciate the burden of the keystone species and the tremendous challenge of thinking through what would constitute

responsibility and sustainability in a shared ecology. The challenge with which I began this chapter to "consider the herring" can never be complete, tied up as it is in so many networks and relationships. In highlighting my conversations with fishermen, archival and market research about the history of herring exploitation, I have attempted to assemble a more nuanced account of the complex relations of interdependency that have developed in concert with the serial commodification of herring. In my discussion I have emphasized the value of encounters and the importance of curiosity in local resource stewardship. In the reduction fishery, the question of "where" species meet was confined to population assessments to determine the viability of economies of scale. Extermination meant little and calculation was removed from direct encounters. The case of the roe fishery is a vastly more complicated and dynamic story that highlights the tensions between securing relationships, livelihoods and profits in glocal commodity chains, and the persistence of attachments to herring even when local stocks have been overexploited and/or exhausted. The forms of sociality, identity and obligations caught up with herring in *both Pender Harbour and Japan* suggest that keystone species are interesting nodes in more-than-human social-natural networks to consider the limited understanding presented in resource management and market analyses of niche commodity development.

A John Daly story: Once in the 1960s he and I were trolling for chinook/springs in Campania Sound near Aristazabal Island in northern BC. There were few fish and we used the binoculars a lot looking for signs of "feed" and "gulls." We saw a pod of whales offshore, and closer in, nearer to us, boils of herring and needlefish. My father shouted as we passed the other two or three boats, suggesting we all troll up and down around the whale pod, so that the whalers, who were not far away – as we heard from the radiotelephone – could not get close enough to the whales with their harpoons without endangering the fishboats. Everyone agreed and that was how we spend the rest of the day, trolling to protect the whales. The whalers arrived and waited, but eventually left. Dad explained that the whales drove the feed onshore where we fished and where our other competitors, the seals and sea lions were, like us, waiting for the spring salmon that loved herrings. He said the whales are our colleagues and we should protect them, just as we have to protect the herring from the bloody government that wouldn't listen to the fishermen who knew the state of the overfishing and wouldn't regulate and close down the reduction plants. We need to cooperate with the herring and the whales, he said, and not mine them to extinction.

– Richard Daly, personal communication

Mon, Mar 7, 2011 at 9:56pm
To: Jaime Yard <jdyard@gmail.com>

Hi! We were on the dock today, doing some repairs.....lost a couple of our anchor lines to erosion and wave motion. So, as it was low tide at midday, and the sun was out, we spent some hours down there working on laying cable and so on.

It was kind of tense work, and mostly not that pleasant. I had a spare moment, waiting for my partner to clamber along the beach to the big anchor rock next door. I was on my own on the dock contemplating life, when I was treated to a fantastic show!

Three loons passed by underwater, sleek and speckled and FAST – beautiful in the green water. They were after a huge herring ball right beside our dock, and soon the herring were jumping out of the water, little silver scales flying everywhere. The gulls had been congregating on the boathouse roof and ramp railing and all hit the water at once, screaming and pecking each other! I think they were too slow and disorganized, even the ones positioned in the water; not one got any part of a fish.

This happened six or seven times in different spots, until the herring hid out under the big boat. They were there most of the afternoon, and so were the seagulls, but the loons moved on – they were probably full.

Herring are alive and well in our part of the harbour, which is great news. Let's hope the salmon will follow!

xo,
-Joanne

Moorings IV: Summer Vacation

Viewed from the present, my childhood family vacations appear somewhat peculiar. Our destination those days had been "nature itself," that impossible thing that we have since learned to place in scare-quotes, savvy to its discursive, psychic and material construction.
(Braun 2001:16)

I read somewhere once that sport fishing is the epitome of leisure: the conspicuous consumption of time, sitting in a boat, waiting for something to bite on the other end of the line. These days on the Sunshine Coast, nothing much is biting, but this was not always the case. Beginning in the 1950s and reaching their apex in the late 1970s and early 1980s, campgrounds and trailer parks sprung up all along the coast, and families came to spend their summer vacations. During my fieldwork I talked to a couple who formerly owned and managed a vacation resort. They described the typical vacation at their resort as fairly scripted and gendered: the wives and children would hang out on the shore on docks and beaches, and the men would go out to "catch food for the winter." I spent my childhood summers camping on the Sechelt Peninsula according to this script: building sandcastles, catching perch or "shiners" off the wharf, hunting for small crabs under rocks, staring into tidal pools, picking blackberries, carving arbutus bark with seashells and exploring the rocky shores.

My father, an avid sport fisherman, took my brother and me out in a succession of rickety boats. We inevitably tired of the activity hours before he did. To be truthful, I have never enjoyed sport fishing and am considered a bit of a disgrace in my family for having neither the patience nor the skill to catch a salmon. I would sit in the boat, bored, feeling sorry for my bait (herring—most often it was still alive, with two hooks through its spine). I liked cod fishing; the

pace was more suited to my temperament. I remember going out and catching six cod in less than an hour, other kids I grew up with agree that this was a routine occurrence.

I have vivid recollections of watching every evening as the boats came in from fishing and the catch was filleted at the side of the water. Perhaps it is only a question of size and quantity relative to my tiny self, but I remember huge salmon, buckets of cod and ling cod, the occasional red snapper. At least two weeks of every summer of my childhood life was spent on the Sunshine Coast at a campground called Silver Sands and, subsequently, on property that my family bought with four other families in an adjacent bay. The August long weekend, "British Columbia Day," continues to be the height of the season, with no less than forty members and three generations of my camp-family together every year.

In the early 2000s a restriction was placed on rock cod, and the sport ling cod fishery was closed to allow for stock recovery. For some reason, throughout my fieldwork one particularly vivid memory of the fillet table kept circulating in my head, of a man, a stranger cutting into what I imagine to have been a 30-pound salmon, the roe spilling from her belly back into the ocean, into the mouths of small eager fish. The image is far too manipulative for my taste, as are the particular types of childhood experiences with nature that I have invoked here. I have written this only to be plain about how I first came to know what I much later in life would refer to as "my field site." The nature nostalgia of which I speak throughout this work is not something to which I am immune.

My first knowledge of the Sechelt Peninsula was as the "Sunshine Coast." My experiences were those of leisure and tourism before I grew up and had a kid and a career-path and knew what leisure was, that is, before I become enmeshed in economies of time and self-

improvement, before I came to know work as the opposite of leisure and as something other than play (and in this last statement you see how easily I still can slide into nostalgia):

> Nostalgia is paradoxical in the sense that longing can make us more empathetic toward fellow humans, yet the moment we try to repair longing with belonging, the apprehension of loss with a discovery of identity, we often part ways and put an end to our mutual understanding. *Algia*—longing—is what we share, yet *nostos*—the return home—is what divides us. It is the promise to rebuild the ideal home that lies at the core of many powerful ideologies of today, tempting us to relinquish critical thinking for emotional bonding. The danger of nostalgia is that it tends to confuse the actual home with the imaginary one (Boym 2001:xvi).

Idealized versions of local place and nature are found in many of the representations of the coast that I gathered from middle- and upper-class Canadian second-home owners, including how people tend to describe the cabin as retreat, as true-home, as a place of freedom and self-discovery opposed to the relentless pace of working life. I too have made such statements over the years. The task here is to more adequately contextualize such sentiments, elaborating upon their pitfalls and their potential for inspiring environmental and social justice activism that might be built from these attachments.

When I began to read extensively in environmental anthropology and political ecology, it was this imagined and experiential geography of my childhood, this constructed natural space of exception from my suburban everyday life, which I returned to again and again. I felt compelled to work with and through the simultaneous estrangement and deep attachment I felt, that I still feel, to this place. I had observed the collapse of species in my lifetime here, and I have witnessed gradual and then overwhelming changes in the organization of this space and place.

Significantly, it was here that I belatedly recognized the obvious reality that our family's rural retreat was also the site of other working entanglements with nature. The dispossession of First Nations people is no more real on the coast than it was in Vancouver, but it is more actively present. This experience over time brought home the macro issues: of the erasure of indigenous indigeneity, the tourist gaze, of accumulation by dispossession, of managed annihilation of species, of interregional inequity, of environmental degradation and enclosure. What to do with an imagined home place that could no longer be preserved as a retreat or space of exception, an entangled irrevocably politicized landscape that I now had to navigate differently?

Chapter Six: A Stranger Comes to Town, or, On Dwelling, Access and Exclusion

In this final ethnographic chapter, I want to bring my discussion of the everyday work of making a home and making a living in a previously occupied place full circle and return to the resource conflicts with which I opened this dissertation. In order to do this I bring the dwelling perspective on environmental inhabitation as outlined by Ingold (2000) and the nonmodern position of Latour (1993) into dialogue with writings in political anthropology, economy, and ecology on the politics of exclusionary and privileged access to land (Culhane 1998; Harvey 1996, 2000, 2005; Hall, Hirsch and Li 2011; Verdery 2003). It is my contention that the ontological questions and practice theory reorientations set forth by Ingold and Latour are precisely those that are necessary to understand the place-attachments and widely variable patterns of inhabitation that I encountered on the Sechelt Peninsula. However, I argue that these ontological orientations need to be tempered with materialist analysis of the inertia of the white "settler" privilege inherent in the resource dispossessions in place in 1871 when British Columbia joined Confederation, encoded in the British Columbia Land Act of 1884, and the continued elaboration of "powers of exclusion" (Hall, Hirsch and Li 2011) that have elaborated resource access restrictions over time. These broad goals will be pursued through a tour of Pender Harbour houses and homes. The future of Pender Harbour, like many so-called post-productivist communities possessed of aesthetically pleasing natural vistas, cleaner air, and a greater expanse of space than in the city, has been tied to real estate development and speculation. Over time a bizarre landscape has developed, in which new recreational mansions, subdivisions, and time-share condominiums sit next to trailers on stilts, which sit next to homes

built by fishermen and loggers from available (rather than specialized) materials, all surrounded by a veritable confetti of "For Sale" signs.

Taking from Ingold (2000:185,199) the perspective that a home can be viewed as a hybrid node—an organism-in-an-environment—whose meanings are assembled in ongoing human-non-human *inter*activity (Ingold 2000:199), rather than prescribed in built form, this tour will examine harbour homes as exemplary nonmodern things. Ultimately all of the houses are situated in a seamless fabric of natureculture, but each house is a node that gathers different narratives of the social, economic, ecological, and historical significance of place and practices of inhabitation. In taking this explanatory frame to a settler-colonial context, I have found it vital to combine an attention to homes as embedded relational nodes in more-than-human webs of significance with an analysis of the regulatory frameworks that have rendered some aspects of these webs more visible and publicly credible than others. These are the regulations and processes of legitimation that naturalize rights claims of settler-colonial descendants (and other newcomers) and speculative investment while simultaneously undermining the land and use-rights claims of the Shishalh Nation. I cannot offer an account of housing and property on the coast without attention to markets, but I have tried to be careful to draw upon works that place the coercive powers of price in social and material context. The challenge is to pay attention to markets and price without reinscribing the destructive primacy they often hold in everyday life and negotiations about dwelling options.

