"HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL": A STUDY OF COMPANY AND COMMUNITY IN THE FORMER MINING TOWN OF BUCHANS, NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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"Hope springs eternal in the human breast;
Man never Is, but always To be blest.
The soul, uneasy, and confin'd from home,
Rests and expatiates in a life to come."

-Alexander Pope, *Pope: An Essay on Man*, 1734

This thesis is dedicated to the residents of Buchans, whose sheer determination has served as inspiration for this research and whose unwillingness to be defeated in the face of adversity is a testament to the human spirit. It is their hope and optimism that has remained steadfast since closure and has allowed the community to persevere through the worst of times and look forward to the future.

ABSTRACT

Mining communities face a host of issues, including economic volatility, uncertainty, and closure. Thus, the common perception of mining towns revolves around a notion of impermanence - that the town follows the ore and when the ore is depleted, so is the community. However, this image is inherently problematic as it fails to recognize the fact that people put down roots, become attached to place, and create homes on the same ground from which ore is extracted. This thesis examines the various ways in which place identity is constructed in affiliation with the mining industry in Buchans, Newfoundland, and explores how identity and sense of community have contributed to community development and resilience post-closure. In doing so, it relies on qualitative methods and oral histories to provide insight into the sense of place that can develop in a former mining company town, how these relationships to place develop, and potential implications for community well-being and survival.

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I would like to thank those willing to participate in my research, who welcomed me into their homes and shared with me their experiences, expertise, opinions, and hopes. The welcoming and helpful nature of Buchaneers inspired me to carry out my research, through challenges, and led me to a new appreciation for the community, its hardships, and its unique placement at the crossroads between the old and the new; the past, present, and future.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Your grandfather made this," says Woodrow Rideout of a clock hanging in his kitchen, after our interview. The face of the clock is surrounded by a rectangular piece of wood, embellished with a pick and axe in the lower left corner, tarnished, aged and worn from decades of hanging on a wall telling time. I wonder to myself how much time has passed since it was made and how much history has passed before its ticking hands. My grandfather's handiwork is prevalent in the community: pen holders, plaques, clocks, each of which bears emblems of the mining history of the town, testaments to the major role industry played in the life of each employee. My grandfather, whose formal education was little, but whose woodworking skills were remarkable, devoted his life to the mine, working in the carpentry shop every day and creating tokens of the mine by night. He was proud of his work and the life provided to him by the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO). I am instantly enthralled when Mr. Rideout recounts and reminisces about his life in Buchans, speaking fondly of the mines and miners he knew and the glory days of the town.

Long before ever conceptualizing this research project, Buchans became a second home to me. Growing up in Millertown, a small community nestled along the shores of Red Indian Lake, about 30 kilometres from Buchans, I realized very early that Buchans was a unique community. ASARCO remnants formed a backdrop to the town: the Lucky Strike headframe (otherwise known as the 'Deckhead') sits atop Main Street as a beacon to the community—a sign of home. These remnants remain a vivid testament to the

determination of Buchaneers past and present. The landscape is imprinted with the history and legacy of the community. Growing up hearing stories of the Buchans Miners hockey team, the deindustrialization of the community, and the perseverance of the town, I felt the same love and optimism for Buchans that is widespread within the township and beyond. These stories inspired this thesis about the connection numerous men and women feel to the community of Buchans, Newfoundland and about how this sense of community has underscored any and all development and resilience efforts in the town.

During the nearly 60 year life of the mine, ASARCO's paternalism and control shaped and regulated most aspects of everyday life for people in Buchans, from work to recreation to living accommodations. These policies saw that residents were well-tended to with service provision, but also cultivated an atmosphere of complete company control. Buchans residents, in turn, forged a strong sense of cohesion and identity during the ASARCO years, partly in response to company paternalism. Residents who lived in the community during the ASARCO period recalled how their sense of community emerged partly because of, and partially in reaction to, ASARCO's authority and control of the town's social and economic life. In many interviews, they recounted how the resulting sense of identity and community has been central to the development and resilience-based endeavours post-closure.

The mining landscape in Buchans has persisted long after the closure of the last mine in the early 1980s. The features of this landscape, such as the deckhead, abandoned office buildings, freight cars, and a company fire truck all stand as remnants of a long, rich, and sometimes tumultuous history. For Buchaneers, the future is inexorably tied to the past, and the heritage of the community cannot be overlooked when discussing any

prospective economic and social initiatives. Many residents have expressed the importance of preserving the mining landscape and its relics as a perpetual reminder of Buchans' history. In a way, these monuments and the subtle continuance of ASARCO's presence they bring has helped the town cope with the devastating loss of its only industry.

Despite Newfoundland and Labrador's economic history based on the harvesting and extraction of natural resources, there has been little research concerning the social impacts of such activities, particularly mining, in the province. This is especially true for the connections between community and regional development and identity that occur in resource-dependent regions. The literature from the U.S. and elsewhere suggests that there is indeed a link between identity and development. For instance, David Robertson asserts that place and sense of identity directly influence development and resource management. Further, in quoting planner Kevin Lynch, Robertson argues that "The human experience of a landscape is as fundamental as any other factor and should be considered from the first" (Robertson, 2006, p.12). Unfortunately, there has been little research in the Newfoundland context that studies this relationship between sense of identity and resource-based development in mining. This research is an attempt to bridge this empirical gap and contribute to a growing body of knowledge on the socio-economic implications of identity and community as related to the extractive industry. Telling the story of Buchans and its residents is invaluable for many reasons. First, it helps us as researchers and scholars understand the meta-cyclical social aspects of mining, while exploring the various components of the mining cycle. It also lends importance to

documenting and understanding the multiple and multi-dimensional stories that make up a place.

The objective of this study is to investigate how place-based identity is constructed in affiliation with the mining industry in central Newfoundland and to explore its effect on community development and resilience. As such, this research is guided by two primary questions, *1) How have residents within Buchans identified with mining or the community over time? 2) How have these mining identity(ies) affected community and regional development and resilience?* This research is centred around three key concepts, discussed in detail in Chapter 2: place, identity, and resilience. Place is socially constructed through both external and internal forces; places are lived and experienced. In fact, through the development of Buchans we see the evolution of place, from an area characterized by little more than a point on a map, into a place with a distinct and coherent sense of community identity that surrounds mining. Identity (more specifically, place identity) is a sense of being or belonging that is directly influenced by place. It is fluid and responsive to the context in which it exists. Finally, resilience is defined as the ability of groups or communities to respond effectively to significant adversity and risk, and "cope with external stresses" (Adger, 2000, p.347). This is especially important in responding to changes that threaten our livelihoods and lifestyles.

The main contention of this thesis is that, if we fail to understand the linkages between identity construction, and community development and resilience, we are unable to use them to help resource-dependent regions persist through eras of economic bust and resource-industry turbulence. With a better understanding of these linkages, this research holds potential to be applied to other instances of resource-dependent communities and

single-industry towns and help them to navigate and persevere through eras of uncertainty and instability.

Mining is a significant source of employment and income in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador and represents a large contribution to the provincial GDP. It is one of the most profitable, largest, and oldest industries in the province (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Natural Resources, 2014). It is especially significant in remote areas of NL, where the majority of mines are located. There are currently six metal mines producing iron ore, nickel, copper, zinc, gold, cobalt, and antimony, and overall 16 mineral commodities are either mined or produced in the province (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Natural Resources, 2014). According to the Department of Natural Resources, the gross value of mineral shipments in the province in 2013 was worth an estimated $3.7 billion and the value for 2014 is forecasted to exceed $3.8 billion. Direct employment in the mineral industry for 2013 peaked at 11,500 person years, a record high for the province (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Natural Resources, 2014). While this increase is in large part due to the construction of the nickel processing facility at Long Harbour, a significant portion also comes from the iron ore industry, with both new developments as well as existing and updated projects. In summary, the contribution to the Newfoundland and Labrador economy generated by the mineral industry cannot be overstated.

Ironic as it may seem given the mining industry's long history and economic importance, the only certainty for mining communities and regions is a profound sense of volatility and instability. In the span of a mere few weeks in the winter of 2014, closures

were announced at two NL mines: Duck Pond near Buchans, and Wabush in Labrador. The life cycle associated with mining landscapes is not linear or simple by any means. In 2007 Teck Resources (formerly Aur Resources) began commercial extraction at a mine site located in central Newfoundland, approximately 20 kilometres from the initial operation at Buchans. With its commencement came an upsurge of hope in the region, a sense of affirmation that the mining industry had returned. Since the closure of the last mines in Buchans in the early 1980s, residents have long said that the closure did not mark the end of mining in the community and area, while many have even suggested that the "brightest days for Buchans have not come yet" (John Budden, Interview, 2013). In January, 2014, Teck Resources announced the impending closure of the Duck Pond mine; officials suspected that by spring 2015, all operations would be discontinued. In spite of this continued volatility, the social, economic, and environmental activities and landscapes that mining generates transcend the life of mineral extraction, giving mining landscapes a sense of continuity.

Study Area

Buchans was selected as a study site for this research for a variety of reasons including its history, perseverance, strong sense of identity, and its familiarity to the researcher. My own experiences in Buchans have contributed to a direct knowledge and appreciation of the community and have allowed me to explore the research topics from a distinct perspective. Buchans is a unique illustration of a resource-dependent town in the Newfoundland context for two reasons: its conception as a company town and the extent of control exerted over the community. Prior to mineral discovery, there was no

permanent settlement where the community exists today; in its most basic sense, Buchans was nothing more than a 'hole in the ground'. Buchans is located approximately 80 kilometres off the Trans Canada Highway and is nestled in a wooded area near Red Indian Lake.

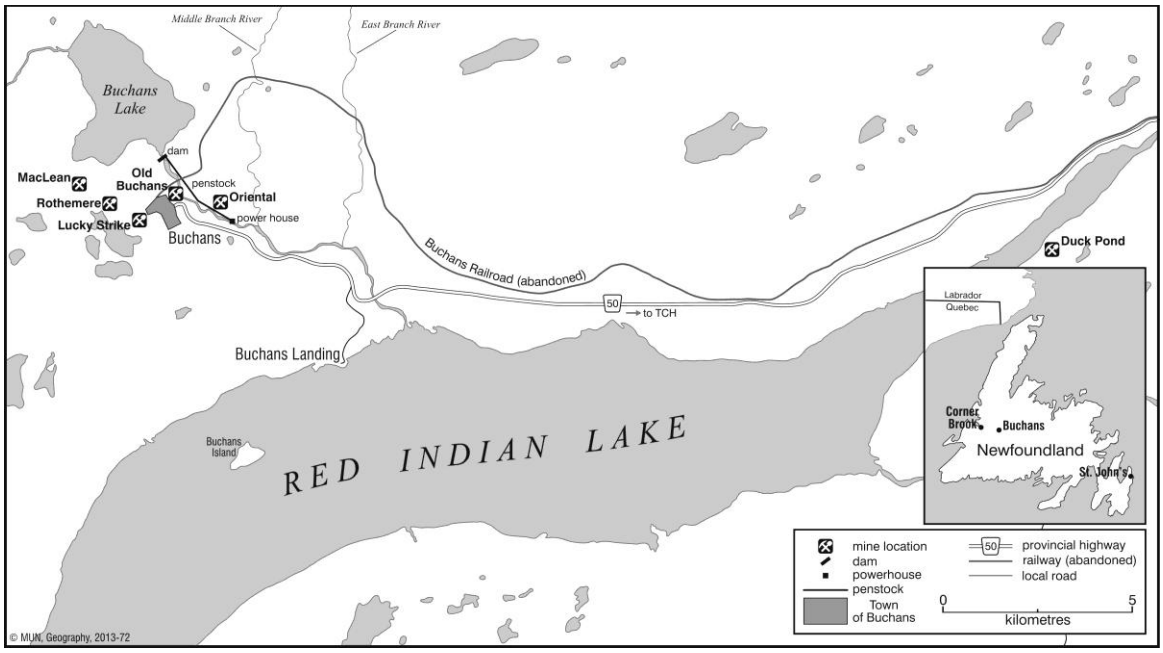

Figure 1. *Locations of community and mine sites and inset showing town of Buchans in relation to NL cities. Map courtesy of Charlie Conway, MUN.*

Long before the development of Buchans as an ASARCO company town, another major corporation, the Anglo-Newfoundland Development (AND) Company played a key role in developing the region's mineral resources. Established in 1905, the AND Company's history and role in Newfoundland and Labrador was centred on the pulp and paper industry. The company played a major role in the development of several Newfoundland communities including Grand Falls-Windsor, Millertown, and Badger. In 1905, Matty Mitchell, a prospector of Mi'kmaq origin, was employed by the AND Company to find sulfur deposits for newsprint paper production. As legend goes, while

boiling his kettle on an open fire he heard a crackling sound. Upon investigation, he discovered that a piece of rock had melted beneath the kettle. This was the initial discovery of zinc-lead-copper ore that led to the development of Buchans. From 1906-1911 Terra Nova Properties Limited (owned by AND Company) attempted to develop the resource at the location that became known as Old Buchans. However, in 1911 mining activity came to a halt because there was no effective process to separate the minerals. It was not until 1925 when a breakthrough was made in the flotation process that extraction resumed (Town of Buchans, 2010; RILDA, 1992).

In 1926 the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO) entered into an agreement with the AND Company regarding the development of a mine at Buchans River. ASARCO both pre-dates and outlived the AND Company as it was established in 1899, and the company is still active and currently based out of Arizona. It was one of the leading mining companies in the U.S. in the early-mid 20th century, with a host of international properties. In 1975 the company changed its name to Asarco Incorporated, although its legacy still lives on in many ways, particularly through a history of environmental degradation and social and labour injustices at some of its mine sites (Fischel and Nelson, 2011).

The Buchans agreement was for a 50/50 share of all mining profits for a 25-year period. Additionally, the companies were aided by the provincial government, which not only allowed the exploitation of the mineral resources, but also offered incentives. For instance, a "bounty of one dollar per ton, up to a hundred tons, from one mining location in any one year" was offered, as well as free entry into the country of all mine and smelter-related machinery, to help develop the mine (RILDA, 1992). Late in 1926, a

Swedish geologist employed by ASARCO discovered the Lucky Strike deposit. Development of the community soon began and in 1927, the first house was built in Buchans, prior to which bunkhouses were the only living accommodations in the town. The development and expansion of the town happened quickly and by 1928 the first school and hospital were opened, the railway was built, social and athletic clubs were formed, several churches were erected in the town, and 60 houses constructed. Although the town boasted several amenities and services, it remained very isolated and only accessible by company train until 1956, when the road was built between Buchans and Buchans Junction. Prior to the highway, the company controlled the railway, the only way in and out of the town, and exercised their control regularly by preventing people from entering or leaving the town without consent from management.

The town's landscape reflected the evolving social geography of class in the community, which remained a company town until the 1980s. Company towns have been a mainstay of resource-dependent enterprises around the world since the early 19th century. Their use has been providing a stable workforce for natural resource extraction and harvesting. While some company towns were endowed with an array of amenities and facilities provided by the company, others consisted primarily of bunkhouses and the minimal infrastructure necessary to upkeep the town and maintain a contented populace (Lucas, 1971; White 2012). In fact, company towns still dot the landscape both in Newfoundland and Labrador and beyond. As a company town, housing in Buchans was built and allocated on the separation of residency by class. The community was divided into 'uptown' and 'downtown', the results of which are still visible today. Townhouses were typically inhabited by labourers such as miners, millworkers, hoistmen, and surface

workers, while management occupied larger, more elaborate bungalows and multi-level houses. Later, Buchans was expanded to include the Townsite which was comprised of workers who had previously settled and built homes in Pigeon Inlet due to a local housing shortage. However, after a lengthy battle with the company and the provincial government, they were relocated to a piece of land on the south east end of Buchans expropriated by the government for this purpose (RILDA, 1992). It wasn't until 1979 that Buchans proper and Buchans Townsite amalgamated and the Municipality of Buchans was incorporated.

Despite numerous economic incentives in the region, the population of Buchans has been slowly declining for the past several decades since the closure of the mine. At the height of the mining era, the population peaked at 2,543 in 1966. In 1978, ASARCO had about 550 employees in Buchans, and by 1982 after closure, a skeleton staff of only 12 employees were on the payroll. According to the 2011 Census information, the population of Buchans in 2011 was 695, a 9.7% decrease from the 2006 figure of 770. Like many rural communities, the population of Buchans is not only declining but also in a state of aging with a median age of 51, compared to the provincial median age of 42 (Community Accounts, 2013a).

Research Design and Theoretical Considerations

The approach used in this research has been primarily ethnographic, relying on participant interviews to recount memories and experiences, as well as contribute ideas and opinions on Buchans' history and resilience through deindustrialization. Because these questions explore the complex ways that residents identify with industry and

community, and exactly how those identifications relate to community resilience, ethnographic and qualitative methods were appropriate. It was necessary therefore to thoroughly document participants' experiences in the community and assess how interviewees felt that these experiences shaped them on a personal level and also contributed to community resilience. In addition, a thorough review of relevant literature has been conducted in order to survey and understand similar research on resource-dependent regions as well as related industry and government documentation.

The research design employed in this study is founded in qualitative research techniques. Yin (2009) attests that every type of empirical research has a research design, whether implicit or explicit (p.26). A research design, according to Yin, is a plan that provides a logical model of proof that allows the researcher to draw inferences concerning causal relations among the variables under investigation (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1992, pp. 77-78, cited in Yin, 2009). In essence, the research design acts as a road map, directing the researcher through data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Similarly, it can be seen as a "blueprint" that addresses four problems: "what questions to study, what data are relevant, what data to collect, and how to analyze the results" (Philliber, Schwab, & Samsloss, 1980, cited in Yin, 2009). In this research, I used the case study to investigate the construction of a mining identity in a resource-dependent community, and how this identity contributed to local development and resilience post-closure.

Case study research is critical to our understandings of place and in particular, to the social relations that occur within them. The case study is a valuable source of information for researchers as it adds a contextual dimension to what might be described

by some as 'theoretical knowledge', as documented by several scholars (Yin, 2009; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Baxter and Jack, 2008). Case studies provide illustrations of phenomena in a particular context, but also provide knowledge that may be transferred to other study areas in any number of ways. Yin outlines five components of the research design that are necessary for carrying out effective case studies: 1) a study's questions; 2) its propositions, if any; 3) its unit(s) of analysis; 4) the logic linking the data to the propositions; and 5) the criteria for interpreting the findings (Yin, 2009, p.27). The following chart outlines each of Yin's components and identifies them in relation to this study.

Table 1. *Comparison of Research Design Components (Yin) with Component Details (Skeard)*

Component (Yin)	**Component Details (Skeard)**
Questions	*1) How have residents within Buchans identified with mining or the community over time?* *2) How have these mining identity(ies) affected community and regional development and resilience?*
Propositions	*Residents identify strongly with the mining industry as well as with the community, leading to comprehensive and sustained development and resilience-related efforts post-closure.*
Units of Analysis	*Qualitative interviews (both individually and as a body of data)*
Logic	*Thematic analysis, cross-case synthesis*
Interpretive Criteria	*Notions of identity and resilience*

This case study draws on information collected from archival sources, thematic literature, contemporary government documents, media reports, and interviews with local residents, past and present mine employees, and individuals with expertise in particular

areas (such as a local geologist/superintendent and a policy and development expert at MUN). The ethnographic method of interviewing was used to document local knowledge and experiences of historic and contemporary mining as well as community development and resilience. Such qualitative methods are crucial in understanding phenomena and events that cannot be quantified, such as emotion, identity, and optimism for the ongoing resilience of a community and/or region (DeLyser, 1999; Thomson, 2007).

An important component of this research is an oral history of the Buchans region during and after the ASARCO era. Both contemporary and historical accounts are important in understanding changing social dynamics and landscapes, or as Perales (2010) attests, in reconstructing historical narratives. As Richie (2003, p. 13) observes, oral histories are valuable because they embrace unexpected narratives and add "an ever wider range of voices to the story", thus making the narrative more complex and more interesting. Although carrying out oral history interviews can be a complicated and challenging process, Richie suggests that conducting them can be "enormously satisfying and rewarding" (p.16). Oral histories ensure that aspects of the past which may have been neglected are preserved and chronicled for future research and knowledge.

The core of oral history, Richie observes, is memory, and oral history is a process of collecting participants' memories and personal commentaries, often associated with a particular research topic. As Cresswell (2004) notes, while memory is often perceived as a personal phenomenon and we individually remember some events while forgetting or overlooking others, it is also social and shared amongst individuals. The inherent bias of memory is crucial to oral history, as events and instances deemed significant and important to the individual are remembered and discussed while others deemed trivial or

insignificant are left out of the account. Memories give invaluable insight into the lives of research participants, while their stories enliven historical accounts and intertwine with the personal tales of other residents. The importance of memories and oral histories could not be stronger for residents of Buchans who have experienced and survived the deindustrialization of the former mining company town. Their narratives prove both complementary and independent as each participant has a unique story to tell that adheres to particularly significant events in Buchans' history, such as labour disputes, company-related incidents, and closure.

The value of oral history to the discipline of geography and this research cannot be emphasized enough. Ward (2012) is blunt in asserting that oral histories hold immense potential for enriching qualitative research in the discipline. Similarly, Metheny (2007) clearly demonstrates the importance of oral histories to qualitative research. In instances where complex ideas of past and present are being investigated, participants are able to identify the ways in which the past has influenced the present (Ward, 2012). Oral histories often focus on previously neglected groups unlikely to leave behind a written record, such as the working class. Oral histories, then, are able to "fill that void" and include a larger number of individuals in reclaiming and expressing their personal accounts (Ward, 2012, p.138; Metheny, 2007). Metheny lists several crucial insights of oral histories, including how the past lives on in the "collective conscience of its former residents", how they allow us to "hear voices that are often muted or silent in company histories", and how they reveal a sense of place and community in the "industrial workplace" (p. 103-104). Most notably for geographers, and arguably most importantly

for this research, oral history can also "inform understandings of *identity* and *place* in the present" (Ward, 2012, p.138, emphasis added).

An ethnographic approach, including methods such as participant observation or qualitative interviews, raises questions around the 'objectivity' of the research, an issue tackled by Donna Haraway (1988). Her concept of *situated knowledges* highlights the fact that objectivity, while seemingly an "inescapable term" (p.576), is unobtainable. For quite some time, researchers have defended the positivist idea that it is possible to be objective and unbiased in conducting research, regardless of background and discipline. However, as Haraway argues, as ideal as it would be, there is no such thing as the 'gaze from nowhere' (p.581). Instead, our knowledge, and our position, are constructed from our experiences, ideals, and pre-existing, inalterable, conditions. Acknowledging the positionality of the researcher has become increasingly popular amongst ethnographic researchers (see DeLyser, 1999; Chouinard and Grant, 1996; Weiss and Haber, 1999). Objectivity is an unrealistic fallacy, and our positionality is equally as important in research as our methodology, findings, and analyses. We cannot simply separate ourselves from our knowledge or the ways in which we understand and interpret the world around us. Feminist scholarship has attempted to liberate researchers from the constraints of objectivity, only to find that the desire to be objective still lurks in the shadows of much scientific reasoning. DeLyser (1999) notes that such scholarship "has paid particular attention to placing oneself in the research, to recognizing one's own subject position, to critical examination of one's own body as research instrument, to participating actively in the researched community, and to studying a community of which one is part" (p.605). In essence, our experiences are not easily translatable, and our

positionality is not universal. Nevertheless, research contributions must be contextualized by a much broader network of theory, practice, and case study research to understand that each study is both independent and complementary to the discipline. In essence, the defense of oneself as an active participant in the research study is crucial in understanding the importance of both subjectivity and case study research. While the context and history are unique, the knowledge gained from case studies helps inform other instances that have similarities (and/or differences) to the case.

