WORKING TO LIVE IN HAIDA GWAII: THE PARADOXES OF LIFE IN A REMOTE, AMENITY-RICH REGION

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ABSTRACT

My Master's thesis explores the importance of the natural environment for the non-Indigenous residents of Haida Gwaii, British Columbia (BC). During the summers of 2015 and 2016 Dr. Loring and I conducted 40 interviews with non-indigenous residents. On Haida Gwaii, as with many coastal, natural resource-dependent communities, the marine environment is central to quality of life and community well-being. Local non-indigenous residents I interviewed were concerned with issues pertaining to survival strategies on Haida Gwaii; access to environmental resources, employment stratagems, and governance. My research focused on the experiences and beliefs of non-indigenous residents and how control over natural resources have impacted their well-being and community cohesion. The issues of control and power are inextricably linked to the other major issues that local people experience: food security, transportation, employment, and sustainability of the environment and their community.

It is widely argued that for coastal peoples and communities, marine health and human health are intrinsically linked through the social, economic, and cultural ties. Yet, how local people understand those relationships, and think about them with respect to outcomes such as environmental and social sustainability, is not always straightforward, and differences can drive conflict among stakeholders over preferred policy and management strategies. My thesis looks at the connections of environmental health, local governance, employment, and community wellbeing for non-indigenous residents on Haida Gwaii.

The Reflection on My Art-Based Approach to Analysis chapter is focused on my visual interpretations of main concerns interviewees discussed with me. The Haida are historically renowned as artists and the non-indigenous residents of Haida Gwaii are also uniquely artistic. Haida Gwaii is a beautiful and inspiring place and I believe that is what lead me to attempt to explain local concerns through the medium of linocuts. The five images I created were direct responses to the topics and issues raised by non-indigenous interviewees and my own personal experiences on the islands. The purpose of the linocuts was to explain my research findings through a visual and emotional form.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BC: British Columbia, Canada

CHN: Council of the Haida Nation

DFO: Department of Oceans and Fisheries

NRDC: Natural Resource Dependent Communities

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Summary

This project explores the relationships among local livelihoods and natural resources for the non-Indigenous residents of Haida Gwaii, British Columbia (BC). Haida Gwaii is an archipelago off the coast of BC, and is home both to a large and thriving indigenous population as well as a handful of primarily non-Indigenous, settler communities, made up of people who came to the islands for a variety of reasons, whether for natural resource jobs (e.g., logging), as homesteaders, or to live in the midst of the islands' rich and diverse natural amenities. I asked people, in semi-directed interviews, to identify and discuss the environmental and social issues that they consider to be the primary issues facing their communities and their wellbeing. In Haida Gwaii, as with many coastal, natural resource-dependent communities, the marine environment is central to quality of life and community well-being. My research focused on the experiences and concerns of non-indigenous residents, including their understanding of how the marine environment supports individual and community well-being. As I discuss in this thesis, it is widely understood that for coastal peoples and communities, marine health and human health are intrinsically linked through the social, economic, and cultural ties. Yet, how local people understand those relationships, and think about them with respect to outcomes such as environmental and social sustainability, is not always straightforward, and differences can drive conflict among stakeholders over preferred policy and management strategies.

In my research, I engaged local non-indigenous residents of varied cultural backgrounds who work in a variety of occupations, from fishing charter operators to heath care workers. My objective was to glean from locals how community members value the marine environment, livelihood strategies, and their concerns for the future of Haida Gwaii and their families. With this thesis, I hope to shed light on the diverse experiences and values of non-Indigenous people seeking to make a home and living in First Nations territories. In the next two chapters, I discuss the results of this work, as well as my process for analyzing interview transcripts, in an attempt to situate my own perspective within these findings. First, however, I use the next following sections of this introduction to discuss the study area and the literature on which my research is built.

1.2. Introduction

The archipelago of Haida Gwaii, formerly the Queen Charlotte Islands, has a long history of conflict among indigenous and settler peoples, stretching to before the first colonial contact (Fedje and Mathewes 2005). Control, conservation, and utilization of the natural resources on these islands has always been a high priority for local residents, as well as for outsiders who vie to develop and capitalize on these resources. Since the 1980's, the Haida and other islanders have been in disputes with the Canadian government and logging and fishing corporations for control over Haida Gwaii's natural resources (Gill 2010). Sustainable use of resources, protection of the marine environment, and issues of governance are still central to concerns on the islands today, as evidenced by ongoing disputes over Herring fisheries and marine use planning (Jones et al. 2016; Secher 2014). The different stakeholder groups currently involved in these issues are the Council of the Haida Nation (CHN), Parks Canada, Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO), the Canadian federal government in general, local municipalities, and the commercial fishing industry. The conflicts among these stakeholders are inherently entangled within cultural differences, recognition of aboriginal title, sovereignty and rights more generally, economic development, and environmental protection. (Lee 2012). Ostensibly, these conflicts have impacted and will continue to impact the wellbeing of the people and communities of Haida Gwaii (Kent 2008).

1.3. Research Questions and Methods

When I initiated this research, my goal was rather broad—to elicit from local people the various ways that they believe Haida Gwaii's natural environment contributes to their well-being as well as that of their community. Initially, the plan was to do research with both non-Indigenous and Haida participants, but a variety of circumstances, including research fatigue and ongoing conflicts between the Council of the Haida Nation and the Government of Canada necessitated that I focus only on the experiences of non-Indigenous residents.

My research utilized in-depth interviews with key informants (individuals who were identified to be in professions or offices who would have knowledge of community issues e.g. teachers, foodbank employees, environmental agency employees, grocery store workers) to gain a place-based understanding of the complex relationships among well-being and environmental health. Key informants were identified both purposively, beginning with cold calls of local

businesses, economic development centers, local environmental organizations, and social service providers, and through happenstance encounter (e.g., at cafes or farmers' markets). After arranging an interview with these preliminary interviewees, I then used snowball sampling, which involves asking interviewees to recommend additional contacts. My methodology is situated in qualitative research, interviews, and thematic analysis, as this allows me to tease out, without preconception, the complex and varying concerns and circumstances facing non-indigenous locals of Haida Gwaii. Qualitative evidence from residents is able to express the emotional and psychological aspects of issues in a way quantitative data would be unable to.

In the interviews, I began by asking questions about people's personal values for sustainability and security in the marine environment, and directed the conversation to areas of ecological, climatic, and social concern (see interview guide attached as Appendix A). I also asked people to discuss times when they have felt that their livelihood or sense of self had been threatened, in relation specifically to changes in the marine environment, and whether these changes have impacted their economic or social futures. Out of my desire to respond to the interests and concerns of these local participants, I opted for a thematic analysis approach to the research, which intentionally leaves space for research to be flexible and intuitive, as opposed to bringing specific research questions and theories to bear in a post-hoc fashion (Braun and Clark 2006). As I spoke with locals and conducted interviews, people's words and stories directed me away from a purely environmental focus, to one that encompassed social, economic, and governance issues, such as how the marine and terrestrial environments provide food and a sense of security to the non-indigenous residents, a sense of security that it turns out counterbalances, for some locals, strong feelings of uncertainty and vulnerability. Direct quotes, where used below, were selected by myself, in consultation with my research supervisor, in an attempt to show the clearest expression of individual themes, though people often discussed several themes together.

The interesting paradox I encountered through this research is that non-indigenous residents choose to live on Haida Gwaii because of the beauty and natural environment of the islands, but nevertheless find themselves in a vulnerable position because they are either unable to access these natural resources or the environment is threatened or changing due to the actions or power of 'outsiders.' Thus, non-indigenous residents are choosing to defend the natural resources of Haida Gwaii from risk and overexploitation, but at the same time, due to

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employment challenges, some locals are still searching for sustainable ways to develop an economy around the local environment. This paradox is complex, with people choosing to live in a location for its desirability, needing to protect that location from outsiders, but also attempting to find a form of healthy, balanced development that does not threaten the long-term health of the environment. While economic development is considered by many to be an important community focus, people's close connection to, and reliance on, the marine environment, has elevated a philosophy of stewardship, inspiring local economic development organizations to take a very cautious approach to development of industry on Haida Gwaii.

1.4. Wellbeing

Well-being is increasingly an area of interest and emphasis for researchers working on social-ecological sustainability and resilience. This arguably was driven in part by the publication of the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA) report, *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being* (Reid et al. 2005), one of the earliest attempts to incorporate concepts of human wellbeing into understandings of ecosystem dynamics (Armitage et al. 2012). The MA report focuses primarily on an ecosystem services approach to understanding human-environment interactions. Wellbeing is defined in the report as a combination of five components: basic material needs, positive social relations, health, security, freedom of choice and actions. This wellbeing framework has been criticized, for example by Armitage et al. (2012) as being viewed as a desired target rather than a process through which wellbeing is achieved (Armitage et al. 2012). Also the MA framework has been criticized for focusing too much on basic need fulfillment at the expense of more nuanced cultural and spiritual dimensions (Chan et al. 2012). As I describe below, a plurality of literature and academic frameworks for well-being avail that address these shortcomings.

1.4.1. Well-being and the Health Sciences

One of the earliest considerations of wellbeing being fundamental to an individual living a whole, fulfilling life was in 1942 when health was officially redefined by the World Health Organization as, "physical, mental and social wellbeing, not merely the absence of disease of infirmity" (Breslow 1972). As modern medicine has improved over the last century physical ailments have become less of a concern and an increased focus has been placed on mental health

and the importance of social connections in relation happiness. Indeed, many modern frameworks for human well-being expand on the "biopsychosocial" model of health first conceived by American psychiatrist George L. Engel (1977), which posits health as an interplay between three dimensions: material, psychological, and social factors. Engel proposed this approach in response to limitations of the overly mechanistic model of human health that long dominated medicine, but that did not account for the roles of socioeconomic and environmental drivers and determinants in human health outcomes (Krieger 2001). Within health sciences, psychology in particular has built on Engel and others' work to expand the notion of well-being beyond biomedical health (Diener and Chan 2011).

1.4.2. Eudaimonic vs. Hedonic wellbeing

Some researchers parcel well-being into two forms: *eudaimonic and hedonic* wellbeing (Coulthard 2012). The first, *eudaimonic,* reflects an understanding that being well requires more than financial security and happiness but that people need to live a life that is seen as valued and deemed worthwhile. *Eudaimonic wellbeing* focuses on self-actualization and people having a purpose in life. What is considered a valued and worthwhile life will be very different across cultures and even different among various groups in these cultures. (Ryan and Deci 2001) (Coulthard 2012.) The other concept of wellbeing often mentioned is *hedonic wellbeing*, which focuses on wellbeing as solely pleasure and happiness (Kahneman et al. 2003; Coulthard 2012.) This concept was not given as much focus as *eudaimonic wellbeing* as it is a more simplistic view on human needs, and the literature and theories around wellbeing have become increasingly complex.

1.4.3. Wellbeing in Developing Countries

The conceptual framework for wellbeing that informs much of the current research in the so-called social-ecological systems literature was developed by the Wellbeing in Developing Countries Research Group (WeD) in the UK. (Gough and McGregor 2007; McGregor, 2008; White 2010; Coulthard 2012; Britton and Coulthard 2013; Trimble and Johnson, 2013). The WeD group define wellbeing as "a state of being with others, which arises where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one's goals and where one can enjoy a satisfactory quality of life" (McGregor 2008). This framework suggests that the combination of

both subjective and objective wellbeing measures are important in finding a clearer understanding of what is needed for being well. (Coulthard 2012.) "Subjective wellbeing draws in the importance of culture: human self-evaluations of quality of life are shaped by prevailing societal norms and values" (Trimble and Johnson 2013).Wellbeing in the WeD is used as both an objective and analytical tool. The WeD group produced an empirically based frame work that defines wellbeing through three interconnected dimensions; material, relational, and subjective. This has been termed as 3D wellbeing. Material wellbeing is what a person has such as employment, food, health, shelter, and the natural environment. Relational wellbeing is what a person does through social relationships and how these relationships assist or hinder their pursuit of wellbeing. Subjective wellbeing is what the person thinks or feels about their life, including what they have or what they do.

The 3D concept is typically represented as a triangle to show how these three concepts are intertwined and dependent upon one another (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1 Three Dimensions of wellbeing (White,
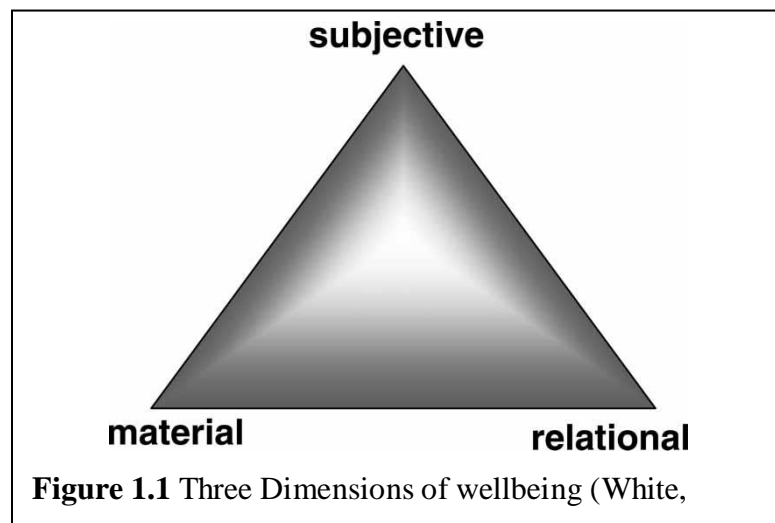
1.4.4. Quality of Life

Quality of life, while intertwined with wellbeing, is a different area of research and has a different literary history. *Quality of life* (QOL) is defined as representing how well human needs are met or how people perceive fulfillment or lack thereof in various areas of life. (Costanza et al. 2007). In Costanza et al.'s 2007 paper, *Quality of life: An approach integrating opportunities, human needs, and subjective wellbeing* the authors focused on creating a model of QOL as the combination of "subjective" well-being and human needs. The figure below places "well-being"

as a component of QOL that is dependent on human needs being met, which in turn depends on opportunities to fulfill these human needs being available. The improvement of quality of life is addressed, "While we cannot directly invest in human needs, we can invest in built, natural, human and social capital in ways that create the opportunities for people to fulfill their needs" (Costanza et al. 2007:275). This is an engaging and interesting concept; instead of investing in economic development to focus resources in areas that would make people happier is intriguing but not possibly not compatible with North American mainstream society or government.