In this tour of the Harbour, we will move sometimes over land and sometimes by water from site to site. Each of the houses I explore in detail here is a gathering place for certain insights about this hybrid landscape.

6.1 Cruisin'

To begin our tour I want to take some time to survey the community in a stereotypical modern mode, moving over land and water guided by maps and GPS systems. We will begin with the ubiquitous discussions of "price" and "amenities" through which real estate sales operate. This is how you might initially encounter the Peninsula if you were to drive past on your way to the Earls Cove ferry to Powell River, or cruise by on the water en route to any one of many harbours to moor. These are the first questions you might ask if you were interested in purchasing a property. What are you offering? What are you asking?

Figure 5: "Whittakers" development in Pender Harbour, view from the water. Developer: the Alberta Mining Corporation. Photo by Joanne Mauro, used with permission.

Among recreational home owners, it is a common practice to load a group of people into a boat on a sunny day with beers or cocktails and take a slow cruise through the bays, commenting upon, admiring and guessing the value of various homes. Most homes are equipped with reflective glass that provides privacy for those inside. For the touring boats however, the exterior of homes, boats, docks and the lots surrounding them are all on display. If you do not own a private vessel there is now a small private ferry that will take you on such a tour. Information that is known and/or guessed about the owners of various properties is shared on either type of tour. In recent years there has also been more cause to speculate: about the value of steep empty plots that would have been un-saleable two-decades ago, the progress upon and quality of constructions-in-progress, and the relative merits of buying into a development with standardized plots and amenities. Some of my earliest memories on the coast are as a crew member on these tours (without a cocktail, usually in an aluminum "kicker") and it was only as an adult re-encountering the area as a fieldsite, and with considerable embarrassment, that the activity in all its strangeness struck me.

At this point of the tour the point is merely to take notice. To listen for the disquieting murmurs of unacknowledged relations and debts that have been elided in the overt marketing of this place, in the conversion of a complex more-than-human environment into distinct commodity parcels that can be bought and sold. Of course there is no pristine state before the fall to return to, no way to undo the past; we are decidedly in the middle of things, but these are not excuses for remaining inattentive or unresponsive to these murmurs. One of the histories of this landscape is of force and coercion exerted to secure the ownership of land: first primarily for production, now primarily for consumption. The practice of touring encourages participants to play the relative values of property from urban to rural space to their advantage, or at least

fantasize about doing so. In my own middle-class upbringing this was simply what one did; as an adult-anthropologist the practice stirs up an alarming echo of colonial encounters with the coast that deemed the local environment "underutilized" for the expression and cultivation of "the good life." For the duration of my fieldwork I read the "Business," "Homes," and "Travel" sections of the local paper and *The Vancouver Sun* (the major provincial daily) with great interest. Each proclaimed the benefits of buying a second home: a wise investment, a commitment to family-centred time, and a fantasy of renewal. The Sechelt Peninsula, or, "Sunshine Coast," was regularly featured.[88]

6.2 "Kick Me Contests"

The house and wharf of local fishermen Ray and Doris stands anachronistically on the shorelines of Pender Harbour. Both were born and raised in the area before the highway was paved up the entire coast in the 1960s, when many properties had no road access at all. Growing up, Doris could only socialize at high tide when a narrow channel that connects Bargain Harbour (where she lived) and Pender Harbour became passable by small boat. The docks that extend from their two-story home are a veritable maze of floats. On the left side

[88] The transition to real estate development as a base on the Sechelt Peninsula has been gradual since the 1950s when it was officially re-dubbed the "Sunshine Coast" in 1951 in an effort to lure tourists. In this shift, nature has been recast as a commodity *experience to travel to or live in* rather than a good to be exported. Promotion of tourism and recreational housing development in the region has been amplified continuously since the 1950s, when tourism promotion became a coordinated economic strategy in the province bolstered by the post war economic boom (Dawson 2004:210). Service and construction jobs have gradually taken over as the primary employment base since the 1970s. Despite this long history of second home and boat (yacht and sail) tourism, the rush on real estate that occurred in the 2000s before the onset of the 2008 economic crisis was unprecedented in scale. Many empty lots, especially on the waterfront, that would have been considered un-saleable just a few decades earlier because of steep water access and the necessity of extensive drilling and blasting into rock to build were quickly subdivided and put on the market.

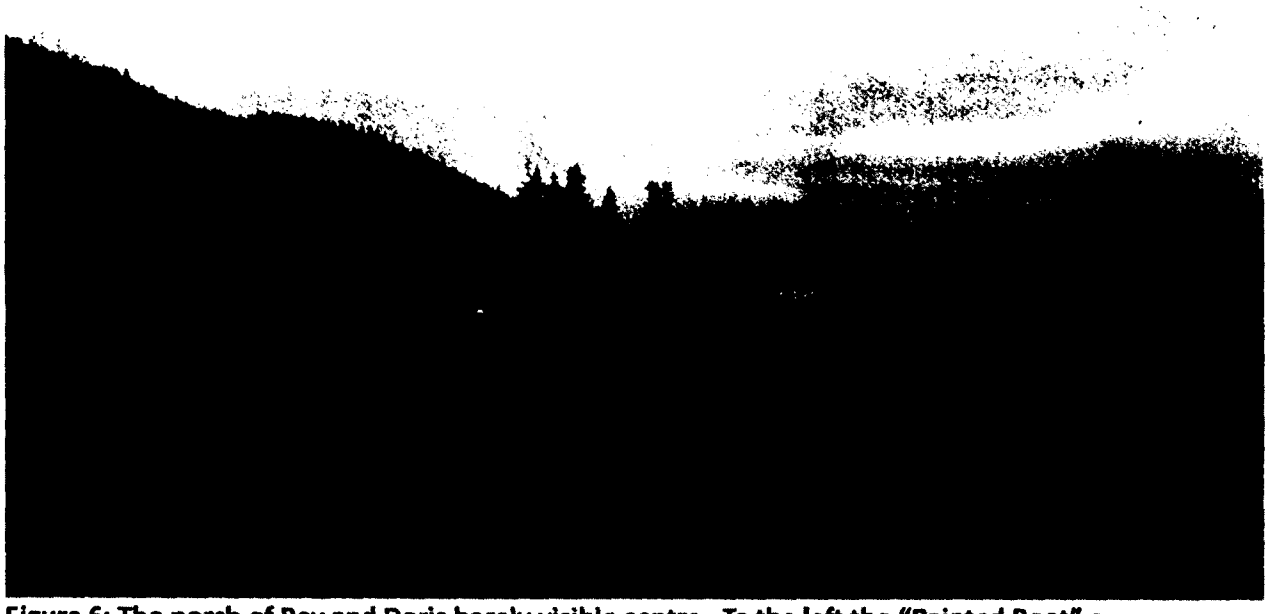

Figure 6: The porch of Ray and Doris barely visible centre. To the left the "Painted Boat" a multi-unit time-share condominium development with restaurant and spa; to the far right a recreational mansion. Photo by Joanne Mauro, used with permission.

of their house is a recreational property mansion, a single-occupancy detached home with guest-rooms to accommodate multiple families, tennis courts, elaborate gardens and rockery work. On their right is the Painted Boat Resort, a recreational quarter-share condominium development with a five-star restaurant, swimming pool and gym and spa. This site was formerly Lowe's Resort and Marina, a "family-oriented" resort that rented small motor boats, camp sites, and small cabins for short vacations. Before Lowe's, the site was owned by a local gyppo logger who first converted this piece of shoreline from a log dump and booming ground to a motel site. Before the site was a log dump, it was the traditional wintering grounds of the Shishalh nation. You don't have to dig very deep to access the dwelling perspective in Pender Harbour "according to which the landscape is constituted as an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something

of themselves" (Ingold 2000: 189).

Ray and Doris have lived in their current house over forty years. They bought their property in 1962. Doris told me that: "[e]veryone said we were crazy to pay $18000 for 20 feet of waterfront."[89] Ray and Doris tell me about getting together with other long-term Harbour residents to have "kick me contests" over the properties they once had the opportunity to buy at extremely low prices before the housing market started to rise. It was not uncommon in my interviews with fishermen and loggers to be regaled with stories of who had the chance to buy what, when, and for how much. Ray's story, however, definitely took the prize. His father, who logged in the local area, once had the opportunity to buy up 2500 acres that stretched from Gunboat Narrows to around Francis Peninsula Road, an area that now contains over 40 private lots on prime waterfront, now worth hundreds of millions of dollars. At the time, in 1944, Ray's father dismissed the idea out of hand. Ray impersonated him: "two-fifty [for] a thousand [acres] is too much to pay for timber! And what would you do with the land?" Clearly economic life in the Harbour has changed substantially over the last 70 years.

PENDER HARBOUR

Waterfront – Fully serviced, selectively treed lots with 80 feet of frontage; year round moorage and excellent fishing Only five remaining. Priced from $2,750 terms.
-The Coast News, August 28th 1958

July-August Sales (Pender Habour)	Number of Sales	Average Sale Price	Average Days on the Market
2005	35	$384,557	87
2006	16	$458,993	62

[89] Currently the value of waterfront homes near them averages over $500 000, down significantly since the 2008 financial crisis. Quarter-shares in the condominium development started at $209, 900, but now range from the mid $200 000's to $700 000; this price entitles the owner to 13 weeks of usage per year. The average price of a home in Pender Harbour was $565 000 in 2008, and the area ranked fourth in the province at that time in terms of active building permits.

2007	28	$502,857	85
2008	12	$568,125	109
2009	6	$398, 666	182
2010	21	$622,261	127
2011	20	$437,000	105

-Alan Stewart, The Harbour Spiel, October 2011, Issue 250.