The interpretation of qualitative sources is further enhanced by an inherent understanding of the case study area that can only be attained by living and interacting in the community. As a former resident of the Buchans region, and a descendent of generations of Buchans miners, I simply cannot divest or divorce myself from the research. These sorts of research endeavours highlight the importance of personal and shared experiences in studying concepts related to place. I am fully aware that my experiences and opinions regarding the mining legacy in the community have contributed to my overall understanding of the research. However, I do not see this as a handicap or a conflict. My experiences and knowledge are crucial supplements to my research techniques and have allowed me to engage with participants and the community in the most meaningful way possible. Further, these experiences are significant to the research and support DeLyser's (1999) claims of reflection as a crucial component of qualitative research. I have not lulled myself into thinking that I knew the answers to the research questions prior to my fieldwork. Instead, I have hinged between two worlds: one where my familiarity (as a local resident) is an asset to the research, and another where my

unfamiliarity (as a university researcher) has allowed me to grow as a researcher and an individual.

Research Process

Initial contact with the community for the purpose of this research was made in September 2012 through correspondence with Mayor Derm Corbett, who helped identify suitable initial informants for this study. The Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) approved of this research and provided ethics clearance in February 2013 (#20131545-AR). Interviews were conducted between May and September 2013, with two additional follow-up interviews in July 2014. In total, 36 participants (Appendix I) were involved in this research. One participant was unavailable for an interview and completed the questions in a questionnaire format, emailing his responses back to me. Although not an optimal format for ethnographic and qualitative research, this allowed me to engage a participant who would have otherwise been excluded. Another participant resides in Ontario, thus a phone interview was conducted. The remaining 34 respondents were interviewed face to face, with two of the interviews involving two participants at once. With the permission of the participant, the interview was audio recorded and promptly transcribed and returned to the informant. Participants were then given an opportunity to edit or omit any potentially sensitive information, ensuring accuracy and allowing for feedback.

I spent the field season in 2013 in the community and local area. My accommodations were located approximately 30 kilometres (or a 20 minute drive) outside of Buchans in the community of Millertown. However, I spent the majority of each day in

Buchans speaking to residents and, from August 1-5, attending events for the local Lucky Strike Festival, an annual gala in the community that includes dances, a parade, concerts, and other festivities. Observation of the landscape and community was essential to the research, and allowed me to discover and examine the town in new ways. The stark contrast between labourer and management housing (more frequently cited as 'uptown' and 'downtown') became visible to me, as it signalled the segregation of workers according to the company. I developed a new appreciation for the Townsite as I became privy to its conception, history, and associated struggles. It quickly became clear that residents in Buchans ground their narratives and identities in this landscape.

The research process has allowed me to evolve into a more reflexive and sensitive researcher, qualities necessary in carrying out ethnographic research and best understanding the stories and narratives of places and people. In *Ethnography: Principles in observation* (1983), Hammersley and Atkinson contend that in a sense, all socially based research is a form of participant observation because we are simply unable to investigate the social realm without being actively immersed and involved in it. For this research it was crucial to engage with the community and residents to best understand the feelings and attitudes toward identity and resilience in the town. As noted above, participant observation and ethnography contrast sharply with positivist notions of science and research, deeply emphasizing the impossibility of objectivity and embracing an active role of the researcher in the research process as an entity whose positionality and reflexivity are important components of the investigation.

The interview process involved individuals who have either worked in the mining industry in Buchans/Buchans area, have had immediate family work in the mining

industry in the area, have a familiarity of mining operations and/or the community, or have particular expertise on some aspect of the research, such as resiliency and community development. Specifically, I interviewed individuals who worked in various capacities at the mine (such as mining positions ranging from miners to managers) or who provided insights from various experiences (such as past and present mayors, or individuals whose spouses/family participated in mining activities) to obtain a better understanding of the all aspects of the community. Group interviews were also conducted when appropriate, for instance, interviewing both a husband and wife whose shared experiences in Buchans are both independent of and complementary to each other.

I also employed a 'snowball' approach to gathering informants, concluding interviews asking participants if they had a suggestion for someone else I should speak with. This helped eliminate a 'gatekeeper bias' whereby a single individual (for instance, the mayor) may not have suggested certain individuals based on personal opinions or experience. It also allowed me to identify informants who were frequently mentioned as highly knowledgeable and crucial to speak with. These individuals were then sent background information (see Appendix II: Recruitment Letter) on the study and followed up with via telephone.

Participants answered a series of approximately 15 questions in a semi-structured interview that took anywhere from 30-90 minutes. For a list of the primary interview questions employed in this research, please see Appendix IV. Initially, interviews were focused on two broad themes: identity and resilience, and also collected information on personal and community history. However, as I began collecting data, the initial themes I had outlined expanded and evolved depending on the dialogue I was having with

participants. One major shift in my themes was the inclusion of paternalism as a core concept; since it emerged so frequently and was so thoroughly discussed. The broad themes covered in this research can be summarized as:

1) Identity and sense of community

2) Resilience (including development)

3) Paternalism (corporate)

Interview questions were composed before beginning fieldwork and were centred on the aforementioned themes. The questions ranged from personal and family history in Buchans, to the type of community identity present in the region. The same question scheme was used to create alternate questions for individuals from varying backgrounds. For instance, the cohort of individuals who were previously miners in the Buchans mines received the same questions, while industry representatives had a slightly different list, and municipal and political leaders had yet another list. For the purpose of Appendix IV, I have attached the question list used for local residents and former miners, as it was the most frequently used and was modified for other participants. These variations allowed me to target specific issues and ideas relevant to each cohort and to engage with participants in the most meaningful way possible. The historical component inevitably formed the basis of each interview and gave way to the notions of identity and resilience in the community today. It was used as an introduction into the interview and a means of building mutual trust between myself and the participants. While history is a crucial component of Buchans' legacy, its use as a 'theme' per se is limited in the sense that it exists regardless of the question asked or the answer given. It is woven into each personal account and is inevitably linked to the experiences and opinions of the participant.

Further, the primary objective for data collection was to explore people's perceptions and experiences of the past, rather than corroborate and establish historical facts. Because of its steady development, expansion and prosperity followed by rapid deindustrialization and loss, two eras of Buchans' existence are explored in this thesis. The most appropriate distinction between timeframes occurs at the threshold of the ASARCO era, and the post-ASARCO era (closure and beyond).

The concept of theoretical saturation helped inform me as to when to cease data collection. Morse (2004) defines theoretical saturation as "the phase of qualitative data analysis in which the researcher has continued sampling and analyzing data until no new data appear and all concepts in the theory are well-developed". Theoretical saturation requires a great deal of familiarity with the research topic and subjects since in order to know when one has truly exhausted the research, some idea of what information is out there to begin with is necessary. For this research, my existing knowledge of the community combined with my experiences in Buchans was central to identifying theoretical saturation. This signalled a move into transcription and data analysis (discussed below).

Documents and Additional Sources

Prior to commencing fieldwork, archival sources such as newspaper articles and government documents were consulted to better understand the history of the community. The Centre for Newfoundland Studies at the QEII Library was especially useful for this purpose. Newspaper clippings helped establish a timeline of important local events and further helped shape some of the interview questions for particular respondents.

Additionally, the documents were helpful in establishing major events following closure. For instance, during the time of deindustrialization in Buchans, local leaders and residents undertook a bid for a new federal penitentiary—a topic that was discussed during my interview with the former mayor.

Literature surrounding mining towns, place-identity, and community resilience was also thoroughly reviewed for this thesis and helped form the basis for understanding the dynamics of Buchans both prior to and following fieldwork. The results of this review are further discussed and analyzed in chapter 2 of this thesis.

Although I employed qualitative methods in data collection, I recognize the importance of reviewing relevant quantitative data. Average income in the community is an excellent source for measuring the economic impact of the introduction of a major employer in the community or region. However, it must be noted that while significant, economic income is not the only determinant of happiness in a community. Statistics on income were also somewhat problematic due to a lack of recent data on employment and income (since the 2007 opening of the Duck Pond mine) and the abolition of the long-form Census in 2011. There is discrepancy between what is recorded and presented from Census records via the Community Accounts website, and information relayed anecdotally during this research. Records from 2010 indicate a gross personal income per capita in Buchans of $23,200, significantly lower than the provincial figure of $28,900 (Community Accounts, 2013a). Conversely, some residents had suggested that because of employment provided by the local mine, average incomes for those working at Duck Pond were as high as $70,000-$80,000. Similarly, employment by industry statistics are dated and do not reflect the 2007 opening of the mine, as there are 0 individuals recorded

as working in primary industries, or processing and manufacturing (Community Accounts, 2013a).

Analysis

Analyzing data is a crucial step in understanding the phenomena and research topics under examination. Although the purpose is the same, there are different ways to undertake analysis. Thematic analysis is defined as "a search for themes that emerge as being important to the description of the phenomenon" (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Further, it "organizes and describes your data set in rich detail" (Braun and Clark, 2006, p.79). To carry out thematic analysis, the researcher is required to identify a number of themes that accurately reflect their data (Howitt and Cramer, 2007). In order to do this, it is crucial that the researcher be thoroughly familiar with the data, meaning that interviews, transcriptions, and coding/analysis are best left to the researcher alone (Howitt and Cramer, 2007). Each interview was carefully reviewed and any content that fit under a general theme of identity, resilience, or paternalism, was placed in a corresponding word processing document. Because of the small number of interviews (n=34), with 36 respondents, it was determined that the most effective way to analyse them was through a streamlined process that included Microsoft Word as opposed to a statistical program such as NVIVO.

Thematic analysis was employed on finalized transcripts to identify further, more detailed, thematic elements within the data (such as how participants came to identify with the mining industry, or how it seems that this identity has contributed to resilience). Emergent themes were used to guide the analysis and encouraged me to revisit each

transcript as well as other data sources to look for elements included within a particular theme. More specific themes then began to emerge throughout the course of this research, giving insight into the complex and fluid notions of identity, community, and resilience in the Buchans area. These themes formed the basis of analysis and were then further categorized under the initial themes of identity and sense of community, resilience, and paternalism. (A list of themes is included in Appendix V.) Overlap amongst themes is common and highlights the intimate connection between the three themes in the community. This approach resulted in a template for further analysis and helped recognize the themes and subsequent codes when they emerged in later transcripts. While each interview on its own offered a more thorough understanding of the initial research themes, collectively the interviews provided a holistic understanding of Buchans' resilience and identity from 1927 to 2013. Secondary sources, such as publications, newspaper articles, and books on Buchans and the region were used to contextualize the study area and provide background information, and were also an excellent source for verifying specific dates of events.

A primary goal has been to understand how identity and sense of community manifested in Buchans and to look for links between notions of identity and resilience during both the mining and post-mining eras. For instance, some of the characteristics of investment in community resilience could be interpreted as an individual's willingness to become involved in local planning and decision-making processes, or volunteer work in the community as a result of strong community identity. These traits were compared across the two eras being studied to see if there has been greater willingness to be actively involved in community development during times of high association with or

identification with the mining industry. Thus, comparative analysis across time periods was also employed.

Like a resilient mining community post-closure, a research project does not necessarily end once the report has been written. Knowledge mobilization and reporting back are crucial elements of any community-based research endeavour. It lends itself to transparency and accountability in the research process and ensures that participants and local residents benefit from research that has been conducted in their community. As such, I have committed to donating copies of interview transcripts to the local museum (as permission is given by participants), giving a copy of my thesis to the town, and providing a presentation on my findings to the community, which was done on May 8, 2014.

The remainder of this thesis is divided into four chapters. In Chapter 2, I will discuss relevant theory and ideas emerging from the literature surrounding place, identity, resource-dependent communities, company towns, and company paternalism. In Chapter 3: Glory Days, I will provide a brief history of Buchans through the ASARCO era (1927-1984) and discuss themes and ideas developed through fieldwork including the multiple ways in which identity and sense of community have manifested in the town. In Chapter 4: Moving Forward: Buchans Post-ASARCO, I will examine the community after mine closure and loss of industry, and investigate the factors that have driven the perseverance and resilience of the community. Finally, in the conclusion, I will revisit how a strong sense of identity can contribute to community resilience, and highlight lessons that can be learned from the Buchans experience. I will also discuss what the closure of the Duck Pond mine may mean for the future of Buchans and its residents.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis examines how place-identity has contributed to the resilience of a deindustrializing, resource-based community. In doing so, it draws on the theoretical considerations and examinations of place and identity in geographical scholarship, while connecting these ideas to the particular landscapes and economies of mining communities. Given the circumstances surrounding Buchans, a once-booming mining town where a single company dominated the economic and social landscape of the community for nearly a century, I also consider the literatures on company towns and paternalism, factors which (I argue) directly and significantly shaped the experience of Buchans residents and their reactions to the company's demise.

On Place

The term "place" seems so mundane and is used so frequently in our everyday lives that its meaning can sometimes be simplified and confused. The concept of place is central to geography, particularly the human and cultural realms of the discipline. While others may use the terms place, space, area, etc., interchangeably, for geographers the meaning of place is inherently complex and nuanced. In his 2004 book, *Place: A Short Introduction*, geographer Tim Cresswell confronts the taken-for-granted notions of place that are crucial to geographical scholarship and questions what exactly place means as a core of geographical education as well as common vocabulary. Cresswell provides perhaps the most complete overview of place as a core concept in the discipline of

geography. As he notes, "Place is a word that seems to speak for itself" (2004, p.1). Many often conflate place with space, terms commonly distinguished from each other in geographical scholarship and to which many human or cultural geographers devote research. Cresswell asserts that the simplest definition we can give of place is "a meaningful location" (p.7). In contrast, space is an area represented through coordinates and there is no "meaning" directly associated with it.

Place is also often conflated with such terms as landscape and community. Landscape, place, and community are recurring terms and ideas in this research, thus a note on their usage and characteristics is crucial. Landscape refers to the physical geography in the study area (and beyond). As Cresswell observes, landscape as a term refers to "a portion of the earth's surface that can be viewed from one spot" (2004, p.10). It is the composition of minerals, forest, and other topographical features, and as Cresswell notes, is an "intensely visual idea" (p.10). It is the physical environment of a place and as such serves as a backdrop to all social and economic relations and initiatives and inherently influences the construction of place.

The term community is used frequently to signify a group of individuals with a common identity or history. As the *Dictionary of Human Geography* defines it, a community is "a group of people who share common culture, values and/or interests, based on social identity and/or territory" (*Dictionary of Human Geography*, 2009, p.103). A sense of community, therefore, is inexorably tied to the social identity upon which communities are built. It is a sense of belonging within a particular community of which one is a part. A sense of community, suggests McMillan and Chavis (1986), is founded in group cohesiveness and can be a tool for fostering understanding and collaboration.

Similarly, a sense of place denotes the "attitudes and feelings that individuals and groups hold *vis-á-vis* the geographical areas in which they live" (*Dictionary of Human Geography*, 2009, p.676).

In this thesis, place represents the combination of physical, emotional, and social factors that comprise our understanding of Buchans. The community of Buchans as a place is shaped by a history of tumultuous labour relations, isolation, and pride. Further, all of these phenomena have occurred in a reflexive process of being shaped by the landscape while simultaneously working and shaping the landscape in return.

Cresswell (2004) provides an excellent overview of the three primary approaches to place (p.51):

1) A descriptive approach to place

2) A social constructionist approach to place

3) A phenomenological approach to place

The descriptive approach most closely resembles our common notions regarding place, such as its spatial context, with a focus on the distinctiveness of particular places. The social constructionist approach, while still placing value on the distinctiveness and interconnectedness of place, studies how places are socially constructed within the wider context of social practices, forces, and conditions, most notably "capitalism, patriarchy, heterosexism, [and] post-colonialism" (p.51). The phenomenological approach to place seeks to understand not the specific attributes or social conditions leading to place, but rather how individuals and human existence are constantly "in-place" (p.51). However, as Cresswell notes, each approach is not mutually exclusive of the others. Our understandings of place can draw from any one, or any combination of these approaches.

There have been several theoretical and pragmatic approaches to place by geographers. The first geographer credited with discussing notions of place as socially constructed was Tuan (1977). His work *Space and Place* suggests that place is not defined by a specific scale, but is instead defined and created by our relation and attachment to it (linking to the third phenomenological approach by emphasizing relations formed through lived experience). Similarly, Relph's approach to place (1976) emphasizes the phenomenological component of place suggested by Tuan and highlights the idea of "sense of place". Political geographer John Agnew (1987) contextualizes sense of place as being the "subjective and emotional attachment people have to place" (Agnew, 1987 cited in Cresswell, 2004, p.7). To Relph, place is a fundamental component of identity and sense of self as it directly affects our perception of the world

The works of David Harvey and Doreen Massey have been regarded as some of the most influential and thought-provoking pieces on place, and offer contradictory and complementary discourses. David Harvey adopts a critique of place that positions it as a purely social construct. In his seminal 1996 work "From Space to Place and Back Again," Harvey suggests that the social and emotional aspects of place are often overlooked and requires greater weight and consideration in our discussions. Place, for Harvey, is a captured moment in time in a world of ever increasing connectivity and migration, mirroring Tuan's 1977 observation of place as a "pause" in a world of movement (Harvey, 1996). It is through the experiences and influences from each resident that place takes on meaning. What a place represents, suggests Harvey, is not necessarily monolithic, but is derived from individual and community senses of place.

Massey (1994) argues that while place is indeed socially constructed, these constructions of place are contingent upon personal beliefs, values, and experiences, as well as external social factors from outside the 'place' in question. Place, then, can be understood as a single point on a web of interconnecting events, discourses, topography, and ideas. While it exists independently, it is also highly interconnected, being entirely dependent on what has occurred before, simultaneously, and after its conception (Massey, 1994; Lippard, 1997). In this sense, place is understood as a representation of what has been, what is, and what will be. Formed in a network of social constructions, place begets place.

What emerges from these accounts is a profound appreciation of the fluidity, complexity, and evolving nature of place. Both Harvey and Massey position place as a crossroads of social contexts and influences. It is through this logic that both have approached the concept of globalization as related to place (see also Relph, 1976). If indeed place is dependent upon our perception of it, then despite globalization increasing connections between places, the fundamental factor to creating place still exists, with place still being contingent upon the human experience. Both authors allude to the increasingly multi-scalar and networked nature of place. Harvey's notion of place is less focused on any particular scale, and more focused on reflecting "earthly interests and claims" (Harvey, 1984, p.7). The local, suggests Massey (1994) however, is the scale at which we need to focus on to retain a sense of place. While the coordinates of a place may remain unchanging, the transience of place, in a seemingly ironic way, is a constant; the only guarantee is change. Globalization, movement, ideological shifts, all these particular independent and interconnected factors, which are both inside and outside of

place, are what causes a place simply to be. While some presentations of place are dependent on the experiences and values of those who inhabit or have ties to a particular place (Harvey, 1996), other interpretations draw from both internal as well as external forces to explain and understand the complex notions of place that are fundamental to our everyday lives (Massey, 1994).

Place-Identity and Mining Communities

In this thesis I draw upon the notion of place in two ways: its unavoidable significance in the human experience, and its crucial presence in the construction of identity. Place sets the background for our lives, knowledge, and experiences and often provides us with the everyday functions of employment, living accommodations, and leisure. The relationship between place and identity is undoubtedly a strong one. We form bonds with place, and place shapes us through memories and experiences. The crux of this thesis is that the type of place identity associated with mining communities is so strong that it outlives the life of the mine and forms the basis for economic adaptation (and thus resilience) through deindustrialization and closure. As will be discussed, this "mining identity" has been well-documented by scholars. The purpose of this section is to bring together notions of place and identity, and to use the theory behind place-identity to understand the complex emotions, sense of place, and identity that is present in mining communities. While these previous accounts take place outside of Newfoundland and Labrador, the themes are readily applicable to mining towns within the province. According to the literature (as well as the research findings), there is a deep-rooted

identity that emerges from living and working in a mining town, which cannot be overlooked when discussing notions of place in these particular landscapes.

Identity is a concept that is rooted in philosophical thought. As James Martin acknowledges, Plato along with Christian theologians saw identity as a fundamental component of a person, and argued its origins could be traced to the soul (Martin, 2005, p.97). Descartes among other rationalists, continues Martin, have long regarded identity as the core of reason and being within a person (p.97). Identity, then, like place, is both socially constructed and individually contained, and both personally and communally expressed. The very definition of identity as the quintessential being of an entity implies that there must be a distinction between one and the other. "Us" and "them", therefore, are units inevitably existing in the realm of any one identity. Of course, multiple identities exist in association with any given entity (one can be both female as well as Canadian) and may be expressed in a multitude of ways. To identify with one group does not necessarily exclude us from another, however other means of identifying become more solidified or stringent (one would most likely not identify as both a Christian as well as an Atheist). Martin (2005) asserts that although human identities are "held individually", they have "distinctly social origins and expression" (p.97). For instance, nation, class and gender are categories of identity that are founded within distinctly social realms of construction. Such group identities solidify a particular sense of self by introducing a common interest or trait.

Place-identity is a sense of being that is directly influenced by place in all its socially-constructed glory and its associated spatial locations. The topic of identity and place (and their intersections) has been explored by academics from a variety of

disciplines, including geography. Relph (1976) attests that place is a fundamental component of identity and sense of self as it directly affects our perception of the world. He adds that sense of place is only possible in instances where people have a concrete connection to place and a distinct rootedness. Perales (2010) asserts that the role of place in one's sense of identity and connection to the larger world is illuminated when the bond between person and place is threatened or impeded. Communities, for instance, provide a set of "parameters or boundaries to the possibilities of what can be symbolically drawn upon" in an effort to determine identity and/or sense of community (Sampson and Goodrich, 2009, p.913).

Martin (2005) notes that the importance of spatial location is two-fold for places and place-identity in that it both generates "shared experiences and customs that form identities" as well as provides "a position from which resistance can be made against power, inequality and other forms of perceived oppression" (p.98). This Marxist perspective of power and inequality is of particular interest in places that are contested or which are home to tumultuous relations. An example of such a place would be a company town, a place riddled with power relations and where inequality can be seen in as simple a structure as company housing. As will be discussed in a subsequent section, company towns have their own history and character that must be taken into account when investigating place-identity. Places, as previously discussed, are inherently complex. They are socially constructed by both internal and external forces and hold particular cultural, political, and social meanings to those who inhabit them (Perales, 2010). One factor in defining and creating place is identity. While some scholars argue that place-based identity is constantly being diminished in an ever-globalizing world (Tuan, 1977;

Augé, 1995; Castells, 1996), others (Harvey, 1996; Lippard, 1997; Massey, 1994; Escobar, 2001) contend that these very same influences drive us to be closer-connected to place and strengthen our ideas of home as a significant place. While notions of home may not necessarily be local, these contexts and our experiences in them, are central in forming place-identity. Globalization, argues Escobar (2001), has renewed and reinvigorated our interest in the local.

The relationship between place and identity can be understood as highly reciprocal in that while a place influences identity, identity and sense of being also impact place. This could not be truer than the type of identity and community present in a mining town. While the rich mineral resources and activities that coincide with mineral extraction indeed influence identity, it cannot be overlooked that the sense of self and identity in a mining town shapes place. Whether through direct extraction of resources, the construction of mining-related buildings such as union halls and head frames, or a menagerie of lawn ornaments with cartoonish depictions of mining life, we can observe how identity and place are inherently intertwined (Mellor and Stephenson, 2005; Summerby-Murray, 2007). Yet, identity does not diminish with the loss of industry. Many scholars have documented a resounding sense of identity in mining communities long after the mines have closed (Marsh, 1987; Summerby-Murray, 2007; Bell and York, 2010; Mellor and Stephenson, 2005). This reality strengthens the notion that the type of identity forged through mineral extraction is a strong one.