Figure 1.2. Quality of life as represented as the interactions of human needs and how their fulfillment is perceived as well as the availability of the opportunities to fill these needs. (Costanza et al. 2006).
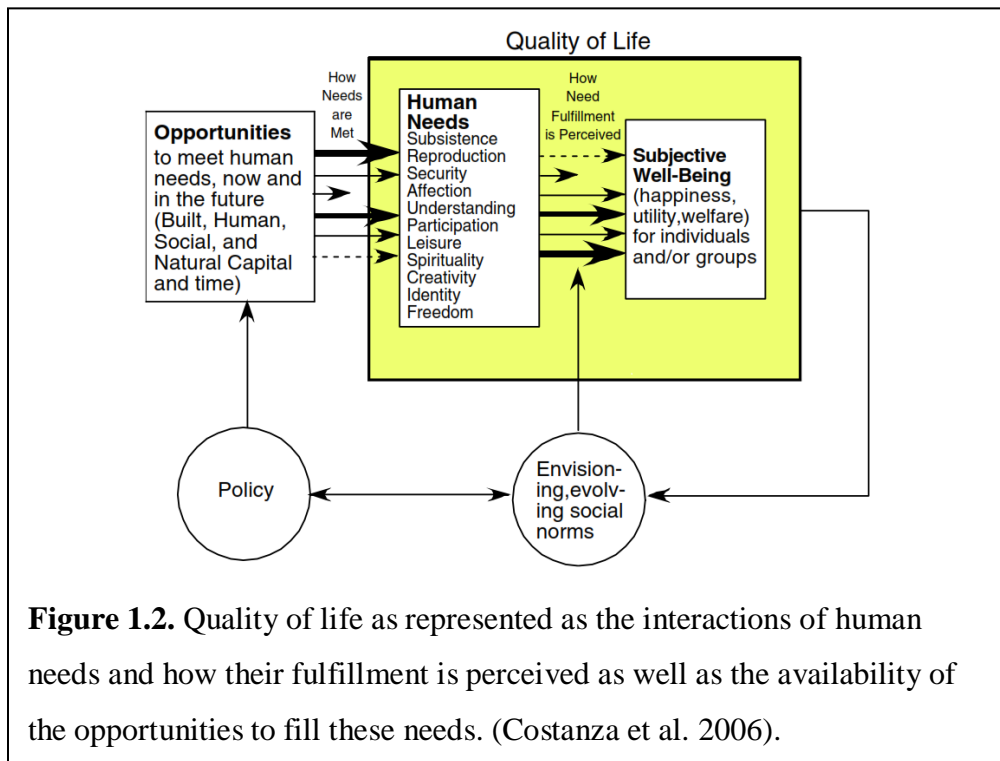
1.4.5. A Working Definition

The definition of wellbeing that I adopt here builds on these diverse traditions: the ability to pursue life goals, control one's own fate, and the possibility to achieve self-actualization, in addition to an individual's physical, mental, and social health (Armitage et al. 2012; White 2010). The three core dimensions noted above are present, as too is the notion of capabilities originally suggested by Sen. Strong bonds to family, community and the environment as well as confidence, self-esteem, and self-reliance are all important components of wellbeing; purposefully absent from this list is material wealth, which many recognize is beneficial but not vital to a person's wellbeing (Armitage et al. 2012; McGregor et al. 2009; White 2010). Each of

these components of wellbeing and the threats to them on Haida Gwaii appeared in the interviews with non-indigenous residents, as shown is later chapters.

1.5. Amenities-based Communities, NRDCs, Employment, and Underemployment

Multiple concepts are available in academic research for describing the relationship among a community, people's livelihoods, and the natural environment. One such concept that I use here, 'amenities-based community', describes a community, rural or urban, that attracts immigrants because of the community's proximity to land and seascapes that provide such benefits as outdoor recreation, scenery, and fishing and hunting opportunities (Brehm et al. 2004; Morzillo et al. 2015). A related concept, amenity-migration, describes patterns of immigration to amenity-based communities, driven in whole or in part, by a desire to access to those amenities. This is in contrast to migration driven by economic needs (e.g., job opportunities), environmental change, or conflict. Amenity migration often results in gentrification in the communities due the fact the migrants able to move for amenities and non-economic reasons are typically more affluent than the resident population (Hamilton et al. 2008).

A second concept that I use is that of the natural resource dependent community (NRDC), (also sometimes referred to as natural resource dependent areas), which describes places that have strong social and cultural ties to place, in part because people depend extensively upon natural resources, marine or terrestrial, for economic (industrial extraction/tourism/employment) and social (food gathering or recreational activates) reasons (Bennett et al. 2018; Humphrey 1994; Nord 1994; Peluso et al. 1994). As explained by Kelly and Bliss (2009), the health of NRDCs is directly tied to the health of and access to the natural resource (see also Loring, Hinzman, and Neufeld 2016). Schleicher et al. (2017) argue that the natural environment is an "internal" part of poverty and wellbeing and thus should be looked at and managed as one. The dependence of NRDCs on the natural resources goes beyond the economic benefits but is also strongly related to community wellbeing and a sense of identity.

These concepts can overlap in reality, as it is common that rural and coastal areas that would be otherwise described as NRDCs are gentrifying as a result of suburbanization, amenity-migration, and the increased prevalence of long-distance communing for people working in large metropolitan areas (Johnson 2001). Suburbanization can have numerous negative environmental and social impacts (Johnson 2001), but some research shows that people who migrate to rural

areas for amenities reasons can prove to be motivated stewards of those places (Lokocz et al 2011).

People in rural amenity rich areas like Haida Gwaii often have unique relationships with their environments and often rely on them for food security (Brehm et al. 2004; Hamilton and Safford 2015; Lowitt 2014). The links between community health and environmental health in NRDCs have been extensively researched (Agrawal 2005; Turner et al. 2003). Climate change has also had significant impact on coastal communities and is another area of adaptation communities must mitigate (Adger et al. 2009; Dolan and Walker 2006; Ommer 2011). While the natural environment is important in providing resources to residents of rural areas it is important to also be aware of the ties between the environment and community wellbeing (Costanza et al 2007; Coulthard et al. 2011; Loring et al. 2016; Sulemana 2016).

The paradox of rural, NRDCs struggling with issues of poverty and marginalization demonstrates an imbalance in political and economic control of resources. There is a well-documented issue of poverty in resource rich areas (Bebbington 1999; Freudenburg and Gramling 1994; Nord 1994; Peluso et al.1994). Often, there is a problem of unequal exchange, where local resources are extracted for profit, but with few of the benefits accruing to local communities (Allison and Ellis 2001; Beckley et al. 2002; Buckley 2012; Chambers and Conway 1991; Halseth 2010; Hayter and Barnes 1997; Markey et al. 2012; Safford et al. 2014; Scoones 2009). Coastal areas in particular are often the target of outside interests, with rights to land and other resources often being 'grabbed' from locals under the auspices of investment and development (Bavinck et al., 2017; Bennett et al 2015).

People in NRDCs are often under a variety of additional stressors related to the environment and employment. These stressors include underemployment, outsiders extracting resources with limited local control (Bennett et al. 2015), and the closure of industry (The Provincial and Territorial Departments Responsible for Local Government, Resiliency and Recovery Project Committee 2005). Additionally, the advent of amenity migration or tourism can have demographic, social, and economic impacts on a community. There has been research to find ways to develop "sustainable" migration or tourism but this is highly dependent on each communities' unique factors (Croes 2012; Glorioso and Moss 2007; Torres-Delgado and Palomeque 2012). Amenity migrants and locals can have differing environmental values, which can generate conflict or community resilience (Krannich et al. 2011; Mararrita-Cascante 2017;

Matarrita-Cascante 2009; Matarrita-Cascante et al. 2015; Matarrita-Cascante and Trejos 2013; Pitkänen et al. 2014). These stressors can result in economic restructuring and major socioeconomic changes (Albrecht 2004; Kwang-Koo et al. 2005). The environmental resources and place based characteristics of an area impacts the direction of change and development of communities (Hamilton et al. 2008; Morzillo et al. 2015).

Underemployment in particular, which describes employment that is less than an employee's work capacity or desire, is a common economic challenge facing NRDCs. Generally, underemployment is more of an issue in rural communities than in urban centers (The Center for Rural Pennsylvania 2009; Matthews et al. 2009); both amenities-based communities and NRDCs can struggle with underemployment, often being heavily dependent on tourism or other industries based on local natural resources. Because of their size, rural NRDCs often have fewer social services and other civic infrastructure, limiting the jobs available in those areas. Employment opportunities that do exist can be short-term and for so-called 'unskilled labor'; the resulting financial insecurity has been found to have a detrimental impact on overall wellbeing (Blustein et al. 2013; Winefield 2002). As I discuss in the next chapter, a major challenge facing residents of Haida Gwaii is mitigating the financial challenges that accompany underemployment. Indeed, the types of underemployment identified by McKee-Ryan and Harvey (2011) and laid out by Thompson et al. 2013 (Table 1.1.) were all experienced in some form by the Haida Gwaii residents I interviewed.

Table 1.1. Types of Underemployment	
Education/Knowledge Underemployment	The extent a person's education/training exceeds the education/training required of their current employment
Experience/Hierarchical Level Underemployment	The extent a person's past work experience or position exceeds their current employment position
Job Status Underemployment	The extent a person's desired job status (full-time or part-time work) fits their current employment
Job Field Underemployment	The extent a person's desired job or field of work matches their current employment
Wage Underemployment	The extent a person's past wages were higher than their current wages

(Thompson et al. 2013.)

Many of the stressors outlined above have occurred on Haida Gwaii, which means it is a good place to explore the adaptive strategies of a changing rural community. Haida Gwaii has

both an active amenity driven economy and a resource extraction industry but there are still issues of underemployment. Hopefully our research will contribute to the literature by examining how people navigate underemployment in rural areas to provide healthy and fulfilling lives for themselves and their families and the importance of environmental health to the health of communities.

1.6. Chapter Overview

The two chapters in my thesis discuss the livelihood strategies and environmental concerns of non-Indigenous residents of Haida Gwaii. The first chapter, "Working to live in Haida Gwaii: the paradoxes of life in a remote, amenity-rich region" explores people's strategies and concerns as they relate to achieving secure and sustainable livelihoods. I start by discussing the feelings that people shared, which included feelings of both vulnerability and security. The feelings of security were tied to the health of marine and terrestrial environments and related to access to natural resources, the sense of community on Haida Gwaii, and the gifting of fish or deer to residents who need it. The high and increasing cost of groceries was a major cause of concern and thus emphasized the importance of hunting and fishing to supplement store-bought food. Common concerns which came up I grouped into what I termed as feelings of vulnerability. The vulnerabilities people discussed were linked to social services, infrastructure, LNG and Enbridge, and the sacrifices residents make to live on Haida Gwaii. At the time of interviews, LNG and Enbridge were major concerns, so the vulnerability of Haida Gwaii to supertankers and the potential for an oil spill came up in every interview. The final part of this chapter looks at the sacrifices non-indigenous residents make to live on Haida Gwaii, including proximity to family, accepting a lower income, ability to travel, employment opportunities, and convenience in general. These sacrifices would have a significant impact economically, socially, and psychologically but non-indigenous residents felt these sacrifices were worth life on Haida Gwaii, a very powerful statement in itself.

Residents counter these feelings of insecurity through access to the environment and diverse strategies for finding employment despite limited local opportunities. Chapter 2 ends by exploring non-indigenous community members' predictions and aspirations for the future of Haida Gwaii. As well as the strategies communities are developing to address the issues of unemployment/underemployment. The conclusion shows that the stress from vulnerabilities and

employment challenges is, in some way, mitigated by the food security from the marine and terrestrial environments.

The third chapter of my thesis is not a traditional scientific manuscript but a personal, non-fiction reflection piece that showcases a series of linocuts I created as a way to explore my research findings and experiences on Haida Gwaii. Linocut refers to either the stamp that is created from a relief image carved into a block of linoleum or the final print made from the carved stamp. When I visited Haida Gwaii and started speaking to local residents their love of Haida Gwaii and how strongly their identities are connected to a sense of place really inspired me. I wanted to try to create images representing their understanding of Haida Gwaii and issues in order to help me understand them. Creating an image to represent what is important forces the creator to approach the message from a place of simplicity, to make the understanding succinct. In addition it was a pleasure to create original content that allowed me to think and explain in a direct and concise manner.

When I was making my linocuts I did not realize I was participating in "art-based research," a holistic approach to inquiry and analysis, in which the researcher uses art as a systematic method for "understanding and examining experience by both researchers and the people that they involve in their studies" (McNiff 2007, 29). However, it became evident to me and my thesis supervisor, as I continued to produce linocuts, that this experience was a part of my process for digesting and analyzing the ethnographic material I had collected, and that indeed, the linocuts themselves embody many of these findings, with pictures rather than words. Using linocuts to explain my research findings turned out to be a way to bridge anthropology and art, with a product that hopefully create a unique and informative companion to the academic writing that follows.

Art, drawing and painting, was the first human form of visual communication as the precursor to writing. It is only natural that humans use images and art to process information and express themselves on a more emotional and spiritual level than is typically achieved through words. "The entire world, our world, is a 'web of ideas and images', of people, cultures, religions, and spiritualities" (Nicolescu 2015). Writing in academia is often seen as sterile, overcomplicated, and alienating. Even as someone "in" academia it can often be a challenge to ascertain the meaning of authors of academic papers. My field of research, anthropology, generally lends itself to artistic expression and visual representation of findings. "The logic of

classical science cannot keep up with the generative, flexible and pluralist nature of knowledge that is needed to describe complex systems" (Cilliers and Nicolescu 2012). In the end I chose to represent some of my research findings through art for three reasons: I enjoy it and it makes me happy, I find visuals useful in understanding information, and I felt that it would be a beneficial and powerful way to explain my findings.

Taken together, I believe that the first and second chapters of my thesis tell interconnecting stories about life and adaption on Haida Gwaii but using different modes of communication. I hope this will make my thesis more approachable but also better enable readers to connect with these findings in a way to relate to the nuanced human experience, which is difficult to express in academic writing. In the Conclusion, I revisit some of the core themes, and how these inform my perceptions of the island's future and how locals are approaching community issues.

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2. WORKING TO LIVE IN HAIDA GWAII: THE PARADOXES OF LIFE IN A REMOTE, AMENITY-RICH REGION

2.1. ABSTRACT

This paper explores the motivations and livelihood strategies of non-Indigenous residents of Haida Gwaii, British Columbia, a remote, but natural amenity-rich region. We find that non-Indigenous people choose to live on Haida Gwaii for many reasons, but the natural environment and the many amenities it provides is the most common explanation. To live there, however, people describe making multiple lifestyle accommodations and sacrifices. While the islands are a beautiful place to live, they are also a hard place to make a living: food, general supplies, utilities, and travel are all expensive. People also feel isolation from family, and are concerned with limited social services, education, infrastructure, and other perceived vulnerabilities such as limited employment opportunities. To make a successful living, many residents, including well-trained and educated professionals, choose to work multiple jobs outside their expertise or interests. We characterize this as "working to live" in Haida Gwaii: choosing employment that they might otherwise not in order to live in a place that is rich with amenities and provides life satisfaction, despite the various vulnerabilities and challenges that they encounter. These observations support theoretical claims in the literature on natural-resource management on the importance of place and the willingness of local people to steward the places and environments that they hold dear.

KEYWORDS: amenity communities; coastal communities; livelihood security; stewardship; sustainability; natural resource dependent communities, art-based research

2.2. INTRODUCTION

> We all rely on the resources from the ocean for our food, and for our entertainment, and for everything. And if that is spoiled by an oil spill, we will virtually starve to death here. Because we rely on it, because we are really poor, we don't have much money income, we have no other way of feeding ourselves.
>
> --Interviewee F15, (Female, 60s)

During the summers of 2015 and 2016, we conducted interviews with non-indigenous residents of Haida Gwaii, an archipelago off the west coast of British Columbia. Our goal was to learn about the relationships between their well-being and Haida Gwaii's marine environment

from a diverse set of non-indigenous locals. These people included as business owners, educators, and health workers; our colleagues were simultaneously working with Indigenous Haida people on a related research project. When I was taking the ferry to Queen Charlotte City from Sandspit, a trip necessary for anyone traveling to the airport from the island's major communities, I was struck by the fact there was always a picturesque scene; yet, it was not the view from the water that impacted me most, but the multiple blue and white signs along the road, from the ferry landing to our hotel, that protested the development of new oil and natural gas pipelines (Figure 2.1.)