"You know what B.C. stands for don't you? Bring Cash."
- Bill, Real Estate Agent on the Sechelt Peninsula

When I first arrived on the West Coast for fieldwork I was taken aback at the sheer amount of time and energy that people spent talking about the escalation or de-escalation in property values, housing renovations, and real estate in general. Although I had set out to study real estate development as one of the major contributors to the transformation of this landscape, I am sure that the prevalence of real estate talk was not simply a matter of my attention to a research interest. Real estate and housing renovation talk was ubiquitous during my first year of fieldwork, muted only slightly in my second fieldwork trip in the wake of the 2008 economic crisis. Becoming familiar with the relevant concepts and policies and mapping the contours of this pattern of interaction became one of the more tedious parts of my fieldwork. For all my efforts, I never managed to muster up genuine enthusiasm for comparing mortgage rates, lighting fixtures or paint chips. I amused myself in my fieldnotes by refusing to ever call beige – the ubiquitous neutral "sales-friendly"[90] paint colour of choice of the time – "beige," choosing instead to play with the nomenclature of the paint chip industry: one day I would call it "veal schnitzel" the next "sassafras taupe." Nonetheless I find both the prevalence

[90] There is a growing industry of people are products aimed towards "staging" real estate for sale. The idea is to make simple "improvements" that render a house "inviting" and "neutral" or "de-personalised." During the time of my fieldwork, beige paint was a primary component of this practice. What is curious is that the neutral colour of choice also became an incredibly popular "personal" choice for people once they settled in or came to paint their own home.

and patterns of property and reno-talk interesting for what they suggest about how personal desires are shaped and constrained by socially constructed marketability, and however enclosed within commodity enframing, as practices of place-making.

In the typical floor plan of a newly constructed recreational/retirement home, there is ample space for entertaining: vast kitchens, almost always with an "island" for extra work space and buffet style serving; many guest rooms variously set up for couples and kids. These homes offer a spatial answer to the question: what will we do if everyone comes to visit at once? Large windows frame panoramic views of the ocean and surrounding wilderness. Outdoor patios, hot-tubs and decks stretch out into the landscape so that one can be in "nature" from the comfort of "civilized" space. Spaces built for the "freedom" of leisure are remarkably consistent in form.

While scenery and proximity to nature are purportedly the primary draws to the Pender Harbour area, the average house-to-lot, or indoor-to-outdoor ratio, has shifted dramatically in favour of indoor space over the past few decades.[91] These built forms suggest that a nice view from comfortable culturally mediated space is preferable to being directly in contact with wilderness. Or, the increasing ratio of indoor to outdoor space is simply a matter of rendering local place consumable in a form that has been repetitively validated by real estate sales in various localities, catering to the mobility of distant investors' tastes. A view of the

[91] The movement towards larger homes is well documented in the newspaper archival record. There is a notable correlation between the beginning of reporting increases in price and home size and the creation of the Real Estate Council of B.C. in 1951.[91] Although I point this out as a correlative, not causative, factor, I have little doubt that further research would reveal that the council and the increased organization of the real estate sector in this time period was a factor in the formation of the taste for larger homes. A 1957 issue of the *Coast News* advertises a 988 square foot, two bedroom home as "[i]deal for the just married or the just retired," a far cry from the 2265 square foot American average in the year 2000 (Silverstein and Fiske 2005:20). The July 18 1963 issue reports a demand for more rooms and square footage and reported that an average of 100 homes had been built per year for the last five years on the entire coast stretching from Port Mellon to Earl's Cove. In each year 2004-2007 between 300 and 400 building permits per year were approved on the same coast, before a decline to 212 in the preliminary 2008 numbers in the wake of the economic crisis (BC Stats 2008:3).

Figure 7: "Silver Stone" multi-lot housing development in Sechelt, British Columbia. Photo by author.

waterfront, if not direct waterfront access, is a primary selling point. A striking example of this is shown above, a house frame that stood at the side of the highway in the state of development depicted for the duration of my fieldwork. It was an ingenious marketing strategy that was undoubtedly more effective than any glossy printed advertisement at creating a space of material-semiotic play for the potential owner.

Most long-term Pender Harbour residents dismissed increased house size as a city thing, representative of the desires of "Kerrisdale refugees"[92] with statements like "he did the Vancouver thing on it" to describe new houses and renovations by incoming residents. For Alan, one of the real estate agents I talked to, the real change in the community was signalled by the

[92] Kerrisdale is a very affluent Vancouver neighbourhood.

classic western narrative device "a stranger comes to town":

> When I think about community changes I think about Irvine's Landing and '03, '04 I sold a couple of properties on the point and a guy, Hong Kong/Vancouver came up and toured the property and fell in love with it and bought it for $800, some odd, $840 000 dollars which was the biggest single sale in the history of Pender Harbour, it was huge, it was a lot of money for probably the premiere waterfront in all of Pender Harbour. So he buys this property, the negotiations are really hard, we've got this road in the place they've got to replace, they spend five or six grand getting this thing replaced, maybe 10, things are finally coming together, he buys it, and within three months he's asking for the name of a contractor and within six months he's torn down that building. It was a beautiful home, I mean we didn't just sell the land, he's torn down this house that made it special. He rebuilt on it and added another level, and to some extent it looks kind of similar to what it was, but, that was for me the signal that things were changing. That was the switch where all of a sudden someone realized the value of what was up here. Where we could turn around and sell it and get him the value of his land and what he'd put into the property and it was way over! [93]

[93] Over the last couple of decades there has been a significant increase in the required documentation and formality of the process and enforcement of zoning and building permits. However, there still remains a strong inclination, in sentiment at least, to skirt the system. Many people told me that it's easier to beg forgiveness than to ask somebody for permission and pursued their property renovations accordingly. This feature of local property governance is attractive to many prospective buyers, but is routinely closed down after purchase. All of the real estate agents I spoke with noted a contemporary increase in vigilance with regard to property boundaries. They also noted headaches that emerged for them at point of sale in ironing out wrinkles presented by property infringements previously governed by gentlemen's agreements between neighbours. Driveways that cut across the wrong property were the most common example, but more extreme cases were also reported, such as the foundation of a house on the wrong property. Loose regulations can be a big selling point for real estate savvy potential buyers if they can turn the ambiguity to their advantage. It can also present a significant headache to prospective buyers. One real estate agent sketched the issue this way: "I just sold a property for 750 thousand dollars where the next door neighbors' driveway goes right across it without an easement because the two fishing pals in 1950 said "okay" [mimes shaking hands]. So now they're gone, the kids are involved and the war is on. And another part to that is, when I gave you permission to go across my land to your property we were pals, but more important than that: the properties weren't worth anything. I've got corners of houses on the wrong property, I've got drain systems and sewers on the next-door-neighbours' property, I've got driveways going all over the bloody place without easements, and some of those things are servicing one-million and two-million dollar homes. Really what they've got is water access; they don't have road access because of this history. The point I was going to go with there, when I said to you "yeah, you can do whatever you want with the back of my land," those properties were only worth about $800, $1200, waterfronts right? Who cares? We're just living here. Now, these things are worth 750, 800 thousand dollars and these buyers are going in and they're sophisticated, they're knowledgeable, a good many of them have a lawyer in their back pocket and "what about this!?" [mimes pointing to a paper, presumably a contract].

"Someone realized the value of what was up here." It is here that I want to interrupt the flow of the price conversation and domination of a taken-for-granted concept of value. While through the duration of my fieldwork the price frenzy was over housing, this is not a new story. Strangers have been coming to town for a long time with new ideas of how to commodify resources. The anthropological question is how this narrow conception of value in price interacts with other social and ecological values, how these intersect with and influence property markets, even— and perhaps especially— when the values in question are purportedly "without price."

My primary concern in this chapter, as already stated, is not the escalation of price. My interest rather is to place the immediate, alarming issue of market price within a broader social analysis of conditions of access to land and creation of socialnatural inequities over time. It is my contention that the overwhelming focus upon the issue of price in B.C.'s Lower Mainland property markets is a significant stumbling block to seeing the nonmodern forest through the trees of the housing market. All of the people that I talked to, whether loggers, fishermen, incoming retirees, or seasonal residents, spoke of the tremendous attachments they held to the Peninsula as "home" rather than a prudent speculative real estate investment.

The works of anthropologists Katherine Verdery (2003) and David Graeber (2001) are useful here for sketching out a broader conceptual framework with which to think about the question of values in property. Verdery insists that the "notion of value is integral to property: no one wants to establish property relations with other people over something they do not value" (Verdery 2003: 20-21). Graeber expands on the ways in which practical, interpretive and economic values alternately challenge and reinforce one another when he breaks the concept of value down into three components: the sociological conception of value that tracks the

construction of the desirable; the economic sense of value that negotiates what price might be received for the thing; and the linguistic negotiation of meaningful differences (2001:1-2). Crucially, both Graeber and Verdery emphasize that values are not simply mental conceptions but rather practical, co-constitutive relations between persons and things. In British Columbian property markets, perhaps especially in second-home property markets like those on the Sechelt Peninsula, the notion of the family home or cabin as "priceless" is precisely the social construction that drives up price.

This value can be something abstract, like a beautiful view, or something more complex, like place attachment. Interestingly, it is still the latter that is believed by real estate specialists to generate the highest prices, especially in recreational property markets (Morrison 2007:L1-L7). Some hint of this is found in the widely circulating white Canadian narrative of the cabin as one's "true home" (see for example MacGregor 2002). Within these narratives a central assumption is the pursuit of a lifestyle that is simpler and slower than urban life. Further, at the cabin there is a strange meeting of work and the negation of work, of labour carried out as "leisure," labour experienced or represented by participants as "play" and even a vital part of personal identity: cooking elaborate meals, chopping wood, mowing the lawn, housing repairs, and such (Harrison, in press).[94] These claims to belonging and practices directed at legitimation of such claims are succinctly captured in the label of "settler," which for all of its extremely problematic associations with demarcated white "Canadian-Canadians" from ethnic Canadian minorities (Mackey 2002:13), implies desire beyond pillage of resources, the desire to claim a place to dwell, to belong and to exclude others. A considerable amount of personal, social and temporal investment has to be made into a pattern of dwelling before it generates the place

[94] For an examination of the gendered dimensions of cottage work/play see Harrison 2010, in press.

attachments and connections to personal and familial identity that I heard so often expressed by retirees converting seasonal properties to permanent dwellings.

However, to state that people care for and are paying attention to their immediate environment is not to assign an immediate positive valence with these attachments. Instead of a modern prescriptive program of environmental dwelling composed of "do's" and "don't's", or recipes from good citizenship, the nonmodern approach I take here might be expressed colloquially as "look at all you are caught up with!" It is with this exclamation that I will try to situate contemporary land and resource conflicts within a longer history of exercise of powers of exclusion and how these have formed a landscape of inequality over time that residents in the present are no less caught up with and responsible to than the first pioneers. I'll take a brief pause in the housing tour here to outline Hall, Hirsch and Li's "powers of exclusion" (2011) to help frame the rest of the housing tour.