Mining communities evoke a particular sense of place and identity different from other resource-dependent communities or regions. Many attribute this to the distinct cycle

or work associated with mining and the dangerous work mining entails (Robertson, 2006; Murphy, 1997). The non-renewable nature of mining and the sense of impermanence this creates can be seen as central to the sense of community present in mining towns. For instance, in his book *Hard as the Rock Itself: Place and Identity in the American Mining Town*, David Robertson acknowledges the conventional notion of post-mining communities as places riddled with decay and hopelessness. However, he attests, (and this is arguably the most crucial point), for the residents who inhabit these places, these *very same* landscapes function as "meaningful communities and homes" (Robertson, 2006, p.2). From this perspective, we are compelled to acknowledge the differing meanings places take on, as determined by one's relation to and identification with them. As Massey (1994) suggested, what a place represents and means is dependent, in part, on our positionality. In this sense, those outside of a mining town may harbour very few sentiments of home or belonging to such a place, whereas residents have an intimate relationship with the all aspects of it. Similarly, and yet specifically, scholars such as David Harvey would point to the differences and experiences amongst residents as being instrumental to distinct meanings and experiences of a mining town as a place. Gavin Bridge's (2004) account of the mining landscape and its social connotations, which he calls the "mining imaginary," shows us how these places have distinct images and feelings associated with them. However, it is also important to note that romanticized visions of mining towns as frontiers for growth and expansion are built upon both historical and contemporary accounts of communities focused on resource extraction and subsequent socio-economic development (DeLyser 1999).

As places, mining communities are comprised of memories, traditions, and complex feelings about industry and community. Their status and symbolism remains fluid and evolves as these places undergo change, such as deindustrialization and closure. For many residents, the choice to remain in these communities comes at a cost, as the reduced potential for employment is often a driver of out-migration (Marsh 1987). However, contemporary mining and the introduction of fly-in/fly-out labour has infused new money into many post-mining communities as residents commute to other regions to work (Storey, 2010). In short, even in mining towns, place is by no means monolithic a concept. As such, place identity is experienced in multiple ways, through multiple processes, and can be both personal and collective. Galas and parades illustrate, for example, how a particular type of collective, community identity can be evoked and sustained (Mellor and Stephenson 2005).

Robertson and other scholars (Power 2008; Mitchell 1992) allude to the sense of impermanence often associated with mining communities, based as they are on a finite resource base. However, many of these communities remain after deindustrialization and become "curious relics of a romanticized frontier age," emphasizing their cultural and social significance as iconic landscapes (Robertson, 2006, p.6; see also DeLyser, 1999). This impermanence, however, often has little bearing on the complex ties people form with place. As illustrated in many accounts (Marsh, 1987; Power, 2008; Summerby-Murray, 2007) the end of a mine does not coincide with the end of place-based identity and sense of community, or even the community itself. Robert Summerby-Murray explores the created landscapes, motivated by personal and collective history of mining in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia. Summerby-Murray attests that although

deindustrialization has occurred, the shared identity created through mining is still prevalent. Individuals create their own personal landscapes through artifacts and ornaments, decorating their homes and yards, embellishing their pride associated with the mining history of the community. Ironically, typical scholarly approaches to processes of deindustrialization "relied heavily on analysis of the processes of *dismantling* industrial economies" (Summerby-Murray, 2007, p.51, emphasis added). However, what would be more effective, he suggests, is an exploration of the social processes through which deindustrialization occurs. As Summerby-Murray suggests, it is not always through dismantling the landscape that identity is expressed, but through creating and altering the landscape in meaningful ways. Identity persists long after industry has vanished, implying a unique relationship between both residents and workers and the landscape and industry (Robertson, 2006; Marsh, 1987). Rarely, it seems, do these connections and identities leave with the company or the resource. Through studying and acknowledging how and in what ways people relate with one another and the environment, as well as the meanings they attribute to practices, such as the governance and extraction of natural resources, we can better understand the significance of the identity-place connection (Gibson, 2006; Cheng *et al*., 2003).

The Mining Cycle and Deindustrialization

In order to understand the particular connections between people and place within mining communities, it is crucial to understand the set of processes that create mining towns and that underpin their very existence. Mining towns are places of distinct

economic and social activity and as such, lend themselves to notions of place that are contingent upon an array of natural resources, economic processes, and social practices.

It all begins with a discovery, whether it be coal, gold, or some other mineral deemed valuable by human interest. Resources, contrary to popular belief, are not merely found, but are instead created. Gavin Bridge (2009) has been adamant in suggesting that despite our notions of resource extraction and exploration, mineral resources are as much socially constructed as they are naturally existing. Resources, Bridge (2009) suggests, while depicted as "natural things", are "necessarily – cultural appraisals about utility and value" (p.1219). While mineral resources are indeed socially constructed, their extraction and production also requires a particular set of social activities and meanings, which Bridge refers to as the "mining imaginary". Mining, Bridge argues, has "significant cultural power", which forms the basis for the contemporary debate regarding mining and the environment, positioning mining landscapes as both technological as well as ideological (2004, p.241). Mining development is connected with "processes of industrialization, militarism, imperialism, and dispossession" which signifies and reinforces opposition to mineral extraction and subsequent development. What emerges through Bridge's observations is a distinct connotation associated with mining that reflects notions of discovery, pioneering, and a romanticized landscape, but also environmental degradation and negative social implications. This reinforces the notion of mining communities as somewhat resistant to change (due to the power of the imaginary and related political and economic relationships) and subject to a sharply divided social order.

As Cecily *et al*. (1992) acknowledge, mining communities are often located in remote areas, with the majority of the community dependent on the mine. As such, economic busts and closures have widespread impacts, which can extend into the surrounding communities and region (Mawhiney and Pitblado, 1999). Hence, many have suggested that without economic diversification, mining (and other resource-dependent and single-industry) communities run the risk of collapsing once the resource base has been exhausted or compromised (Mawhiney and Pitblado, 1999; Freudenberg, 1992; Bowles, 1992). Cecily *et al*. (1992) have highlighted four key factors that exacerbate the implications of closure and lay-offs in a mining community. They suggest that isolation, absence of alternative employment, recurrent anticipated wind-downs and closures, and the predominance of specialized and non-transferable skills, negatively impact displaced employees in mining communities (p.14).

Perhaps the most well-known critique of mining towns (and resource-dependent communities in general) comes from the late economic historian and political economist Harold Innis. While W.A. Mackintosh devised the concept of the "staples thesis," Innis shaped it to accommodate the Canadian economy and explain regional economic development in the Canadian context (Innis, 1956a; Innis 1956b). Subsequently, the concept of the "staples trap" was coined to demonstrate how areas involved in the harvesting and extraction of natural resources often fail to diversify, leading to economic crisis and collapse when the resource is diminished or exhausted. Such areas, Innis argued, are vulnerable to external influences and instability. Many scholars have examined the staples thesis in regard to resource extraction in Canada with some supporting (Watkins, 1963; Barnes, 2005) and others critiquing (Neill, 1972; Buckley,

1958; Dales, 1967; Clapp, 1998) its relevance to the Canadian economy. For clarification, staple industries are those "based on agricultural and extractive resources, not requiring elaborate processing and finding a large portion of their market in international trade" (Bertram, 1963). Innis's model of the staples thesis is underpinned by the notion of colonialism and power relations. He notes that resources are frequently exported on behalf of the colonial power in an effort to increase profits while ensuring demand is met in the homeland and abroad (where applicable). Newfoundland's history is steeped in the colonial experience, as the "initial economic and social organization of Newfoundland was determined by the demands of resource exploitation for export" (Greenwood, 1991). The establishment and development of Buchans, which was managed by an American company, for the sole purpose of extracting, processing, and exporting mineral resources to feed the growing market in the U.S., is consistent with Innis' staples thesis.

Because of their non-renewable nature, mines are reflective of the risks associated with the staples thesis and staples trap. Failure to diversify can compromise the economic stability of communities and regions dependent on mineral resources. The life cycle of a mine, although seemingly simple, has been interpreted and examined in two primary ways: linear and non-linear (such as cyclical). Historical accounts of mining (Aschmann, 1970; Innis, 1956a) have often interpreted the cycle as natural and linear. Although, as Aschmann suggests, the effects of a mine may outlive extraction, under the linear model the process begins with prospecting and (for the most part), ends once profits decrease and the mine is no longer economically viable. Aschmann identifies and details four stages in the mining cycle from prospecting to shutdown, with profitability declining throughout the course of the mine's life (1970, p.175).

While Aschmann recognizes that the life of a mine is finite, he also acknowledges that the implications of a mine survive long beyond the final load of minerals is extracted. While he noted some longer-term legacies of mineral development, including water resources, Aschmann's model is ultimately terminal. This approach has also been adopted by corporations and economists in an effort to define the points at which a mine's lifespan commences and ceases. The distinct beginning and end of a mine, therefore, allows companies to divest themselves of the mining landscape once the resource has been exhausted. This approach relies on economic and geologic factors to determine the conclusion of mine life. In such instances, mining ceases when it is no longer profitable or economically viable, or when the resource has been depleted or spent. By assuming that the cycle is complete once the minerals have been extracted, however, we miss out on entirely distinct components of mine life - its absences, intermissions, and returns.

Conversely, others regard the mine life as non-linear or cyclic. Described by Sandlos and Keeling (2012) as "zombie mines", these mines never truly die, but due to their persistent environmental degradation become everlasting entities. Sandlos and Keeling describe such mines as "sites that continue to exert some sort of malevolent effect during their afterlife" (2012, p.80). In areas where mining reigned and where people still reside, the legacy mining leaves on a landscape is inherently and inevitably social. Communities are left to deal with the aftermath of a mining legacy, including environmental degradation, loss of industry, and potential demographic implications.

In a related manner such scholars (Keeling, 2010; Barnes *et al*., 2001; Wilson, 2004) have suggested that the trajectory of a mine is much more cyclical or “cyclonic” than Aschmann attests. In contesting the linear view of mining, Lisa Wilson (2004) likens

the mining cycle to a rollercoaster ride which includes ups, downs, and rapid changes. Wilson adopts the rollercoaster metaphor for several reasons: the presence of frequent changes and an uncertain future; it constitutes a journey over time, not just a moment in time; and the fact that roller coasters have different characteristic (such as shape, speed, height, and length). The oscillation of the rollercoaster effectively represents mining communities' future as uncertain and unstable. It also attests to the boom-bust/up-down cycle so frequently cited as plaguing mining communities. Such places are caught in the midst of several factors beyond their control - such as market prices, demand, and quantity of the reserve - but which are ultimately and inexorably linked to their continuance or demise. Similarly, Freudenberg's (1992) perspective on "addictive economies" suggests that the nature of extractive industries has changed from beneficial to precarious for dependent regions. When communities and regions depend on mineral extraction for economic survival, he contends, these areas fall prey to "addictive activities" which result in over-adaptation to the industry. This effect is multiplied when some key characteristics are present, such as "increasing geographic isolation, imbalances of scale and power with respect to extractive industries, and the absence of realistic alternatives for diversified development" (p. 305). Ultimately, it appears that a reluctance to diversify and an emotional dependence on mineral extraction can contribute to the downfall of mineral-dependent regions, particularly those that are isolated from other communities.

Company Towns and Paternalism

Terms such as grey, decay, industrial, and ghost town all bring to mind images of mining landscapes. However, while mining towns have a reputation as "hard" places (Robertson, 2006), they are also places of deep place-identity and community formation around such factors as labour and isolation. The conventional notion of mining towns is of places where industry dominates and conquers. The epitome of this type of place where industry and corporation reign would be the company town.

Company towns are dominated by a single industry and typically, a single company. They are places where residence and employment is dependent and connected to the resource. Further, resource-based company towns have a distinct history of their own, leading to a unique sense of place and identity. However, it is important to note that not all mining towns are company towns, and not all company towns are dependent on mineral resources. Company towns have a unique history and characteristics that result in a set of distinct feelings and understandings. They are not conventional communities in the sense that their origins, development, and management have been undertaken by a specific entity and for a specific purpose. It is important to understand the origins and implications of company towns to fully appreciate the sense of community and identity prevalent in the former mining company town of Buchans. Company towns were imagined into existence over two centuries ago in England as convenient settlements located strategically along resource frontiers (White, 2012; Metheny, 2007). Corporations established and developed them for the purpose of extracting and harvesting natural resources with the understanding that a stable workforce was needed to remain in the area in order for the effort to remain viable and cost-effective. Company towns were a

strategic investment on behalf of a corporation profiting from the extraction of natural resources.

Company towns are not monolithic phenomena and varied in their history, purpose, and development. Some corporations expanded on an already existing settlement, while others built a town in a location that might only have been previously identified as a point on a map. While some were created with the bare necessities for living, such as bunkhouses and cookhouses, others evolved and expanded into self-contained, self-sufficient communities, and provided the best amenities and facilities available at the time. Such amenities were often used to entice a stable workforce, lowering turnover rates and creating a contented community of workers (Rollwagen, 2006; Metheny, 2007).

The heterogeneity of resource-dependent communities in Canada is often overlooked (Randall and Ironside, 1996). While not every resource-dependent community is a company town, company towns in Canada are typically dependent on natural resources, such as forestry or minerals, with the exception of a few factory settlements. Although the general perception of resource-dependent communities is still heavily influenced by the classic works of such authors as Innis, Robinson, Lucas, and Siemens, Randall and Ironside argue that we must look beyond these simplified illustrations and appreciate that there is a great deal of diversity within the realm of resource-dependent communities (Randall and Ironside, 1996). While diverse in purpose, geography, and demographics, company towns all share one commonality: dependence. As White (2012) points out, each resident in a company town has some level of dependence on the company, whether for amenities, services, commodities, or a paycheque (and often all of

these things). As White acknowledges, there has been "dependence on the company for the creation of the town; dependence on the company for livelihood; and dependence on the company for the *survival of the community as a whole*" (p.3, emphasis added). This level of dependence is what sets the company town apart from all other settlements. But if what White suggests is true, that it is the company's responsibility to ensure survival of the town, then what of companies who cease operations? As has been discussed above and will be further discussed in this thesis, the end of extraction and production does not always signal the end of a community. While the company established the town and provided the initial infrastructure, and a level of economic stability, residents sometimes remain in a former company town long after its glory days have passed.

The strategy of corporations governing company towns often included some aspect of control over the workforce. In this sense, company towns and paternalism intertwine and are nearly inseparable. In a paternalistic setting, there is a high degree of dependency whereby workers and residents fully rely on the company to provide most, if not all, necessities. However, this relationship is also reciprocal in that companies require a stable workforce to provide labour for its operations. Paternalism has many different definitions, but for the purpose of this research, I refer to paternalism as an ideological and policy-related strategy on behalf of corporations, with the concept of control at its core. Domination is exerted over the workforce through control over numerous aspects of community life, including residency, housing, recreation, wages, and education. This definition has been derived from numerous discussions of company paternalism and takes into account the definitions provided by other scholars, including Metheny (2007), White (2004; 2012), Lucas (1971), and Rollwagen (2006). Companies sought to provide

workers with leisure and recreation activities to keep them happy based on the notion that a contented workforce would equal a loyal workforce. As Rollwagen notes in the case of the Britannia Mining and Smelting Company Limited, "initiatives were based on the idea that, in the long run, sustained investment in a stable community would benefit both the company and its workers" (2006, p.67). Lucas (1971) describes the control commonly exerted over a community as a whole by the company, and emphasizes that many of these corporate entities dominated nearly (if not every) aspect of residents lives. Moreover, paternalism is not entirely negative given that often there are mutual benefits between corporations and employees. While some argue that corporate paternalism has always been a means to hold authority over a population, it should be noted that the amenities and services provided by companies often make life more enjoyable for a workforce and their families and that although the intentions of the company include personal benefit, it is possible to engage residents in meaningful and beneficial ways.

Buchans was a classic company town in that all aspects of life in Buchans were closely monitored and controlled by ASARCO. The company's policies were somewhat strict, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, but ensured a high standard of living for the town's residents. As such, the company dominated both economic and social life in the community through several means, including terms of employment and residency. Literature on Buchans chronicles the discovery of minerals at Buchans and the subsequent creation of the community (Rennie, 1999; Town of Buchans, 2010). ASARCO made significant investments and the town was developed quickly, and included recreational infrastructure as well as public infrastructure, including a hospital, school, and churches. All these amenities and facilities were provided by the company at

little to no cost to workers and their families. Although housing was provided at a cost to workers, rent was relatively cheap and post-closure, housing units were sold to workers for very little. Many cite labour disputes as significant and sometimes divisive times in the town's history. Most notably, the strike of 1973 resulted in violence, union solidarity, and social cohesion (Martin, 1983; RILDA, 1992). As will be discussed in the next chapter, it is precisely this context that fostered the strong sense of identity present in the town, and that has underscored community resilience.

Resilience and Continuity of Place

The persistence of mining communities through economic downturn is attributable to several factors, including both internal and external forces. Resource-based turbulence and bust are unavoidable in mining communities. However, how communities adapt to such challenges can help define their resiliency. Resilience and the continuity of place identity are inevitably intertwined and dependent, at least in part, on the residents who inhabit it. Given the non-renewable nature of mineral extraction, the mining town is a place whose future hinges on diversification and determination. As will be discussed, the resilience of communities, particularly mining communities, is a crucial component in our understanding of resource-dependent communities and regions.

Although resilience is commonly used in discussions of social phenomena, its origins come from the realm of natural science, initially ecological systems. The concept of resilience was introduced by C.S. Holling in his seminal 1973 work “Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems”. In that paper, Holling asserts that in a system that is subject to external shocks and disturbances and “continually confronted by the

unexpected," the "persistence of the relationships" within the system is crucial in achieving stability and resilience (Holling, 1973, p.1). Holling and others who followed defined resilience in two key ways:

1) The amount of *time* required for an ecosystem to return to a state of equilibrium following a perturbation/disturbance (Holling, 1973, emphasis added); and
2) The *capacity* of a system to adapt to and recover from disturbance. The system must either retain essentially the same function, or (in the case of very resilient systems) even experience enhancement (Walker *et al*., 2004, emphasis added).

Although it emerged as an ecological term, resilience has been applied to a variety of contexts, including the social, and in particular, studies of communities that have undergone some disturbance or change (Walker *et al*., 2004; Barr and Devine-Wright, 2012; Berkes and Ross, 2013; Adger, 2000). In the social realm, considering time and capacity as key elements of resilience, while some communities adapt relatively quickly and easily, others require more time and have more difficulty coping with adversity.

The concept of resilience may apply to communities which encompass both the social and the ecological, and it is increasingly (since 2000, Berkes and Ross [2013] argue) being viewed in terms of social-ecological systems. For instance, communities whose livelihoods are dependent upon ecological and environmental resources clearly demonstrate this link (Adger, 2000). Similarly, Berkes and Ross (2013) argue that resilience recognizes social systems and ecosystems as "coupled, interdependent, and coevolving" (p.7). Over the last two decades, attest Barr and Devine-Wright (2012), resilience has become an integral part of how we view sustainable communities. Magis

(2010) suggests that a key attribute of resilient communities is the ability to thrive in an environment characterized by uncertainty and instability. This means that resilience cannot be overlooked in investigations of community survival and sustainability.

Community resiliency is most commonly viewed as a theoretical framework, which depends, at least in part, on the residents who inhabit the area. Kulig *et al*. (2008) describe the framework of community resiliency as one that "explains community responses to external forces, such as economic downturns, natural disasters, or other threats to sustainability" (p.76). In this sense, community resiliency becomes a potent source of understanding how exactly communities adapt, thrive, and persevere through disturbances (see also Barr and Devine-Wright, 2012). It provides us with a way to understand and harness the strengths and flexibilities of a particular community and region that has undergone a dramatic change.

It is crucial to note the connections between resilience, and sense of community and place. Kulig *et al*. (2013), link sense of community (including community pride and sense of belonging) to community action and in turn to community resilience. The authors propose a model with three components of resiliency: 1) interactions as a collective unit, 2) sense of belonging, and 3) community action by specifically responding to the issue(s) that threaten resilience. These are not indicators of resilience, but rather factors and traits which may contribute to increasing community resilience over time. What is more, they highlight the importance of relationships and social networks in leading to resilience. Further, these factors are directly applicable to the context of Buchans where sense of community, community action, and resilience have been prominent post-closure. Working collectively and harnessing leadership capacity are essential factors for

resilience (Reimer, 2003; Barr and Devine-Wright, 2012). In its most basic sense, community resilience requires collective effort on behalf of residents who express commitment to the community.

As previously discussed, community resiliency is often attributed in large part to the social networks that are formed in the community and which provide the basis for adaptive capacity. As such, social cohesion has been suggested as a possible attribute for community resilience (Rolfe, 2006; Vinson, 2004; Kulig *et al*., 2008). In fact, Vinson goes a step further in suggesting that a community's resilience depends almost entirely on social cohesion. There are three components of this cohesion-based model of resilience, including: social and support networks, social participation, and community engagement (Vinson, 2004; see also Ahmed *et al*., 2004). While there is no clearly articulated definition of social cohesion, many scholars note that it is based on togetherness and shared experience (Rolfe, 2006). However, social cohesion alone does not result in resilience. Simply because residents work and identify together does not mean that their skills are effectively harnessed for resilience. Social capital has also been cited as a contributing factor to community resilience (Reimer, 2003). In many instances, social capital is formed through collectivity and togetherness. Social cohesion leads to social capital in the sense that it forms the basis for meaningful relationships, and the shared experiences that motivate individuals to work collectively out of common interest.

The literature suggests that the cultivation of a strong sense of place and community is critical in understanding community resilience and the ability to adapt after the loss of a major industry. Community resiliency in mining towns seems somewhat of an oxymoron. On the one hand, our understanding of mining towns is predominantly

based on the resource, and its inevitable exhaustion. On the other hand, and the understanding that coincides with contemporary social theory, mining towns represent a collective of personnel, emotions, experience, and adaptability. Because of their often strong sense of community identity, mining towns often defy traditional resource timelines, and outlive the resource they are dependent upon. In the case of Buchans, community resiliency post-ASARCO is inherently complex and cannot be attributed to any single factor. Instead, as will be discussed in following chapters, community resiliency is often a combination of internal and external forces, along with social capital, and natural endowments, all thrust together amidst unique environmental and social situations and contexts. The sense of community forged in Buchans was the product of paternalistic policies and programs implemented by ASARCO. However, the tenacious identity that emerged has fuelled the efforts led by local leaders to sustain the town and persevere through the period immediately following mine closure.

CHAPTER 3

GLORY DAYS: BUCHANS FROM 1927-1984

The sound of falling rain was overwhelming as I sat in Josephine Head's living room. I had arrived at her house shortly before what was likely the heaviest downpour of the summer. The heat that day was almost unbearable, but the thunder shower provided relief, even if only short-lived. Josephine is well-known in the community, not only for her vivacious and kind personality, but also because her late husband, Don Head, was the most well-known union leader in Buchans and was actively involved in the Newfoundland Federation of Labour. His legacy as an honest, dynamic, and tenacious union president lives on in the town, long after the last strike. "Come hell or high water, law or no law," she recited, speaking of the 1973 strike in which Don nearly went to jail. "Law or no law, that's what got him in trouble with ASARCO," she told me. "He loved the labour movement, so whatever he did I backed him 100%," she said with a smile. Her eyes were soft, and looking at her I could tell that she was quietly reflecting on her life in Buchans and remembering her late husband and the support she gave him. It only took a moment for her eyes to reach back to mine, and suddenly I was moved and even overcome by her story. As Josephine walked me to the front door, she said softly, "It was hard sometimes, but I don't regret a minute of it. It all made me who I am".