Figure 2.1. Protest sign outside of Queen Charlotte City. Photo courtesy of Dr. Loring.

I later learned that these signs represented a coming together of the diverse people of these island communities to oppose pipeline development on the mainland. When I asked interviewees if the communities of Haida Gwaii agreed on most things, the response was often laughter; they laughed because the communities seem to be only able to agree on one thing: the need to protect the marine environment. As one interviewee pointed out, "When it comes to saying no, we work really well together . . . That we do wonderfully. We do that probably better than anybody in Canada." Interviewee M14 (Male, 40s)

In the many subsequent interviews that followed, I encountered much evidence in support of this statement: residents of Haida Gwaii work hard to protect the marine environment by working together to oppose perceived dangers such as the proposed LNG and Enbridge pipelines. The majority of folks that we spoke with prefer that any new development initiatives err on the side of precaution, even at the expense of potential benefits, because the marine environment is both the reason for, and the reason why, they are able to live on Haida Gwaii. As we will discuss below, many non-Indigenous residents agree that if they lost access to the marine environment they would be forced to move. To them, little or nothing is worth that risk.

The security and future of rural coastal communities is a perennial concern, one that has attracted much attention from academic researchers (e.g., Gallaugher and Vodden 1999; Ommer 2011). As Gallaugher and Vodden (1999) explained for British Columbia (BC) nearly two decades ago,

> Everywhere along the coast of British Columbia there is unprecedented concern about the future of fishery-dependent communities. It is not uncommon to hear comments such as 'Our future, our communities are dying-my town is dying' (p. 276).

The challenges that face coastal communities in BC and elsewhere, include issues such as food insecurity, limited employment, and environmental degradation (Allison and Ellis 2001; Britton and Coulthard 2013; Coulthard et al. 2011; Halseth 2010; Hayter and Barnes 1997; Lam and Pitcher 2012; Markey et al. 2008; Markey et al. 2012; Nord 1994; Peluso et al. 1994). They are part of an unfortunate but historically common irony of natural resource development: the benefits of natural resource development rarely accrue to local people. Instead, coastal lands, resources, and rights to those resources have long been 'grabbed' and consolidated by outside interests (Bennett et al. 2015; Bennett et al. 2016). Profits are made, but as a result, coastal communities are increasingly vulnerable and under a significant amount of stress (Ommer 2011).

In response to these inequities, many coast communities (and especially indigenous communities) are fighting to be involved in natural resource management decisions, citing concerns for their own well-being as well as the stewardship of local ecosystems (Agrawal 2005; Beckley and Korber 1995, Berkes and Ross 2013; Gericke and Sullivan 1994; Hamilton and Safford 2015; Loring and Harrison 2013). Indeed, there are often tight links between people's health and well-being and environmental health in coastal and other natural resource-dependent communities (Kelly and Bliss 2009; Loring and Harrison 2013; Loring et al. 2016). Yet, there is

also a well-studied connection between historical resource extraction and rural poverty, that is, that resource extraction exacerbates, rather than solves, local economic challenges (Freudenburg and Gramling 1994; Peluso et al. 1994; Nord 1994). What's more, the traditional economic strategies for rural community development that have been proposed by outsides have often proven to be at odds with local environmental conservation concerns (Morzillo et al. 2015, Safford et al. 2014). Communities are thus increasingly having to find a balance between developing local industries to increase employment opportunities, while preserving their natural resources. Negotiation of these apparent tradeoffs is often a driver of intense conflict among neighbors (Harrison and Loring 2014), but as we have witnessed in Haida Gwaii, it is a challenge that local people appear committed to addressing.

Haida Gwaii, being an area rich in natural resources, cultural heritage, and conflicts over development, has not surprisingly been the focus of much research on social and environmental issues (Dale 1999; Ingram 1995; Jones et al. 2016; Jones et al. 2010; Jones and William-Davidson 2000; Kent 2008; Lee 2012; Martineau 1989; Takeda and Røpke 2010; von der Porten 2014; Wheatley 2006).

In this paper, we expand upon this growing body of research, focusing specifically on the experiences of non-Indigenous residents of the islands. As residents involved in community development on Haida Gwaii actively pursue a successful transition from resource extraction to eco-tourism development, numerous social and cultural dynamics have changed, from shifting employment opportunities to shifting relations and tensions among Haida and non-Indigenous residents (Martineau 1989). People in natural amenity-rich regions like Haida Gwaii often struggle to adjust when local industries close, either due to market collapse or environmental regulations (Albrecht 2004; Hamilton et al. 2007; Krannich et al. 2011; Kwang-Koo et al. 2005; Matarrita-Cascante and Trejos 2013; Morzillo et al. 2015; The Provincial and Territorial Departments Responsible for Local Government, Resiliency and Recovery Project Committee 2005), and often, eco-tourism and amenity migration (the movement of people for cultural or natural features) is discussed providing a source of new development but also of new gentrification (Buckley 2012; Matarrita-Cascante 2009; Matarrita-Cascante et al. 2010; Matarrita-Cascante et al. 2015; Matarrita-Cascante 2017; Torres-Delgado and Palomeque 2012; Pitkänen et al. 2014). Haida Gwaii is perhaps a case-in-point of this complex process of reorganization and self-determination, though whether new sectors of business development such

as ecotourism can support local needs and goals remains an open discussion. Indeed, there have been numerous critiques of tourism and amenity-migration as being destructive rather than beneficial to local communities and ecosystems (Albrecht 2004; Croes 2012; Glorioso and Moss 2007).

One unique aspect of our research is that we explore non-indigenous experiences in 'unsettled' indigenous territory. That is, the Government of Canada and the Council of the Haida Nation have no established treaty and frequently spar over issues of authority and jurisdiction when managing local marine and terrestrial resources. To our knowledge, there has been relatively little research done to explore the experiences of non-Indigenous peoples living in contested regions, and understandably so, because the modern disciplines of anthropology and geography have long had a focus on empowering the disempowered through research (Nader 1972). Indeed, only a few studies involving indigenous people also aim to elevate the issues surrounding non-indigenous people living in these places, or look at the interactions among these groups (e.g., Braroe 1965; Bennett 1969). It is important to acknowledge, however, that non-Indigenous people in small-scale, natural resource dependent communities (NRDC) also face numerous social and ecological challenges and have authentic social and cultural experiences that are inherently valuable and legitimate and, thus, are worthy of attention by research and policy from a sustainability and social-ecological systems perspective.

Ultimately, our goal is that this study contributes to the extensive scholarship on natural resource-dependent communities, and the apparent paradox that local people must navigate—choosing to live in an area because of its rich natural resources, but facing multiple challenges because those resources are out of reach, whether because someone else has the rights to them, or because they are changing or degraded due to the acts of others. As we discuss below, the people we interviewed talked often about the numerous sacrifices and challenges they face to call Haida Gwaii their home, from changing careers to being distant from family. More than anything else, our goal with this paper is to add richness to the collective understanding of the multiple challenges that coastal people face, as well as to highlight and explore the dedication that these people have for persisting and thriving in communities where rights, resources, and identity are all in transition.

2.3. STUDY AREA AND METHODS

Haida Gwaii, formerly the Queen Charlotte Islands, is an archipelago located just south of the Alaskan panhandle, off the coast of British Columbia. Haida Gwaii is well-known for its beauty, its cultural heritage, its biodiversity, and its relative isolation. The archipelago's ancient name is *Xaaydlaga Gwayaay*, which roughly translates to "islands at the boundary of the world (Gill 2010, 20-21)." Given the many amenities and resources on the islands, it is not surprising that many non-indigenous people immigrated there. The 2016 Canada census puts the Haida Gwaii population at around 4,300, is split approximately evenly between Haida and non-Indigenous residents (Statistics Canada).

In 2015 and 2016, we conducted in-depth ethnographic interviews with non-Indigenous residents of the islands, residents who work in a variety of different occupations and capacities, from natural resource managers to entrepreneurs. Originally, we set out to interview both Haida and non-Indigenous Haida Gwaii residents to be able to present a more comprehensive study on the importance of the marine environment to the well-being of all residents of Haida Gwaii. However, at the request of the Council of the Haida Nation our colleagues worked with Haida people on research more directly focused on Pacific Herring. This proved to be an unexpected opportunity, as there has been relatively little research done on the possibly-contentious subject of the experience of non-indigenous residents living in lands where indigenous people have strong, if not sole, influence on environmental governance (see Braroe 1965, Bennett 1969 for limited exceptions).

Participants for this research were approached first through cold calls, identified by using telephone and internet directories of local businesses, economic development centers, local environmental organizations, and social service providers, and then by snowball sampling (whereby interviewees were asked to offer referrals). The recruitment goal was to capture representative diversity in terms of people's social or occupational role on the islands, as opposed to a representative sample. This was driven by our desire to capture as wide a set of perspectives on uses of the marine environment as possible. Community, economy, food security, employment, governance, co-management, lifestyle/way of life, transportation, Haida and non-indigenous relations, education, population, energy/power, oil tankers, mental health/social issues, housing, and internet access are just some of the themes we explored. We

utilized these qualitative themes as opposed to providing quantitative, generalizable evidence of how specific proportions of local people feel on specific matters.

The interviews were semi-structured; our questions (Tables 2.1 and 2.2) focused on the individual's personal experiences and values for the marine environment and allowed the conversation to move to areas of ecological, climatic, political, economic, or social concern (see interview guide attached as Appendix 1). Initially, our goal was to gain insight into the complex relationships between ecosystem health and people's well-being. Our own understanding of well-being is discussed in the previous chapter; however, we did not define these concepts for our research participants, but instead sought a "grounded" approach to learn how people themselves understand and experience these as complex phenomena (Giorgi and Giorgi 2007, Glaser and Strauss 2009). As the research progressed we followed the emerging theme of challenges that people face living on Haida Gwaii. We also asked people to discuss areas of conflict in relation to the marine environment and how these conflicts have impacted their lives. We used NVivo 10 software to analyze interview transcripts. I coded the transcripts for themes inductively (i.e., as they were encountered) (Braun and Clarke 2006). I kept in mind my own positionality within the research, which is more clearly shown in the next chapter, where I reflect on my art based approach to analyze themes uncovered in the data.

Table 2.1. Standard Interview Preface
We are here with you today to talk about the marine environment, how it relates to the health and well-being of you and your family, and what you think constitutes a "healthy" and "sustainable" environment. We'll talk about the ways you value the marine environment, changes you've observed that concern you, ways your lives have been impacted by changes, and your preferences for the future.

Table 2.2. Open-ended Interview Questions
Tell me about yourself? Are you from Haida Gwaii? How long have you lived here?
Do you think the Haida Gwaii Marine environment is healthy? Why or why not?
Do you think the ways that Haida Gwaii residents use marine resources is sustainable? Why or why not?
Thinking into the future, say the next 25 years, what kinds of changes do you imagine might take place? These could be things you hope for or worry about.
Do you have any other pressing concerns about fisheries or Haida Gwaii's marine environment that we haven't yet talked about?
After having this conversation, is there anyone else that you know of that we should be speaking with?

2.4. RESULTS

In total, we conducted 40 interviews in the communities of Sandspit, Queen Charlotte City, Skidegate, Tlell, Masset, and Old Masset. Of the people interviewed, 23 were men and 20 were women, three of the interviews were conducted with couples. People shared numerous shared concerns during the interviews, including food security, employment, remoteness, and access to social services such as education and childcare. From these, we have identified four major themes that encompass the many different issues raised by participants: feelings of security, feelings of vulnerability, strategies for success, and stewardship. Each are discussed in more detail below.

2.4.1. Feelings of Security

> We live in paradise, everybody says we live in paradise but we pay for it.
>
> --Interviewee M11, (Male, 40s)

The residents that we interviewed feel very passionately about both the terrestrial and marine environments of Haida Gwaii. Locals rely on these environments as an important source of food, and also describe their interactions with the environment as being vital for their psychological wellbeing. Going in to this research, we expected the residents to be worried about the health and sustainability of the marine environment; while these surely were concerns on some people's minds, what was evident was that people did not parcel these cognitively from their concerns for the health and sustainability of their communities. As we explore below, interviewees' concerns for the environment was rooted in how the environment sustains their communities and lifestyles through food, employment, and recreation. Many residents explained that they choose to live on Haida Gwaii because of their affinity for the environment, the beauty and isolation of the islands attracts and keeps non-indigenous residents. As one interviewee explained,

> I think it's because people are spoiled here, myself. It's so easy to live, I mean some stuff is expensive, the fuel, the food and we pay a lot of money for that . . . And the food too we pay a lot for our food and it's not the best of the quality at all, so people grow their own, they team up and work together on having good food. There's so much to harvest here, living off the ocean and the land and it's really easy to harvest and keep yourself going for the winter. You know, if you're willing to plug in the hours of canning and

smoking and all of that, it's easy, it's just time consuming.

<div align="right">--Interviewee M11, (Male, 40s)</div>

This quote shows a common sentiment, that having fish and game options available on the islands provides them with actual food if not simply the confidence that they and their families could survive off the land and water if they had to. Market food is more expensive on the islands than it is on the Canadian mainland, in part, locals explain, because of the cost of transportation, and residents mediate these costs of living by hunting, gathering, fishing, and growing their own food. With a British Columbia hunting license, it is possible for one individual to take up to 15 deer a year (https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/sports-recreation-arts-and-culture/outdoor-recreation/fishing-and-hunting/hunting/regulations/2016-2018/hunting-trapping-synopsis-2016-2018-region6.pdf). Deer are an introduced species to the archipelago so such a high harvest number is considered a conservation method. Additionally, locals view marine resources as plentiful, "We get salmon, halibut, prawns every so often, don't go every year, crabs off the beach and when we're lucky enough scallops that wash in." Interviewee M3 (Male, 60s) Most residents we spoke with primarily sourced their protein from the natural environment, while buying vegetables and staples from the store, but some, such as the man quoted at the start of this section above, theorized that if they focused, they could source up to 80% of their diet from the islands.

Food is one of the most common ways that locals discussed the importance of the environment to their survival on Haida Gwaii. Several interviewees noted seeing a steady increase in grocery prices over the years: "I think probably when I started, bag of potatoes was probably $5 but potatoes they do fluctuate. Some days they're $6.99, next week they might be $9.99." Interviewee M12 (Male, 40s) Residents attribute these increasing prices to increases in shipping costs, which we explore in more detail below.

Several interviewees also discussed the importance of informal food exchange on Haida Gwaii. That is, an informal exchange network both within the non-Indigenous community, and that links them with their Indigenous neighbors, through which fishers or hunters gift, trade, or barter food. There was some mention of selling or buying recreationally caught fish, but while some residents considered such occasional transactions among neighbors to be morally honest, these transactions are illegal and thus generally avoided.

I'd say it's almost like trading and sometimes they give it to me and stuff. You know if

just, if I get a couple of deer, make sausages or jerky out of it I can trade to them and they'll give me K'aaw (herring spawn on kelp) or whatever. I do know of some of the stuff that has been sold in the past but I'd rather trade. Seems a little more honest."

--Interviewee M6, (Male, 30s)

17 interviewees discussed community members making sure that older people, people unable to fish or hunt, single mothers, and family and friends have access to local foods. As one interviewee explained,

Like I say, people are very good about sharing and now they know I'm on my own and my husband's not there fishing for me, they'll ask if I'd like a piece of fish and they'll bring me a filet of halibut or salmon or a couple of crab or whatever. And same thing, you bake cookies, or take a pan of squares or whatever it is. I like to think that's what they do in all small towns, I don't know if they do it, but it's definitely alive and well on Haida Gwaii.