6.3 Powers of Exclusion

Thus far in the dissertation I have invoked Harvey's frame of accumulation by dispossession (2005) to think broadly about capitalist processes by which some people come to benefit more from the commodification of resources. As noted in the introduction to this dissertation, both productive and consumptive uses of land and resources in the harbour depended upon the dispossession of First Nations peoples from their lands and the creation, and reorganization over time of provincial and federal authorities to govern access. Crucially, support for this process of dispossession was created on the ground by granting privileged access to white British subjects. In 1871 when the Province of British Columbia joined Confederation, the official position of the province was that no such thing as aboriginal title existed in the province and as such it need not

be extinguished. While this position was finally successfully challenged in 1997 by the landmark Delgamuukw v. Regina case, there is a vast distance between an official court ruling and the accretion of everyday practices and common sense regarding who is entitled to what and how.

The "powers of exclusion" outlined by Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) offer a more expansive vocabulary for unpacking the complications of everyday complicity with, and even interest in, ongoing accumulation by dispossession.[95] While dispossession is not inevitable, exclusion is a necessary "condition of working the land and living on it," too often the fact that "inclusion is not its opposite" is ignored (Hall, Hirsch and Li 2011: 4). This is not, in and of itself any sort of a validation of the "damned if you do, damned if you don't" justification for the status quo I so often heard from white settler descendants in my fieldwork. Values form in the exercise of particular processes of exclusion that range from various forms of private property to use rights arrangements (Hardin 1968, Harvey 2011, Ostrom 1998). Market price is neither the only force in play nor the only mechanism through which people relate to their environment. On the contrary: in this way of approaching the question of access, price is relegated to the status of one factor in a complex field of social-natural relations, not the primary driver. If exclusion is about access, it is important to think about different modes of encounter with resources and the construction of socialnatural limits. Access to resources is fundamentally about life itself and thus touches upon a much more expansive range of values and possibilities than processes of

[95] The framework developed by Hall, Hirsch and Li is conceptually quite broad and thus maps well onto land and resource dilemmas in British Columbia even though it was developed to explore land dilemmas in Southeast Asia. What I find useful in the framework is the rejection of an Edenic myth of an historical commons that has since been despoiled by exclusion. Exclusions of some kind are necessary for the basic subsistence of human and nonhumans, in commons and capitalistic property relations alike. The framework directs our attention towards the conditions of access and exclusion, how they relate to particular social, economic and ecological conditions, rather than to a romantic trope of loss, and I think holds great potential for thinking about processes of valuation and legitimation of particular uses and abuses of resources.

commodification alone. Eco-scarcity, as has been extensively argued elsewhere (Harvey 1996:147; Verdery 2003: 16), is constructed within particular modes of human-environment relations and conditions, it is not an external property of nature.

Broadly speaking, Hall, Hirsch and Li argue that there are three main *processes* of exclusion: first, "the ways in which already existing access to land is maintained by the exclusion of other potential users"; second, "the ways in which people who have access lose it"; and third, "the ways in which people who lack access are prevented from getting it" (Hall, Hirsch and Li 2011: 7-8). These summarize the processes in play in making a home and making a living of a previously occupied place, and the crux of the threat when a stranger comes to town. The Pan Pacific Aggregates mining claim and foreshore conflicts with which I opened this dissertation are precisely about competing rights claims that gain local traction and have the potential to upset established patterns of practice. Hall, Hirsch and Li further elaborate four main *powers* of exclusion: regulation, force, the market, and legitimation (2011: 6). I will elaborate upon each of these with reference to the Sechelt Peninsula.

Regulation refers to the processes through which access to land is structured by the state and "involves setting the roles that delimit land's boundaries and shape how land can be accessed and used and by whom" (2011:193). This includes everything from the Pre-Emption Land Act of 1884 to the role that the state plays in promoting a move away from certain forms of extraction in order to enable real estate development as a base for a local economy. Regulation is carried out at various scales from questions of household subsistence, to the council of Area A in Pender Harbour/Egmont, to Canadian regulations that govern foreign investment. It is important to note that just because regulations exist does not mean that they are necessarily effective. As such, regulation is a process and has to be examined over time. Which regulations

are respected, which are transgressed, and why, were all important questions for me in thinking about real estate renovation and developments on the Sechelt Peninsula. State regulation has to regularly interface with everyday attachments and common sense assumptions about property rights. Land regulation is bound to be fraught because it cuts across so many different and often conflicting desires in a crude fashion: who owns what? Who can inherit what? Who has access to what? Examining the very mixed uses of private properties on the Sechelt Peninsula raises broad questions about what it means to claim belonging on the coast, and "what things have what kind of value and who counts as a person" (Verdery 2003: 18) under current regulatory frameworks and their interpretation in everyday practice.

The second power has already been touched upon: the market, or the manifestation of value in price that confronts people as persuasive incentive or disincentive to enter the market (Hall, Hirsch and Li 2011:194). The prices of properties, both speculated and real, encourage people to get "in" or "out" of "the game," to sell or to hold property (licenses and quota in trees and fish are no different than houses on plots of land in this regard). However, as was ubiquitously noted in the Harbour, mere use or ownership did not confer belonging or even necessarily guarantee rights over the longterm. This leads to the third and fourth powers: force and legitimation. One can use force to push people off of land, and/or to keep them off once territories have been claimed (195). In terms of the application of force in British Columbian property claims, the physical "strength" used by Charley Irvine to "clear the Indians" (The Coast News Thursday August 9, 1951), is not necessarily more or less violent than the construction of condominium resorts on disputed territories. Both acts eventually require a process of legitimation in order to become a naturalized part of the everyday landscape and practices that are encountered.

Legitimation, "has power in itself, in that at times people will relinquish or allow claims to land on the basis of the compelling power of discourses of right and wrong. But it also provides the indispensable normative underpinning to rules, rights to buy and sell, and violence" (Hall, Hirsch and Li 2011: 196). As already stated, the association between land ownership and belonging is not automatic; it takes time to establish. On the Sechelt Peninsula, and especially in Pender Harbour, many new multi-lot subdivisions have taken on the names of settler families (see Figure 5:"Whittaker's" so named after a multi-generational family still present on the coast), and often invoke pioneer histories in their marketing. This was explained to me by real estate agents and developers to be a sign of respect for local histories, a signal that the new developments were attuned to local traditions and values. What this explanation elides is that these nods to local settler tradition are also attempting to lay claim to the recognition of belonging and rights that were established through dwelling over time by these families. This is not to state that the original claims have been rendered just, but only that they have achieved a degree of naturalization in the landscape that is still sought after by new developments. Often these new developments attempt to forge a bridge between the claims to legitimacy conferred by settler-family names and histories with the legitimacy conferred by "green" building standards, such as LEEDS and Greenshores, which prop up the idea that real estate development is the path to a decreased ecological footprint in post-productivist British Columbia. Such is the case with both the Whittaker's and Painted Boat developments depicted above. That such developments are also creating elite and exclusive commodities for the rich, a parallel with neoliberal resource management reforms outlined in the previous chapter, is less often emphasized.[96]

[96] This is a qualitative exploration of the demographic transitions that geographer Greg Halseth has been

These four powers of exclusion, Hall, Hirsch and Li are careful to point out, are not exhaustive, and they do not work in chronological succession or in isolation. They make up an interlocking system of exclusion in concert with other factors such as environmental change, new knowledge and technologies, political relationships and alliances, and "inertia—the force of what exists—[that] has a power of its own" (Hall, Hirsch and Li 2011:197). With all of this in mind I want to return to the housing tour.

6.4 "Faith in Humanity, Not Gods or $"

The next house I want to dwell upon is presently the home of Frank White, whose poetry and perspectives on logging have already been discussed, and his wife Edith Iglauer Daly, journalist and widow of Pender Harbour troller John Daly. The house is owned by John Daly's children, including Richard Daly, one of the anthropologists working for the plaintiffs in Delgamuukw v. Regina case. Over the course of my fieldwork I gained familiarity with the property as I conducted my interviews with Frank and Edith in the house, read extensively about it in the memoirs of both Edith and John Daly's first wife Pixie, and talked about the property in my interview with Richard. A two by six plank is mounted across the side balcony with the secular humanist maxim "Faith in Humanity, Not Gods or $."

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tracing for over twenty years in Canada. He has built a substantial body of quantitative proof that second home ownership is becoming an increasingly elite practice in Canada (Halseth 1998; 2004). Halseth has shown that between the 90s and early 2000s there has been a dramatic increase in the average income of second home owners (2004). He matter-of-factly states that "the extremely wealthy or benefactors of inheritance" are the only people who will have second homes in the future (Halseth 2004:49). The lack of access to a second home is hardly a pressing social justice issue, however: the enclosure of natural amenity rich landscapes as private and elite property is. As Marsh and Wall argued thirty years ago, "the alienation of land for use by the limited segment of the population able to afford second homes" and "the issue of closure of public access to large numbers of lakes ringed by a narrow band of private cottage properties" are a result of both a socially constructed ideal of "the good life" in recreation and retirement, and the increasing emphasis placed on property as wise investments in an era of human created eco-scarcity (Marsh and Wall 1982).

Figure 8: John Daly's house, presently occupied by Frank White and Edith Iglauer.

John Daly grew up in Cowichan Bay on Vancouver Island. His son, Richard, told me that his grandfather was a cowboy in Montana but established his wife on a homestead on Vancouver Island when she was expecting John as his great-grandmother "would not allow her progeny to be born outside the British Empire." The grandfather would spend some months in British Columbia and the rest of the year ranching back in Montana. Richard explained that John liked fishing but worked various jobs during the Depression; he squatted on the beach at Stanley Park during this period and took part in anti-eviction rallies. After World War II he and another fisherman bought a large parcel of land in Pender Harbour. They had the land surveyed and sold off pieces to loggers and fishermen who needed a place to live. Daly moved his family to the property in 1946. The house at first didn't even have foundation posts. The carpenter who built the original house simply cut off big Douglas Firs on the property and built on the stumps. Daly

and friends had work bees to dig out the basement where they could and put in posts. Richard explained that building in the era of his families' renovations typically was carried out gradually, "if the loggers were snowed out [and] the fishermen weren't fishing."[97]

Each time I met with Edith and Frank in the house I noticed, and was directed towards, new details. Frank pointed out that the interior ceiling panels were constructed of the laminated panels of thin-ply cedar or spruce that comprised the wartime stripping material mentioned in chapter three. After World War II there was no more need for this product for plane fuselages. Like all post-war constructions, I was told, "people built with whatever they could find at hand." Above the kitchen table was an invitation to the inauguration of Barack Obama sent to Edith because she is a former White House correspondent who was assigned to cover Eleanor Roosevelt. The bathroom is filled with collages of news clippings, poems, hand written quotes and pictures compiled by John. There's a clawfoot bathtub on the front balcony and a wood-burning stove in the kitchen. Many walls are unfinished, and, though there was always a plan for it, a front door was never built. When I met with Frank and Edith I mainly talked about logging and fishing respectively. When I met with Richard I asked him about the history of the property, his experience growing up in Pender Harbour in the 1950s and 60s, and his experiences of white-settler/native relations. His stories reanimated for me a different era of the harbour:

> I guess we looked on them as kind of dysfunctional [...] it was very strange, and not as fellow human beings. It took some decades before this happened. But I always felt this gap. I remember some native fishermen came in for some boat repairs because we had a boat repair shop for awhile right where the Seattle Yacht Club is now. I guess I was, I wasn't going to school, I must have been about five and these

[97] Reading through back issues of the Coast News there are regular accounts of events to raise money and frame up a house for a family who had fallen on hard times by way of illness or fire. These days the community still rallies but most often in the form of donating money.

fishermen had left, they were talking very softly and I said to my father [...] "Those men were very shy" and he said "Shh! they haven't gone yet." And he was never quiet around anybody, he always said what he meant, but there was this wall between "them" and "us." [We thought] that the native culture was something, something else indeed.