This chapter addresses the ASARCO era (1927-1984) in Buchans, investigating the development of the town, both economically and socially. It deals principally with the question of how different individuals have identified with the company and community over time, and how identity and sense of community emerged from living in a single

industry town. Each account of life, struggle, and happiness in Buchans is immensely valuable in telling the story of the community. The personal accounts documented in this chapter form the basis of understanding identity and sense of community in Buchans, and illustrate how personal and community identity were forged in the paternalistic, company-town atmosphere in Buchans, both because of paternalism but also at times in opposition to it.

Paternalism is at the heart of identity formation and sense of community in Buchans, both directly and indirectly. Paternalism is a style of management which is based on controlling a populace or limiting their freedom and responsibilities in their supposed best interest. Company paternalism dominated most, if not all, aspects of everyday life for the residents of Buchans, including work, leisure, and living accommodations. However, the provision of goods and services is beneficial to both employer and employees, as "any company knows it's better to have people as happy as they can be" (Juriaan Houtman interview, September 2013). Although the control exerted over residents of Buchans was domineering, the relationship between company and community was mutually beneficial in that residents enjoyed a standard of living much higher than that in other similar-sized resource-dependent communities in the province. While profits were undoubtedly ASARCO's top priority, the company believed that fostering an environment that yielded a contented workforce was in its best interests. Mining companies often created company towns and other paternalistic environments with the goal of fostering higher productivity and preserving labour peace (Rollwagen, 2006; White, 2012). In Buchans, paternalistic policies formed the basis for community development (both socially and economically), leading residents to identify strongly with

each other and with the landscape. The identities expressed by respondents are due to a culmination of factors, each of which played a role in the sense of identity and community that Buchaneers hold. That being said, it is the interconnectedness of these factors that is accountable for identity. Residents in Buchans reaffirmed their connections to each other and the community through the provision of amenities, goods and services, labour disputes, and the nature of mining work. Additionally, isolation and the community's closed-town origins are somehow representative of, or influenced by paternalism.

The narratives that follow show that the resulting identity and sense of community forged in Buchans remains long after the last mines have closed. It has been instrumental in encouraging, empowering, and motivating residents to become involved in resilience-based initiatives, which will be explored in the next chapter. Fundamentally, it is the solidifying factor that compels some (and perhaps many) residents to continue living in Buchans and maintain a sense of hopefulness and optimism concerning the future of the community.

Building a Company Town

After the initial development of the community beginning in 1927, Buchans quickly grew as a booming mining town in Newfoundland's interior. Men came from all across the province in hopes of acquiring a job with the company, many of whom ultimately moved their families to the town when housing became available. Because of this, the population grew rapidly, requiring numerous services and amenities, all of which were supplied by ASARCO. Social life in the town thrived, complemented by community

events and recreational activities. While residents recall that the community was a safe place and had an employment rate of 100% (at least for its male populace), some were unhappy with the amount of control the company exerted over all aspects of life in the town, as discussed further below.

Mining operations ran from 1927 to 1984 when the last of the mines closed completely. Over the course of Buchans' history and mining life, five mines were discovered and exhausted: Old Buchans, Lucky Strike, Oriental, Rothermere, and MacLean's (see figure 1, p.7). Their discoveries and subsequent development happened consecutively, sometimes overlapping. However, shut-down processes began in the early 1980s with massive layoffs and abandonment of infrastructure. The end of mining at Buchans was due to several factors, including depleted reserves, unstable metal prices, spiralling inflation, and low ore grades combined with inaccessibility (Thurlow, 2010). The closure of the mining industry was devastating to the community, both economically and socially. Residents lost their livelihoods, and many were forced to leave the community and find work elsewhere, negatively impacting family and social relations.

Isolation and Paternalism as Catalysts for Community

The community was very isolated due to the location of the mines in the province's sparsely populated interior, but this remoteness was also embraced by the company as a means of control. This is evident in the company's reluctance to allow any person not working for them into the community, and by controlling when (if at all) workers were allowed to enter and leave Buchans. There was no access to Buchans other than by train until 1956, meaning that during Buchans' early history, its residents were

isolated from the rest of the province. ASARCO owned the railway and train that accessed Buchans and maintained strict control over who was allowed to enter or leave the community. This was a direct source of tension and animosity between the company and the residents of Buchans. For instance, in Christmas 1949, ASARCO scheduled the last train to leave Buchans just before the shift ended, leaving men who wanted to catch the train and go back to their hometown for the holidays without a way home (RILDA, 1992, p.47). This event lives on in the memories of Buchans residents and is retold with particular animosity toward the company. In fact, some participants recalled men jumping on the train and holding on for as long as they could until they were eventually thrown off into various areas along the track. Additionally, many blamed the isolation and unwillingness of ASARCO to make Buchans a more open community for the lack of economic diversification in the town. Some participants suggested that had the company not been so domineering, development in Buchans would have been much more stable by the time the last mine closed in 1982. As one resident put it,

> It was 100% company controlled, totally. And that had very negative effects on the growth of the town over the 50 years the mine operated... that's the price you paid for living in a company town. (Graham Flight interview, August 2013)

Despite these concerns, when asked what their experiences were like in Buchans when it was so isolated, many residents responded with gratitude for the amount of recreational facilities and entertainment provided by the company. Others informed me that they were required to amuse themselves and spoke fondly of card games with other families, or women playing cards together and drinking tea while their husbands worked the night shift. Because workers were unable to leave the community for the weekend,

"people had to stay so they mingled and mixed" (John Budden interview, August 2013). Several participants suggested the positive impacts of isolation on social cohesion in the town:

> The common experiences, stories and sets of traditions crystallized further in Buchans because of its isolation and because for the first decades of its existence access was largely controlled. (Liam O'Brien interview, September 2013)

> There's no question that this environment, the environment that developed in Buchans as a result of the 50 years of nonstop mining, the result of being a closed mining town for most of that 50 years had a major impact, a beneficial impact I think on the people of Buchans. (Graham Flight interview, August 2013)

Others suggested that isolation also served as a catalyst for skill development and a cultivation of knowledge and expertise. Because of the relative isolation, a well-equipped machine shop and workers were crucial due to the difficulty accessing supplies of particular machinery parts. As regional development expert Dr. Rob Greenwood attested,

> It led again to a level of knowledge and skill and pride and capacity that was a direct result of the isolation. (Rob Greenwood interview, September 2013).

As a company town, residents were limited by being unable to own or build houses in Buchans. Similarly, the company provided goods at the company store and maintenance services. There was little to no authority vested in municipal entities or even the local police presence. Instead, ASARCO employed a town manager and company watchmen to oversee the running and maintenance of the town. Reprimands and threats of dismissal were handed down to company employees for even the most minor offenses, including those performed by children of ASARCO employees. The knowledge that the

company could determine whether you were able to leave the town or not weighed heavily on the minds of Buchans residents, and such "psychological pressures" were unimaginable by those living outside of the town (Martin, 1983).

Paternalism, however, also ensured that ASARCO provided its workforce with the best amenities and services available. It maintained recreational facilities and opportunities for residents that were unheard of in towns of similar size at the time. Company paternalism shaped the memories and experiences of Buchaneers and workers in several ways, related primarily to how they lived and how they cooperated. The company provided residents with opportunities and amenities that would otherwise not have been unavailable. As this chapter shows, for some, paternalism was an inherently positive approach that resulted in social cohesion and a higher standard of living. For others, paternalism was an immensely negative force that led to animosity and tension, some of which is still expressed today. It is evident that despite a history of corporate paternalism and complete company control, many residents identify strongly with the community and are grateful for the opportunities provided by ASARCO. Although all residents were subject to paternalistic policies, identity and sense of community in Buchans are not monolithic—they manifest across a broad spectrum and it is evident that no two people identify in quite the same way within the community.

Housing and Social Geography

Company towns are well-known for both their physical layout and the establishment of distinct company housing, both of which are characteristic of

paternalism. The social geography of the community, as determined by ASARCO, was a point of contestation and resentment for some participants. As noted by former union leader Ivan Hodder, the hierarchical and class-based division of the community was inherently divisive (Ivan Hodder interview, June 2013). And although the division may not have been marked by signage, residents were fully aware of their place in the community. One resident and former miner acknowledged that

> There was no wall in between, but you could see it when you were walking up the road, it was there. Completely separated the uptown and downtown. (Kevin Head interview, August 2013)

The segregation between workers and management that occurred in Buchans was not unique to the community, rather, it was a common practice within company towns (Metheny, 2007; White, 2012).

In true company town form, residents' homes were owned by ASARCO and leased monthly to workers. Residents expressed a sense of grievance over the lack of control and security over housing. Because it was a company town, housing was reserved for current workers only. If a miner retired, was unable to work or was killed in a mining accident, his family was given written notice to vacate the premises within 30 days. On this policy, ASARCO was unwavering, and often seen as unsympathetic and cruel. As one participant noted,

> [B]ack in time if a miner got killed the family had 30 days to get the hell out of there. No ifs, ands or buts about it, they had no place to live. You can imagine what that did to a people. And there are people in this town today that don't forget that. (Ivan Hodder interview, June 2013)

This account highlights the residual animosity that some residents feel toward the company because of certain policies and practices. It also speaks to the fear instilled in

residents in Buchans and the mental and emotional toll that the instability and uncertainty provided by company policies took on them. The practice of company-controlled housing was common in company towns, and as Metheny (2007) notes, provided a clear message to the worker as to what their place in the social hierarchy was. "If housing told the miner where he stood in the eyes of the corporation, the lease for the house, or lack thereof, told the miner in no uncertain terms that his status and continued employment were contingent upon his adherence to company rules" (p.63). Despite being divided by working title into the 'uptown' or 'downtown' sections of Buchans, class had very little to do with the construction of identity or sense of community. Regardless of position or housing, many workers identified strongly with the community and each other.

Housing extended beyond the town, with many families residing in small settlements near Buchans. Particularly during the early days of the town, if no housing were available within Buchans, workers would build houses outside the town's boundaries. Beginning in 1956, after the highway was built, a popular place to build houses was located a few miles outside of Buchans in a settlement that came to be called Pigeon Inlet, after a beloved literary work by Newfoundland writer Ted Russell (Martin, 1983). Pigeon Inlet did not have electricity or running water, and men walked back and forth to and from work each day despite any adverse weather conditions. In the early 1960s, residents met to discuss a plan to meet with Joey Smallwood, then-Premier of Newfoundland, concerning the installation of services to the settlement. Instead, and to the surprise of many, the government made arrangements with ASARCO to expropriate a piece of land adjacent to the township of Buchans and prepared to relocate Pigeon Inlet to what would be known, and is still known, as the Townsite (Melvin Penney interview,

June 2013). The process took almost four years, but by 1964 houses large enough to relocate were moved, and houses deemed too small were demolished and rebuilt on the newly expropriated and serviced land. Because the Townsite was not technically Buchans (proper), ASARCO did not provide any services to residents such as garbage collection or snow clearing, and the newly formed settlement established a Board of Trustees to manage operations. As one person pointed out, the development of the Townsite was a milestone in Buchans' history because it represented the point at which ASARCO's control over the town began to diminish,

> .... I think... I know the company resented that because they lost control. When this townsite came here that was it, they effectively lost control of the town. (Graham Flight interview, August 2013)

In a sense, Pigeon Inlet was valued as a space beyond company control, with many participants expressing pride at its establishment and eventual relocation and transition to the Townsite.

"Second to None"

ASARCO's paternalism extended to the provision of town services, amenities and community recreation facilities, which contributed to community cohesion and sense of identity. Primarily, the presence of amenities, facilities, services, and opportunities has cultivated a strong sense of cohesion within the community. Workers and their families were drawn to Buchans, largely due to the promise of a steady paycheque, but also by the number and quality of services and amenities in the town. At a time when the majority of Newfoundland communities were without running water and electricity, Buchans boasted

both of these services, along with stores, a bowling alley, a curling club, and other facilities. In addition to providing facilities for recreation, ASARCO provided numerous recreation-related services including a recreational director, librarian, and swimming instructor (Liam O'Brien interview, September 2013; Town of Buchans, 2010). Further, recreation brought residents together through common interests, and "the system worked pretty good as far as the social life of the town is concerned" (Hugh Wadden interview, August 2013). These services highlight the company's investment in the community to provide residents with as many recreational opportunities as possible.

As Murphy (1997) attests (with reference to Butte, Montana), recreation programs aimed to foster social cohesion, and "nurture harmony and happiness... to attract the greatest number of residents to sponsored activities" (p.211). Although the recreational opportunities provided by ASARCO were numerous, hockey became a significant icon in the town of Buchans and fostered a particular sense of pride and cohesion within the community. One respondent noted that hockey was so important to the town that even though he "hated hockey with a passion", he would never miss a game. Continuing, he recalled that his father would miss shifts just to go and watch the Buchans Miners play, a devotion that could have easily led to reprimands by the company (John Budden interview, August 2013). In fact, hockey became such a source of entertainment in the town, the company went as far as importing players from Ontario and Nova Scotia, giving them jobs (often in the surface or exploration departments) to allow them to stay in the community and play for the Miners. Buchans won the Herder Cup (a provincial hockey tournament) several times in the 1950s and 60s, a feat remembered fondly by many residents. ASARCO proudly supported the team and enjoyed its many successes, making

it a favourable pastime for employees and management alike. Many participants alluded to a sense of community instigated and strengthened by hockey, suggesting that it brought them closer together and gave all employees a common interest. As former Buchans Miners captain Hugh Wadden noted, up to 2000 people would turn out to watch the games. When asked if he felt the hockey team gave people a sense of community, he responded that "I definitely do because they all congregated together at the stadium together... no doubt about it" (Hugh Wadden interview, August 2013). One person went as far as comparing hockey to mining in the town, asserting that "Mining is like hockey in Buchans... always in people's minds, people's hearts" (Steve Mulrooney interview, August 2013), while another described hockey as "the backbone of the town" (Bert Woodland) and yet another as "the lifeline of the town in wintertime" (Kevin Head). Finally, participants suggested that the high calibre of the Buchans Miners created a platform for community pride and social cohesion. As one resident asserted, "Well when we grew up with hockey teams that used to win, I guess we wanted to be part of that so that set a bit of pride" (Den Fowlow interview, August 2013). In the local museum, the town's mining heritage is prominently displayed. Figure 2 showcases the original jerseys worn by the Buchans Miners hockey team.

Figure 2. *Buchans Miners hockey jersey, displayed at Buchans Miners Museum. Author photo.*

Another example of the high quality service provision in the town is the educational system, which is still held in high regard. ASARCO sought the best teachers and subsidized their salaries enticing them into coming to Buchans. One respondent disclosed that as a teacher in Buchans at a time when a miner was making only $7500 a year, his annual salary was $14,000 - considerably higher than teachers in other communities were paid (Steve Mulrooney interview, August 2013). The educational services provided were subsidized by the company and were arguably the best in the province at the time.

> Our children went to school without having to buy a pencil, we always had the best of teachers... a teacher couldn't get a job here unless they had a degree. And the company paid their wages. They got an isolation fee, another amount of their wages. And we didn't have to buy a book for any

> one of our children in school. You had to give them credit for what they [the company] done. (Jim Yetman interview, June 2013)

In short, the residents of Buchans were well tended to, which is why when many respondents recall their time in Buchans they often refer to the community as "second to none"—a phrase commonly repeated during interviews.

Cohesion Through Labour Disputes and Unionization

Labour relations in Buchans have a long, tumultuous, and often strained history, which many attribute to the paternalistic policies and strict control exerted by ASARCO. Labour is a crucial component in how ore is transformed into commodities, and represents an important aspect in the perception of mining operations, particularly how organized labour is contested and unified (Clement, 1981). In 1934 the Buchans Workmans' Protective Union (BWPU) was formed, even before the Newfoundland Federation of Labour. In 1956 the BWPU and Miners Protective Union (MPU) disbanded and gave way to the United Steelworkers of America Local 5457, a "powerful and far-reaching union" (Martin, 1983). There were four strikes: 1941, 1955, 1971, 1973, with each subsequent strike increasing in duration and intensity. The strikes that occurred in the 1970s were the most bitter, and the period between 1970 and 1980 has been described as the "most turbulent one in Buchans' fifty year history" (Thurlow, 2010). In fact, when the strikes were discussed during data collection, many residents referred to the *two* strikes, as opposed to four, an omission that gives insight into how people remember the history of labour relations in the town. This is also likely due to their direct participation in the more recent strikes, as opposed to the previous ones. An atmosphere of uncertainty

and instability played a large part in the heightened tension in the decade between 1970-1980. By 1971, the forecast mine life had been reduced to seven years, due to declining production and rising costs (Thurlow, 2010). Second, residents believed the demise of the community was likely, given Buchans' status as a company town and the lack of a plan for the community after the end of mining. While this was once considered a normal and acceptable phase of the life of a company town by investors and capitalists, the residents of Buchans fought to change the attitudes of ASARCO and convince them that the community had become more than a means of extraction, that it had become a home. Finally, the feeling of being owned and controlled was a source of animosity towards the company. These concerns, among others such as wages and benefits, "found an outlet" in the strikes of 1971 and 1973 (Thurlow, 2010).

Given the history and circumstances, it is not surprising to observe that a sense of cohesion was strengthened through labour disputes and unionization. Berger-Schmitt notes that social and political engagement in such groups as labour unions can indeed lead to cohesion amongst members (Berger-Schmitt, 2000; see also MacEwan, 1976). It is important to remember that residents in Buchans were placed within a polarizing hierarchy in which there were the workers such as miners, millers, carpenters, and surface workers; and then there was the professional staff and management. As previously noted, this distinction was reinforced through segregated housing and town layout. While the managerial staff were not unionized and required to maintain some routine operations during strikes, the union encompassed all other workers within the operation.

Strikes were a community endeavour, and much of the momentum was provided by families as supporters of striking workers. For instance, during the strike of 1973, the

most vicious of all labour disputes in Buchans' history, workers and their families would parade around the community each morning. Songs were written about the company by striking workers, and participants were provided a song booklet containing lyrics (Figure 3, pictured below). This type of activity, some participants suggested, led to a distinct type of social cohesion forged through common struggle and perseverance. As Josephine Head, wife of the late union leader Don Head noted, "I think that some of that is what made the community the way it was, so strong, it was that type of thing " (Josephine Head interview, August 2013). As some participants suggested, labour struggles have been catalysts for a deep-rooted sense of identity and community. As Rob Greenwood attests:

> [When] you have vicious strikes and when you had your life at risk when you went down the mine shaft, it forged a bond amongst the workers and a support for the union and community spirit. And when you had a company town like the company in Buchans ... it was easy to blame the company for everything. (Rob Greenwood interview, September 2013)

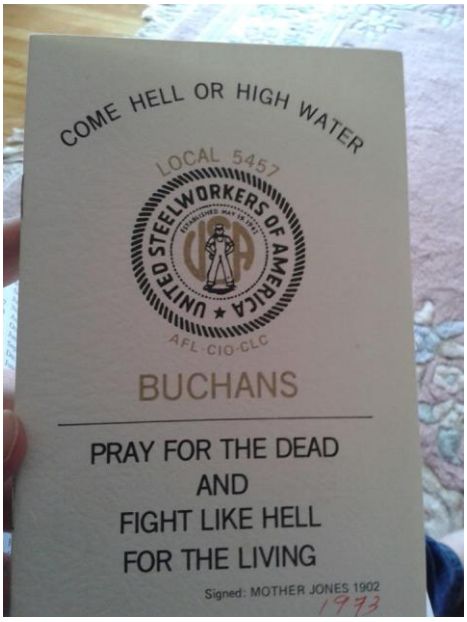

Figure 3. *Song booklet from the 1973 strike. Author photo.*

Women were noted as playing a crucial role as supporters and being central to the labour movement in the community in their own way. While it was the miners who were on the picket line, women were seen as fundamental in both the home sphere and the community. As Josephine Head asserts,

> I think [the women] were the mainstay of families... especially during the strike, I think the women played a big part in that, supporting their husbands in what they were doing. Like by going out and joining them in the parade instead of just the men doing it. (Josephine Head interview, August 2013)

Many women described their experience during the strikes as "stressful". Geraldine Yetman, whose husband was employed within ASARCO management and who was not actually on strike, recalls that during the 1973 strike, she often worried about her husband who she feared would be the target of harassment and possibly even assault. Ruth Head, whose husband Kevin is the brother of the late union leader Don Head, told me that she did not like talking about the strikes because they brought back memories of worry and anxiety.

Speaking about the strikes, particularly the 1973 strike, was sometimes a delicate subject. The experience of participants during the strikes often influenced their willingness to speak about them. Some respondents, in fact, only agreed to participate on the condition that I did not ask them about labour disputes. Several, especially those whose husbands or other family members were directly involved, expressed anxiety when talking about the strikes. For others who had been involved in the union, the strikes brought up an array of emotions. While many remarked on a sense of pride and accomplishment from fighting for higher pay or benefits, it was also apparent that some felt their efforts produced minimal results. For instance, as Kevin Head remarked,

> No strike is worth it, you never get back what you lose in a strike. It was needed but the people going on strike don't gain anything... the people coming behind us had the raise that we fought for. But there's times strikes are needed. (Kevin Head interview, August 2013)

Leadership is a crucial component of organized labour, and is regarded as the form of labour participation requiring the highest amount of direct engagement (Greene *et al*., 2000). The leadership that emerged in Buchans as a result of unionization and labour disputes still stands as exemplary in the community today. Participants frequently identified union leaders as key community leaders in the town's history. The late union president Don Head was most frequently acknowledged as a community leader for his role in the 1973 strike. Many credit him as the momentum behind the drive for the Buchans Task Force, a group which assessed the impending mine closures and made recommendations for the future of the town (described further in Chapter 4). Ivan Hodder was another resident whose union roles as vice president and eventually president won him respect amongst the populace of the town. The responses I received to my question concerning community leadership affirmed Buchans' strong history of union activity and labour disputes and the sense of pride and organizing capacity that emerged from such a bitter and tumultuous past. As will be discussed in the subsequent chapter, in the post-ASARCO era, leadership roles fell onto the younger generations of Buchaneers and quite often the sons, daughters, grandsons, and granddaughters of well-known and respected leaders in the community from the ASARCO era. Although there was cohesion between miners and union representatives, some suggest that there was a difference between being a union member and miner, and being heavily involved in union activities. John Budden points to this difference to emphasize his love for underground work and his preference,

above all else, to be seen as a miner. "I've had the opportunity to work with steelworkers as an organizer, negotiator. I've carried briefcases and I've carried lunch cans and I'd rather carry the lunch can any day." (John Budden interview, August 2013).

The importance of union organizers and activities in Buchans is reflected in the historical and contemporary importance of union spaces in the town. The union hall, now a bar venue renamed "Lounge 5457" after the original Union Local 5457, stands as a reminder of labour battles fought in Buchans, as well as a gathering place for Buchaneers. Two buildings were used as union halls in Buchans: the original hall, and the new building which is currently occupied. To many, the union hall became a second home while strikes were ongoing, and a base camp of sorts for organizing activities. Kevin Head attests that, during strikes "We spent more time in the union hall than we spent home". Union-related places in Buchans have also strengthened cohesion and community through tragedy. My great grandfather, Frank Skeard, a union man, died during a meeting in the old union hall in 1953 just before a notable dispute between the company and the workers regarding men travelling back to their hometowns for Christmas. Amidst the vitriolic banter and solidarity, Frank stood up to declare that "I don't give a damn what they says, I'll be going home for Christmas", and died suddenly of a massive heart attack before even sitting back down. Many recall this event as a testament to the stress and animosity stemming from labour disputes and from the control exerted over peoples' lives by the company. A few have suggested that in his own way, Frank did indeed make it home for Christmas. Whether influenced by his death or not, the company ensured that miners had an opportunity to be with their families for the holidays that year.