--Interviewee F3, (Female, 70s)

Another woman described the support her community gave her during a time when they viewed her as vulnerable,

It's funny, as a single mom before my partner moved in with us, I got a lot of free fish. And it would be like friends coming by and they were like, here you go. And my freezer was always full and as soon as (de-identified) moved in with me, just like that whole free fish thing just dried right up. They just assume that he would be providing. They're like, 'oh she's got a man in her life, it's okay. We don't have to feed her.'

--Interviewee F5, (Female, 30s)

However, there was disagreement among participants as to whether food security is a problem on the islands. Several members of community non-profits made it clear to us that they believe there is a food insecurity problem on Haida Gwaii, but others talked about how easy it is to fill a freezer and that fish and deer are plentiful and perceived that there would be low hunger on the islands. As one participant explained, "food you don't really have to worry about too much around here because you go to anyone's freezer and they have enough fish and deer to last them an entire winter." Interviewee M9 (Male, 20s) Conversely, however, others told us of heavy demand on food banks, with "people not being able to purchase food, it's an issue of people living below the poverty line." Interviewee F1 (Female, 30s)

Part of this split experience regarding food security may relate to the fact that accessing good seafood is challenging for locals who do not fish themselves and do not have friends or family who fish. As one fisherman said, "you can't afford to sell fish on the island." Interviewee M13 (Male, 70s) This leads some to rely on community connections to have access to marine foods:

> Yeah we've been gifted lots of fish in the past but the thing is there's less fish, so family comes first so gifting becomes less. And we don't have a lot of family up here, just our own family. But that's not to say that a neighbor doesn't say, I've got a halibut so here's a piece of halibut or something. Yeah, that's what we depend on if we were going to eat fish. Because you can't buy it, it's expensive in the store.
>
> --Interviewee F8, (Female, 50s)

The high market prices were explained as relating to the value of Haida Gwaii fish on the global market, which makes it difficult for commercial fishermen to decrease the price for the local fish to be affordable to residents or tourists. As she also noted,

> But as far as being able to buy local fish, that hasn't been a possibility because you're not allowed to sell fish if you catch it. So if you don't fish yourself, you don't get to experience the great seafood. It's kind of like saying because you live in Alberta steaks must be really good. Well they're just as expensive anywhere as they are here. So it's the same thing, right?
>
> --Interviewee F8, (Female, 50s)

This seemingly paradoxical challenge of accessing local seafood in a seafood rich region has also been discussed by Gerlach and Loring (2013) for rural Alaska. They argue that the challenge relates not only to the presence of commercial and sport fisheries that primarily service outside customers but also the lack of local scale marketing of local catch. The experiences of Non-indigenous Haida Gwaii residents, both in terms of the reliance on informal marketing by some and the reported lack of access by those who cannot or do not fish for themselves, match with their findings.

In short, access to natural resources allows residents to live on Haida Gwaii. Being able to hunt and harvest, or barter and trade with neighbors makes living on Haida Gwaii affordable for many residents. Yet, there is generally an understanding that not everyone on the islands benefits equally from these opportunities:

I guess not that everyone will feel food secure because of a whole variety of different reasons but I think this place has the potential to have more food security than you would in Vancouver or anywhere else because of the number of people related to the amount of resources. That if you're willing, if you don't work and you can spend your time gardening or collecting or gathering then you could make a living here and survive and you wouldn't be able to do that in Vancouver. So I think the potential for food security is here but I don't think everyone does feel like they have food but you could feel like you had food security.

--Interviewee F9, (Female, 40s)

2.4.2. Feelings of Vulnerability

Evident in the final quote above is also the second theme we encountered in our analysis: the various ways that locals feel vulnerable as a result of living in Haida Gwaii. This sense of vulnerability appears to stem from the isolation of the islands, dissatisfaction with social services, and the resulting dependence on the "outside." It is important to understand the sacrifices that people describe making in order to live on the islands. Key examples that came up frequently in interviews included social services, infrastructure, and food security.

2.4.2.1. Social Services

Many of the vulnerabilities that people discussed with us involved some aspect of community infrastructure and social services, from internet to ferry service. For example, education was raised as a concern by many interviewees, including some without children (which we interpret as illustrating some consensus that there is an issue). One educator as well as several other interviewees described how ongoing outmigration is putting strain on the communities and their ability to keep schools open. One local described how a local business owner left the islands because, "his wife decided, well, they had young kids and she decided they needed a better education, so she moved back to Toronto, left him here and he just couldn't take it anymore, had to be back to his family so he left it." Interviewee M12 (Male, 40s) Due to schooling issues not only did a young family leave the islands but a business closed. The schools have a very real impact on the local economy and development. Developing training and

education opportunities on island is vital to the survival of communities. As explained by one resident,

> I think if we don't provide the education and we don't provide the apprenticeships and the vocational aspect of it … you'll never build infrastructure and you'll never build economy if you have to go and import your workers. It doesn't make sense.
>
> --Interviewee F8, (Female, 50s)

Medical services are another example of the many social services that interviewees discussed as being important, and part of their feelings of vulnerability. Residents described local medical facilities as being limited in terms of the procedures and specialties available, meaning that they need to go off island to receive more intensive, specialized treatment. The challenges of transportation, the stresses of poor health, and the separation from family during a trying time creates a unique set of circumstances, which residents accept as part of island life. The access to health care and schooling feeds back into the concerns of stable population numbers,

> If you don't have a school and you don't have a hospital, your community really struggles. They can make do with the seasonal employment and one thing or another, it's certainly a struggle, but if you don't have a place for your kids to go to school or where to go when they're sick, you're not going to keep people in the community.
>
> --Interviewee F3, (Female, 70s)

Similarly, childcare was another social service that some discussed as lacking, and also as a barrier to employment, particularly our female respondents. They described the lack of childcare options as prohibitive for bringing new professionals into the community as well as a challenge for local women who have young children and want to work. The limited access to childcare means that occupations that are typically occupied by women can be a challenge to fill, explained one interviewee:

> You can't retain a nurse in Masset if there is no child care available because there's no one to fill the ECE (Early Childhood Educator) position. Which is a problem right now. We're losing well educated staff in other areas because we're having a problem with early childhood education. Fill those roles. If you can't get daycare you can't really live there.
>
> --Interviewee F2, (Female, 30s)
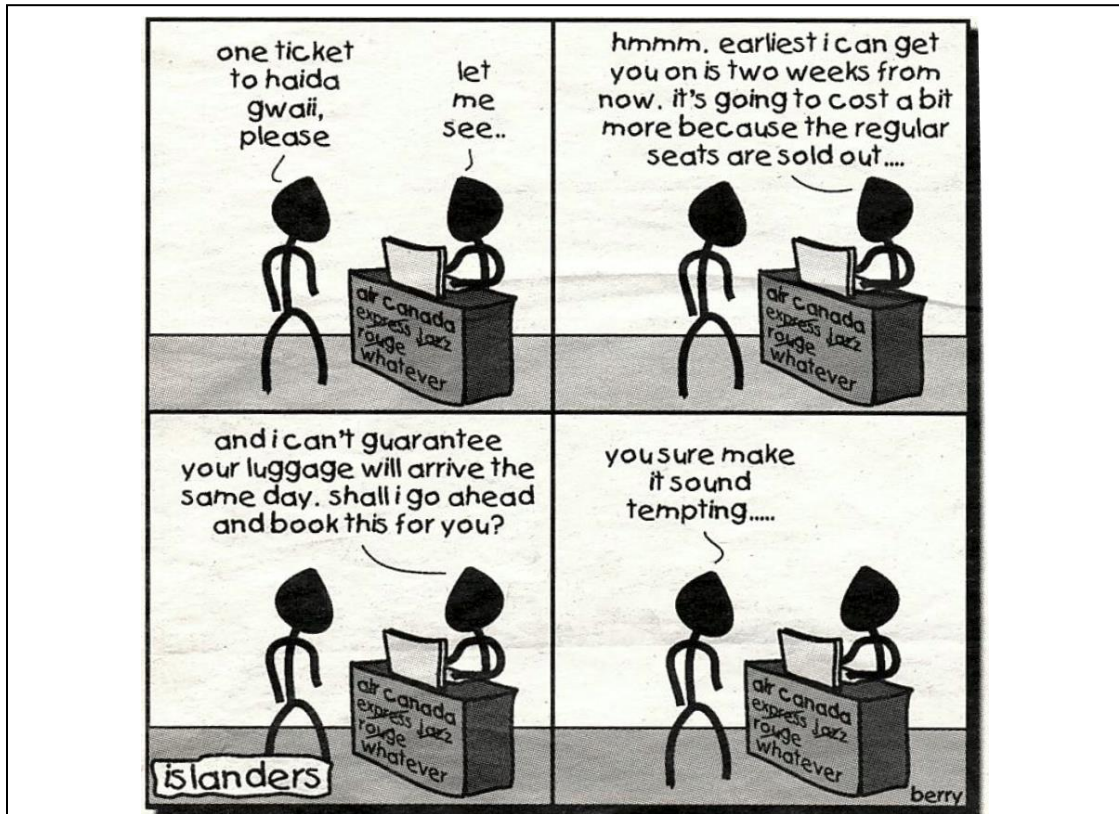
Figure 2.2. A cartoon in the opinion section of the July 24, 2015 edition of the Haida Gwaii Observer. The cartoon depicts community perceptions of the challenges of getting to the islands and how this impacts tourism.

Of the infrastructure issues raised, transportation, the ferry service in particular, was the most frequently mentioned, with specific challenges including limited service schedules and the number of sailings per day and per week. Indeed, B.C. Ferries was consistently viewed very negatively by the people with which we spoke:

> And so we're down to 4300 people and I can see us declining further. If we lose some more ferry service or airline service, people will say, I'd like to live here, but geez, I can't get off the islands or I can't get the groceries I want. Potential is for this island to go back to kind of a sleepy hollow."
>
> --Interviewee M1, (Male, 60s)

The ferry and airline are viewed as the lifeline for the islands; it would be possible to survive without them but not many people would be willing to take on that struggle.

The biggest problem that we have is having BC ferries. BC ferries I almost feel is bent on killing our economy, they have done – everything that they seem to do is make everything worse. They raise the prices, lower the service, they lower the amount of sailings we have and they wonder why their business is going downhill . . . There's lots of tourists out there and we are not getting them mainly because BC ferries.

--Interviewee M3, (Male, 60s)

Many locals are also upset as B.C. ferries has decreased the number of sailings and increased prices,

We need the B.C. ferries to not cut its sailings back as far as it did this year. [laughs] Number one. Because we can't get on and off the island to do anything, we can't bring our freight in. You know if you have a medical problem you can't get off the island. If you have a family crisis you can't get off the island. The ferry was too booked up and they cut us back to two sailings a week and right through the shoulder season of the tourist season, the tourists couldn't get on or off the island either. If you want the economy here to boom which we're kind of going towards tourism you'd better make sure there's more than two sailings a week in the shoulder season of the ferry.

--Interviewee F15, (Female, 60s)

Evident in this quote is how people saw the ferry issues as not merely an inconvenience but a threat to the viability of their communities, Finally, concern regarding ferry access also overlapped with concerns regarding food security:

We get a lot of food imported so a lot of food comes on the barge and it comes to our grocery stores and definitely if we have a weather event, like a big storm in the winter, then the ferry can't come and the barge can't come and then the food trucks don't come and then the grocery store, and you really just notice it, the grocery store starts getting cleaned out. I think it would only take two or three days. Anyways, it's definitely an issue, like a lot of people are depending on, you know, fishing and hunting for some level of providing for their own food but there's a lot of things I guess that people really like to eat, like fruits and vegetables would be a much bigger concern.

--Interviewee F1, (Female, 30s)

And as another resident explained,

And they need to decrease how much they're charging for that ferry. The prices have been

going up ridiculously. We went from, about 4 years ago we were being charged about 25 cents a pound for our freight, now we're paying 50. So what do you think has happened to the food prices?

--Interviewee F13, (Female, 70s)

In addition to issues with the ferry to mainland British Columbia, there are also local concerns with the local ferry, which travels between Sandspit/Alliford Bay and Skidegate,

You know like they've just cut us off completely from the other island. So that was one of the big things and the prices have been going up yearly. It's just ridiculous. It should be part of our highway. We have no other way around it. But there's inland ferries that are free but there's a highway going around the lake that they're crossing and the answers we get from BC ferries is, "well they're freshwater." Do they not still run on diesel? Do they not still have employees? What's the difference really?

--Interviewee F13, (Female, 70s)

Internet access is another frequently raised infrastructure issue. People discussed how there are ongoing efforts to improve the internet connection on Haida Gwaii, but currently internet is expensive and often slow and unreliable. As an individual involved in economic development said,

It's a gorgeous place to live and if we had better internet and better electricity, transportation infrastructure and stuff like that it would be a great place to live and be like a graphic designer, or an architect, or a lawyer, or some sort of profession that allows you to work through correspondence but right now internet is a tricky one.

--Interviewee M4, (Male, 20s)

Thus, just as people's concerns about the ferry service illustrate more than just an inconvenience, some locals also consider unreliable internet access to be a threat to local livelihoods and community development, for example, limiting options for professionals who would like to work from home. As with many of the above issues, this challenge is increasingly recognized as ubiquitous in the rural development literature (Whitacre et al. 2014a; Whitacre et al. 2014b).

2.4.2.3. LNG and Enbridge

The development of oil and natural gas pipelines on the mainland, and the potential for increased shipping traffic in Haida Gwaii waters as a result was a common topic raised that is relevant to this theme of vulnerability. Many people were very concerned because of the impacts that an oil spill could have on the marine environment. As one woman explained, "Our biggest threat to our lifestyle here right now is if they allow the oil tankers to come through our waters. Because you can't undo an oil spill, so they found out in Alaska" Interviewee F15 (Female, 60s).

Locals also felt somewhat disempowered to affect these issues. At the time of the interviews the question of pipeline development was very much still on the table and high profile in national news media. Local residents, both non-Indigenous and Haida, were largely against such projects, as noted in the introduction. Nevertheless, many expressed concern that they did not have enough power to prevent the projects from going ahead. "Our big worry is, is the possibility that this LNG (liquefied natural gas) thing might go ahead. It'll kind of go ahead over our dead bodies but that might not bother them." Interviewee M8 (Male, 70s) Some described feeling that the different levels of Canada's government do not care about local residents' concerns in this area:

> We're an island and we're somewhat restricted and somewhat protective in that respect. But if we've got ocean tankers going past our shore, it's not a matter of if it happens, it's a matter when it happens. And we're 4000 people, they don't care if we get wiped off the face of the earth. They've taken all our trees and damn near all our fish and we're not of any value to them anymore. It's going to be a fight, it really is. And whether we win it or not, I hope we do. I'm not convinced we will win it; I think the government's made up their mind, they've sold us down the river, they're going to do what they want to do.
>
> --Interviewee F3, (Female, 70s)

There was a communal approach of dark humor when discussing instances of consultation or provincial decisions impacting Haida Gwaii. Residents feel disrespected and ignored when it comes to environmental decision making and so seem to have developed a stubborn but resigned approach when advocating for their communities. As another resident goes on to explain,

> I think that what we try to do here on island is we try to live our lives without LNG and we try to live without pipelines and it's a huge sentiment, it's not even something that is

even entertained. And so I think if we're going to do that, then we need to have something else to look forward to. And if that means educating our population then so be it. We want them to be able to make good choices, and this is a great choice of life. It can be exciting, it can be healthy.