It always shocked me and scared me a bit, the great divisions between the Sechelt people who had a village, an active village in Garden Bay at the time: it's now all leased out for summer homes and the settler population. We were on another planet. The oldest man in the village in Garden Bay used to come in a dugout canoe and we would fish for perch under the float (and we thought perch were not for eating and now they're going to be a delicacy!). We'd give them to the Indians because "Indians will eat anything," that was the attitude, horrible! The old man, we'd call him Chief Dan, he'd paddle over in the summers, my father'd be away fishing and he'd say "I'm awfully thirsty, have you got any beer?" So we'd rummage around in the house and find him a bottle of beer and bring it down and he would take the top off and he'd sit in his dugout and pour the whole beer down his throat and then he'd start telling us the history of the area. If only...well, this was before, before education got in the way so we were all just listening. It was a very oral culture, but if only we'd recorded it.

Our neighbour who bought the land with John Daly was always finding all sorts of artifacts and Les Peterson's [98] book explains the importance. It was a winter village site. They would come down from Jervis Inlet to Garden Bay. And we never found anything on our piece, although the old chief did tell us that the point near Edith's house was a place where they would defend themselves against the Lek'witokw,[99] Kwakwaka'wakw, and the Haida people where they would come in. They would send the women up the mountain which was the training area for young women, and the other mountain behind Madeira Park was the training ground for young boys, so he would tell us about the bows and how hard it was to pull them, he would tell us these stories. They had a lookout at Irvine's Landing most of the time for defense, looking for war canoes at certain seasons because the Coast Salish people were very rich and the Northern peoples would come down and raid them at least in the proto-contact period. But this whole

[98] Lester Peterson, an amateur historian and author of the book *The Story of the Sechelt Nation* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing 1990), did record many oral histories. Unfortunately, after he died it seems all his fieldnotes and papers, apart from the book manuscript, were destroyed by family members who, as they mourned Les's death, did not understand the importance of these records.

[99] Cape Mudge relatives of the Kwakwaka'wakw (Richard Daly, personal communication).

> thing about interaction, a lady would come to sell baskets to my mother or just want a bit of respite from the tough life they had, so they'd sit together [...] my mother talked all the time and this woman never said a word so it was quite a relationship!

While the passages above emphasize differences, in my conversations with Richard we talked a great deal about the importance of practice learning as a continuity between immigrant extraction based communities and labour in native communities. This is an often overlooked influence that that Caroline Butler and Charles Menzies have suggested should be understood as foundational to how resource extraction in the province of British Columbia was structured (2008: 131-149). It cannot be argued that the experiences of rural white children and native children were the same; however, there were often shared labour apprenticeships and attachments to rural living as well as common state programs for regulation and enfranchisement of rural children into disciplined labourers.

This effort at enfranchisement highlighted in a 1958 National Film Board of Canada propaganda film called *Off to School* that features unique schooling and situations in rural Canada. Pender Harbour was chosen for its unique form of transporting kids to school: by boat. The school ferry in Pender Harbour that served 120 kids spread out over 1400 square miles of coast is placed alongside a school on a train for the kids of "railroaders, woodsmen and trappers" in Northern Ontario, and a residential school in Moose Factory, Ontario. The links made by the filmmakers between resource workers and First Nations as unruly peripheral populations to be managed and assimilated was echoed in many of the accounts I received from loggers and fishermen and their families who grew up in Pender Harbour between the 1940s and the1970s. The practical working knowledge of these students and their families had no place in the schools. Kids being reared into logging and fishing were beaten for having dirty fingernails by

teachers who rarely lasted more than a couple of months in Richard's time.[100]

"A couple of days after the interview with you, we had dinner with Dorothy Smith in Vancouver, the Marxist feminist sociologist. Something she said suddenly made me feel very dissatisfied with the way I tried to explain my childhood feelings about First Nations people to you. I think what I would have liked to say is that I was socialized into a society that looked on aboriginal peoples as socially dysfunctional and certainly The Other, but not necessarily in a particularly perjorative way. Bigoted, yes, I suppose, but it was something structural we were raised with and socialized into, not something personal, to be personally guilty about. I do not apologize for the othering of aboriginal peoples that went on at that time. Should I? It was horrible of course, but at the same time it was a different era and in hindsight, was rather primitive on the part of mainline Canadian society. What I feel we should be outraged about is the hegemonic culture that oppressed us all into taking these anti-human and anti-mother nature stances. We were up against The National Myth, see Dan Francis's Imaginary Indian, the noble ur-mensch who had to be invented as justification for nation state building in Canada. I suddenly began to get the picture when I joined First Nations marches across Canada for aboriginal rights in the 70s, but the reality of "me and them" being in one place, one condition and one set of social relationships together did not really hit home until I was interviewing for Delgamuukw on territory, home, and boundaries, when I learned I was raised on Indian Land, at a place usurped by the state in the name of the Sovereign, and sold off to the new labour force from Europe and elsewhere. I learned that my kind have been poor quality guests these past two centuries, and poor respecters of the land and the ecological relations, from the perspective of the ancient owners and stewards of the land. That is what brings a sense of respect and relativity to one's relations with those who have been, for far too long, othered to death" (Richard Daly, Personal Communication)

Frank and Edith were my neighbours during fieldwork. So the next stop on the tour will be the house I lived in during the majority of my fieldwork. It bears mentioning that housing was not just a research issue for me. For months before my fieldwork began I tracked the rental listings in the local papers on the coast. I had several friends and family members doing the

[100] Some quotes from the film *Off to School* are indicative of the parallel discursive construction I am tracing here: (1) Pender Harbour: "Most are fishermen's children and the waters that provide their father's livelihood also add to the difficulty of getting an education [...] But, despite it all the teachers say hardly anyone plays hookie in this part of B.C. where the school bus is a boat." (2) Nickelson, Ontario: "Some trains carry people, some carry freight, but this one, of all things, carries book learning." (3) Moose Factory, Ontario: "Pupils with names like Jimmy Otter, Norman Icebound and Able Trapper soon learn that getting an education doesn't have to be sheer drudgery [...] The school at Moose Factory reflects the Canadian governments aim of trying to make the country's 150 000 Indians increasingly independent and self-supporting. Education is the keystone of this policy." http://www.nfb.ca/film/off_to_school, accessed April 25th, 2012

same. The oft-cited lack of rental or affordable housing for young families in the area presented itself to me as a practical problem of fieldwork. In an area where approximately two-thirds of the housing stock remains empty for eight-to-ten months of the year, I could not find a place to live. After some months of searching, and in the beginning stages of considering the rental or purchase of a trailer, a rather unbelievable option was presented to me. A friend of the family offered that I could stay in her summer home with the understanding that I would vacate when her family wished to use it (approximately three months of the year in total). I say unbelievable because the home in question is rather more elaborate than the typical dwelling of a graduate student or fieldworker.

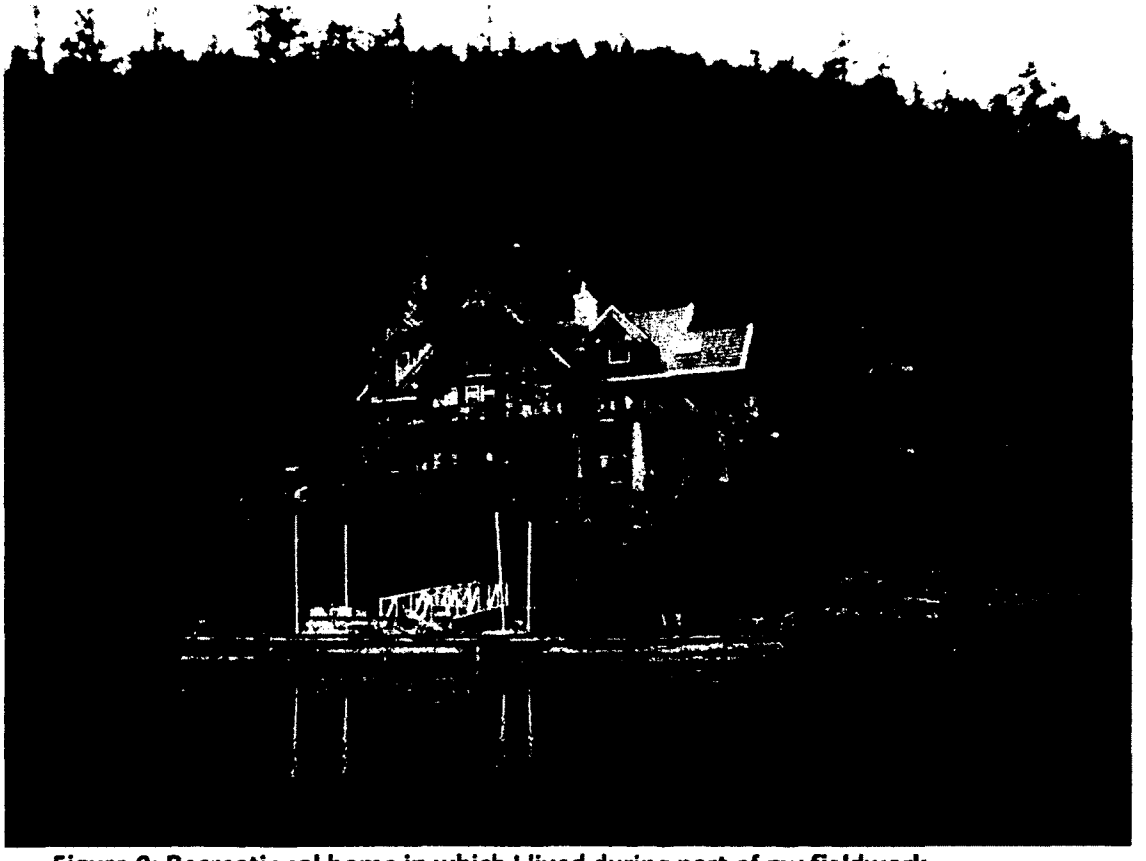

Figure 9: Recreational home in which I lived during part of my fieldwork.