The hall is also important in the community as a source for historical information, as made evident by tables filled with photos, articles, and scrapbooks chronicling Buchans' history which have been put together by Hilda Budden (pictured below). The union hall is an especially important symbol to those who attended social events and union-related activities. As former union representative and current owner of the hall, John Budden explained,

> [This] is where we'd have our meetings, it's where we'd plan strikes, where we ran the strikes from. This is where there was a dance every Saturday night. Every Monday night the Lions Club would come here and have bingo. Every Wednesday night we'd have a movie. Sunday night we'd have movies and a dance again. This is where the parties were. (John Budden interview, August 2013)

Figure 4 (left). *Entrance to Lounge 5457, formerly the union hall with 'Welcome Home' banner in preparation for the Lucky Strike Festival.*
Figure 5 (right). *Scrapbooks on Buchans' history located inside Lounge 5457. Author photos.*

Budden, now retired, purchased the building from the union in the 1990s and transformed it into a public space, but always with an emphasis on the union activities that were held there and the sense of pride that accompanied them. He notes that the union hall has also been a space for young people in Buchans, as it hosted teenage dances,

and that the majority of those who return as adults to be married in the town have used the lounge as a wedding venue.

Transcendent Camaraderie and the Mining Identity

"It gets in your blood when you go to work there" (Pius Brennan interview, June 2013)

Mining produces a unique sense of identity due to several factors, including its dangers, peculiar work environment, and the relationships formed underground. As Mary Murphy attests, "the dangers of mining cemented bonds of male friendship" in a workplace where men were required to trust each other and look out for any potential hazard (1997, p.109; cf. Andrews, 2008). Metheny (2007) contends, in her study of an American coal-mining community, that "to understand the heart of this community - the common bond that unified Helvetia's residents and gave this community social cohesion...- one must have an appreciation for the experiences of the coal miner who labored deep within the earth" (p.104). Mining towns have a distinct identity and sense of community (Robertson, 2006; Bennett, 2009; Summerby-Murray, 2007) and because of its status as a company town, many respondents indicated that these feelings were multiplied in Buchans. When one participant was asked if he thinks there is such thing as a 'mining identity' he responded poignantly, stating "Well I'll tell you, if that's true for most mining towns, then it's a thousand times truer for Buchans" (Graham Flight interview, August 2013).

Many participants who had been, or currently are, actively involved in the mining industry noted the sense of accomplishment they acquired through their work. As one

participant who worked at the Duck Pond mine training new miners pointed out, enjoyment comes from "watching them go through it" (Greg West interview, June 2013). For some, there were valuable lessons to be learned from mining. One participant noted that "it learned you to depend on other people if you were working together" (Don Bursey interview, August 2013), while another suggested that it was working in the mine and listening to the stories of fellow miners that allowed him to grow and mature (Woodrow Rideout interview, June 2013). Others emphasized the uncertainty that defined mining, "I suppose you could call it kind of a job where every day it was something new because every day you went down you didn't know if you were coming back up in some cases" (Hugh Wadden interview, August 2013).

For many, the relationships that were forged beneath the surface of the earth transcended into social relations in the community. Many respondents believed that this bond came from both the nature of underground work as well as the particular socio-economic class to which the miners belonged. Some referenced the danger of working underground and the fact that miners often looked out for one another below the earth's surface, which led to a sense of fellowship or camaraderie. As a former miner noted, "everybody watched everybody's back, everybody cared for everybody" (John Budden interview, August 2013). Others suggested that belonging to the same social echelon resulted in cohesion, and that this is essentially "what defined Buchans" (Wade Locke interview, July 2013). Another remarked on this environment as contributing to the sense of camaraderie underground, "you knew how you were doing, you knew what your workplace was like and that kind of looking after each other, without competition" (Sean Power interview, May 2013).

This combination of risk and socio-economic uniformity contributed to how residents in Buchans related to one another and identified as a community. One participant noted the effect that working closely in the mines had on people in Buchans, suggesting that by being both co-workers and neighbours, the relationships were stronger than they may have been in other communities where work and home were less connected. He remarked, "I would say it had a deep impact on people here. People that worked here worked side by side and now they're neighbours" (Jim Yetman interview, June 2013). Former union leader and miner John Budden describes the bond as a fellowship:

> The fellowship ... That's the only word I would use for it. Everybody watched everybody's back, everybody cared for everybody. And being a mining town, what miners normally do is work and drink beer... and probably fight, but the next day everybody would look after everybody else's back. (John Budden interview, August 2013)

The fellowship that was forged underground outlived mine life and continues to contribute to the post-mining identity. A frequent comment amongst participants was that if given the opportunity, many would return to the mines. As one participant stated, "I more or less loved everything about it... If I could do it I'd go back down and go at it again" (Jim Yetman interview, June 2013), while another declared that "I don't think you'll find any miner that says that they didn't enjoy being underground" (John Budden interview, August 2013). Former miner Kevin Head was quick to point out his enjoyment of the type of work of hardrock miners, describing it as "the best job of my life". However, he was quickly interrupted by his wife Ruth who recounted to Kevin that "you turned your boys off, they never wanted to go near the mine". Kevin then thought for a

moment and responded, "I didn't want them to go in the mines either. It was something I loved doing, but... it's a dangerous job".

Buchans Task Force and Divestment of Assets from ASARCO

As the impending closure of the Buchans mines grew evident beginning in the late 1970s, ASARCO began divesting itself of its assets. This included infrastructure such as machine shops, as well as company housing that was eventually turned over to residents at a low cost. For many, the divestment of community assets by ASARCO was a pivotal moment in Buchans history in creating a sense of community pride that comes from personal and communal ownership. Finally independent from the paternalistic policies that built and controlled the community, residents were eager to take over responsibility for the maintenance of the town. In the provincial Dyer Industrial Inquiry Commission, which was established in the early 1970s to evaluate the dispute between the United Steelworkers of America and ASARCO, Howard Dyer recommended that a task force undertake an evaluation of economic opportunities for Buchans given the limited mine life. The Buchans Task Force was established in 1975 to carry out a study on the socio-economic impacts that were anticipated post-closure. The Task Force was comprised of government officials (Department of Manpower and Industrial Relations, Department of Municipal Affairs and Housing, and Department of Forestry and Agriculture); an ASARCO representative; representatives from the Town of Buchans as well as the Townsite; a union leader; and a representative from the Red Indian Lake Development Association. The Task Force published a report in 1976 outlining several recommendations for the future economic vitality of the community. The Task Force

disbanded after its report, but was somewhat replaced by the Buchans Action Committee whose purpose was to ensure that recommendations from the report were carried out.

One of the Task Force's recommendations was that Buchans become incorporated as a municipality. Subsequently, in 1979 Buchans proper and Buchans Townsite amalgamated to create the municipality known as Buchans today. Since the incorporation of the town, residents have invested a remarkable amount of time and energy in ensuring the maintenance and continual improvement of the community. One participant reflected on the independence as being central to the pride residents have taken in building and operating the services in Buchans, noting that it is "probably a direct result of having a municipal council, people owning their own homes and all the things that go with owning things" (Jerome Moore interview, June 2013).

The extent to which residents felt ASARCO controlled their living situations and their futures impacted how they viewed their community and homes. Participants suggested that while ASARCO owned and controlled the housing in the community, many residents lacked a sense of pride related to the property on which they lived. While the housing situation in the community was similar to that of other company towns, residents still describe the arrangement with a sense of shock and resentment to this day. Many felt as if they were living on borrowed time, describing the uncertainty of living in the company housing. ASARCO was likened to a cloud hanging over one's head that could downpour at any moment. When the housing was passed over to residents in the 1980s, many residents recall a newfound sense of pride emerging from ownership. Residents, now homeowners, began fixing up their lawns and changing aspects of the

housing that had been uniform and identical for so many decades. Many have suggested that this brought almost immediate improvement to the community,

> I think when they left it did the town good because a lot of people that bought the houses when the company sold them did up their homes, did up their grounds, and to me it made the town more beautiful. (Josephine Head interview, August 2013)

Born in Ore

The relationship between community and resource was reciprocal—not only did the town build the mine, the mine also built the town. Further, it also formed the core of identity in Buchans. In short, the extensive mine life meant that Buchans became home to generations of individuals whose history was rooted in the mining experience. These individuals exhibit a strong connection to the community, including expatriates who lament the lack of economic opportunities in Buchans for the younger generations. The residents and workers in Buchans were noted as being heavily invested in their work. Although the conditions in the mines were held to a much lower standard than those present in contemporary mine sites, workers were known for dealing with the conditions and being tenacious and hardworking individuals. When asked about the town's mining history, current Buchans mayor Derm Corbett attests that "people do look back on the mining history of this town with pride, they know the mines here provided for their families, their children" (Derm Corbett interview, June 2013).

Not only were generations of Buchaneers born and raised locally, in some instances, grandfathers, fathers and sons were noted to occupy the same workplace, which some suggested contributed to the town's identity (Juriaan Houtman interview, September

2013). This is crucial in understanding the incredibly strong bonds people formed under the surface of the earth and between generations. Not only are these individuals connected generationally and through blood ties, their occupation further solidified their bond, making it even more tenacious. Several participants articulated the belief that ASARCO's legacy in Buchans is dichotomized: on one side, the company was a savior, and on the other a domineering entity. One even suggested that "you could write two books about Buchans... a book about all the blessings the company bestowed on Buchans... The other book was the paternalism part" (Graham Flight interview, August 2013). This sentiment was echoed by John Budden, who when asked whether he felt gratitude or resentment toward ASARCO, replied,

> A little of both. Growing up in Buchans, you didn't know what it was like to be hungry or cold. We thought we had everything. But things started turning around in 1971, that was the first strike, that's when we realized that we weren't as well off as we thought we were. (John Budden interview, August 2013)

All of these feelings suggesting residual animosity occur simultaneously to others expressing grief over the company's absence. The company ensured the best in services, commodities, and facilities were available in Buchans, providing the residents with a plethora of recreational and purchasing opportunities. Local resident and former miner Bert Woodland noted that residents were entirely dependent on the company for even the most minor of upgrades, including painting homes, and that when the individual was required to maintain their premises, many disliked the responsibility (Bert Woodland interview, August 2013). Others, however, lamented the way the company sanctioned goods and services, and decided what would be available in the town. These participants suggested that the town meant little more to ASARCO than a means to an end for

extracting mineral resources, and that this limited the town's potential for development. This is clear through ASARCO not allowing residents or entrepreneurs to begin private businesses in the community.

> The company didn't have pride in the town, they were always of the opinion that it was a mining camp. I resent that. I think Buchans could have been a far better, more beautiful town than it is today, but I think the company kept it back. (John Budden interview, August 2013)

Former mine manager Juriaan Houtman also noted the ineffectiveness of complete company ownership. It was illogical, he suggested, to assume that company provision of all goods and services was the most efficient way to run the town: "ownership is the best solution" (Juriaan Houtman interview, September 2013).

Many participants emphasized a deep-rooted affection for the company as a provider of employment, services, accommodations, and amenities. For these individuals, the company was more than an employer, it was a source of livelihood. While there were tensions between ASARCO and its workers, many were willing to look beyond the occasional tumultuous relationship and find value in knowing that without the company, they would have been without work and would have most likely never have come to Buchans. One resident summed these feelings up bluntly, noting that "talking to everybody, they all respect the job they had in the mines, what the company done for us." (Jim Yetman interview, June 2013). In short, while many, if not all, aspects of life in Buchans were closely controlled by the company through paternalistic policies, this atmosphere defined the experiences of residents and forms the basis for the strong sense of identity and community in the town.

It is clear that the residents of Buchans have a complex relationship with ASARCO and the town's history. Differences emerge between generations and amongst residents. Older miners look back on their experiences in Buchans and in the mines with fondness. Their recollections are steeped in nostalgia and many note that if they were able to go back underground for a small amount of time, they would be happy to. While many were devoted to the company for a livelihood both inside and outside of the mines, a sense of bitterness still remains in the community. Feelings toward the company waver between gratitude and animosity, with many expressing feelings of both, proving that the relationship between company and workers is one of many emotions. Some are torn between feelings, while others remain unsure of how to express them. As one participant noted, "the people of the town gave it their best effort and in a lot of cases they gave their lives to the mining industry. But to say they actually went out and waved a banner for ASARCO, I don't know if that happened or not" (Jerome Moore interview, June 2013). Others argued that the paternalistic policies were instrumental in creating an atmosphere of connectivity and that they "provided a sense of social cohesion and community spirit that provided an asset that could be tapped... with the right leadership and right process." (Rob Greenwood interview, September 2013). In short, although paternalist policies are often seen as detrimental to the development of a community, without these same policies Buchans would have lacked the amenities, facilities, and services that drew workers and their families to the town in the first place and allowed them to proudly describe their community as "second to none". As one respondent poignantly stated, "Good or bad, ASARCO looked after all the community items in the town" (Keith Courage interview, June 2013).

The literature surrounding mining communities provides nuanced insights into the lives of residents and the complex nature of identity before, during, and after the mine life. The resounding sense of identity and community that exists post-closure has been documented by several scholars (Marsh, 1987; Summerby-Murray, 2007; Bell and York, 2010; Mellor and Stephenson, 2005), and is further illustrated in the case of Buchans. Residents continue to feel attachment to the community and mining landscape in the town despite the numerous hardships faced, including labour disputes, isolation, and danger. David Robertson's observation of residents' views of the mining landscape being inherently different than those of non-residents is crucial in understanding the attachment to the mining community despite the impermanence of industry. He noted that while the landscapes under discussion are the same, the meanings they take on for different individuals are momentous. This sentiment is echoed by residents in Buchans, whose response to the idea that they should have been aware that mining camps close and prepared to move, has been one of emotion and determination. As will be shown in the following chapter, it is clear that community cohesion and sense of place forged in Buchans during the ASARCO era aided the community's endurance of the crisis of closure.

CHAPTER 4

MOVING FORWARD: BUCHANS POST-ASARCO

"We must convince other people that single-industry communities are just like any other community... We are born here, we live, we love, and we die here. And that's all they do anywhere."—Sandy Ivany, 1985

On August 31, 1984, ASARCO ceased all mining-related operations at Buchans. Although the closure process had begun five years earlier in 1979, key staff remained until the 1980s. Mining activity itself had ended in 1982, after 55 years of mineral production and the extraction of over 17 million tons of high grade ore (Town of Buchans, 2010). The first round of mass layoffs occurred in 1979, and by 1982 ASARCO employed only 12 workers, a substantial decline from 550 in 1978 (Town of Buchans, 2010). In the wake of closure, the population of the community steadily declined as workers found employment outside of the community and the province. In 1981, three years before the mines closed completely, the population of the town was 1,655. In 1986, two years after closure, the population had dropped to 1,281, followed by a figure of 1,164 in 1991 (Newfoundland Statistics Agency, 1994). Although operations had been winding down for a number of years, the announcement of closure was devastating to residents and signalled the end of an era in Buchans' rich history.

It is no secret that in many single-industry, resource-dependent towns, mine closure and subsequent economic declines threaten the very viability of the community. The literature surrounding mining communities and other single-industry towns suggests that there are numerous ways to cope with crisis and closure. Of course, not all initiatives and measures work, and some communities, due to a suite of factors and circumstances,

become ghost towns, forgotten relics of eras of discovery and boom. Mining communities face a particular set of factors that influence their capacity to adapt to closure. The fact that mining industries are sensitive to external factors such as market prices increases their vulnerability to boom and bust cycles (Cecily *et al*., 1992; Keeling, 2010). The fact that many mining communities are located in rural and remote regions, often with few other industries to fall back on, further exacerbates this vulnerability. There are many actors in an instance of mine closure, each of which has a particular role to play, including the company, the state, local employees, and the community and region (Cecily *et al*., 1992; Mawhiney and Pitblado, 1999). However, these actors do not operate within a vacuum. Their roles are interconnected and interdependent. In this sense, collectivity and collaboration are keys to successfully mitigating and adapting to the numerous impacts associated with mine closure.

Despite facing tremendous challenges, Buchans, a community whose very existence came from the mine, survived closure. This feat has been accomplished in large part due to the strong sense of identity and community that residents have. The sense of community prevalent in the town, as described in the previous chapter, fuelled the efforts to ensure the perseverance and survival of Buchans. The impact that identity and sense of community has had on these community development efforts and subsequent resilience is investigated in this chapter. Three primary ways in which identity has contributed to resilience in Buchans are outlined: the leadership emerging from the ASARCO era that transcended into closure and post-closure periods, the actions taken by residents in response to the crisis of closure, and the receptiveness to (and continued hope for) new mining.

In Buchans' post-ASARCO landscape, many actors were involved in economic adjustment and adaptation, with much of the momentum for community survival generated from local residents. Social cohesion and community support have been instrumental in the fight for survival, which some have suggested motivates individuals to work together out of common interest and strengthens the potential for positive results (Cecily *et al*., 1992; Reimer, 2003; Magis, 2010). The strong sense of identity and social cohesion present in Buchans fostered these efforts, ultimately resulting in the perseverance and resilience of the town through its most challenging period, immediately following closure.

In the wake of ASARCO's departure, several organizations took the reins of community development, contributing to the community's resilience. Some of these groups operated simultaneously, while others ceased prior to another's implementation. Some groups still exist in the community and continue to be involved in local development, while others have been out of operation for years. This chapter addresses the era directly leading up to closure, and the post-closure period in Buchans. It begins with a description of the events surrounding closure, particularly as they relate to community and regional development. I then move on to an analysis of the three primary ways that identity has contributed to development and resilience.

Economic and Regional Development Pre and Post-Closure

A key component of community resilience is the engagement of community members, particularly in adaptation to change and unpredictability (Magis, 2010). The period of the 1970s was a time of flux and volatility for Buchans, particularly due to the

dwindling mine life. As discussed earlier, two strikes occurred in 1971 and 1973 as the result of rising tensions between ASARCO and its workers. The uncertainty of living in a company town facing imminent closure inspired residents to become involved in community and regional development. A series of initiatives in the 1970s, including the seminal (1976) report of the Buchans Task Force, reflected a number of factors that led to community development and resiliency, including union leadership and the creation of a number of community development groups.

In 1972 the first development group established in the region, the Red Indian Lake Development Association (RILDA), was formed. At the time, RILDA was one of several rural development associations created in the province. Through RILDA, the three local communities in the area (Buchans, Millertown and Buchans Junction) worked together to promote economic development. Like many other development associations in the province, RILDA served as an instrument for the provincial government to direct funding to rural areas (Greenwood, 1993). In 1976, RILDA received its first administrative grant, enabling the group to begin implementing short-term make-work projects (Greenwood, 1993). For instance, RILDA established Mary March Park, located off the Buchans Highway. While the park was once owned and operated by the provincial government, it is now privately owned by a family from Buchans. The park employed local residents and continues to bring money into the area, particularly in the summertime. Although RILDA still exists in the region, it is no longer as actively involved in community and regional development. Its current activities include operating the Buchans Miners Museum in the summer, for which a grant is obtained to employ a local student. As previously discussed, single-industry towns that are dependent on non-renewable resources are more vulnerable

than those with several resources, or whose resource-base is renewable (Cecily *et al*., 1992; Freudenberg, 1992). As such, the efforts of RILDA to diversify the economic base of the region are significant and represent a move toward greater economic stability founded in an appreciation of the community and surrounding area.

As discussed in Chapter 3, in 1975 the provincial government established the Buchans Task Force to evaluate the socio-economic implications of the anticipated mine closure. The Task Force undoubtedly laid the foundation for groups considering new economic pathways for Buchans post-ASARCO. The Task Force was a large endeavour and had several sub-committees to address numerous issues (including, forestry and agriculture, local government administration and community services, manpower adjustment, transportation and communications, industrial relations, mining, and tourism). Members of the Task Force included representatives from provincial government departments (including the Department of Manpower and Industrial Relations, the Department of Municipal Affairs, and the Department of Forestry and Agriculture), ASARCO, residents from the Town and Townsite, RILDA, and United Steelworkers Local 5457. They held meetings and consultations and drew from local knowledge to ultimately complete their report, which was published in 1976 (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1976).

The Task Force report included several recommendations to mitigate the detrimental effects of the impending mine closure. Two of the most substantial recommendations were the incorporation of the community, as well as the divestment of assets from ASARCO (which took place over the course of several years). The divestment of assets by ASARCO provided the community with infrastructure that could

increase the chances of economic investment. Many of these structures were taken over by the Buchans Development Corporation, whose establishment was also a recommendation of the Task Force (discussed further below). Mine assets such as the rock shop and what is now the Red Ochre Inn hotel, which was formerly a staff house, were controlled by the Development Corporation. Since the purpose of the Task Force was solely to undertake a study of the impending mine closure and compose a report, it disbanded after meeting these objectives.

Following the disbanding of the Task Force, the Buchans Action Committee (BAC) was established in 1977 with the sole purpose of ensuring that recommendations from the report of the Buchans Task Force were carried out. The Action Committee was spearheaded by the local union and composed of Buchaneers who were elected to their positions. It included an executive and coordinating body, which collaborated and pushed for the implementation of recommended policies and initiatives (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1976). Don Head, the union president, was the first chairman of the BAC, and remained in that capacity for a number of years. The BAC was a direct predecessor to the Buchans Development Corporation. Unfortunately, in spite of the BAC's efforts, out of the more than twenty Task Force recommendations (including measures such as establishing a motel in the town, and constructing a highway between Buchans and Howley), only a handful were ever implemented, largely due to funding issues. However, this did not stop the residents and their organizations from finding ways to sustain the community and ensure its survival. Finally, in 1979, the provincial government and ASARCO implemented one of the most crucial recommendations of the

Task Force and Buchans proper and Buchans Townsite amalgamated to form the municipality of Buchans.

Another key recommendation of the Task Force, the creation of the Buchans Development Corporation (BDC), did not take place until 1986, after closure. That same year, the BDC took over the assets divested from ASARCO, such as the rock shop, in an attempt to use the infrastructure to the economic benefit of the town with assets that were valued at approximately $2 million. Residents were given the opportunity to buy shares in the BDC for $25 each in an effort to increase awareness and participation in local development initiatives more so than to garner funding (Greenwood, 1993). This was a very successful effort and it was estimated that over 70% of households in Buchans owned shares in the BDC. At meetings, each shareholder was given one vote, regardless of the number of shares they owned and a limit was set such that no single shareholder could own more than 10 percent of the total shares (Greenwood, 1993). Aside from shareholders, the BDC would also obtain operational grants from the federal government to perform administrative duties and provide renovations to facilities it managed. After ASARCO divested itself of its assets, the BDC obtained ownership of the former machine shop and provided rental space for local business, such as a rock souvenir company.

In 1984, RILDA was provided with funding to undertake a study of development opportunities for the region (Greenwood, 1993). The group hired a private consultant and in the resulting document, entitled the Buchans Area Development Strategy, possibilities such as tourism and resource-related activities as well as the suggestion that Buchans would be a prime location for a new federal prison were documented (Greenwood, 1993; Keith Courage interview, June 2013). The report also recommended the establishment of

the Buchans Development Corporation as an agency for managing leftover assets from ASARCO, including offices, a warehouse, garages and several workshops, a suggestion that echoed the Task Force's push for a local development group of this kind. RILDA then began to direct its efforts more on work of a historical focus, including heritage preservation and related tourism initiatives.