<div align="right">--Interviewee F8, (Female, 50s)</div>

2.4.2.4. Sacrifices

Finally, when speaking about vulnerabilities, people also discussed sacrifices that they make to cope with the challenges of living on Haida Gwaii. Residents make sacrifices of proximity to family, income, travel, employment, and convenience to live on Haida Gwaii. In a recent study, it was found that people who are more content with their lives are willing to make income sacrifices to protect the marine environment (Sulemana 2016). The residents we spoke to love the islands and are willing to make sacrifices in order to protect the terrestrial and marine environments. One principal sacrifice that many residents discussed is the need to work in an area other than desired, for example retraining to work in healthcare despite having a previous career or training in some other profession. Limited job opportunities on the islands were frequently discussed. We explore this issue further in the following section, in that this particular sacrifice of living in Haida Gwaii represents a cornerstone in local's strategies for making a successful living there.

2.4.3. Strategies for Living on Haida Gwaii

We have an interesting community of people here, who've made big choices to live here.

<div align="right">--Interviewee F16, (Female, 40s)</div>

It's all, it's all I kind of think that people live here however they want to and some of them work really hard at making lots of money and being very successful and some of them are very successful at just living.

<div align="right">--Interviewee F15, (Female, 60s)</div>

According to many interviewees, Haida Gwaii is not a place for 'career-minded' people. Many people choose to live on Haida Gwaii for the distinctive, natural resource- and amenity-rich lifestyle and they adjust their working life to stay on the islands. That is, they see their working life as a 'means to an end', as opposed to seeking success in specific careers: they

<div align="center">39</div>

choose occupations that allow them to make enough income to remain on the islands, while allowing them to experience the various amenities that Haida Gwaii offers, such as hiking, fishing, hunting, spend time with their friends and family, pursuing hobbies, and just generally enjoying life. Described by one interviewee, "we live here because we want to balance different, life-work balance." Interviewee M1 (Male, 60s). Understanding how people pursue and perhaps in some cases achieve this balance is critical to understanding non-Indigenous peoples' motivations and values for the environment on the islands. The interviewee continued,

> Another thing that's really important is lifestyle. We had an ice cream shop here a number of years ago and it was the hottest day of the year and I went to her shop and there was a sign that said, 'too hot, went to the beach.' And you've got to admire that, but at the same time you think, lady you could have made a killing today. But that's the fact, a lot of people here don't want to work full-time. They want to work seasonal, they want to work fewer hours. The minute the weather gets nice, people bugger off, the minute fishing season opens, people quit their jobs so the lifestyle has something to do with it too. People don't want to work long days in a miserable job, or a tough job. Because we live here for a reason, it's a very pretty, pretty place.

> --Interviewee M1, (Male, 60s)

To achieve the work-life balance that could be considered a prototypical, non-Indigenous Haida Gwaii lifestyle, people explain that they approach employment differently than they would in other, less remote and more populated places in Canada. While many residents that we spoke with do not want 'restrictive employment'—jobs that have strict hours or take up a lot of time— there are also limited employment opportunities on the islands. It was an interesting dilemma, the same people who talked about lack of employment being an issue on the islands also discussed how there are always opportunities to work if people are willing to take work that some might consider to be undesirable or less than ideal. Underemployment is not unique to Haida Gwaii but there are less employment options available in rural areas than on the mainland (Blustein et al. 2013; Costanza et al. 2007; McKee-Ryan and Harvey 2011; Thompson et al. 2013; Winefield 2002). The interviewees seemed to attribute this to being one of the common sacrifices that are made to live on Haida Gwaii.

> So it's pretty varied but there is work and there is work available if people are willing to take responsibility and go and seek out resources that can help to make themselves more

employable. You just have to be more patient here, you know it took me 8 or 9 years to find the right job and the right place, I always had work in-between, it was never like awesome work, it was never work that I loved and it wasn't always indefinite, consistent work. So yeah, it's a huge challenge for living here.

--Interviewee F1, (Female, 30s)

We identified three main strategies that people enact to make a successful living on Haida Gwaii: working multiple jobs (what people often called 'cobbling'), working in jobs different from one's schooling or training, and training/retraining for local jobs. Additionally, federal Employment Insurance (E.I.) was frequently noted as an important resource that people use to supplement income when work is challenging to find.

2.4.3.1. Cobbling Together Jobs
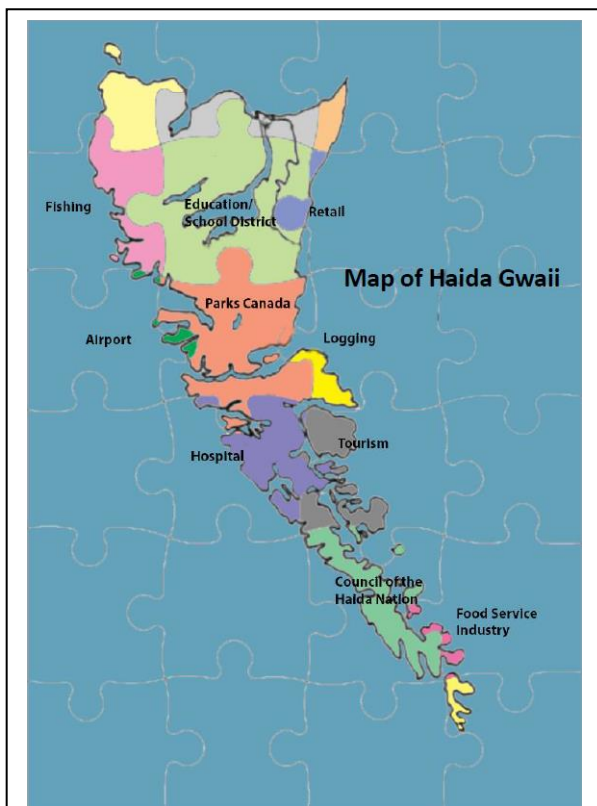
Figure 2.3. An employment jigsaw puzzle I created in Photoshop to represent the main forms of employment on Haida

The first and most common strategy we encountered was 'cobbling': working multiple part time jobs in order make enough income to sustain their lifestyle. As one young woman explained, "I realize I have a lot of jobs but that's full-time work. I mean I really don't work much more than 40 hours a week, and I have a lot of skills to offer so cobbling together full-time work is easier for me than for most."

--Interviewee F2, (Female 30s)

Cobbling was widely described as an important strategy for living in Haida Gwaii, including by people with just one job, in that they would recognize how fortunate they are to not have to hold multiple jobs. As one older woman explained,

When I first came here I was doing five things part-time. And some of them were steady part-time, some of them were casual part-time but I

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had five different jobs. And I've known many, many people that have done that. And like I say it's not in their chosen profession but if they wanted to work they could usually find something to do.

--Interviewee F3, (Female, 70s)

Some interviewees noted that cobbling work requires an intensive balance of time, skills, and community connections. As with many small rural communities one's reputation and community connection, known as social capital, is vital to finding employment (Bebbington 1999; Matthews et al. 2009; Scoones 2009). Not only is it challenging to set up a network of contacts for employment but it can be a challenge to maintain or develop the network. Residents work hard just to have work. As one woman explained, "I'm quite content with it. It took me a while to be content, not having an office job or a career as they say." Interviewee F5 (Female, 30s).

2.4.3.2. Working in Jobs Different than Schooling/Training

Another employment strategy, which was often paired with cobbling, was working in jobs different from one's training or schooling. Many of the professionals we interviewed had accepted that they would not be able to use their primary training or education in their employment, though many still utilized their knowledge in volunteer work on the islands or as a personal hobby. As it was explained by one interviewee, "I've been here 3 1/2 years and it's challenging for me to be here. I don't use my education. Really, I love what I did and I would love to do what I did in the city, here" Interviewee F2 (Female, 30s). This was noted by many as a major compromise, one that motivated many to talk wistfully about possible economic developments on Haida Gwaii that might ultimately create an opportunity for them to use their training.

For many, this strategy has required that people seek retraining for specific local jobs. Retraining was not ubiquitous among our interviewees, but still common enough to suggest a wider pattern. Indeed many referred, second hand, to friends or acquaintances, often youth, who decide what to study at University based upon what jobs are perceived to be available or valuable on the islands. In the most common areas of training that people described seeking are healthcare, government agency work (e.g., Parks Canada), and learning how to run a private business. Training is a concern raised by all ages of workers; for example, when young people

leave to go to college or a vocational school they must decide if they want to pursue a career they are genuinely interested in or choose to be trained in an area that will ideally lead to employment on the islands. As one young man put it, "Just go off and get my school and come home and start living again … I want to come home, man" Interviewee M9 (Male, 20s).

However, we did encounter at least one person who knew of people for whom retraining was not always successful,

I know a couple of people who have gone through that (Parks Canada) training and when they came out of high school a couple of years ago that need was a need here and that need has been filled and so now they are working off island or they're kind of doing little things for parks.

--Interviewee F2, (Female, 30s)

Receiving retraining in order to secure work on Haida Gwaii is a risk because the employment gap might not exist once a person has completed their training course. This employment uncertainty is common on Haida Gwaii but people are depending on a certain return when investing capital in receiving training. This uncertainty may discourage some residents from pursuing this option.

Further, the challenges with predicting employment needs in the communities has meant that some people must take something of a gamble on their career choice in hopes of remaining, while others simply decided to relocate to places where employment would be steady:

There's a lot of people in their early 20s who I've met that grew up here and would love to be here but are doing things they don't have the training for or have differently, entirely unrelated training or want to do training that doesn't really lead to a position in this community. So, retaining those people is really challenging.

--Interviewee F2, (Female, 30s)

The conflict between employment satisfaction and living on Haida Gwaii was a common theme with interviewees. Several interviewees indicated they preferred "way of life" over their ideal employment; this makes sense because people who would have chosen otherwise may have already departed. Training and employment opportunities were seen as a major contributor to employment loss.

2.4.3.3. Employment Insurance

Employment Insurance (EI), a Canadian federal government program that provides benefits to people who have lost their jobs "through no fault of their own" (Employment and Social Development Canada 2017), is yet another way that locals cobble together a living. EI was discussed by several interviewees as being particularly important on Haida Gwaii because much of the available work is seasonal. Due to its isolation Haida Gwaii receives the highest rate of EI available,

> There's not as much employment here as there are other places, we're in one of those zones where you know if you qualify for EI, you qualify for maximum EI because we have a really high, so called high unemployment rate, there's a lot of challenges to employment here.
>
> --Interviewee F1, (Female, 30s)

In addition to receiving payments, people on EI can participate in employment retraining programs and can receive funding to go to university or receive other training. Through the training options, many of which must be pursued off-island, residents can get employment with the Council of the Haida Nation, the school board, the hospitals, the township, the parks, and have a steady job that removes them from the uncertain cycle of Employment Insurance. EI is thus a widely leveraged resource for Haida Gwaii residents, though it can be challenging for some locals to obtain sufficient work hours to be eligible for the benefit:

> The majority of our employment is seasonal. Or its contract. And what that means is if we can only employ somebody for 12 weeks, then they don't get enough for E.I. Or if they actually can secure enough hours for E.I. they are always in that cycle of E.I. all winter and then working and trying their very hardest to get enough hours for the summer.
>
> --Interviewee F8, (Female, 50s)

2.4.3.4. Perceptions of Unemployment/Underemployment and Employment Challenges

Interestingly, we also encountered two divergent perspectives regarding the availability of jobs and people being unwilling to work: one group believed that the high unemployment on Haida Gwaii was due to people being unwilling to work, whereas the other group believed that the high unemployment was due to limited work opportunities and the opportunities that are

available being part time, making it hard for people to get steady work. As one interviewee pointed out, "There aren't even lots of part time opportunities, there just are part time opportunities. So that has a lot of impact" Interviewee F2 (Female, 30s). Another commented about employment quality, "I mean if you want a job stocking shelves in the super market there's a job vacancy right now but if you want something a bit more interesting you might consider leaving the island." Interviewee M10 (Male 70s). However, as a counterpoint, some felt that there were jobs if you wanted them; said one older man about people out of work, "their work ethic too, sometimes I think it's just too easy to live here and get on the welfare list" Interviewee M13 (Male, 70s). One woman said, "We have a very high unemployment rate but I think that's a choice." Interviewee F12 (Female, 40s)

Many people that I encountered expressed a sincere desire to work in jobs that have value, measured in part by being something that has an impact in society, or that in some way is associated with prestige, such as fishing. Similarly, others expressed feeling challenged by the need to 'settle' for jobs that do not meet their own personal standards for value. Some interviewees discussed the need to increase availability of desirable jobs:

> We're only 5,000 people right? It's not a lot of people but there's still a lot of unemployment so it's a challenge of finding the kinds of things that people actually want to do. So not just work but some sort of work that they find meaningful or that they find fulfilling or you know that brings them happiness. All that stuff. And then it's also that we're lacking the jobs apparently but we're also not building up the capacity to fill in the kinds of jobs that we might want have in the future.

> --Interviewee F9, (Female, 40s)

In response to being asked about employment issues, 18 people described their own work history or described the employment situation on Haida Gwaii as, "There's work if you want to work." This is implying that people who are having trouble finding work or are unemployed are not looking hard enough. I would counter that it is not simply an issue of lack of motivation but rather it is because there is a lack of fulfilling work. Work that people feel is interesting, meaningful, and has value:

> So it's difficult sometimes to find employment on Haida Gwaii especially employment that goes through the whole season, there's a lot of seasonal employment here and I had to struggle for a long time to find something that I thought was stable enough to allow me

to live here that still I felt like was good for me, that I felt like happy with, that I felt fit my skills.

<div align="right">--Interviewee F1, (Female, 30s)</div>

2.5. DISCUSSION

Residents of communities in Haida Gwaii are working to find their place in a new, and changing, socio-economic and socio-political reality. In the last 40-50 years the islands have lost most of their commercial fishing, the military base in Masset was closed, and there was a major reduction in commercial forestry. The industries that once generated most of the employment on the islands are gone and the communities are struggling to fill the gap. People spoke with us about a paradox: their communities are struggling but also thriving, because local people's dedication to place means that they are working to find innovative ways for their communities to survive. The non-indigenous residents of Haida Gwaii are working through the challenge of choosing to live in a place for the environment but not necessarily having full access to those resources, while additionally needing to actively work with their Haida neighbors to protect the environment from outside threats.