The house was constructed in early 2000s by West Coast Log Homes, a local company

that sources the majority of its timber from the Sechelt Community Forest. They hand pick the logs they will use direct from the cut blocks and have special instructions for how the logs are to be felled. The signature style of the company is the use of large stripped and treated cedar logs with the base flares still attached. Rather than the classic notched-and-stacked style of log home, these constructions use large logs to form a monumental frame that is filled in by smaller timber, insulation and drywall. The first time I opened the door, with my suitcases behind me, I stood in the foyer and laughed for about ten minutes at the absurdity of my living there: what kind of reverse Malinowski "back onto the verandah" had I pulled here? Over the year that I spent living in the home, when guests came to visit there was typically an adjustment period of at least a couple of hours. These hours were spent in awe of the home, examining and discussing the craftsmanship.

During my fieldwork I had the opportunity to tour both the Sechelt Community Forest and West Coast Log Home production site with a group of delegates to the annual meetings of the B.C. Community Forestry Association. This enabled me to get a better sense of their production. The local company has built, disassembled and shipped homes around the world. At the meetings it was repeatedly held up as a model for value-added processing to community forests in other parts of the province. Delegates from other community forests, coping with pine beetle infestations and the aftermath of forest fires, noted their doubts about the transferability of the model.[101] When one of the delegates asked the manager giving us a tour if he was worried

[101] 2003 was a record year for fires in the province 2,500 fires, burning more than 265,000 hectares (ha) at a cost of $375 million. 2004 saw above average fire loss 2398 fires and 220,468 ha burned. 2005 was below average (964 fires 34,952 ha), while 2006 above (2, 570 wildfires that burned 139,201 ha), and, 2007 above (1,590 fires 29,412 ha) recorded provincially. Significantly, in 2007 almost one-third 16,696 ha burned within the Southeast of the province, this marked a significant difference at the 2008 BC Community Forestry Meetings that I attended. Many of these were large, and burned close to communities. 10-15 hectares was the reported average cutblock size Community Forests attending the BC Community Forest

about how the recession would affect the business, the young man replied "our customers aren't the type of people who get hit by a recession." [102]

6.5 "We are only part of a long chain of events here"

A couple of properties over by water or a walk through the woods is home of Joe and Solveigh Harrison. Joe and Solveigh were amazing neighbours. We often passed one another walking in the woods and made friendly conversation. Eventually I sat them down for a more formal interview in the kitchen of their home, a float house, originally a bunkhouse, that then became a schoolhouse. It was pulled onto shore by the Kleins, a settler family so large that in the days before the roads they claimed the area around where they lived as their own town "Kleindale," and the name remains on area maps. When their own kids were born they built additions. Solveigh's family moved to the Harbour in 1955 to take over the Klein family oyster farm, an operation that supplied the Hotel Vancouver and other Vancouver establishments.[103]

Association meetings in 2008. .http://bcwildfire.ca/History/Summary.htm, accessed April 28th, 2012.

[102] While the offer to stay in the home solved an immediate practical problem it presented some concerns that caused me to hesitate in accepting it. First, and most significantly, I worried about how my residence in such an expensive property might influence my relationships in the community. This was for two reasons: perceived class position and proximate location. While I do not personally possess the resources to own such a home, I would nonetheless be read as wealthy and I guessed even more blatantly marked as an outsider. One of the concerns that animated my research was an interest in how permanent residents relate to seasonal property owners. Taking up residence in this house would necessitate my explanation to people of how I came to do so, and I knew that living in the house would not be an option open to someone local without adequate housing.

It was in this way that I came to give as well as receive housing tours. As it turned out being the "young woman" (read: under fifty years old) who had come to live in the log house in Gunboat Bay in the middle of winter was striking enough to open a few conversations and I was tremendously lucky that the family who had opened their home to me were well thought of (if thought of at all) amongst people I met in the community. Also interesting to me was the way that my status as guest permitted people to make comments to me that they might not to owners of recreational homes of this scale.

[103] The area has also been the site of shellfish aquaculture since 1923 with the introduction of imported

The operation shut down in the late 1990s. Solveigh explained that it became too great a struggle to keep the farm going with coliform bacterial counts becoming higher and more and more red tides[104] caused by global warming. She sighed and reported with a dark laugh "so now we're just ordinary ex-fishermen with high taxes."

Sitting in their kitchen, we looked out over what is called Oyster Bay. The couple regularly pointed out specific fish that were jumping, or birds. They are active member of all of the local wilderness preservation and naturalist organizations. It was from Joe and Solveigh that I first heard of the Area A convoy that interrupted the Shishalh Nation meetings with the province over the foreshore issue. Our discussion of how the conflict was created and mishandled led into a discussion of a native weir trap they discovered in the bay in front of their home at an extreme low tide. Joe brought in archaeologists who carbon dated the weir to 1350 A.D. They talked of their kids discovering and excavating middens surrounding their property, and the social construction and visibility of native ancestry in the community over time.

Solveigh estimated that 20-25% of the kids when she arrived in the community were from "mixed" families but didn't talk about this. Both Richard Daly and Solveigh (who were schoolmates) emphasized that racism and denial of native heritage was rampant in the 1970s, and that status had only recently been pursued by many people that they knew. While not wishing to reduce this change to crude economic determinism, the move of status from being a wage impediment in a previous era of extraction management and a potential benefit in a

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Japanese oysters by a doctor named MacKechnie who wanted to establish a business for his son. These larger oysters have now displaced native oyster species.

[104] A red tide is an overabundance of nutrients like pollens which cause a rapid proliferation of plankton. Some plankton is poisonous and when fed upon by shellfish they can become poisonous to humans and some animals and birds causing Paralytic Shellfish Poisoning (PSP). According to Joe there used to be only two or three species of plankton that caused PSP to contend with locally, now there are 32 or more. New invasive clams, crabs, and anchovies have also shown up in the bay.

recreation and tourism economy was noted. Often in our conversations Solveigh made statements that gestured away from any narrative of progress or decline: "We are only part of a long chain of events here." A sense of the dwelling perspective is relatively easy to form from this kitchen, which was once a bunkhouse, by a weir, where oysters were introduced, and where herons, anchovies, and porpoises stop by (and where there are occasional aristocratic cries from a peacock living at a weekend home across the bay). More stories than we can account for are immanent in this environment:

> Human beings do not, in their movements, inscribe their life histories upon the surface of nature as do writers upon the page; rather, these histories are woven, along with the life-cycles of plants and animals, into the texture of the surface itself. Thus the forms of the landscape arise alongside those of the taskscape, within the same current of activity. (Ingold 2000:198)

Rather than posit a chronological trajectory of events, nonmodern things gather around. The discovery of something new is often simultaneously the recognition of something very old, or at least that pre-dates white settler occupancy in this place. During my fieldwork stories were offered of discoveries. The recognition of new, non-threatening natural forms was almost always met with wonder and appreciation for the value of place and nature. Reactions to discoveries of native artifacts and archaeological sites were much more complex and varying. It is to this issue I now turn, and rather than to another house, to the understanding of Pender Harbour introduced in the foreshore conflict as "one big archaeological site" (Moote 2004).

6.6 "It's a good one, a corker"

Methodologically speaking, the affinity that other white people presume with me over

Native land claims has never sat very well. This is not because of some sort of personal offence I take at assumptions made about my views. It is easy enough to disagree with a position that someone holds once it is presented. The difficulty comes from knowing that I need to do more than set myself apart, assuaging my ego but little else through disagreement. Each time I encounter people who I think are unaware of white entitlement and structural privilege I feel I have a responsibility to open a dialogue on a topic upon which I perpetually feel myself to be a groping novice. A major challenge lies at the heart of nonmodern ethnography that seeks to undermine categorical differences that become embedded in structural inequalities: it is much harder to unlearn habits than acquire them. When I asked white people (and here I will stick to the broad catchment of those who "pass," as I did not conduct detailed genealogical histories) what they thought about management of the foreshore and local archaeological sites, the answers that I received were undoubtedly more candid and less self-conscious because I, too, am white.

People would tell me about artifacts that they found on their property and wanted to donate to the local heritage museum but didn't because they were afraid the artifacts would be claimed by the Shishalh Band. I often heard the archaeological assessment process for properties described as a "cash grab." One woman shared with me her anxiety about the archaeological assessment process and considered simply selling and buying a different place where "we won't have to deal with the hassle." Something has to be said about these uneasy claims and disavowals.

I asked all of the real estate agents and developers that I spoke with for their opinions on the foreshore conflict and about the archaeological assessment process. One agent invoked a fishing metaphor, describing the foreshore, and the general limitations upon and threats to

property exclusion, as "a corker":

> Oww, geez. It's bad. It's a good one, a corker, commercial fishermen around here would call it a corker. Y'know you've got your nets out and salmon are just pounding the nets and some guy comes and sets right in front of you? A corker. There's a serious problem in Canada, British Columbia, Mulroney, Trudeau, none of them, they never entrenched property rights in the constitution. Property rights are not entrenched, so what do you have when I sell you this $500 000 house? You own the material, and, on the sunniest day of the year you have exclusive rights to the use of the property, that's what you bought. You don't own above it, you don't own below it, the land use bylaws can be changed on you arbitrarily.
>
> [..] You've got some cowboys who said "to hell with that, I'm putting my dock in" but I would say 60% are licensed. When you're dealing with 500 thousand, or million dollar properties—a dock with a license—what's a license worth? Like a herring license, like an Halibut license, the license to put my dock out there is worth a minimum of 100 to 120 thousand dollars. That's what it's worth, that, piece of paper. Phew! So when you get a little older, and a little wiser, and we know it's all about land claims and jiggery pokery between the government and the First Nations and all that stuff, we know that's process and we know that all that has to happen, and I sense in the end some form of it will happen. I really do. And my real problem with it is I don't think the government or the First Nation has a calendar or a clock. Time has nothing to do with anything and in the meantime these guys are 65, 70 years old, they're running out of time.

In many ways this quote is typical in its framing of Native and non-Native access claims as somehow operating in separate spheres, as if the same land, waters and resources were not at stake. This quote with its advocacy for increased regulation non-native property rights and framing of native resource claims as "jiggery pokery" is indicative of how individual ownership is used to confer legitimacy to private property claims. The desire of long-term residents in their 60s and 70s to attain the maximum value from their property holdings in their lifetime is understood as issue that should take precedence over native land claims that have been inadequately addressed, or more accurately suppressed, since 1871.