Buchaneers themselves led a series initiatives to mitigate the impacts of the mine's closure on the town. By 1984, when the mine closed, the BAC still existed but was inactive. On the same day of mine closure, Sean Power was elected as mayor of Buchans. Power, whose family had mined in the community for generations and who was the coordinator of RILDA, was a driving force behind the Buchans Joint Committee. Frustrated with the disparate and uncoordinated efforts of the several groups operating in the community, Power formed the Joint Committee (Sean Power interview, July 2014). This committee had two members from each of the development groups and local special interest groups, including the Town Council, RILDA, BAC, the union, and the hospital committee. The committee was essentially led by the Town Council, which was accountable to the residents of Buchans. Once formed, the Joint Committee's objective was to develop and orchestrate a coordinated strategy for adjustment and adaptation to the mine's closure. This committee spearheaded projects such as obtaining worker transition funding, bidding for a federal penitentiary, pushing for the establishment of the development corporation, and the community-based television project in collaboration with Memorial University’s Extension Services which will be discussed below (Sean Power interview, July 2014).

Federal program funding was a key component that contributed to the community's development initiatives, and has assisted many mining communities in the wake of closure (Cecily *et al*., 1992). When the mines closed, local leaders soon realized that the federal Modified Industry and Labour Adjustment Program (MILAP) could be instrumental in financially supporting residents and workers who wished to remain in the community. MILAP was a federal program that aimed to help workers in Canada who worked in industries that were hit hard by a sudden change causing layoffs. The program preceded the Community Futures Program which was initiated as part of the Canadian Jobs Strategy. MILAP had two stages. The first stage provided workers with relocation and retraining funding as well as money for the community to use to develop and execute a strategy for the recovery of the local economy. The second stage (Level 2) would give every worker aged 55 and over and any worker whose years service at the mine plus his or her age, equaled 80, the equivalent of top Unemployment Insurance (UI) benefits until they reached the age of 65. In Buchans, this transition to retirement applied to 140 families whose members had devoted their lives to the mines. For these individuals, finding employment elsewhere would have been difficult due to their age and potential lack of education or training in other fields. While these residents were too young to qualify for pension benefits, MILAP bridged their income between their working lives and retirement (Keith Courage interview, June 2013; Jerome Moore interview, June 2013). The funding was crucial in allowing these families to stay in the community while being able to sustain themselves. Phase 1 of MILAP was obtained relatively easily when the Member of Parliament for the area secured approximately $500,000 in federal funding for retraining, mobility funds for workers, hiring a consultant and staff, and a small travel

budget. However, securing Phase 2, which would give direct benefits to workers, was significantly more difficult due to recent federal cuts to the program. Despite all odds, on December 23, 1985, federal cabinet minister John Crosbie announced MILAP Level 2 for Buchans (Sean Power interview, July 2014).

Another key source of federal funding came from the Community Futures program. In 1987 Buchans was designated as a Community Futures area, with a Community Futures (CF) committee established in the town (formerly the MILAP Committee). Community Futures was governed by Employment and Immigration Canada and was another federal government program that helped secure a future for the town. According to the Government of Canada website, CF committees provide: "Strategic community planning and socio-economic development; Support for community-based projects; Business information and planning services; and Access to capital for small and medium-sized businesses and social enterprises" (Government of Canada, 2013). The program was provided to communities who demonstrated both a need for funding as well as a willingness to become involved in local development initiatives (Greenwood, 1993). After Buchans received Community Futures designation, federal government funding was channeled through the program to the BDC to carry out its initiatives.

Two of the most crucial attempts to plan for the future of Buchans occurred in 1985: the transmitter program (also known as the television project) and the three-day seminar on single-industry communities. Memorial University's Division of Extension Services (also known as MUN Extension) was involved in both of these events, helping disseminate and mobilize knowledge about the community and the initiatives being undertaken. MUN Extension became involved in the community once the university

became aware of Buchans' plight via the media. Extension Services was a university group founded to promote community and rural development, using field workers and interactive media to achieve these goals (Webb and Bishop-Sterling, 2012). Extension Services is credited with promoting the establishment of several non-governmental organizations in the province and influencing development policies (Webb and Bishop-Sterling, 2012). The field worker from MUN Extension who visited Buchans recognized that the leaders were challenged to find ways to disseminate all the details of the town's survival strategy. It was an intricate strategy for those who were not involved with it daily, and local leaders feared that some initiatives may not have been well understood by residents (Sean Power interview, July 2014). MUN offered its assistance by funding and undertaking a television project that would involve broadcasting a discussion on the town's future to the community in an attempt to better inform the residents of their options and their leaders' plans. Local leaders felt that if the residents clearly understood the strategy and their options, they could better decide their future (Sean Power interview, July 2014).

This initiative was incredibly well-received by Buchans' residents. On the first night of programming 100% of the televisions in the community were tuned into the event, and on the second night this figure dropped slightly to 98% (Memorial University of Newfoundland, Division of Extension Service, 1985).[1] According to Sean Power, who was mayor at the time, the broadcast brought people together and reinforced pride and

[1] All video recordings produced by Memorial University from the television project are catalogued online through MUN's Digital Archives Initiative, allowing them to be used as a resource on community development. They are accessible at http://collections.mun.ca/.

solidarity (Memorial University of Newfoundland, Division of Extension Service, 1985). An important guest was the mayor of Springhill, Nova Scotia, who joined the program by telephone. Springhill, a once-booming mining town, now had a penitentiary as the primary employer. This was an important comparison as Buchans was currently campaigning to have a federal penitentiary built in the community (discussed further below).

Later that year, Buchans hosted a three-day seminar on single-industry communities. The purpose of the conference was to discuss the issues facing single-industry towns around the country, and to find potential solutions. It incorporated industry representatives, government representatives, local leaders, and expertise on single industry communities. To organize the seminar, and to guide discussion, the community established the Buchans Planning Committee, comprised of town leaders, industry and union representatives. The seminar was planned and sponsored by RILDA. Memorial University of Newfoundland's Extension Services assisted with the planning and recording of the proceedings. The seminar not only brought together individuals from similar communities to share their knowledge and experiences, it also brought the plight of Buchans to the attention of the country through media involvement and a report on the seminar (RILDA in co-operation with the Department of Rural, Agricultural and Northern Development Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1985).

Attachment to place became a focal point of the seminar, and many pointed out the strong relationship residents had with the community. At the time of the seminar, Buchans was 57 years old, which many residents emphasized was a substantial amount of time for families to become attached to the town. Many speakers emphasized the fact that

while the mine had died, the community had not, with local leader Sandy Ivany likening the closure of the mine to the diagnosis of a terminally ill patient marked by stages of denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance (RILDA in co-operation with the Department of Rural, Agricultural and Northern Development Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1985). The speeches illuminated the devotion Buchaneers felt to the community and their dedication to survival. Both the seminar and video initiative brought Buchaneers together and reinforced resilience through identity. Not only did the initiatives give residents a better understanding of their options, it enabled and empowered them to remain steadfast in the quest for a future for their community. This ensured that the spirited sense of place that had developed could be harnessed for community development and resilience by encouraging residents to remain hopeful about the future of their town. As one participant in the seminar suggested, "we've made in our communities the major investment of our lives" (Barry Pritchard in RILDA and Dept. of Rural, Agricultural and Northern Development, 1985). However, the activities of the 1985 seminar also show that a reinforced sense of identity can emerge from community development and economic adaptation, not only serving as a precedent to them. One interview participant commented on a new sense of identity that labelled Buchaneers as "survivors".

> We were looked upon by government and outside as survivors, so there was a community identity after the mine closed that we were survivors. (Keith Courage interview, June 2013)

This reciprocal relationship between resilience and identity evident in these examples and narratives emphasizes the interconnectedness between the two concepts. Further, the

strong sense of community within Buchans contributed to the motivation to become involved in community development in the wake of mine closure.

In 1986, a year after MUN Extension Services assisted with the seminar, MUN's Division of Educational Technology produced a short film on the community, titled "Buchans: A Community not a Mining Camp" (Memorial University of Newfoundland, Division of Educational Technology, 1986). The film focuses on the town's struggle to survive after the 1984 closure of the mines, and the strong sense of community felt by residents. Drawing heavily on the 1985 seminar, the film documents life in the town, in a way normalizing the post-mining community. Cars drive up the road, women push strollers, and teenagers congregate outside the local convenience store - all images one would expect from any town across the province or country. The film ends with local leader Sandy Ivany reciting a poem written by a young child in a concentration camp in World War II, in which the speaker ponders a world of destruction juxtaposed by the beauty of the sun and blooming flowers. Carrying a powerful message of resilience for those facing uncertainty and adversity, the poem concludes, "If in barbed wire, things can bloom/ Why couldn't I? I will not die".

In the wake of mine closure, numerous economic initiatives were implemented in Buchans which helped sustain the community with both optimism and economic benefits. When community leaders began planning for the town’s future, there were three primary economic development objectives: the establishment of a development corporation, the acquisition of MILAP benefits, and successfully lobbying for the federal penitentiary to be built in Buchans. During this period, a full-fledged campaign was underway to

convince the federal government to build their proposed penitentiary in Buchans. When the federal government announced plans to build a new penitentiary in the province, local leaders immediately began campaigning for the location to be in Buchans. Arguing that the penitentiary would mitigate the impact from the jobs lost from mine closure, leaders continued to build support from the province. The effort was well orchestrated and passionately fought. As former mayor Sean Power recalls,

> We lobbied very hard for the penitentiary, we visited pretty much every community including St. John's in the province to try and get their support and by lobbying publicly and with full page newspaper ads and so on to try to win the sympathy of the province and we were successful [gaining support]. (Sean Power interview, May 2013)

According to former mayor Sean Power, leaders recognized that without the prison, the town would be unable to provide the number of jobs needed to sustain its economic base. Community leaders had obtained MILAP and successfully established the BDC and in addition negotiated the assets from ASARCO, which the BDC would oversee. However, without the penitentiary, leaders feared the strategy for economic revitalization would not be achieved (Sean Power interview, July 2014). In spite of these efforts, it was later announced in 1988 that the penitentiary would be built in Harbour Grace, much to the dismay of Buchaneers (Fraser, 1988).[2]

Another initiative was the establishment of Steelcor Industries Ltd. in 1989. Steelcor operated in the machine shop formerly owned by ASARCO, and was managed by the BDC. Steelcor was soon led by former Buchans mayor Sean Power as president, who was instrumental in the drive to establish a local business that would offer some

[2] Despite the announcement, to date, the penitentiary outlined by the federal government has still not been constructed.

employment to the residents of the town. Two years after its establishment, in 1991, Steelcor was awarded a five year contract to manufacture radar components on behalf of General Electric Aerospace operating out of Syracuse, New York (Greenwood, 1993). Steelcor was aided by funding from both the provincial government with a $1 million loan, as well as the BDC, which contributed over $200,000 in equipment (Greenwood, 1993). Community Futures funding helped train and upgrade skills of the local workforce, including training for the computerized equipment required in the Steelcor facility (Greenwood, 1993). Steelcor employed six full-time core workers along with 21 part time workers who were called in as needed, and in an area desperate for jobs this was a significant contribution to the local economy (Greenwood, 1993). In 2000 a company from Massachusetts purchased Steelcor. This U.S. manufacturing company had seen Steelcor as a valuable asset since they were at capacity, and Steelcor could do the overflow work in NL. As well, the Canadian dollar was worth 80 to 85 cents US making it cheaper to get work done in NL. However, as Sean Power recalls, in 2002 the U.S. slipped into a recession that devastated the manufacturing sector resulting in the outsourcing of manufacturing to Asia and Mexico (Sean Power interview, July 2014). The U.S. parent to Steelcor dramatically curtailed their operation in Massachusetts and closed Steelcor in Buchans.

Despite the efforts made by local leaders in the immediate post-closure era, local development initiatives lost momentum in the 1990s. According to former mayor Sean Power, there were three primary reasons why this happened. The first is that, because of the difficult decisions Buchaneers were faced with, many families lost interest in local development. During this period, many individuals and families were forced to leave the

community and seek employment elsewhere. The second reason is that media interest in the town began to fade. According to Power, a key to Buchans' success was the support garnered from the province and country. If citizens in Newfoundland and Canada were continually discussing Buchans, political support would follow. While Buchans managed to hold the headlines for quite some time, it eventually faded from media coverage. Finally, although leadership was instrumental in bringing Buchans through the immediate post-closure period, leaders eventually tire. After such a long struggle and after the devastation of losing the bid for the federal penitentiary, leaders were willing to step back and let others have a chance at community development (Sean Power interview, July 2014).

Although there has been little significant development activity from local groups over the last 20 years, some development groups still exist in the community. The continuation of groups such as RILDA and the BDC speaks to the dedication of residents to fight for a future for their community. Despite losing its core funding in the 1990s, RILDA is one of the few regional development associations in the province that are still operational. Currently, the focus of these groups is on heritage, highlighting the importance of Buchans' history and the strong connection between the past and the future. Another agency in contemporary community development in Buchans is the municipal council. The council frequently communicates with mining and exploration companies operating in the area, such as Teck and Buchans Minerals to discuss upcoming development. The town council also maintains an up-to-date website with community history, events, information on local businesses, and minutes from each council meeting.

According to Ahmed *et al*. (2004), resilient communities develop material, sociopolitical, sociocultural, and psychological resources to overcome and face adversity and challenges. Additionally, interacting as a collective unit and utilizing strong leadership capacity are crucial components of community resilience (Reimer, 2003; Kulig *et al.*, 2008; Kulig *et al.*, 2013). In the wake of mine closure at Buchans, the establishment of numerous development groups, and the undertaking of development initiatives highlighted the level of community engagement and involvement in Buchans. Material resources, such as the acquisition of ASARCO assets, have been crucial in ensuring long-term economic income for the community. The community was effective in mobilizing resources from federal and provincial funding agencies, including the Community Futures committee and MILAP benefits (federal) and the RILDA (provincial). Community engagement, combined with the right material and financial resources, added some degree of economic stability to the community. Based on my observations of the past and current situations, it appears that psychological resources in Buchans are not always obvious, but have indeed been important to community resilience. The emotional distress caused by losing the primary employer in a single-industry community was enormous. However, in the immediate post-closure period, residents rallied together in an effort to secure a future for Buchans. Working collectively toward community resilience showed residents that they were not alone in their struggle and that there was a supportive social environment for development. The 1985 seminar and the associated video productions were also an important psychological resource in emphasizing and reinforcing community identity, highlighting the identity-based resilience efforts in the community. While Buchans has had significant social capital,

many scholars suggest that community resilience is not only about the *capacity* to act, but is reflected in the actions that have been taken (Magis, 2010; Costello and Johns, 2006). The strong sense of identity and community in Buchans is what inspired residents to become involved in more than three decades of actions to save the community in anticipation of, and in response to mine closure.

Leadership and Legacy

The survival of Buchans can be largely attributed to the leadership that saw the community through closure. The various initiatives discussed above depended, at least in part, on the role of community leaders to effectively harness resources and mobilize community action. Wilson-Forsberg (2013) highlights the importance of leadership in community resilience. To be effective, leaders must be recognized as such by both community members as well as political agencies responsible for the community's fate (Wilson-Forsberg, 2013). Because leadership was so respected in the community, it was easy for leaders to establish themselves in the eyes of external agencies and pool resources for community development. Also, many community leaders were involved in the local union, emphasizing the extent of union solidarity within the town and reflecting their important roles during a tumultuous era in the town's history. Another prominent pool of leaders could be traced to generations of family connections who worked for the company. These second, third and fourth generation Buchaneers were immersed in company and community.

Union leaders played a particularly prominent role in the development and resilience efforts in Buchans. The interview results from this study suggest that union

involvement forges a strong brand of leadership, and given the circumstances in which the town developed and the solidarity of the community with the union, it is not surprising that union leaders were seen as representative of the community at large. When asked who respondents considered to be community leaders, many responded with names of union leaders and representatives. In fact, the vast majority cited Don Head, a former union president who had led workers through the most vicious labour dispute in Buchans' history: the strike of 1973. His union background signifies the importance that the mining industry and militant union leaders had in the struggle to move from company town to independent community. He also played a significant role in the formation of the Buchans Action Committee and served as the chair of the group for a number of years. Similarly, other union leaders and representatives were cited as being strong community leaders, such as Ivan Hodder and John Budden who sat on the Buchans Joint Committee, and Sandy Ivany who was involved in the Buchans Task Force and subsequent Action Committee as the union representative and a key speaker and participant in the 1985 seminar. As Greene *et al*. (2000) suggest, union leadership requires an immense amount of dedication and involvement, and subsequently the character of leadership "exerts a critical influence" on collective awareness (p.76). The union leadership experience also taught individuals how to harness resources and garner support. This sentiment was echoed by Rob Greenwood, who attests, "they knew how to marshal the resources to advance their cause better than any group I've ever seen in industry, in government, in university, in community" (Rob Greenwood interview, September 2013).

Motivation to become involved in community affairs is often cited as coming directly from the mining experience. When asked why he became involved with the local

council, current Mayor Derm Corbett was quick to point to other community leaders and residents as inspirational. Their connection to the community and landscape was instrumental, he notes, in encouraging his involvement in municipal government. As he so movingly attests,

> I was very impressed by the spirit of people, the determination to make a life even after their lives fell apart, their loyalty to each other and their loyalty to the piece of ground that they lived on... what most people couldn't understand was that it's not a house—it's a home, and they had their blood, sweat and tears sunk into this place. (Derm Corbett interview, June 2013)

Similarly, former mayor Sean Power (pictured below) suggested that he felt obligated to play a role in community development and that he owed it to the numerous men and women who had built the town through mineral extraction. In fact, some participants attributed the successful procurement of MILAP funding and in part, subsequent economic stability of the community to him (Den Fowlow interview, August 2013; Liam O'Brien interview, September 2013). Other participants involved in development initiatives post-closure noted that individuals owe it to their communities and neighbours to contribute what they can to local initiatives and projects. In this respect, another remarkable individual has been the late Paul O'Brien who served as a mine engineer and superintendent for ASARCO and later founded Buchans Enterprises Ltd in 1985. He served on numerous committees and organizations whose mandates were focused on improving the local economy, and for several years post-closure Buchans Enterprises Ltd was one of the major employers in Buchans (Liam O'Brien interview, September 2013).

Figure 6. *Former Buchans Mayor Sean Power during the 1985 Buchans Transmitter Program. Screenshot from Memorial University of Newfoundland, Digital Archives Initiative.*

With so many development groups operating in the community and local area, particularly in the 1970s-1980s, it was crucial to have effective leadership to ensure that limited resources were harvested and pooled successfully (Greenwood, 1993; Rob Greenwood interview, September 2013; Keith Courage interview, June 2013). Of course, it is typically, and always has been, residents who take on the leadership roles that make these organizations and activities possible. In this respect, residents become involved because they have a vested interest in the community and a deep rooted devotion to the town. Many of these roles tend to be unpaid and rely heavily on volunteerism to carry out the mandates of the organizations described above.

Despite this commitment from community leaders, some participants acknowledged that some residents were reluctant to get involved. One participant attributed this to the exceptional service provision in the ASARCO years. Transitioning from a company-controlled town to a self-governed community was challenging. Some

respondents cited service provision as particularly difficult for the town, and for years, the town of Buchans has struggled to provide even a fraction of the services and upkeep that ASARCO did (such as the upkeep of recreational facilities). The road network, for instance, was cited as being problematic to maintain due to financial constraints and a limited tax base. However, as one respondent noted, many residents feel that the same level of service should have been provided post-ASARCO.

> Even though the mine was closed, the one-industry town, the ASARCO mentality... is still here in the community. People think that stuff should be provided for them. (Keith Courage interview, June 2013)

Similarly, reflecting this "ASARCO mentality," Courage suggested that money was often an incentive for the workers to become more involved in community affairs. While Buchans is now home to an entirely volunteer fire department, for example, ASARCO formerly provided monetary incentives to the workers to get involved. However, many became disinterested when ASARCO left, with several individuals leaving the department. As Courage noted, "when that $10/month disappeared and they were volunteer firemen, they didn't do it" (Keith Courage interview, June 2013). Additionally, residents may not volunteer but express their identity and commitment to place in other ways, as discussed in the next section.

Buchaneers Forever

To comprehend and appreciate fully how identity and sense of community has impacted development and resilience in the town, one needs to recognize and understand the strength of identity. As one resident put it, "the sense of community, sense of identity couldn't have been stronger than in Buchans" (Graham Flight interview, August 2013).

The purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate the ways in which identity has contributed to community development and resilience in the town of Buchans post-ASARCO, as well as the varied ways it is expressed. As such, it is necessary to examine how identity has transcended closure and continues to manifest not only in the formal organizations and initiatives discussed above but also in Buchaneers locally and abroad.

In the foreword to the report on the 1985 seminar on single-industry communities, the Buchans Planning Committee confronted the suggestion that the knowledge of the inevitable should have been enough to deter any connection with the town. In other similar communities, they pointed out, "there was a point in their history when the towns ceased to be a camp and became a home with strong social and economic ties" (RILDA & Dept. of Rural, Agricultural and Northern Development, 1985). Outside perceptions of mining communities, including Buchans, are often regarded as cold and detached, especially when it is suggested nonchalantly that residents simply leave their homes in search of work. The lack of appreciation or understanding of the mining town from outsiders was both offensive and hurtful to residents of Buchans, particularly after the closure of the mine. As discussed by former mayor Sean Power,

> "This really bothered me a lot, when the mine closed the newspapers and the general public, the opinion writers of the day said 'Okay, the mining camp is closed so miners move on to the next mining camp'. Well for most of us it wasn't a mining camp anymore, it was home and a community and like I said I was third generation" (Sean Power interview, May 2013)

The relationship to place in spite of the impermanence associated with mining communities has been well documented. As David Robertson notes, because the economy of these towns is based on non-renewable resources, closure of the mine is both socially as well as economically devastating. However, many of these communities remain after

deindustrialization and become mementos of the past (Robertson, 2006). Similarly, many accounts detail the fact that the connection between residents and mining communities and their attachment to place long outlive the life of the mine (Marsh, 1987; Summerby-Murray, 2007; Mellor and Stephenson, 2005; Bell and York, 2010). Buchaneers tell a similar story. Despite knowledge of the impermanent and non-renewable nature of mineral resources, residents continued to develop a connection to the community. One participant went as far as likening the connection to a common family name (Pauline Dean interview, August 2013).

Many participants in this study suggested that the prolonged sense of attachment that emerged was due to the life of each mine and the fact that mines were discovered in tandem with the exhaustion of other ore reserves. As one participant stated, "The fact that successive deposits were discovered and then mined in overlapping sequence, allowed for multiple generations to come to make their homes in Buchans" (Liam O'Brien interview, September 2013). But it is not only miners and their families who have remained committed to the town and its future. Current Buchans mayor Derm Corbett was a teacher in the town at the time of the mine closure. He speaks from a perspective that, while not directly rooted in the mining experience, is reflective of the struggle of residents whose primary economic driver and livelihood was deteriorating and diminishing before them. In a community dependent on mineral extraction, and that has been dependent on it for decades, generations of Buchaneers found employment and satisfaction from working for the company.