The apparent paradox that these non-Indigenous residents face is that they live in Haida Gwaii for a number or reasons related to their well-being and happiness, reasons linked to the abundant natural resources and amenities available in the place, but at the same time, they find themselves feeling vulnerable in multiple dimensions. Some, for example, discuss the need to further develop the natural resource-based economy on the islands, but they are also protective, and are seeking a way to create what Guyette (1996) calls balanced development, growing in a way that promotes sustainability. Research has shown that a healthy marine environment is vital to the food security of rural coastal communities (Lowitt 2014). The people we interviewed know this well and are, accordingly, protective of the marine environment and cautious when envisioning new development opportunities. The following extended quotation from one interviewee successfully captures the myriad sentiments that we heard from people on this topic,

> We won't do things while developing the economy that would harm the environment that sustains us. There's a lot of people in the world that find that hard to understand because they aren't connected to their environment but we are very connected to our environment. We depend on it for our food and for our health and we're very cognizant of that all the

time. My wife and I, we haven't bought protein from the store in probably 15, 16 years. We catch, we get given fish now because I'm not fishing any more but we secure our own fish and deer meat and berries and anything we can from the ocean seaweeds and all the other things from the ocean. That's what sustains us. It's vital to us that we keep it clean and healthy. So that's always in the back of our minds. When I say "us," I work for a council of elite people so we could have been wealthy a long time ago, we're sitting on oil and gas right under us here but we won't do that because we don't agree - in fact we got to the point now where we think it all should stay in the ground, which people in Alberta won't want to hear, but that's the reality of it if we hope to survive as a species. That view two years ago is considered extremely radical, now it's almost holding its own in the world. That maybe we've gone a little bit too far in the wrong direction. So as I build an economy I'm always aware of that, so it's like we get an idea - one of the first questions, is it sustainable, will it hurt our environment? No? Okay we'll keep going. I'm hoping that people are going to be more aware and respectful of the environment than what we have here because it's been tossed and trashed around all of the place and this is still one of places where you can actually sustain yourself and live comfortably and healthy. It's not going to be the place with the sky scrapers, it's not going to be the place with the fast food joints. It will just never happen and I know that for a fact. There's too much heart here. There's a lot of people with heart and soul and it is a small island but it would just never fly.

--Interviewee M8, (Male, 70s)

As the interviewee explained in detail above many residents and the Council of the Haida Nation are opposed to any developments that could threaten the health of the environment on Haida Gwaii. People on the islands want additional economic development but most of those interviewed not willing to pursue development that could threaten the long-term health of the islands. All the non-indigenous residents that we spoke with are dedicated to achieving sustainable communities and ecosystems on Haida Gwaii, though they may not all agree about the best strategies for moving forward. Overwhelmingly, they aspire to be stewards: not merely extracting resources and give nothing back but to be conscious residents who attend to their consumption and impact and are committed to the health and sustainability of their communities.

One non-indigenous young man described why he feels passionate about protecting Haida Gwaii,

I'm going to maintain optimism. I'm going to try best to defend and make sure that this place, that I have that security to fall back on. Because this is home for me and I couldn't imagine raising my future children on this island and not being able to go down to the stream and catch a fish or go swim for scallops on the West coast or go out and get urchin. I can't imagine a reality that doesn't have that. I think it's something that's really important to try to keep going.

--Interviewee M9, (Male, 20s)

In our interviews we found non-indigenous residents experience conflicting feels of both security and vulnerability from living on Haida Gwaii. The residents feel secure in the knowledge that the environment could support their families if needed but they feel vulnerable because they have limited access to marine resources, limited inclusion in environmental governance, and the amount of 'outsider' resource extraction. These conflicting feelings has contributed to both the independence and community spirit residents pride in themselves. The strategies for living on Haida Gwaii are based in adaptability and resilience, to mitigate the impact of employment, transportation, and environmental access; which in turn is related to the other common concern--food security.

In other words, residents accept the various challenges that they perceive living in an isolated place because they feel passionately about Haida Gwaii and value the way of life it allows them (Beckley et al. 2002; Brehm et al. 2004; Glorioso and Moss 2007; Krannich et al. 2011; Kwang-Koo et al. 2005; Matarrita-Cascante et al. 2010).

2.6. CONCLUSIONS

The people of Haida Gwaii are intimately tied to subsistence from marine and terrestrial resources. It is clear that many believe that any disruption to the health of the environment will impact the culture and health of their communities, with varying impacts upon individuals. Haida Gwaii is not an easy place to live and raise children, but the lifestyle it offers is precious to community members, so many are willing to sacrifice employment security, societal benefits and creature comforts to maintain their homes and lives. The paradox of the desirability of living in such a natural resource dependence balances the resulting responsibility of stewardship, which has created challenges that many non-indigenous residents did not expect but are willing to

accept. The future of Haida Gwaii, like that of many rural communities, is directly tied to global trends of interconnected environmental vulnerabilities, economic fluctuations, and the movement of people, resources, and information (Adger et al. 2009; Berkes and Ross 2013; Coulthard et al. 2011; Dolan and Walker 2006; Schleicher 2017; Scoones 2009; Turner et al. 2003). Haida Gwaii residents face local problems shaped by global trends, which have required that people find ways to be resilient, adaptable, and also to function as active protectors and stewards of local ecosystems. All on the island appear driven by a desire to preserve their environment and their way of life. Residents equate their personal and community health with that the health of the environment because their entire way of life is intertwined with the land and sea of Haida Gwaii.

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3. REFLECTION ON MY ART-BASED APPROACH TO ANALYSIS

In summer, 2014, I worked as an undergraduate research assistant at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. The lead of the project, who I had never met, was Dr. Philip Loring of the University of Saskatchewan. I enjoyed working on the project, and colleagues and family had urged me to contact Dr. Loring about a possible Master's project. I was anxious but also eager during our first phone call, and to be honest I had no real project in mind; I simply knew I wanted to continue doing anthropology connected to the environment. The call went smoothly; Dr. Loring was very excited because he had a project that needed a graduate student, and he felt that I would be a perfect fit. The project was ethnographic research on Haida Gwaii: interviewing Haida and Non-Haida residents about their experiences of changes in the marine environment. Within a week, I had signed a contract and was signed up to take graduate-level anthropology and fishery classes at the University of Alaska Fairbanks in the fall, which I would then transfer to the University of Saskatchewan in January. I was a little thrown by how quickly everything was going, but it felt right.

On our first few trips to Haida Gwaii, Dr. Loring led the interviews so that I could get accustomed to the procedures and questions. We quickly learned that our expectations regarding the most important issues facing locals were not fully on the mark; essentially people would say, "the environment's fine, there are too few of us to impact it, I haven't seen much change in my time, here are the real concerns on Haida Gwaii…" and then they would go on to talk about numerous social, economic, or governance issues that they feel have more bearing on their lives and livelihoods. These initial experiences naturally informed the direction of our research: instead of focusing on residents' concerns regarding the marine environment, we instead learned how important access to the marine environment was to survival on Haida Gwaii. The dependence on marine resources makes local residents very defensive of marine health, and also motivates them to want to be more involved in the governance of those resources (which I discuss further in the conclusion).

I cannot recall exactly what I anticipated of my experience on Haida Gwaii, but one thing I did not expect was that Haida residents I would meet around town would groan in annoyance when I told them I was on island to conduct interviews. Sort of a "not another one…" response. Haida people, like many First Nations, are experiencing what is termed as "research fatigue": they are tired of outsiders coming in, asking questions, typically of Haida elders, and then

disappearing. This is a completely understandable reaction and apparently particularly common in indigenous communities. Interestingly, I got the completely opposite reaction from non-indigenous residents—they were surprised when I wanted to interview them. "Really? but I'm not Haida…" and I would have to tell them, "yes but you've lived here x-number of years and your experiences are valuable too." Sometimes, they would still recommend I speak to a Haida friend or neighbor instead, but when they found I did really want to interview them, non-indigenous residents were more than happy to speak with me and had much to say about our research.

When I first sat down to analyze my data, I was overwhelmed with all the themes and stories that these people were trying to tell. There was so much to talk about that I froze for what felt like weeks. I was and am very concerned about doing justice to the people I interviewed; given that they gave their time and told me their stories and I want to present their information in a way to benefit their communities. Eventually, with support from Dr. Loring, I got past my trepidation and started making word maps, theme webs, and other ways to visually represent my findings. This process evolved into more purely artistic imaginings of the data. I find that art projects; quilting, printmaking, and sculpting with polymer clay helps me process what I have learned or what I have been thinking about. Using art as a way to both process and create information is known as "arts-based research." The process of "knowing through the arts takes place in ways that are distinctly different yet complementary to more logical cognition" (McNiff 2007, 30). I decided to make linocuts that would augment and express my written findings.

A linocut is a form of stamp making where an image is carved into a piece of art linoleum, inked with a roller, and then stamped onto paper or some other media. I find the carving to be a meditative process, and enjoy that the final product can produce as many copies as I like. It almost feels like a reusable art form. Ultimately, I was able to produce five linocuts (presented and discussed below) that encode one or more aspects of the stories people shared with me in ways that academic writing cannot. Increasingly, people are coming to understand that social and environmental problems can only be understood through multiple lenses, and from many perspectives. These linocuts are my attempt to provide another window into non-Indigenous people's experiences living and working in Haida Gwaii: their values, concerns, fears, and hopes for the future.

3.1. Stamp One: The Marine Environment
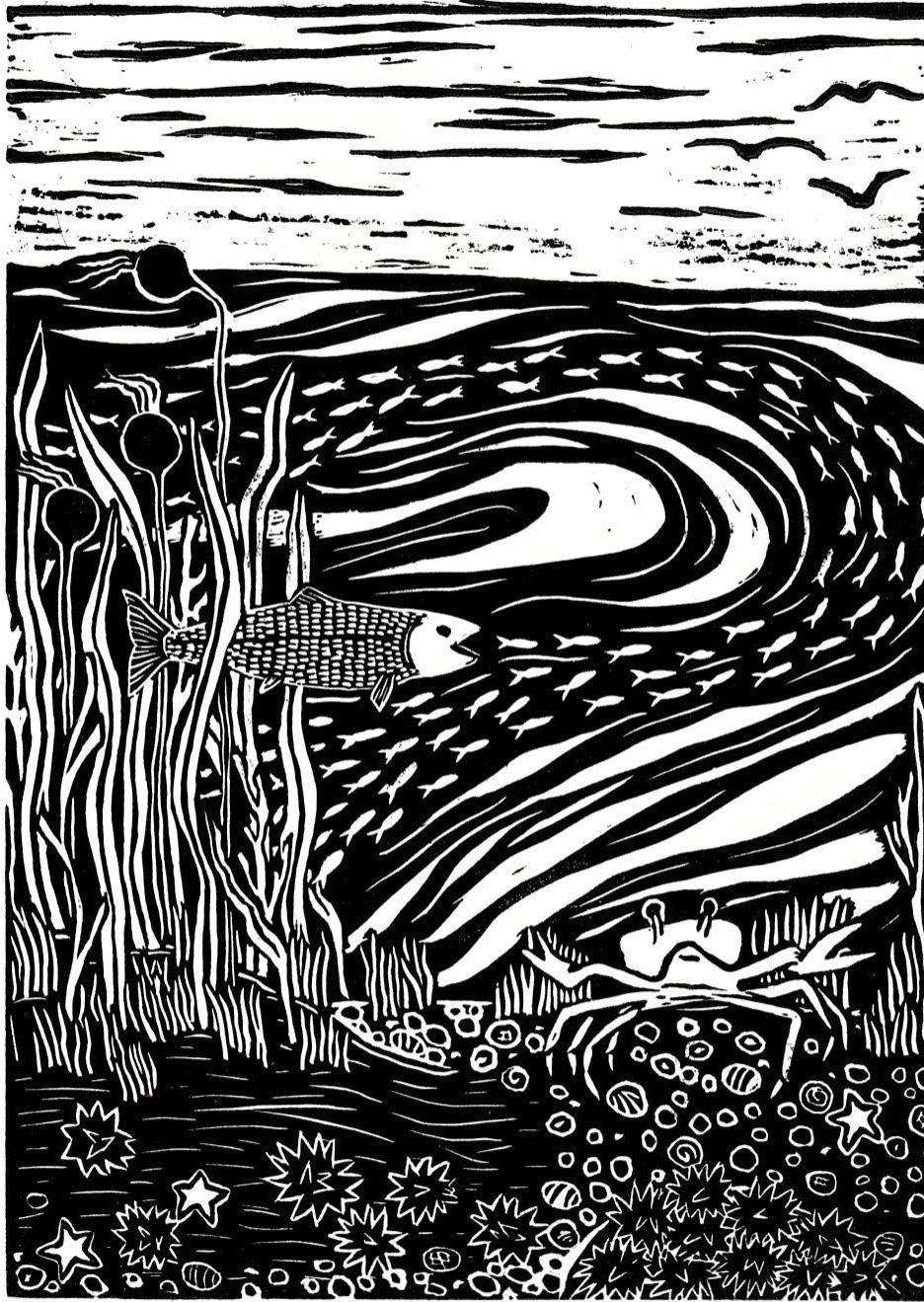
Living here in Masset we just live very close to the ocean anyway. We get a lot of our food from the ocean. We fish for salmon throughout the season, dig clams. There's a lot of different reasons why the ocean is important to our lives, generally speaking

--Interviewee F1, (Female, 30s)

The first linocut I made for my Haida Gwaii series is intended to show the richness and diversity of the marine environment; the sea urchins, kelp beds, seaweed, sea stars, clams, king crabs, herring, salmon, and marine birds. This stamp is meant to show the complexity of the marine environment and the dependence of the health of the system on many keystone species (Paine 1969).

> Anytime you go out there and look there's feed all over the place, there's all sort of seabirds feeding, there's all kind of whales doing the same thing, the humpbacks are just going along and swallowing tons of fish at a bite full. Small like the needlefish and stuff like that. I'm picking up fish all the time with krill in them and that's really at the bottom end of the food chain and the water is clean, everything is clean. The only concern is the junk floating in, if you go out on the beach, there's plastic bags all over the place
>
> --Interviewee M3, (Male, 60s)

When I asked residents if the marine environment was healthy a common response was, "as healthy as the world's oceans are" (Male, 40s) The external, global, threats were viewed as the most significant danger to Haida Gwaii; be it climate change, Fukushima radiation, pollution, the 'blob,' sport lodges bringing in outsiders, commercial fishing, or external governance. I think the general perception was that if Haida Gwaii was removed from the global system and local residents could govern and monitor themselves, then Haida Gwaii would be health for many generations to come but because being removed from the global system is impossible locals are doing their best to keep the marine environment plentiful and secure.

I considered adding a sea otter to the stamp to include a marine mammal, but I ultimately decided it was important to omit it, because sea otters were almost completely hunted out along the West Coast of North American and Haida Gwaii is still seeing the impacts of this.

> Well it started going downhill when they got rid of the sea otters. And the sea urchins have taken over and the kelp beds have greatly reduced since I got here. It's really noticeable. Until we get rid of the excess of sea urchins which means bringing the sea otters back in; it's going to continue that way. The kelp forest - everything depends on the kelp forest.
>
> --Interviewee M19, (Male, 60s)

There was some mention on the islands of bringing back the sea otter to combat sea urchin numbers to improve the health of kelp forests and sea grass. The removal of a key

predator, sea otters, has had an impact on the entire system and some residents are advocating for sea otters to be reintroduced to Haida Gwaii.

> Yes, I think that the kelp beds are low because there's so many urchins, we don't have the predators for urchins. I think it would be positive if we brought sea otters back. everybody is so worried that they're going to eat our sea urchins, our geoducks, they're going to eat our abalone but you know what, we don't have access to those resources now, there's not enough of us to have access to those resources now why is that an issue. It should be let's bring the salmon back, let's do something to bring the salmon back and I think if we bring the otters back, they'll eat the urchins which are making our kelp beds smaller, bigger kelp beds I think will bring more fish.

> --Interviewee F6, (Female, 30s)

Ultimately, what I tried to capture here is the fact that residents generally see the marine environment of Haida Gwaii is rich and diverse, and that despite some outside threats (which I'll get to with a later linocut), they are overall positive in their outlook on marine health.

3.2. Stamp Two: Deer and Herring

Know that food costs quite a bit here and so being able to sort of eat, especially over the winter, salmon and deer.