I want to turn now to a discussion of how native histories and active native presence and claims on the coast are confronted in the context of property claims made by non-native, predominantly white property owners. It is my contention that in order to unpack this question it will be necessary to keep Hall, Hirsch and Li's concept of legitimation in mind, and to speak about the everyday operation of white privilege and guilt in the formation of this landscape (Ellison 1996; Pulido 2000). While the broad concept of legitimation has already been discussed above, some unpacking of what I mean by white privilege and guilt is necessary before I can proceed here. Discussing the development of this landscape in terms of white privilege as opposed to overt racism—that is, malicious intentional words and individual acts— does not mean that overt racism is absent. However, as Pulido argues, "[a] focus on white privilege enables us to develop a more structural, less conscious, and more deeply historicized understanding of racism" (2000:13). As I hope I have shown in the previous chapters, many social and economic factors have influenced the emphasis upon race in rural communities with a base in extraction. People have often taken up racial classifications, stereotypes and racialized identities, or denied native and ethnic heritage because of the "benefits that accrue to white people by virtue of their whiteness" (Pulido 2000:13). As in the reorganization of fisheries rights that granted new access to native fishermen, the foreshore conflict and archaeological assessment of properties are important to examine because they are moments when historical privileges in access are under threat, or overturned.

Reactions to this loss take many forms, almost all of which are ambivalent. English scholar Julie Ellison, in her article "A Short History of Liberal Guilt," suggests that guilt rises up as an affective trace of privilege that is often woven into the fabric of liberal democracies as a mechanism of control. Acknowledging that one is possessed of privilege, one is simultaneously

confronted with the enormity of the problem ("what can I do? I am just one person?") and the fear of loss ("I am barely getting by myself" "I am not the real problem...though I share in the benefits"): guilt arises as a result (Ellison 1996:349). While much of the scholarship on the issue of white privilege focuses upon the lack of conscious awareness that whites possess regarding structural privilege (McIntosh 1989), Ellison's work suggests that privilege is a powerful ally of the status quo in the affective, pre-conscious register. On the way up the social ladder, people feel no need to defend their actions: they are providing for their family, making their way, and so on. Once somewhat established, what sociologist Barbara Ehrenreich has called the "fear of falling" (1989) sets in, giving rise to all range of possessive and defensive behaviours. It is often not the case that people cannot see the advantages they possess, nor that they are blind to social inequalities, but rather that their complicity with the status quo gives rise to a sort of "cynical reason" where belief in the system is not expressed through individual false consciousness, but, rather, through "effective social activity" (Žižek 1989:33). White guilt "can admit the charge of political apostasy even as it confirms the pragmatic value of a shift from idealism to fear" (Ellison 1996:347).

Ellison's argument is extremely relevant for my examination of the legitimation of various exclusions from property on the coast that work in favour of white settlers. Guilt, "is bound up with the feeling of being implicated in systems of domination" (350); it registers as a personal embodied unease; we do not "think guilty," we "feel" it; and we desperately wish to not feel it. One of the most prevalent challenges of confronting structural white privilege, and white guilt (its affective register), then, is finding some way to work through it without casting whites as "those who suffer" at the hands of this "moral power" (Ellison 1996:351). Taking on the guise of the victim, however, most often registers with the guilt-ridden person as false ("clearly there are

those who suffer more than I do") but, again individually, lacking a belief in a utopian way out, inaction, complacency, fear, and the continued desire for personal prosperity and happiness reproduce the status quo. I want to suggest that locally people have managed and repressed with this seemingly inexorable affective complex through a particular construction of the historical past and the consignment of dispossession and exploitation to that past: in the simultaneous retention and rejection of the real logger, for example, or in the melancholic acceptance of increased regulation of and exclusion from fishing. The repetitive emphasis upon the hard work of making a home and making a living is not just celebratory, it is the past as a salve of sorts for the guilt-ridden present, a way of re-constructing ideals of progress and enlightenment.

"I foresee the gradual and inevitable eliminations of drudgery by mechanical development, giving way to a great and exciting variety of occupations for men and women. The average person will spend no more than two and a half or, possibly three hours a day, earning a livelihood; the rest of his waking hours will be devoted to pursuits of his own choice.

"I foresee that most people of this province may have three different homes for use in different seasons and according to their inclinations. They will move easily and compactly from one home to another by helicopter, or possibly by some nuclear-powered vehicle that can be garaged on the roof of each home. Vehicles will draw their power from solar energy and the gasoline engine of today may be relegated to the museum."

– Premier W.A.C. Bennett, 1958, forecasting life for British Columbians in 2058 on the occasion of the Provincial Centennial. Victoria Daily Times –July 15th Centennial Edition Section 3: 3

Dwelling upon housing, it is more difficult to pretend that egregiously unjust exclusions are all in the past. It is also much more difficult to construct an outside from which to throw stones. If an archaeological site is on a property you own, or rather vice versa, you can opt to buy another instead "to avoid the hassle," but what was artificially constructed as a temporal break has already been sutured. The second-nature second-growth has not covered the scar. On the

surface of things the archaeological assessment process is quite routine. One real estate agent explained it this way:

> Yeah, you call up the band office and you say "We've got a property for sale here and we've got some concerns that maybe it's an archaeologically sensitive site, can you go and check it on your maps?"[105] They go and they look up the address and they say "No, there's no middens or anything there" or, if there is a midden or something, there'll be red flag sent up for the buyer. My understanding of it is you can't dig it up, you can build on top of it, you just can't touch it. So it's really not going to prevent anyone from doing much, they just don't want you to do any digging, and if you do have to dig, you do have to excavate. The band's archaeologist comes up, or a student and you stand there while the excavator takes out a shovel at a time and examines it and if they start hitting, y'know, sensitive material, stop, y'know, everything stops, but if they don't well then you just keep digging out your foundation.

What is interesting for me here is not how the process works instrumentally, but rather how it registers affectively for current and prospective owners. Here again Ellison's suggestions are useful for moving forward. She distinguishes "between the guilt that is produced by too little knowledge and the guilt that results from too much" (368) and the never ending process of work that is necessary to unpack each (369). Too little knowledge may produce vandalism of a site or avoidance through buying a different property; too much knowledge may produce paralysis: if what one is seeking is a final and correct solution. Ellison here invokes Spivak's declaration that we must begin "un-learning our privilege as our loss" (369), an interest parallel to Braun's formulation of modernity-as-progress/modernity-as-loss discussed in chapter 3. "Work matters" Ellison suggests, "because it carries out the double task of unlearning one's own dominance by acquiring specific knowledge about others, and then, using this knowledge, continuously undoing generalizations about the Other" (369). However, while Ellison and Spivak frame this

[105] The maps are not public to protect against possible vandalism and theft.

work as a part of the work of theorizing and engaging in the classroom, I want to suggest that it is also a task to take to the fabric of everyday dwelling in British Columbia, where the colonial epistemologies and powers of exclusion still reverberate in the present.

6.7 Making the Familiar Strange and the Strange Familiar.

Strangers have been coming to town for a long time, each wave bringing with them desires for a particular way of life and new twist on resource exploitation and exclusion. By the time of my fieldwork, the right to speculate in land, resources, and real estate was broadly accepted. In writing this piece I have been trying to suggest that a more expansive concept of value is necessary to think through how dwelling and exclusion takes place on the Sechelt Peninsula. Throughout my fieldwork I would frequently ask people to articulate what their ideal future for the community looked like and I was consistently struck by how few people felt that their vision could be realized. The central problem was this: while almost everyone I spoke with – long-term and new residents alike – spoke of the value of having a mixed-age, small community with sustainable use of resources, and even amiable co-government with the Shishalh band, most felt that this would require substantial undesirable government intervention or infringement of private property rights.

It is my hope that this housing tour might help to open up the conversation about property rights and allow us to see that property is only an arrangement for access and exclusion that is perpetually renegotiated and never absolute. One of the primary means for this work is increased attention to overlapping more-than-human webs of significance that develop over time through practices of inhabitation and work.

7. Conclusion

There is a question that I dread. It is one I have never been able to answer well on my feet, or perhaps at all: "so what are you writing about?" I have developed many means, none of them satisfying, to offer an answer. The most common response I've given in the past has placed the economic base shift at the centre: "I'm writing an ethnography of a region undergoing a social and economic shift from a base in logging and fishing to one in recreational and retirement real estate development. I'm interested in changing values and interactions with the local environment." Typically this answer has led to conversations about escalating British Columbian real estate prices, the ethics of recreational housing markets at home and abroad, and what forms of social organization and livelihood are being displaced by these new developments. The ability of the wealthy to travel to, and purchase property for, speculation, private consumptive enjoyment and/or rent is an ongoing issue in so-called natural amenity rich areas around the globe, but with important local differences in terms of forms and consequences of exclusion from access to lands and resources. This has certainly formed an important part of my project, but I have tried to avoid being too focused on the threats of the present in favour of examining a longer historical trajectory of dwelling in this landscape.

While part of my project has been to trace the increased exclusions from access to, and speculation in, various markets that depend upon natural resources in British Columbia, I am also after a broader discussion about the constraints created by modern epistemology that splits socialnatural multiplicity into artificial, separate and bounded realms of nature and culture. My way into this discussion has been to concentrate upon processes of work and dwelling through which understandings of, habitual interactions with and curiousity about the more-than-human

world are formed. Significant differences exist between the many patterns of inhabitation and attaining a livelihood that interact and affect one another on the coast. However, what I want to do now, by way of conclusion, is to trace some of the continuities and conflicts between these patterns of dwelling and attachment that have developed over time on the Sechelt Peninsula.

Significantly, in all of the chapters it can be noted that attempts to ratchet up profit, and even sustainability, tend to involve extra-local actors. The demarcation and creation of ethnic identities and competition for jobs and resources between groups has been a consistent means of thwarting more in-depth examination of the continuous threat presented by commodification as the privileged mode of valuation. Rules and norms of access based upon kinship networks and dense social relations have tended to be moved towards more formalized and transferable means of establishing the right to exclude (Hall, Hirsch and Li 2011:6). Resources that are constructed and rendered as scarce through socialnatural patterns of livelihood and dwelling are very unevenly distributed.