> Their roots ran so deep here simply because... generation after generation lived in this community, worked with the company, and that's what made it so difficult back in '82. (Derm Corbett interview, June 2013)

In fact, the mine life was so long, and had been extended so frequently by the discovery of new reserves, that many workers were in disbelief of closure and uncertain as to what they should do regarding the types of decisions they were forced to make. Although all residents were aware of the non-renewable nature of minerals, many doubted that Buchans would face closure due to the frequent discoveries of new reserves. Corbett sums up the difficulty of this process poignantly,

> The operation... was generational, it was the only life that people knew, and it was an extremely difficult experience when you were expected at the end of that process to pack your bags, lock your door, and go somewhere else. It didn't resonate with people. (Derm Corbett interview, June 2013)

The persistent sense of identity and community that Buchaneers express today often blends the historic with the contemporary. Many continue to display memorabilia associated with the mining industry, including clocks, plaques, and pictures in their homes. For others, finding ways to carry reminders of their hometown is crucial. A common memento of the mining life is employment tags belonging to oneself or a family member (pictured in Figure 7 below). These tags display the individual's employment number, and had many purposes. The number identified each miner and was used for organizing a seniority list as well as for payroll purposes. Employee numbers were grouped by department as well as the specific mine that a miner might be working in. The brass tag itself was a safety measure, used to account for each miner who was underground at a certain time. A roll call system was used whereby tags would be moved or removed as men entered and left the mine. Many residents still possess their tags, and several have kept the tags belonging to a deceased family member. Some tuck the tags

away in boxes or drawers for safe keeping, while others display them more prominently. One expatriate carries her father's employment tag on her keychain, ensuring that it is with her at all times.

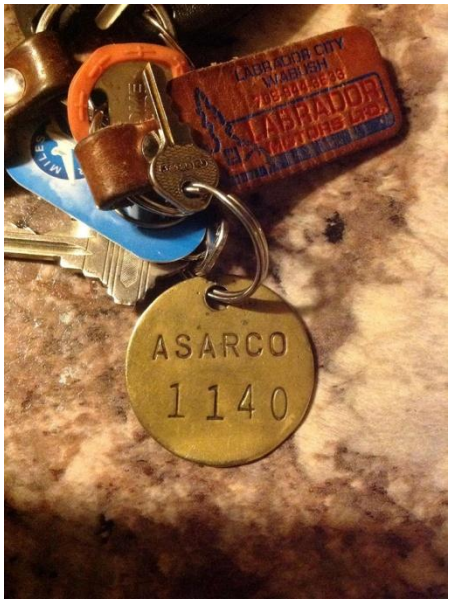

Figure 7. *Photo of Helen Hartery's keychain, with her father's ASARCO employment tag. Photo courtesy of Helen Hartery.*

The presence of the employment tag on something as mundane as a keychain speaks to the owner's attempt to incorporate her history and her father's memory into her daily life and to carry it with her, both figuratively and literally. Their importance cannot be overlooked, as they are constant reminders of the struggle and history of Buchans and the many men and women who devoted their lives to ASARCO.

Many Buchaneers also possess hand-crafted mementos of the ASARCO era. Stanley Skeard, my grandfather, was well-known in the community for his handmade commemorations of the mine. Clocks and plaques hang in the homes of several Buchaneers. In his penholders (pictured below), he used samples of lead, copper, and zinc

—the very minerals extracted from the Buchans mines. As Summerby-Murray (2007) points out, personalized heritage is intricate and incredibly meaningful to those who have an attachment to place and a distinctly cultivated place-identity. Residents of mining communities sometimes display mementos as relics of the past. In the case of Buchans, Buchaneers prominently display their mining heritage and identity in several forms, reinforcing their connections to their communities and in some cases the very ground from with the ore has been extracted.

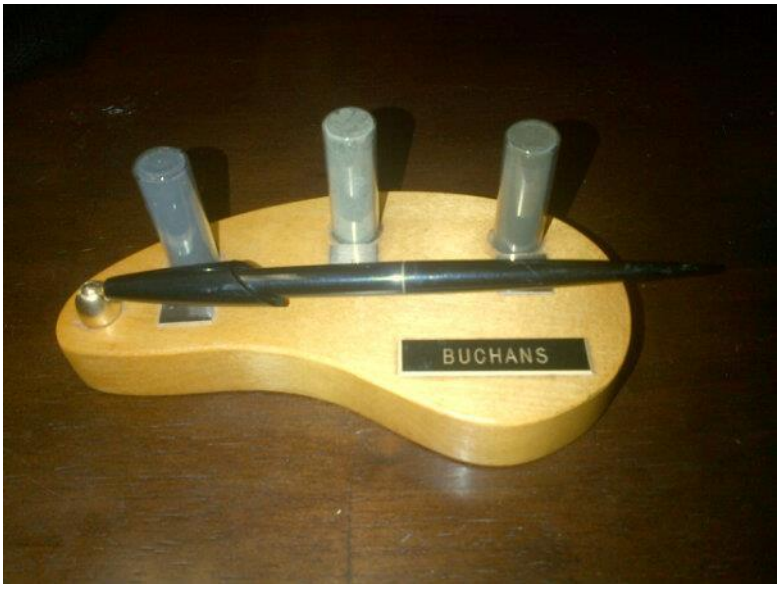

Figure 8. *Buchans Penholder with Mineral Samples, created by Stanley Skeard. Author Photo*

Relics of the Mining Era

Many scholars have suggested that relics of a mining era help cement both community and individual identity in post-mining communities (Robertson, 2006; Summerby-Murray, 2007; Cater and Keeling, 2013). In Buchans, as previously noted, the Lucky Strike headframe (known locally as the 'Deckhead') is the focal point of the community (pictured below). The town has installed lights on it and at night it is lit up,

strengthening its presence as a symbol of the mining past. One resident, whose father worked in that very same mine shaft remarked that seeing the deckhead illuminated at night gave him goose bumps (Mark Hiscock interview, June 2013). Everywhere you turn, ASARCO remnants occupy the landscape and even the most unknowing outsider could easily determine the town was founded upon mineral extraction. One participant who has worked in the exploration industry for years and has driven through numerous mining communities noted that the headframes are often left standing to define themselves as a mining community to visitors, largely due to a sense of pride related to industry and heritage (Paul Skeard interview, June 2013). These residual relics are important to the community as they cement the town's pride of its mining heritage. Many participants remarked on the significance of these pieces, suggesting that it aided in educating younger generations about the town's history and legacy. The development of new sociocultural resources related to the community's mining heritage, such as the Buchans Miners Museum reaffirms the spirited sense of place-identity cultivated from living and working in a mining town.

Figure 9. *Lucky Strike headframe (deckhead) illuminated atop Main Street. Photo courtesy of Pauline Dean*

Mining sometimes leaves behind a more ambivalent legacy in the form of environmental degradation. David Robertson (2006) highlights the complex relationships that residents hold with contaminated landscapes. In some instances, it is only through law and forceful evacuation that residents leave their communities. In Buchans, residents have come to terms with the lead-contaminated soil upon which the town is built. In October 2009, soil tests confirmed high levels of lead in some areas of the town, prompting officials to recommend blood tests for pregnant women and young children, and offer voluntary blood tests for residents as a precaution (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2009; Macdonald, 2009). The news was received rather nonchalantly, with residents remarking on a mining legacy that lasted over half a century, the inevitability of environmental issues, and the acceptance of a less-than-ideal environmental legacy left by ASARCO. As the mayor poignantly put it "we're used to this" (Macdonald, 2009). Despite confirmed lead contamination, residents' opinions

toward exploration and future mining activities in the area seem unaffected, and residents openly wish for the discovery of another mine at their doorstep. This mirrors Berkes and Ross's (2013) observation that resilience recognizes both social and ecological systems as "coupled, interdependent, and coevolving" (p.7). In communities whose economy is founded in natural resources, one simply cannot separate the social from the ecological. This leads to an appreciation of how intertwined the two can be, rather than binary or polarized. Instead, systems work together in a multitude of ways, leading to distinct outcomes such as resilience. In the case of Buchans, the social fabric of the community has been built from the town's dependence on natural resources. However, given the negative environmental legacy of mining in the early to mid twentieth century, remediation activities have been important measures to restore the ecological system in the community and thus overall social-ecological system resilience.

For the past two summers, the provincial government has undertaken remediation efforts in which contaminated land has been moved away from houses and dumped in an area known as "Old Buchans". This process has been a $9 million initiative, of which the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador has footed the bill (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2010; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Environment and Conservation, 2014a). Due to lenient environmental legislation over the course of Buchans' history, ASARCO has not been mandated to cover these expenses. Despite this, residents remain committed to the town and expressed little concern about the contaminated landscape during data collection, only referring to the remediation work in passing or to give me directions to their homes.

Community Events and Social Media

The number of Buchaneers who return home for community events speaks volumes to the sense of identity they share."Even among the enduring historic mining towns of NL, Buchans is exceptional in having a strong community identity, a strong community reputation, and a strong spirit and desire among even its expatriates to return to their home whenever they can" (Liam O'Brien interview, September 2013). There are three major events Buchans hosts regularly. Both the Save Our Plant (SOP) curling bonspiel and Lucky Strike Festival are held on an annual basis, while Come Home Year events are held every five years. The SOP bonspiel is held each year on the weekend corresponding to St. Patrick's Day celebrations. It began as a means to raise money to fund recreational facilities powered by the power plant, such as the curling club and stadium. The Lucky Strike Festival typically takes place the first week of August each year. There are numerous activities including concerts, dances, a craft sale, community potluck, and a parade. Many former residents regularly travel back to the community to reconnect with other Buchaneers and take part in the festivities. Come Home Year is the largest event held in Buchans and its routine scheduling every five years gives many the opportunity to plan their trip in advance. Over the course of a week there are events held such as dinners, dances and concerts. It is similar to the Lucky Strike Festival, but on a much larger scale. The tremendous support for local events and the willingness for expatriates to return home despite distance or cost highlights the connection that many feel to the community.

Another way that residents are connected through community events and history is through social media. Through social media, in particular Facebook, there is an entire community of Buchaneers coming together through their attachment to, and adoration of the community. The "Buchaneers" Facebook group has over 1,300 members with more being added each day. The group is a forum for people to post pictures, ask questions, and start discussion on all things related to Buchans. It has also allowed expatriates and residents alike to reconnect with old friends and acquaintances as well as form new relationships. The local regional newspaper, *The Advertiser*, recently ran a story on the group and its significance in preserving memories of the town and encouraging the reconnection of its expatriates. As Pauline Dean attests, "There is a special bond between people who declare themselves 'Buchaneers'" (Dean, 2014). The significance of the Buchaneers Facebook group is growing stronger by the day as more and more residents and expatriates use it to reminisce, plan community events, and post pictures of the community. As the use of the seminar broadcast in 1985 demonstrated, technology can be an amazing tool for bringing people together and reinforcing shared identity. Similarly, the Facebook page creates a venue for residents to come together and collectively express their identity as Buchaneers. This expression of identity echoes notions of social participation and community engagement as key components of resilience (Vinson, 2004). The cohesion-based model of resilience relies on collective action of a community, including social and support networks (Vinson, 2004; Reimer, 2003). In Buchans, residents have a long history of working collectively to achieve goals, including solidarity in labour disputes, community development, and continued expression of their identity as Buchaneers. Given their heritage, it is not surprising to see that residents come together

on an annual basis to celebrate their shared identity and history. Additionally, it is precisely this collectivity that has formed the basis of community resilience, particularly in the immediate post-ASARCO period.

Receptiveness to Contemporary Exploration and Mining

Many respondents maintain that because of potential mining operations, the future of Buchans is indeed promising. As previously discussed, Buchans hosts a spirited sense of place, fostered primarily through the mining industry. Residents look back on the heyday of Buchans with nostalgia, and look forward to the future of the town with a sense of hope. It has long been said in the town that despite the vast quantities and high grade of ore extracted, the mother lode was never found. This gives a tremendous sense of optimism to local residents. Speculation in the community has even gone as far as placing the potential location of this theoretical ore body under Red Indian Lake. As one participant quoted, "If you're looking for new mines, always look in the site of an old one" (Steve Mulrooney interview, August 2013).

Since ASARCO ceased operations, numerous exploration companies have surveyed the area, providing not only hope to the community but also bringing new revenue into the region by supporting the local economy. Buchans Minerals has been operating in the area since the late 2000s, but was recently bought out by Vancouver-based Minco Mining Corporation. Other notable companies/agencies carrying out exploration activities over the last number of years include the Geological Survey, Pennecon, Canstar, and Borealis. Because of these exploration activities, the local hotel, restaurants, and stores benefit. Some employment is offered by these enterprises, with

anecdotal evidence suggesting that at least half a dozen residents are directly employed in the industry. One participant I spoke with was currently working as a cook for an exploration company in the region, for example.

In 2007, mining in fact did return to Buchans. Exploration efforts led to the development of the Duck Pond copper-zinc mine, located approximately 20 kilometres from Buchans. After seven years of production, Teck Resources, the proprietor of Duck Pond, announced in January 2014 that mine life was down to just over a year, and by Spring 2015 the mine would be closed. Although exploration activities in the region have been consistently carried out since the 1980s, news of the impending Duck Pond closure has reinvigorated local interest in a new discovery. Anecdotal information suggests that residents remain optimistic about the future of mining in the region, and welcome all exploration activities with open arms.

Given the town's prosperous history, residents are incredibly receptive to new mining, with many suggesting that the future of Buchans is dependent on the mining industry. As several participants remarked and one individual asserted, "Mining is key to the survival of Buchans. That reality only grows stronger by the day" (Liam O'Brien interview, September 2013). Others remarked on the excitement that exploration activities bring to the region and how welcome new mining activity would be. As one participant told me, "I love to hear the hum of a drill. I never look at it as a noise, I always look at a drill as being something where there might be another mine" (Mark Hiscock interview, June 2013). Many expressed excitement at the prospect of a new reserve discovery and cited the ongoing exploration as indicative of that possibility. Given the relative location of Buchans and surrounding communities, several individuals are certain that some

inclusion of mining is required for the town's survival, with one suggesting that optimism is also crucial. As Buchans mayor Derm Corbett stated,

> [T]he future of this town without a play in mining is an extremely difficult future because geographically we're situated in an isolated area... you cannot be involved in a mining town, whether it's as a mayor or a councillor or a resident without being an optimist. (Derm Corbett interview, June 2013)

In a region that is rich in mineral resources and whose heritage has been built by the mining industry, there is an abundance of optimism that mining will continue to bring economic prosperity and stability to the area.

Past, Present, and Future of Community Resilience

Resilience is often tested by, and in some ways founded in, instability. In resource-dependent communities, specifically mining communities, uncertainty and instability are commonplace. As noted in Chapter Two, resilience refers to the capacity of individuals and communities alike to "respond effectively to significant adversity and risk" (Rolfe, 2006, p.11). The fact that optimism and uncertainty occur simultaneously reflects both the nature of mineral extraction and the community spirit in Buchans. There is a continual search for diversification in the town, with many residents owning small enterprises such as photography services, hunting and tourism businesses, stores, restaurants, parcel delivery to and from the service centre of Grand Falls-Windsor, and butchering/meat processing. However, all businesses are still largely dependent on the existence of a main employer in the area (the mining sector) to provide the incomes residents use to support local business ventures. As one participant who owns and operates a local hardware store noted, the income brought into the community, primarily

by the Duck Pond mine, is crucial for local businesses like his (Den Fowlow interview, August 2013). It also allows local businesses to create more jobs, an indirect impact of the mining industry. However, as he suggests, the relationship between operator and consumer is reciprocal, and in a business such as a store, when residents have less money they spend less money, and "[When] it's hard for one, it's hard for everybody, that's what it seems like" (Den Fowlow interview, August 2013).

In the wake of mine closure, community resilience in Buchans emerged in large part due to the sense of community and place-based identity that was cultivated by mining activity and the paternalistic atmosphere that defined the town for more than half a century. The willingness to become involved, take on leadership and volunteer roles, and fight for the community was born out of a sense of place and devotion to Buchans. This social cohesion was formed through decades of shared history and struggle, producing a form of social capital that has been immensely valuable in Buchans' struggle for survival. While social capital has been explored across a wide array of disciplines, its use in community-based research is well-documented. Bill Reimer (2003) has identified four types of social relations in which social capital manifests: *market* (related to exchange of goods and services); *bureaucratic* (stemming from division of labor/structure of authority); *associative* (shared interests); and *communal* (emerging from strong sense of shared identity). These relations are represented in Buchans where market relations built the community from global mineral demand; bureaucratic processes separated residents into a polarizing hierarchy between workers and staff as well as union and company; associative relations culminated from recreational cohesion and union solidarity; and communal relations were forged from shared history and struggles. Reimer concludes that

social capital can in turn strengthen social cohesion, which can in turn strengthen resilience (Vinson, 2004), a conclusion supported by this research and the Buchans experience.

Social cohesion can come from a variety of factors, including common or shared goals. For local residents, working together to ensure Buchans' survival was a crucial component of the community's social cohesion. Resilience, particularly community resilience, is a product of social cohesion and capital. When residents work together toward a common goal, and are brought together through shared experiences, their dedication proves much deeper than in instances where these factors are not present. Thus, in a sense, social cohesion can be mobilized and fostered to contribute to resilience. It is important to note that during data collection, each participant was asked what they felt had made the community so resilient. The overwhelming majority of respondents stated that "the people" were the driving force of community resilience, a sentiment that echoes the literature. Residents form the basis of communities, and in the immediate post-closure period, community support was instrumental for Buchans' survival.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

"Teck Duck Pond shutting down" - The Advertiser, January 24, 2014

"Copper and Zinc Mine Closing in Central" - VOCM News, January 24, 2014

"Duck Pond Mine shutting down, says mayor" - CBC News, January 24, 2014

On January 24, 2014, news broke that Duck Pond Mine, operating a mere 20 km from the original ASARCO operation, was shutting down. Although details were not immediately available, it was soon determined that by April 2015 the mine would be completely closed. Residents, once again, faced the question of what to do. Such announcements are not surprising to communities whose history has revolved around the continuous discovery and exhaustion of mineral reserves. For those who lived in Buchans in the early 1980s, the inevitability of closure has been a constant presence since Teck Duck Pond opened in 2007. Despite this reality, a large number of expatriates returned home to begin working in the mine. Two of my respondents employed at Duck Pond at the time of their interview noted that when announcement was made of the mineral discovery and plans for commercial extraction, they immediately began preparing to return to Buchans and work for Teck. These individuals cited the strong connection to the community as reasoning for their return to Buchans. Although closure was inevitable, residents felt fear and anxiety at the thought of, once again, losing their primary employer. On February 6th, less than two weeks after word of Duck Pond's 2015 closure,

local news outlets ran the story of a gold discovery and potential new mine near Valentine Lake, mere kilometres from Duck Pond. Marathon Gold was cited as the proprietor and a wave of hope swept over the Buchans area once again. For many residents, living in an isolated mining community is an emotional rollercoaster. Discoveries along with the prosperity mining brings to a region are cause for celebration. Conversely, closure (and the news of impending closure) can lead to devastation among residents. As Lisa Wilson suggested in her 2004 work comparing the oscillations of mining development to a rollercoaster ride, the emotional toll that comes with investing in a resource-dependent community is often tremendous. Given the cyclical nature of mining activity, such events are not surprising. However, it is possible that given the community's history, residents can draw from shared experiences to move through periods of economic bust and resource-based turbulence.

This study examined the numerous factors contributing to identity and subsequently to resilience in the former mining company town of Buchans. Despite the fact that the last mine in Buchans closed 30 years ago, residents continue to exhibit a strong sense of identity and community relating to the town. Their identity as Buchaneers is incredibly tenacious and manifests in several ways. It has also been a central component to the development efforts and subsequent resilience of the town in the post-closure period. The purpose of this chapter is twofold: to review the two research questions guiding this research, and to discuss the relevance of this research to other mining and resource-dependent communities in Newfoundland and Labrador and beyond.

This research has employed a conceptual framework informed primarily through a growing body of literature on place-based identity construction. It is apparent that

residents and workers in resource-dependent communities form ties to place, and sometimes in varying degrees. In some instances, workers view place as strictly related to employment and invest very little in terms of emotion and energy (Rollwagen, 2007; Storey, 2010). However, in other cases residents form a complex, deep relation with the landscape in which they live and work (and with the others who share it with them), in some instances retaining this sense of connection with a landscape that is no longer economically fruitful and supportive (Robertson, 2006; Summerby-Murray, 2007). The relations and connections that people form with landscape and place are not homogenous and monolithic; instead they represent a set of complex, interconnected characteristics that lead to the construction of identity and community. In many instances, these relationships are formed through hardship and emerge from residing in rugged landscapes that require local residents to work together to survive and flourish (Marsh, 1987; Robertson, 2006). In essence, communities of place comprise a distinctiveness connecting them to particular areas, while at the same time these communities represent boundaries to the potentials of what can be devised and constructed in terms of identity (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009). Place-based identity construction serves as an appropriate framework for analyzing these relationships and processes that contribute to identity because it emphasizes the central role that place and landscape play in sense of self and community, especially in resource-dependent regions such as Buchans, and allows for the exploration of relationships between identities and local development processes.

A second component of the framework used in this study is based on the concept of resilience and its connections to place and identity. Resilience has been defined in multiple ways across various disciplines, but the most suitable definition for this research

is one that captures the ability of a community to persevere through a disturbance and adapt to the vastly different environment created through the loss of the primary economic driver in an area. Identity and resilience are manifest in the community of Buchans, and they are inherently intertwined due to the history of the community and the experiences of residents. There is a connection between identity and resilience that can be traced to a determination for survival that is founded in a strong sense of place and community, a linkage that has been suggested by several authors (Kulig *et al*., 2008; Robertson, 2006). Because identity and sense of community are so significant in the town and to the concepts explored in this research, all aspects of the study, including research questions, data collection, and data analysis were shaped by this framework.

Identity, Community, and Resilience

The first question posed in this thesis asked how different groups in Buchans have identified with mining over time. Throughout Buchans' history, thousands of individuals have called the town home, including numerous expatriates who continue to identify as Buchaneers. Residents relied both on mining (its histories and social structures) and community in developing their place identity. While the mining industry has contributed to a distinct sense of identity in Buchans, due to a number of factors identified in this research, including its peculiar workplace and methods, many residents identify more so with the community than with the mines. As shown in the interviews discussed in Chapter Three, it is clear that identity in Buchans is not monolithic, and due to the array of experiences and histories of residents, no two people identify in quite the same way. There is a complex relationship between company and community, with many residents

wavering between residual animosity and gratitude. Those closely affiliated with the union often recall hardships and tensions with ASARCO, lamenting the state of Buchans today and attributing it to paternalistic policies, as discussed below.

Identity construction in Buchans was directly influenced by the paternalistic policies set out and enforced by ASARCO. Paternalism shaped residents' experiences in Buchans through a multitude of ways. For a worker or resident in Buchans most, if not all, aspects of daily life were to some extent controlled and shaped by the company during the ASARCO era. From livelihood to living accommodations, ASARCO influenced how residents lived. In constant fear of reprimand, workers abided by the company's policies and remained relatively subordinate until the 1970s when union solidarity reached a climax and tensions found an outlet in both the 1971 and 1973 strikes. Labour disputes were a major point of identity formation and expression for residents who felt compelled to act together for what they believed to be the betterment of the entire community.

What needs to be recognized is the direct and subsequent links between paternalism, identity and the 1973 strike. Because of its status as a company town and the fact that the mine life expectancy had been reduced to five years, residents felt a tremendous amount of uncertainty regarding their future, and feared that once the reserves were exhausted, their purpose (and the community's purpose) would vanish. Perhaps ironically, in Buchans the paternalistic policies set out and enforced by ASARCO cultivated a distinct sense of identity and community that formed the basis for resilience in the period immediately following closure. These policies contributed to an array of factors including isolation, amenities and services, union solidarity, and the social geography of the town. It was a combination of these factors, along with the strong bonds

forged amongst underground miners themselves that led to the unique sense of identity and community within the town of Buchans.