--Interviewee M5, (Male, 40s)

I carved this linocut to represent Haida Gwaii residents' dependence on both the marine and terrestrial environments. The herring is meant to represent the marine environment because it

is an important cultural keystone species (Garibaldi and Turner 2004). The health of other "main" marine species is linked in one way or another to herring population and health, thus the herring, in a way, directly supports all human life on Haida Gwaii. The deer, although an introduced species on the islands that have created significant ecological changes, are likewise an important protein source for locals. I intend the deer and the herring circling the islands as a metaphor for the dependence residents have on harvesting their own foods to be able to afford to live on Haida Gwaii.

In the early stages of my research, Dr. Loring and I were trying to come up with a term for non-indigenous residents of Haida Gwaii that would be acceptable to all of those we interviewed. This was no trivial matter; how to refer to the 'identity' of non-Indigenous people in Haida Gwaii is an unresolved challenge that many people, including at the CHN, lamented to us. Non-indigenous is not a good term because it defines a group of people by what they are not. Settler is a widely used term in Canada, but some locals resented the term because their families had lived on the islands for generations. Non-Haida, which we also heard often (from both Haida and non), was also unpopular because Haida means 'people', so non-Haida would essentially mean 'non-people'. Ultimately, we never found a better alternative so for my thesis writing we called them non-indigenous. For a while I was trying to convince Dr. Loring that we could call them Deer People, because like the deer they are new to the islands and are now a significant part of island life. I thought it had a nice ring to it, the Haida and the Deer People. Unfortunately, but I'm sure for the best, no one else thought Deer People was a good idea, and ultimately, it is not our responsibility or right to 'name' a people. As a linocut, it serves as a metaphor, with the deer, of course, representing the non-indigenous residents and the herring representing the Haida.

Nearly all of the people I spoke with on the Islands hunt and fish or had friends and family who hunted and fished for them. Accessing local foods in an important part of life and survival on Haida Gwaii, "That's basically my entire diet. Fish and deer from the island." Interviewee M9 (Male, 20s) It is possible to harvest a substantial amount of a person's diet from the islands. One interviewee told me, "Oh I'm sure if I wasn't working it would be more. Around 25%? But I'm not a typical example there's lots of people in Masset and Old Masset who are probably gathering 80% of their diet between hunting and fishing and clam digging and all kinds of other things." Interviewee F1 (Female, 30s) Due to the high cost of food on the islands many residents view it worth the labor to gather and process local resources, "There's so much to

harvest here, living off the ocean and the land and it's really easy to harvest and keep yourself going for the winter. You know, if you're willing to plug in the hours of canning and smoking and all of that, it's easy, it's just time consuming." Interviewee M11 (Male, 40s) Local dependence on the natural environment for food security has certainly influenced the community connection to the marine environment and empathy for marine species.

I also wanted this stamp to show the connection between the land and the sea, a connection that residents are keenly aware of. One woman explained the intertwining between the marine and terrestrial environments, "salmon are a land fish you could say, like land birds, they come up all the streams and rivers to spawn." Interviewee F10 (Female, 70s) Another woman went on and explained the same understanding of connectedness, "There's a Haida saying that everything depends on everything else; the forest depends on the salmon. So, in the cedar they find the very same things that are in the salmon, the bears feed on the salmon, they carry the carcass into the woods, those carcasses fertilize the cedars and it's all this big cycle." Interviewee F14 (Female, 40s) To many residents the marine and terrestrial environments are part of a whole and what impacts one impacts the other. The environmental system is a cycle and the health of one is dependent upon the health of the other.

3.3. Stamp Three: Herring Laying Roe on Kelp

I knew in my stamp series for my thesis I would have to make a stamp showing a herring laying roe (eggs) on kelp. At the time of our interviews 2015-2016 a significant conflict was going on between the Council of the Haida Nation and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans over the opening of the Pacific herring fishery. I think it is likely that this backdrop of conflict contributed to how our research was received by the Haida and the difficulties we encountered

that led our work to focus just on non-Indigenous residents. The Pacific herring fishery all along the West Coast of North America had collapsed in the 1980-90s and had a devastating impact on the marine environment. Herring is a keystone species and feeds many other species. Their loss affected the rest of the marine system. On March 6, 2015 the Federal Court of Canada passed the injunction filed by the President of the Haida Nation, Peter Lantin, and the Council of the Haida Nation against the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans to stop the opening of the 2015 herring roe fishery. This ruling was important for many reasons; it prevented the opening of a vulnerable fishery to allow more time for the herring population to recover, it acknowledged the rights of the Council of the Haida Nation, and that the Government of Canada must meet and negotiate with the Council of the Haida Nation, and hopefully will lead to a precedent of the Government of Canada and industry sufficiently consulting local communities. Non-indigenous residents of Haida Gwaii praised the Council of the Haida Nation for being politically active and protecting the islands.

RECOMMENDATION

Maintain a closure for the three areas for the 2014 fishing season, but signal commitment for the following:

(1) Continue explore options for commercial Pacific herring licence fee reform;
(2) Advance work under the sustainable fisheries framework to renew the current management framework; and
(3) Signal a commitment by the Department to continue to work with industry to maintain the necessary science activities (on a cost sharing basis) in support to the long-term sustainability of this fishery. Note that this will require a departmental funding strategy.

The target date for release of the final draft IFMP for consultation is December 16, 2013.

A meeting with your staff could be arranged if you wish.

_____
Matthew King
Deputy Minister

David Bevan
Associate Deputy Minister

[ ] I concur   [✓] I do not concur

Gail Shea
Gail Shea
Minister

Minister's comments

The Minister agrees to an opening at a conservative 10% harvest rate for the 2014 fishing season in the three fishing areas. Please proceed with the identified science work as well as license and management reform.

Attachment – TAB 1 – Stock Assessment – Trends in Herring biomass

Request has been made for stakeholders to be informed no later than COB Dec. 23 /13.

Figure 3.4. Pictured above is the conclusion to the Fisheries and Oceans Canada December 2013 Report, where DFO scientists recommend keeping the herring fishery closed for the 2014 season and Minister Gail Shea handwrote an order of opening the fishery at a 10% harvest rate. This was a strong piece of evidence the Council of the Haida Nation used to win their injunction. The Minister's disregard of the DFO's scientists contributes to mistrust between the DFO and local communities when it comes to environmentally motivated management of resources.

One thing I observed that I think would be important for more Haida people to know is that many non-indigenous residents are respectful of, and often also thankful for, for the political power the CHN, that they were able to utilize when dealing with the opening of the herring fishery. The DFO is seen as not being cautious enough with fishing limits and thus the Council of the Haida Nation are viewed as vital in increasing sanctions and holding environmental protection to a higher level. This demonstrates two situations; the lack of faith the Haida Gwaii locals feel in the DFO and the higher accountability the CHN is seen as functioning at,

> I think something that does happen here quite a bit is that some sort of official protections get put into place over and above what the Department of Fisheries and Oceans puts in and an example of that would be the reopening of the herring fishery earlier this year. Haida Fisheries and the Haida Nation had a rather strong objection to opening the herring fishery because they didn't think that it was time and that it was sustainable so they were able to contradict the Department of Fisheries and Ocean's decision and actually took them to court and got an injunction to be able to slow that down. So in that sense, you know, the local community went over and above what the Department of Fisheries and Oceans is doing and was able to take great responsibility for the protection of a resource even though in a lot of regards sometimes things would be more financially beneficial to just be like, 'yeah its open lets go herring fish! We'll make a bunch of money.' That's fine for one year but in the long term not so much.

--Interviewee F2, (Female, 30s)

The reaction of the Council of the Haida Nation and interviewee's support of the CHN's actions really inspired me. The herring represents a unifying concern of the communities of Haida Gwaii and a significant political victory by the Council of the Haida Nation. This is because herring are cultural keystone species as well as an indicator of marine health. Even if non-indigenous residents do not have access to herring it makes them feel more secure in ocean

health to know that they are there and not being overfished. The Haida traditionally harvest roe by collecting the seaweed or cedar branches the roe is laid on and the food is known as G'aaw. This allows the herring to live and means that not all the roe from one fish is taken. In the commercial herring roe fishery, the herring is killed for the roe to be removed and sold to markets in Asia. This creates both a very different harvesting experience but also a very different relationship with the herring.

> DFO wants to open up the herring fishery here, the Council of the Haida Nation, the central coast West of Vancouver Island, central coast of B.C. and all of Haida Gwaii want no herring fishery due to spawn on kelp because then you're not killing the fish. The herring come back for up to 7 years to spawn. You're taking those fish away, you're killing all of those fish. DFO thinks that's okay. We know that it's not.
>
> --Interviewee F6, (Female, 30s)

The impacts of the loss of the herring is still being felt and remembered on the islands. It is still seen as a major tragedy that has not yet been made right.

> When we first moved there it was in the early 80s and in the spring time when the herring would come in there used to be major, major flocks of ducks. Lots of them. There used to be grey whales, come around the inlet, where we were, so many they used to wake us up at night, the grey whales. There are all kinds of different variety of different ducks that used to come around. There really hasn't been that. That's not there anymore. That's gone.
>
> --Interviewee M2, (Male, 70s)

While this stamp is a straight forward image of a herring, I was thinking of the communities' concerns and the political significance of the herring while I was designing and carving the stamp. The fight over the herring represents the fight over the marine environment and how the residents of Haida Gwaii, specifically the Council of the Haida Nation have had to be such forceful advocates for their non-human neighbors. It has taken over ten years for the herring population to inch back from near collapse, and they are still nowhere near their original numbers.

3.4. Stamp Four: LNG and Enbridge

One major oil spill could finish us for years.

--Interviewee, (Male, 70s)

Another major environmental and political conflict during my time on Haida Gwaii centered on the proposed LNG and Enbridge pipelines. It was a significant theme through many of my interviews, and residents were afraid of what the pipeline and resulting supertankers could mean to marine and human life on Haida Gwaii. As I discussed at length in the previous chapter, many people fear the possibility an oil spill, and how that would impact marine life. I had originally not intended to include a stamp about the pipelines because I felt the other stamps explained my time on Haida Gwaii. However, when I thought back to my interviews it felt wrong to leave out something that captured the attention of so many locals. I want to give a full picture of my conversations with residents and it is important to include Enbridge and LNG. In this stamp I reproduce the common lawn sign that people used to protest the pipelines (in the

upper-right and lower-left quadrants), contrasted with an aerial view of a supertanker and a segment of oil pipeline. This is intended to show the two, starkly polarized sides of the conflict.

For Haida Gwaii residents, the strong shared opposition to the proposed pipelines was very black and white. If there are no supertankers transporting oil off of the Coast of British Columbia there is no threat to the marine environment, "there's no off shore oil and gas occurring, so there's no opportunity for oil spills. It's probably one of the healthiest marine environments along the coast actually." Interviewee F10 (Female, 70s) Residents talk about environmental in terms of risk, the risk of the herring fishery causing the herring population to collapse and the risk of the tankers spilling oil along the B.C. coast.

> And any risk as far as more tankers in the waters - yes, there are already tankers that navigate our waters to a certain extent but they are not carrying bitumen, they're not carrying huge amounts of crude or whatever so to put our waters at that kind of risk as far as Enbridge and Northern Gateway are pushing for. It's just not worth the risk. LNG I know would also like to exploit the natural gas resources that are here. People are going to tell you that it's going to come whether you want it to or not. I believe the Haida people are a formidable force, a warrior force. They're going to fight that and if anybody could stop that from happening, anybody who can protect their waters, it's the Haida people. Formidable, formidable political force.

--Interviewee F14, (Female, 40s)

The Haida and non-indigenous residents are united in the desire to protect the waters of Haida Gwaii, be it against pollution or over extraction. The herring and pipeline tankers issues highlighted the community unity against environmental threats.

3.5. Stamp Five: The Seine Boat
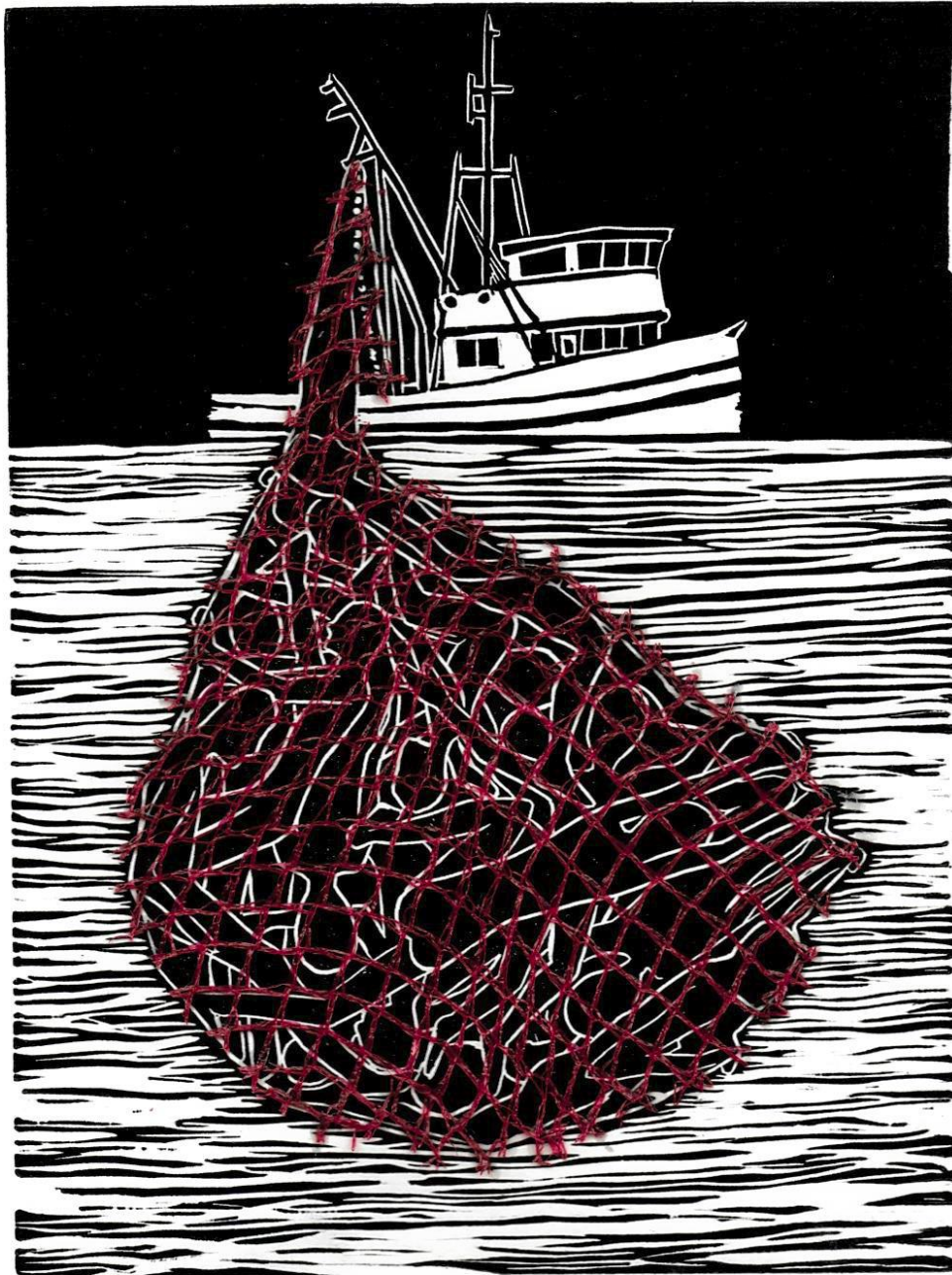
I remember being interviewed for the New York Times, he's sitting in an office in New York, in his mind he couldn't understand there's people in this world who are concerned about that tree being healthy and the ocean being clean. Because my future depends on it and the health of my children and grandchildren depend on it. No, you get your food from the store, that connection's not there, it's broken.