Between the loggers, fishermen, exurban retirees and summer property owners that I spoke with the most fundamental common ground was an ardent attachment to place. This attachment was most often connected with the belief that the skilled labour involved in logging, fishing and building a home conferred a sense of belonging and carved out a space where the worth of one's time and work was not absolutely determined by markets. The practices that people noted as holding the most value for them were, however, consistently marked as threatened by the increased enclosure of resources for economic exploitation. Whether for production or consumption, an increased pace of production was noted and seen as undermining the ability to take pleasure in practice and place. Each of the chapters in this dissertation traces how markets interrupt and appropriate broader socialnatural processes of

valuation and inhabitation with narrow logics of exploitation for profit. I have tried to hold onto nonmodern processes of place-making and livelihood attainment that are too often elided in the rush to commodification and naturalization of commodification-for-protection logic that pervades the neoliberal era.

The limits of the strategy of pursuing economic development through niche luxury commodity development are clear in both my discussion of the roe herring fishery and recreational and retirement housing: discussions of value are often constrained to the terms of the highest bidder. Broader social and environmental attachments, nonmodern dwelling and enskilment, are forced to articulate themselves in the narrow language of price. Further, whether we are speaking of a price for herring roe, trees, or real estate, enterprising locals in various resource-based communities are pitted against one another for the patronage of those with discretionary funds.

Dwelling within this changing material landscape is frequently unsettling. Nonmodern things interrupt the artificial separation and purification of dominant categories and hierarchies. I have tried to assemble a series of narratives here that force white nature and place "lovers," of all kinds, to account for complicity with domination. Reworking the hegemonic conception of nature-as-resource – without intrinsic value or values that exceed human knowledge – is now widely acknowledged as vital to human survival. We have been "hailed" by our companion species, as Donna Haraway says, repurposing Althusser beyond the human, to account for the "regimes in which they and we must live" (2003:17). She continues, that "we "hail" them into our constructs of nature and culture, with major consequences of life and death, health and illness, longevity and extinction" but, we "also live with each other in the flesh in ways not exhausted by our ideologies" (2003:17), ways that can form the basis of a more responsible and

responsive collective future.

I agree wholeheartedly with the repeated imperative for political ecology to "let go of nature" (Latour 2004b:25; Morton 2007), a call to reveal the many processes and political agendas that are concealed behind the appeal to protect or exploit nature and natural resources (Latour2004:245). I take this as a grounded challenge. I want to provoke dialogue in my fieldsite, and other communities across British Columbia that are facing modern/anti-modern categorical road blocks, to elaborating less exploitative livelihoods within the more-than-human world. On the ground, in the field, in everyday labour and leisure practices on the BC Coast, Nature, as a political alibi, as a construct, as an external location, as a refuge, is alive and well. Stating perhaps one of the rather obvious but central points of this dissertation: it is not simply that critical theorists of environmental politics have to "let go of nature" in their writing; people have to in their ordinary everyday lives. The practical problem is vastly more complicated than the theoretical one. On the one hand, there is the difficulty in mapping the commodity networks and overarching capitalist systems within which extraction labour is shaped; it is easier to condemn the killing and suffering in extraction outright. On the other hand, there is the more egregious ignorance endemic to late capitalist consumption, where an urban "liberal fantasy of culturally transcending the materiality of nature" (Shukin 2009:13) is entrenched by the conquest of space by markets and commodification. In so-called post-colonial, post-industrial British Columbia, the task could neither be any more imperative, nor any more difficult.

Throughout this dissertation I have asserted that political ecological analysis paired with Latour's deconstruction of modern ontology assist in denaturalizing the processes of territorialization, deterritorialization, reterritorialization (Deleuze and Guattari 2003) endemic to capitalist elaboration and intensification. The danger in proceeding with business as usual is that

actual places can become "more and more sclerotic with time" (Harvey 2000:59). This is not to dispute the emphasis that has been placed on the increased capacity for the circulation of capital in the globalized economy, or the potential to create new commodity fetishes, but only to emphasize that capital does alight indeed must alight somewhere from time to time; that is, it must be invested somewhere and results in built forms and material alterations and interventions in local environments, some of which are irreversible. The dispossessions of and work involved with previous rounds of investment and development are often the naturalized substrate of subsequent investment. It is for this reason that I have taken up denaturalizing, or, unsettling colonial assumptions built into the ongoing capitalist elaboration as a result of modern epistemology and moving towards nonmodern critique as a central task.

The promise of the symmetrical nonmodern ethnography advocated for by Latour, or accounts that refuse the categorical distinction of nature and culture in this work, is neither confined to establishing greater methodological parallelism in our approach to so-called "modern" and "premodern" cultures, nor is it purely an ontological mediation that traces how in the practice of everyday life and labour people already dwell in the "seamless fabric of nature-culture" (1993:7). Establishing symmetry is, for me, crucially about recognition of the "practical means that allow some collectives to dominate others" (Latour 1987: 106). While it would be comforting to suggest that there are clear victors and vanquished, villains and heroes, right and wrong, in this work, the grounded everyday reality is much more complex. People that I talked to on the Peninsula discussed becoming caught up with and attached to fisheries, forestry and other occupational practices they did not have "*sufficient reason*" to enter into, but rather only "*mundane reasons*" (Haraway 2008:76), such as attachments to family, place, the desire to make a living and make something of themselves. Haraway expands that "those mundane reasons are

inextricably affective and cognitive if they are worth their salt. Felt reason is not sufficient reason, but it is what we mortals have. The grace of felt reason is that it is always open to reconsideration with care" (Haraway 2008:76). Understanding that people constantly run "the risk of doing something wicked" because it may feel "good in the context" is an opening to a conversation. The process of exploring the mundane reasons of white immigrants as the banal motor of accumulation by dispossession has, for me, been largely about telling a more nuanced story of the responsibility and guilt that I, as a white-British Columbian,[106] have inherited and feel an urgent need to unpack.

I have had disagreements with many of the people I worked with throughout this research about social and environmental justice issues. These disagreements and differences were (and are) exacerbated by the undeniable intergenerational environmental injustices inherited from the post-World War II era, an era that both gave rise to, and made a farce of, the challenge of sustainable development.[107] This is just to say that fostering caring relations is an intimate, fraught and difficult process. This will forever be a work in progress, what has been assembled here is not an authoritative account, but, rather, one representation of inclusions and exclusions of matter and mattering in place. I have not resolved anything here, only formed a more deeply entrenched commitment to process and place. The only way I can think of to adjourn such an account is with an invitation to further conversation. I hope there will be many to come.

[106] Regardless of how many years I have and will continue to reside in Ontario.

[107] The Brundtland Commission famously defined sustainable development as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

Moorings V: On Finishing in Arrears

> [W]e are fed on discourse that requires us to agree that the closure of production plants and the retrenchment of thousands of workers are harsh but inevitable consequences of the economic war. If our industries cannot make "the sacrifices" that competitiveness demands, we are told, they will be defeated and we will all lose out. So be it, but in that case the jobless ought to be considered and collectively honoured as war victims, those whose sacrifice enables us to survive: Ceremonies are their due, medals, annual processions, commemorative plaques, all the manifestations of national recognition of a debt that no financial advantage can ever offset. But imagine the repercussions if all the suffering and mutilations imposed by the economic war were thus "celebrated," commemorated, actively protected from falling into oblivion and indifference, and not anesthetised by the themes of necessary flexibility and the ardent mobilization of all for a "society of knowledge" in which everyone has to accept the rapid obsolescence of what they know and to take responsibility for their constant self-recycling. The fact that we are caught in a war with no conceivable prospect of peace might become intolerable. It is an "idiotic" proposal since it does not concern a program for another world, a confrontation between reasons, but [it does contain] a diagnosis of our "etho-ecological" stable acceptance of economic war as framing our common fate. (Stengers 2005:998)

In retrospect, studying processes of rural economic transformation was a long time coming for me. In order to support myself through the last couple years of my undergraduate degree in Anthropology and Community Economic Development I took on a job as a part time "accounts adjustor"—read: debt collector—at a bank in Vancouver working accounts across British Columbia. The job was well paid compared to my previous minimum wage experience, and the evening and weekend hours worked well with my school schedule. These were my mundane reasons for accepting it.

At Simon Fraser University during the day I would study processes of economic change affecting the BC region and methods of anthropological research; in the evenings I would call

people to negotiate terms for overdue VISA payments, mortgages and car loans. My work at school involved unpacking the complex dynamics involved in human cultural and economic change; my job involved distilling complex familial and community challenges into an eight-line summary and payment plan on my orange and black screen. We would take a brief budget of expenses, bills, debts, and pull a credit rating. My job performance was judged on rates of repayment.

When I heard news of a mill shutdown or layoffs at a smelter in the province I knew which towns I would be calling in two months time. Towns were known to us on the job by bank branch numbers. While there were hundreds of branches in the province, too many to memorize, there were some we all knew by heart. These were the company towns where there was no longer a company. These were the places where doctors refused to see patients about Worker's Compensation claims. These were places where the turn from extraction industries to service sector work for tourist dollars meant gross seasonal fluctuations in wages.

If you could not pay, first you received phone calls to negotiate a schedule of payment. If you did not answer the phone or you did not meet the terms of your agreement we sent a series of letters of escalating urgency. If there was still no response, or an inadequate one, then you would be passed along to the real debt collectors, the ones trained in modes of harassment more egregious than calling during dinner time. In the early 2000s hundreds of letters went out with my name on them to people who might lose their car or boat, might have their accounts garnisheed, might lose their house if they did not "get entrepreneurial" and fast.

Many of the questions about economic, environmental and social change that shape this dissertation have their roots in my undergraduate double life. In my job I was disciplined to interact with people going through some of the most difficult times of their lives with a cool

distance and standardized questions. We were not supposed to think about a broader social context, only breach of contract and terms of repayment. This was not a compartmentalization I was capable of I suspect few of my co-workers were either, but we put on a good face for one another. Our supervisors monitored how long our calls were; there was a target average call time that would be discussed at your evaluation. We were not allowed to have any personal photos on our desk; it was deemed bad for business for us to think about loved ones while at work. I left the job when I received a scholarship to study abroad for a semester. When I returned my job had been eliminated in a round of downsizing. I wish I could say that this was on account of a decreased need for debt collection, but of course it was not. Management simply decided to expand and streamline its call centres in central time zones. Many of my co-workers who did not have the luxury of the living at home with their parents, like I did, moved, uprooting their lives so that they could keep calling: "Good evening this is ... from the Bank of ... I'm calling to talk about your VISA bill/loan/mortgage...You are currently 90 days in arrears..."

This dissertation was written with the hundreds of people who received letters bearing terrible news from the bank with my name on them in mind. It contains my response to many of the matters of concern about the regional economy of British Columbia that were brought to my attention, in stark relief, in a cubicle with removable upholstered walls in downtown Vancouver. There were many things that did not fit into the eight-line summaries I was permitted to write on my orange and black screen. I have taken a few more pages to begin to unpack them here.

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