--Interviewee M8, (Male, 70s)

The final stamp is intended to illustrate the residents of Haida Gwaii's special connection to their ocean. Locals view outsiders and "city people" as lacking a fundamental connection to place and the natural world and thus for the most part unable to understand why they are so passionate about protecting the environment. In this stamp, I am representing this special relationship in anthropocentric terms, using the value of human life as a metaphor for the value Haida Gwaii residents put on the marine environment and marine resources. When locals see what they believe to be unsustainable harvesting of fish, any species of fish, they see their families and their communities being irreparably harmed. In a sense they see their children's health and future being dragged from the ocean. That is why they are so passionate and so vocal about protecting their environment.

One man explained the local attitude towards ideal environmental very succinctly, "I think they're wanting to find this kind of happy place where they're able to take for their own subsistence, able to also profit from in the industry while also making sure that, you know, that things are sustainable for the seven generations." Interviewee M5 (Male, 40s) Residents want the environment to be at a place where they can harvest for their own needs, generate jobs on the water, all while operating under a cautionary principle in order for the environment to be healthy and plentiful for future generations. On a global scale the current pattern of marine consumption does not allow for these goals to be achievable. To summarize an interviewee, the world wants what Haida Gwaii has, such that being an island no longer has the same meaning as it once did.

The global trend to focus on resource development has come at the expense of human communities. I also intend with this stamp to illustrate unsustainable development and extraction is consuming communities by removing important resources, undermining relationships, creating conflicts, and leaving communities with a sense of powerlessness. Rural communities have been disenfranchised from their local environments and forced to carry the burdens and costs of often unwanted resource development. Not only do the communities absorb environmental harm but they do so while not receiving the financial or employment benefits. The concerns over the pipelines tells the same story as the seine boat, the residents of Haida Gwaii bore the risk of an oil spill, the people who profit from the shipping of oil are not dependent on the marine environment to feed their families and would not have to move if there was an oil spill. Local control over the local environment would be an incredibly positive global trend and while slowing business development I believe it would likely encourage environmental protection as

people would treat their environment more cautiously than outsiders would. I feel that locally controlled sustainable development in an area, such as Haida Gwaii, would generate well-paid local employment and encourage community growth while being mindful of environmental health.

Haida Gwaii is a magical place, one that touches many people and inspires non-indigenous residents from across the world to make the islands their home. The sense of community between the Haida and non-indigenous residents has gone through many evolutions and now rests in a united concern for the terrestrial and marine environments. As a unified front and with the leadership of the Council of the Haida Nation the communities of Haida Gwaii have proven very successful handling the challenges from outside government and industry. The opportunity to work on Haida Gwaii has truly been a privilege and I hope residents feel my stamps accurately represent their communities and concerns. The prints will be featured online at the Conservation of Change Lab's website and on display permanently in the School of Environment and Sustainability's office. I also plan to return to Haida Gwaii to present my research findings to the local communities and I will send copies of my thesis to major community centers to increase community access.

Finally, I hope that this thesis opens up opportunity for other students in the School of Environment and Sustainability (SENS) to explore the use of alternative formats and approaches for analyzing and communicating their findings. SENS currently has a policy to allow students to use alternative formats as the principle component of their thesis, yet no student has yet taken advantage of this opportunity. My work reveals just some of the potential for using this policy to explore one's standpoint in relation to their research, and also to use their work to tap into dimensions of sustainability that cannot be effectively explored or communicated through scientific writing for venues such as peer reviewed journals. Hopefully my reflections in this section will inspire future students to experiment with their work in whatever way best resonates with them and with their research partners/collaborators.

3.6 REFERENCES

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4. CONCLUSION

The people I met on Haida Gwaii are amazing, passionate, generous, and driven. It was a privilege to be able to talk with them and learn about their lives and their concerns and hopes for Haida Gwaii. During my interviews, I found that they are pursuing many initiatives organized by residents to improve quality of life and long-term success on Haida Gwaii. It appears to me that local residents have many ideas of ways to ensure the health and well-being of their communities. However, they report lacking the funding, collaboration, and governmental authority to achieve these goals. Overall, locals seem to be focused on finding sustainable environmental development in order to generate more employment on the islands, which they feel would ideally address other social and economic issues on the islands. The challenges come from identifying employment options that work for local residents and coordinating the development of industries in a very complicated socio-political landscape. I fully believe that the residents of Haida Gwaii have the motivation and capabilities to achieve their goals for the Islands' futures, it will just take time and cooperation. Most importantly, the consideration of the health of the marine and terrestrial environments will be of paramount importance to any local acceptance of future development on Haida Gwaii.

Haida Gwaii is, in many ways, an example of a blended NRDC and amenities-based community. However, because of its remoteness, the community does not appear to suffer the various challenges related to gentrification and lack of engagement by immigrating residents as others do. Many of the non-indigenous residents no doubt settled on Haida Gwaii for the amenities-based benefits, they came for the beauty of the islands and the lifestyle. However, these residents also describe themselves as committed stewards of Haida Gwaii's terrestrial and marine environments. Historically, much of the employment opportunities on the islands came from environmental extraction (particularly logging), with many residents also relying on fishing and hunting for food making Haida Gwaii a unique NRDC. Due to the limited opportunities for employment and economic development, access to environmental resources is fundamentally necessary for survival on Haida Gwaii. Residents are approaching the challenges of underemployment on Haida Gwaii by searching for the balance between developing natural resources and conservation of the local environment. My thesis is beneficial to scholarship on amenity migration and NRDCs because the amenity migration to Haida Gwaii is what I've termed 'invested amenity migration.' Non-indigenous residents who move to Haida Gwaii are

not attempting to separate themselves from their Haida neighbors and gentrify the islands. Rather, they are invested in working to become part of local communities and steward local environmental resources.

We did not interview Haida residents, but it is possible that they do not experience these feelings of isolation and a need for develop in the same way, given that Haida Gwaii is their homeland. This would make for an interesting piece of research that could help build cross-cultural understanding among Haida and non-Indigenous communities. Haida Gwaii is one community made out of many; in addition to the Haida and non-indigenous communities, we noted an apparent divide between the Northern and Southern communities and Sandspit. All of these communities, separated by distance or ethnicity, are learning to live together, to coexist. This process is a challenge because just as non-indigenous people are trying to find their own identity in this place the Haida are trying to assert theirs as the sovereign people. This apparent willingness to coexist may be an important ingredient in community building on Haida Gwaii.

Specifically, I observed two things during my time on Haida Gwaii that make me believe it is possible for local people, both Haida and non-indigenous, to work together towards these goals. First was the widespread opposition to development in the form of bitumen or liquefied natural gas pipelines that would have created new and risky shipping traffic around the islands. As I talk about above, when my advisor and I first visited the island we were overwhelmed with the number of lawn signs protesting Enbridge displayed on people's property, regardless of whether we were in a primarily non-Indigenous community (e.g., Queen Charlotte) or a reserve (e.g., Skidegate). As one interviewee that I quote in Chapter 2 said, "we are very good at saying no." This, I think, is sign that there is a basis for these groups of people to collaborate towards a more sustainable and secure future for all islanders. Second, is my more general observation in Chapter 2 that non-indigenous residents 1) feel compelled to steward local ecosystems, and 2) by and large trust the CHN with the governance over local ecosystems. While there will surely continue to be points of discord or disagreement among these groups, I believe the building blocks for developing trust and collaboration are there.

Further research of the experiences non-indigenous residents living in areas of indigenous governance and control would be an interesting and important area to pursue. Other than the research of Braroe (1965) and Bennett (1969) from five decades ago, there has been (to my knowledge) little research on non-indigenous experience in indigenous territory. It would be an

important area of research to improve collaboration, communication, and healing in these communities. It is important to understand the concerns of both sides to mediate a solution and lead to community building. Non-indigenous experience in indigenous territory has been an under-researched field, which could greatly benefit all involved, while avoiding contributing to research fatigue in these communities.

Chapter 3 of my thesis demonstrates how arts can be used to communicate the findings of sustainability research and be a constructive way to express complex issues. The written analysis of Chapter 2 paired with the art reflection piece was beneficial to show my inter-subjectivity with the research as well as communicate the findings of my research. The act of choosing issues to represent through art illustrates the matters I felt were pinnacle to community wellbeing on Haida Gwaii. If I were to create one more stamp for the linocut series I would carve one that represented local governance.

The issues of environmental protection, environmental access, and community wellbeing on Haida Gwaii are situated in the context of governance. This turned out to be too large of an issue to be included in this Master's thesis but I am working on a publishing a separate paper focused on governance issues. In short, non-indigenous residents I interviewed did not feel threatened by the Haida's moves to establish sovereignty over the islands and were often very supportive. A few of the non-indigenous residents actively spoke about the need for healing between the Haida and non-indigenous communities in order to move forward as a united island population,

> I know it's kind of, when you're not Haida on these Islands, you hear how they're trying to take everything back. I mean it's kind of, you're kind of like, 'Whoa.' . . . People who are here that are non-Haida are not threatening towards them at all. Like, 'Yeah go for it. Take it back' and they have. Really I mean you can't do anything in these islands without their permission. Right? You might have the permission of the federal and provincial government but it doesn't mean anything until you get the yes and the thumbs up from the Haida. Most people, and I mean there's some people on island, some old school thinkers, I guess that don't see that as being a good thing but most of us see no harm in it really. But there will always be tension, a little bit of tension between, you know the Haida and people that aren't Haida on island, just because of what's passed, I mean you can't just shove that away right? Yeah I don't know. That's a touchy subject . . .

Well in that sense I'd say we're probably on the forefront of governing these islands together. If it's going to happen anywhere it's going to be here, you know where it's all going to come together and everyone is going to live in happiness I guess you could say. This is the place where it's going to be.

--Interviewee M15 (Male, 40s)

Additionally, interviewees were disenchanted with the Provincial and Federal Government's treatment of Haida Gwaii. One young non-indigenous man summed up what many of the interviewees felt, that the CHN was more accountable and considerate of Haida Gwaii's needs than the Government of Canada.

They can say stuff but if then really if the Haida Nation say, well I guess the Haida Nation are a government agency, but if they say something I'll probably take their word over the DFO.

--Interviewee M9, (Male 20s)

While many non-indigenous residents aligned themselves with the Council of the Haida Nation they do not have any channels to impact the governance of Haida Gwaii,

I think the islands ultimately will benefit from people who are invested in this place having the ability to talk to one another and to be involved in decision making in a real way, because right now I would align my personal values with the Council of the Haida Nation more than the B.C. government or the Federal government for example but I'm not Haida so I have no voice in the Haida government, which means I can't really have any influence on those decisions that are being made, and relatively speaking, very little voice in the B.C. government.

--Interviewee F9, (Female, 40s)

Some non-indigenous locals feel underrepresented in meetings with the CHN and the Province and Federal governments. The non-indigenous residents I spoke to acknowledge the Haida's preferential rights to Haida Gwaii, they just want to have more input in the governance of the islands. Non-indigenous residents want a form of governance on Haida Gwaii similar to the Archipelago Management Board but consisting of Haida and non-indigenous residents. Most of the non-indigenous residents I interviewed did not expect a 50/50 split in governance with the Haida and were fine with a Haida majority, they simply wanted to have more input than they presently feel that they do.

It was evident that many non-indigenous locals believe that the CHN is in the best position to effectively manage local resources. For example, as expressed by one interviewee,

Well, I think a lot of people, are much like me that live on the islands in the sense that they do appreciate the value of the place and for sure, the Haida people, there's no doubt about it and if it wasn't for their participation and belief and maintenance and preservation of this place, I hate to say it, but it would have been over run a long time ago.

--Interviewee M2, (Male, 70s)

Another man explained the community perception that the DFO is not managing the environment in a prudent manner,

And then that's what I, it's kind of sad, non-First Nations, we have to count on our First Nations to actually say, come on. DFO had a conference here, and they admitted that our science was flawed, and 'until we have better science we're going to stick with it.' No, you should stay precautionary principle.

--Interviewee M1, (Male, 60s)

The community focused, limited external governance which non-indigenous residents preferred for environmental management seems to be the way in which the communities of Haida Gwaii are attempting to move forward together. The strength of local communities' love of place has helped the Haida and non-indigenous populations work together in protecting the natural environment. The need to protect the marine environment helps to unite the Haida and non-indigenous communities. While non-indigenous locals are not currently stressed about the current state of the marine environment they are very aware about how important the marine environment is to them being able to live on Haida Gwaii. That is why both the Haida and non-indigenous people are so active and forceful about protecting the waters around Haida Gwaii. They do not care about profit or promises, they only care about keeping the marine environment healthy so they are able to live there. People are thinking about challenges not just as individual or family challenges but as community challenges. The Council of the Haida Nation should be encouraged to know that they have allies on Haida Gwaii who feel quite strongly about stewarding the natural environment and who are committed to building strong local communities.

My thesis evolved from focusing on environmental concerns into studying the livelihood strategies of non-indigenous residents of Haida Gwaii. This turned out to be a nuanced issue that looked at governance, underemployment, environmental access, and social and environmental concerns. The most important finding I would like to make clear is that non-indigenous residents choose to live on Haida Gwaii because of the marine and terrestrial environments and are able to afford to live on Haida Gwaii because of access to these environments. At their core the communities of Haida Gwaii have a great love and appreciation for their environments and are fundamentally protective of the islands.

4.2 REFERENCES

Bennett, John W. 1969. Northern Plainsmen: Adaptive Strategy and Agrarian Life. Chicago: Aldine.

Braroe, Niels Winther. 1965. "Reciprocal Exploitation in an Indian-White Community." Southernwestern Journal of Anthropology XXI: 166–78.

Interview Guide
We are here with you today to talk about the marine environment, how it relates to the health and well-being of you and your family, and what you think constitutes a "healthy" and "sustainable" environment. We'll talk about the ways you value the marine environment, changes you've observed that concern you, ways your lives have been impacted by changes, and your preferences for the future.

Remember that your answers are confidential and we will not record your name or other identifying information with your answers. You can stop the interview or opt out of the study at any time.

Open-ended questions
1) Tell me about yourself? Are you from Haida Gwaii? How long have you lived here?
a. Note to record general demographic info – rough age, gender, occupation
2) Do you think the Haida Gwaii Marine environment is healthy? Why or why not?

3) Do you think the ways that Haida Gwaii residents use marine resources is sustainable? Why or why not?

4) Thinking into the future, say the next 25 years, what kinds of changes do you imagine might take place? These could be things you hope for or worry about [including prompt 'no change' as needed].

5) Do Q-Sort Activity here

6) Do you have any other pressing concerns about fisheries or Haida Gwaii's marine environment that we haven't yet talked about?

7) After having this conversation, is there anyone else that you know of that we should be speaking with?

Standard Interview Introduction
We are here with you today to talk about the marine environment, how it relates to the health and well-being of you and your family, and what you think constitutes a "healthy" and "sustainable" environment. We'll talk about the ways you value the marine environment, changes you've observed that concern you, ways your lives have been impacted by changes, and your preferences for the future.