The second question that framed this research asked how these identities or sense of community have impacted community development and resilience post-closure. Unlike some other remote post-mining communities in Canada (such as Pine Point, Schefferville, or Uranium City), Buchans was not completely devastated and depopulated after closure. The strong sense of community and identity provided a resource of community support to be drawn from for economic development efforts. Through qualitative research techniques, primarily in-depth, semi-structured interviews, I was able to gain insight into what made Buchans resilient through its most challenging period. There are three primary ways through which identity has directly influenced resilience: leadership, community action, and receptiveness to new mining.

Leadership has been instrumental in the resilience efforts post-closure. What is more, much of the leadership that underscored later development and resilience efforts was forged in the ASARCO era. For instance, the television project which was created because leaders wanted to ensure that residents were fully informed of their options and their leaders' actions. Leadership in Buchans has always been strong, and many community leaders were involved in the local union and labour struggles of the ASARCO period, highlighting a direct link between identities formed during this period and subsequent resilience. Additionally, strong, vocal, committed leaders were able to garner outside attention from MUN, government, and media to support their endeavours.

Many residents became actively involved in the community during deindustrialization and closure. This is clear through the numerous development groups

and activities hosted by the town, discussed in Chapter Four. The community rallied behind numerous initiatives in an effort to stabilize the local economy and ensure the town's survival. There were two crucial efforts resulting from this collaboration: the Buchans Transmitter Program, and the 1985 Single Industry Towns seminar which brought expertise and knowledge from all over the country to Buchans' doorstep. The Transmitter Program reinforced community solidarity and identity by bringing residents together and sharing economic development initiatives with the entire town. Residents were able to watch the discussion on their televisions, reinforcing shared identity and informing residents of their options and their leaders' plans for the community. The seminar, on the other hand, connected Buchans with the rest of the country. The networking and dialogue emerging from this seminar were crucial in bringing the plight of Buchans to a national audience and gaining support and understanding from the rest of the country, ultimately leading to the procurement of federal funding. Additionally, economic development activities in the town required collaboration between several different external agencies. MUN Extension Services, as well as the provincial and federal governments played a role in the resilience of the community through the immediate post-closure period. Local resilience efforts therefore intersected with and were supported by these other efforts, indicating the need for partnership to effectively harness and manage resources.

Because of their history and shared identity, Buchaneers are incredibly receptive to and optimistic about new and potential mining activity in the region. Many participants in this research have expressed the sentiment that any amount of mining is beneficial to the community. Because of direct employment, but also spin-off activities, residents

welcome exploration companies with open arms. Further, there is widely-held optimism that continued mining activity will bring economic prosperity to the region once again. For some, it is this optimism that mining will continue that keeps them in the community.

Means, Meaning, and Municipal Realities

The picture of Buchans today is vastly different from the picture of the town during the ASARCO era, or even shortly after the mines closed. Despite the number of economic development efforts, the community, much like the rest of rural Newfoundland, has struggled over the last number of years. In fact, the community struggled until the commercial development of the Duck Pond mine commenced in 2007. Additionally, in light of the recent announcement which places Duck Pond's closure at Spring 2015, the community anticipates more difficulties in its future. Further, the community's population continues to age and decline, falling 21% over the last decade compared to the province's relatively stable population level (Community Accounts, 2013a). In 2006 the median age in Buchans was 51, which stands in contrast to the median age of 42 for the province. In short, although Buchans persevered and was resilient through the most devastating era in its history—the immediate post-closure period—it still faces the same challenges as other shrinking, aging rural communities all across the province. Additionally, a survey administered in 2009-2010 to measure respondents' sense of belonging to their community places Buchans within the lowest percentile of attachment, ranking the community 391 out of 430 (Community Accounts, 2013b). This may indicate that the strong sense of community that saw Buchans through its most difficult times is declining.

However, due to a high sampling variability of 23.9%, these results must be interpreted with caution. All of this suggests that despite the efforts made by local leaders throughout the 1980s, there are many factors accountable for community resilience, several of which lie beyond the community's control.

In his study of two mining towns in Pennsylvania, Ben Marsh (1987) asserts that there are two components to a landscape: the *means*, which signifies the physical support it provides, and the *meaning* which he defines as "the intangible rewards it offers" (p. 337). The meaning of a landscape, suggests Marsh, is dependent on the history of the area. In the case of Buchans, the meaning is found in shared identity and sense of community, which (as previously discussed) are the products of a shared history and events. Residents calculate the means of a landscape depending on the strength of the meaning. Residents of Buchans consider the town a meaningful place to live, and yet by any economic or demographic measurement, Buchans remains largely unviable in the absence of continued mineral finds. In the words of Marsh, "the land means much, but gives little" (p. 337). Despite the tenacious identity as Buchaneers and the contributions this identity has made to community survival, identity alone cannot guarantee community resilience. Federal and provincial funding, for instance, were key to the community's perseverance through the immediate post-mining period. Similarly, industry, or at least a dependable source of income and livelihood, is crucial for a community's survival - both economically and socially. Residents in Buchans continue to live in the community today in spite of the lack of means (or at least uncertainty over it). This is largely attributable to place identity and historical experiences in the community. Residents remain attached to

the town and landscape despite economically tumultuous periods, largely due to their individual and collective experiences in Buchans.

Lessons

Although the Buchans experience took place in a unique set of circumstances, this case study is demonstrably representative of the processes faced in many other communities. There were several resources local leaders were able to harness which contributed to community resilience through the immediate post-closure era in Buchans. Additionally, since these resources have been mobilized in the past to help Buchans get through the immediate post-ASARCO period, it is possible that they can be drawn from again when facing the Duck Pond closure.

1) Mining can be an exceptional economic generator, and communities should try to maximize benefits from industry. The prosperity mining brings to a community can be both wonderful and detrimental, if the community fails to take advantage of its opportunities. While in the past residents had not considered long-term sustainability options, it is clear that when properly planned, mining-based wealth can persist post-closure. This is clear in the numerous assets divested from ASARCO that formed the basis for business ventures (not to mention living accommodations) in the community. While Steelcor is no longer operational, the local hotel that was previously an ASARCO housing unit still generates income. In terms of contemporary opportunities for diversification, one participant suggested that when the Duck Pond mine shuts down, if the on-site processing facility is left intact it can be used for subsequent mineral

development in the area. Additionally, Buchans Barite Mud Services Inc. is currently proposing to re-start a barite processing operation which was formerly owned by the BDC (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Environment and Conservation, 2014b). The operation would recycle remaining base-metal tailings from ASARCO's Buchans mine, and extract and concentrate barite for sale and use as drilling mud. The resulting product would be used in Newfoundland and Labrador's offshore oil industry (Department of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Environment and Conservation, 2014b). Minutes from the Town Council's meetings show that the company is continually meeting with council to update them on this process and is currently undertaking an environmental assessment (Town of Buchans, 2014). The Buchans experience and the town's endeavours in tourism and aerospace demonstrate that, as Freudenberg (1992) and others have noted, despite the central importance of mining as an anchor industry, communities that seek diversification opportunities are more likely to survive economic downturns in a core industry.

2) A strong sense of community can make important contributions to resilience. The strong attachment people feel to their communities is a resource that can be harnessed for community survival. As previously discussed, social cohesion and shared identity can lead to social capital (Reimer, 2003). This social capital can indeed be drawn upon for community development and resilience. When individuals are brought together over shared history and facing a common struggle, their dedication can become tenacious. In fact, in some instances, social cohesion and a sense of identity can contribute to economic development efforts. For instance, the local Miners Museum is an example of identity

turned economic opportunity. In an effort to mitigate the impacts of the impending Duck Pond closure, residents have an opportunity to draw from their shared sense of community. Residents from all three local communities will be affected by closure, and given the region's history of regional development (through RILDA), it is possible for residents to work together and find viable economic development opportunities. One resident pointed to Red Indian Lake as having tremendous potential for economic development. Given that all three communities are built near the lake, any development of the lake could benefit all towns.

3) Leadership is crucial to community development and survival. The strong leadership that emerged from the labour history in Buchans proves that when faced with adversity, individuals can persevere and learn lessons from their experiences if they are willing to dedicate themselves to leadership roles. The constant union-company negotiation possibly endowed union representatives with the ability to bargain effectively and equipped them with a particular sense of determination and spirit. Leadership in Buchans spans several areas including politics, community development, recreation, religion, education, and enterprise. What they all have in common, however, is a devotion to the community and motivation for a higher standard of living for its residents. As regional development expert Dr. Rob Greenwood attests,

> In a mining community you... had mine managers and machine shop people and electricians and the union, and so I think that was crucial for forging better leadership. And in the conditions they faced, the union, the closure and then the rural development association playing its role, and MUN Extension as an animator it came together in a way I believe to enable them to mitigate the economic disaster better than anyone could

> have predicted, except for the most wishful thinking, religious belief in community survival. (Rob Greenwood interview, September 2013)

The primary source of leadership in Buchans today is the town council which is directly accountable to the residents of Buchans.

4) Hope is imperative for community survival. As previously discussed, it is difficult to live in an isolated, resource-dependent community without being an optimist. The hope for economic opportunity must be cultivated and fostered, as it has been by the residents and community leaders of Buchans. This hope can also lead to entrepreneurial spirit, evident in the numerous small and medium sized businesses operating in Buchans and to support for future mining developments. Many attributed community survival to the fact that numerous residents simply refused to give up on the town. They maintained hope and belief in the community that had become part of who they were - of their identity. In light of the recent announcement of the impending Duck Pond mine closure, it is normal for residents to feel anxious. However, community and regional survival is not impossible. Given the lessons that Buchaneers have learned through the ASARCO closure, it is possible to harness the strong sense of identity and community as a driving force to persevere through the closure of the Duck Pond mine.

Further, resource-dependent and single-industry communities hold potential for survival through periods of resource depletion and economic downturn, despite the uncertainty and instability upon which their towns may be founded. There are significant lessons that can be learned from Buchans, and my hope for this thesis is that by telling the

story of the community, relevant lessons to be reiterated from the town with the potential to be applied elsewhere will be shared. As one participant succinctly pointed out,

> If anything, because we have so much left to learn from an era in Buchans slipping from living memory, that importance and significance of the mine isn't fading, it's growing. (Liam O'Brien interview, September 2013)

Not only is understanding the complex relationships between residents, company, and landscape crucial in determining how Buchans survived closure, it is also pivotal in its potential application to other resource-dependent communities. Additionally, it is clear from the Buchans experience that technology can be an important component of community resilience, as demonstrated through the television project and involvement of MUN Extension Services. Senior levels of government are also key actors as they often provide financial resources and support that contribute to community development and resilience. Clearly, there are several distinct factors that led to Buchans residents having a unique sense of cohesion and community, including isolation, control, labour disputes, and the nature of mining work (and all being inherently influenced by paternalistic policies). However, the devotion to the community and struggle for resilience is not necessarily unique to Buchans. Individuals can form connections to their workplace, industry, and community even without a paternalistic approach to management. What needs to be clear, though, is that this same sense of community and perseverance, filled by hope and optimism can be harnessed in an effort to mitigate the effects of a devastating loss of industry. This is the story of Buchans.

Implications for Policy and Research

Right now, there are several mining-dependent communities in Newfoundland and beyond that are operating under the lingering knowledge of eventual closure. The same phrase was constantly repeated during interviews, that "the day a mine opens is the day it starts to die", echoing the knowledge of impermanence and uncertainty. And while closure is undoubtedly devastating and sometimes occurs with relatively short notice, the reaction and adaptation to closure does not need to be unprepared or uncertain. The history of company towns and the legacy of resulting ghost towns requires that we approach inevitable and unavoidable closure proactively. Having a plan founded in local knowledge as well as sound research can be a tremendously useful resource for communities whose primary employer has been lost. In Buchans, this was achieved through the establishment of several development groups and initiatives spearheaded by local leaders.

There are several suggestions for future research arising from this work. It would have been useful to compare the sense of community between residents who lived through closure to those who were born after 1984 or who may not necessarily remember ASARCO's role in the community. While responses were compared across the ASARCO and post-ASARCO eras, interviews were conducted with individuals who had either worked directly in the industry, had played some role in community development, or held expertise in the field of community and regional development. The interviews did not, however, include residents who were too young to have been directly involved in these efforts. This would require interviewing residents born after 1984, or who were minors at the time of mine closure. A future study focused on the younger generation of Buchaneers

may yield differing perspectives about current and future identity and resilience. Secondly, given the role of the union in Buchans during the ASARCO period as a form of cohesion and basis for leadership, it would be interesting to compare the Buchans operation with a non-unionized mining operation with respect to sense of identity and community. While this topic was briefly touched on during discussions of the Teck Duck Pond mine being non-unionized, a more thorough investigation may yield results that tell us more about the role of unions in social cohesion in a mining community. Thirdly, given the relative isolation of Buchans and the fact that its residents built homes and lives in the community, a comparison to a fly-in/fly-out operation could investigate the role of service provision and family in identity construction. Although research has been carried out that investigates the impacts fly-in/fly-out operations have on communities (see Storey, 2010), the links between these travel arrangements and community identity are not well understood. Finally, there is potential to study current and future resilience in the post-Teck closure era. A follow-up study could examine how place-based identities, sense of optimism, and capacity to adapt to closure might have changed, yielding results that help us further understand the connection between identity and resilience and how these change over time.

Mining communities face a host of issues, including volatility, uncertainty, and exhaustion. Closures and deindustrialization are devastating to communities who rely on mineral resources for economic stability. The tremendous feeling of uncertainty and loss is multiplied in mining company towns, whose existence has been born in ore. It is clear, however, that despite this knowledge, there is a spirited sense of place and identity that can emerge from living and working in a mining town. For residents, the bonds that form

both with each other and the place they live in, are difficult to break and often transcend mine life. While for some communities the end of the resource signals the inevitable end of the settlement, others continue to fight for perseverance and resilience in the face of adversity. In the 1985 seminar on single industry communities, local leader Sandy Ivany alluded to the mine closure announcement as similar to a diagnosis of a terminal illness. What is paramount, he asserts, is hope—without which, communities fail to survive hardship. As Ivany so eloquently concluded, hope springs eternal; and where there is hope, there is life.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: List of Interview Participants

DATE	NAME	INTERVIEW TYPE
May 31, 2013 July 14, 2014	Sean Power	Individual
June 5, 2013	Derm Corbett	Individual
June 6, 2013 July 12, 2014	Keith Courage	Individual
June 6, 2013	Joe Parsons	Individual
June 6, 2013	Mildred Parsons	Individual
June 6, 2013	Pius Brennan	Individual
June 10, 2013	Greg West	Individual
June 11, 2013	Ivan Hodder	Individual
June 11, 2013	Jerome Moore	Individual
June 11, 2013	Woodrow Rideout	Individual
June 13, 2013	Jim Yetman	Individual
June 13, 2013	Geraldine Yetman	Individual
June 13, 2013	Melvin Penney	Individual
June 14, 2013	Mark Hiscock	Individual
June 14, 2013	Barb Sheppard	Individual
June 16, 2013	Paul Skeard	Individual
June 16, 2013	Kevin Greene	Individual
July 5, 2013	Wade Locke	Individual
August 2, 2013	Graham Flight	Individual
August 2, 2013	Steve Mulrooney	Individual
August 5, 2013	Walter Bursey	Individual
August 5, 2013	Pauline Dean	Individual
August 5, 2013	Den Fowlow	Individual
August 6, 2013	Bert Woodland	Individual
August 6, 2013	Don and Florence Bursey	Group
August 6, 2013	Gerry Squires	Individual
August 6, 2013	Josephine Head	Individual
August 6, 2013	Kevin and Ruth Head	Group
August 7, 2013	George Chippett	Individual
August 7, 2013	Hugh Wadden	Individual
August 7, 2013	John Budden	Individual
September 3, 2013	Liam O'Brien	Individual (via e-mail)
September 5, 2013	Rob Greenwood	Individual
September 9, 2013	Juriaan Houtman	Individual (via telephone)

Appendix II: Recruitment Letter

Dear (Participant),

My name is Janelle Skeard and I am a Master's student in the Department of Geography at Memorial University. I am originally from Millertown, and my research interests began with hearing personal stories and history of the mining industry in Buchans. I am currently beginning research for my Master's thesis, "The Construction of Identities in a Mining Town: Implications for Sustainable Community and Regional Development" in Buchans and I would like to invite you to take part in my research. Your role as a participant would consist of taking part in a short (approximately one hour long) interview where you would respond to a series of about 15 questions. The questions will focus on your participation in or relation to the mining industry in Buchans/Buchans area, your feelings about the mining industry, and your experience/opinions about development and the role of mining in the community and region.

The information I hope to gather will be broad and give me a better picture of mining heritage and impacts in the area, instead of focusing on personal accounts. If you wish, your participation in this research can be made confidential to the best of my ability with none of your responses being linked back to you. Again, my hope for this project is to collect the data and summarize it to give a better understanding of opinions, information, and experiences concerning the mining industry and its impacts on identity construction and development in the area. Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. If you feel uncomfortable answering any question you may skip over it, and if you wish to withdraw from the study at any point, you are able to do so with no negative consequences.

My objective in this research is to gather information about identity construction through mineral extraction and its impacts on governance in the area as well as sustainable development. The way residents relate to the mining industry and how it affects their contributions to the community (such as volunteering, planning and decision-making) as well as the development of the community (there is more detail about the project provided in the enclosed project summary) is of interest in this research. I feel that by engaging local residents, my research will be enriched and that the information I gather cannot be found in other existing mining-related documents about the community/region.

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research (such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant), you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

If you are willing to participate in this study or would like more information, please contact Janelle Skeard, Memorial University, at (709)-770-4863 or janelle.skeard@mun.ca. I hope to hear from you in the near future. If I do not hear from you I will attempt to contact you by phone and/or email to ask about your willingness to participate in the study.

Sincerely,

Janelle Skeard
MA Candidate
Department of Geography
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Appendix III: Sample Interview Consent Form

Title: The Construction of Identities in a Mining Town: Implications for Community Development and Resilience

Researchers: Janelle Skeard, Memorial University, Department of Geography

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled "The Construction of Identities in a Mining Town: Implications for Sustainable Community and Regional Development". This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any other information given to you by the researcher.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in the research or if you decide to withdraw from the research once it has started, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future.

Purpose of study:
The purpose of this study is to investigate the ways in which identity is constructed in affiliation with the mining industry in central Newfoundland and how this affects community planning and decision-making as well as sustainable development. The results from this study will provide insight into these concepts and will be included in a thesis in part to satisfy the requirements for my Master of Arts (MA) degree. This project has been funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and Memorial University of Newfoundland.

What you will do in this study:
In this interview, I will ask you a series of questions focusing on central ideas related to the mining industry, identity construction, governance, and sustainable development. You have the option to remain anonymous. Also, you can leave out any question(s) you are uncomfortable with.

Length of time:
The interview should take approximately one hour to complete

Possible Benefits:
Participants will have an opportunity to document their knowledge and opinions about mining heritage and identity as well as economic development in the community and region. The value of such information cannot be underestimated in a province where mining's contribution to local communities is becoming increasingly prevalent. The community will directly benefit from the sharing of information and data collected. In a way, some of the research can contribute to an oral history of the community and such accounts are incredibly valuable.

The scholarly community will benefit from this collected information that may not be readily available and the resulting insights into mining identity construction and governance/development impacts in the region and in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Possible risks:
This study does not pose any physical risk to participants. If by chance a participant becomes uncomfortable or upset by a question, they will not be required or persuaded to answer. If this happens, you may skip the question or choose to withdraw from the study. I will take every precaution to ensure that you as a participant are comfortable during the interview and that the information you provided is handled sensitively.

Confidentiality:
Your identity will only be known to the researcher. Unless you provide your explicit consent for archiving of transcripts and/or using your name in conjunction with your comments your name will not be associated with any documents and the information you provide will be handled with the utmost care.

Anonymity:
In such a small study area/community it is extremely difficult to promise full assurance of anonymity if requested. I promise you as a participant that if you wish to remain anonymous, every reasonable effort will be made to assure your anonymity and that you will not be identified in any reports and publications without explicit permission. If you are comfortable with and provide your explicit consent to the use of your name and transcript, your name may be used and transcript filed with existing documents in the local museum as well as in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies.

Recording of Data:
With your agreement, your interview will be audio recorded and the file will then be transcribed by me or another member of the research team. The transcription itself is what will be used for data analysis. This means that your voice will not be heard by any member of the research team aside the interviewer/ transcriptionist. This transcript will also be sent to you for review before analysis so you will have the opportunity to restrict sensitive information, or request partial or full anonymity.

Reporting of Results:
The collected data will be included in my Master's thesis. However, I will also provide a copy of my thesis (once completed) to the participants, the community, and the local library. I also intend to report back to the community in the forms of a presentation and poster where I will share my results and once again thank members for their participation. The information collected will be used in a clear and transparent process that allows informants to know how their information is being used.

Storage of Data:
If you choose, your name will not be associated with any documents. As protocol, a code will be assigned to each interview indicating the date and time of the interview. This is to ensure that if you wish to withdraw in the future, we can identify your file to destroy it. The copies of interviews and information taken from interviews will be saved on a password-protected computer that only certain members of the research team will have access to. With your permission, we would like to make the data available to the Centre for Newfoundland Studies as well as the local museum. All research team members, including interviewers and transcriptionists have signed an oath of confidentiality to ensure the information you provide is treated with the utmost care and if you have requested, confidentiality is ensured to the greatest extent possible.

The data will be stored for a minimum of five years, as per Memorial University policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research. After five years, all data will be destroyed unless other appropriate arrangements are made and agreed upon by the relevant parties (as described above).

Questions:
You are welcome to ask questions at any time during your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study, please contact: Janelle Skeard (Primary Investigator), Memorial University, Department of Geography, (709)-770-4863; Dr. Kelly Vodden (Supervisor), Environmental Policy Institute, Sir Wilfred Grenfell College, (709)-746-8607; or Dr. Arn Keeling (Co-Supervisor), Department of Geography, Memorial University, (709)-864-8990.

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research (such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant), you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 864-2861".

Consent:
Your signature on this form means that:

- You have read the information about the research
- You have been able to ask questions about this study
- You are satisfied with the answers to all of your questions

- You understand what the study is about and what you will be doing
- You understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason, and that doing so will not affect you now or in the future.

If you sign this form, you do not give up your legal rights, and do not release the researchers from their professional responsibilities.
The researcher will give you a copy of this form for your records.

Your Signature:

I have read and understood the description provided; I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project, understanding that I may withdraw my consent at any time.

- ❑ I agree to participate in the research project understanding the risks and contributions of my participation, that my participation is voluntary, and that I may end my participation at any time.
- ❑ I agree to be audio-recorded during the interview
- ❑ I do not agree to be audio-recorded during the interview
- ❑ I agree to be quoted directly in future publications and presentations
- ❑ I agree to be identified in future publications and presentations
- ❑ I agree to have a copy of my transcribed interview made available to the Centre for Newfoundland Studies (CNS) at Memorial University
- ❑ I agree to have a copy of my transcribed interview made available to the local museum

A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

_____ _____
Signature of participant Date

Researcher's Signature:

I have explained this study to the best of my ability. I invited questions and gave answers. I believe that the participant fully understands what is involved in being in the study, any potential risks of the study and that he or she has freely chosen to be in the study.

_____ _____
Signature of investigator Date

Telephone number: _____

E-mail address: _____

Appendix IV: Interview Questions

1) Tell me about how you (or your family) have been involved in the mining industry in Buchans?
2) How do you feel that your involvement in the mining industry has impacted you as an individual?
3) How do you think the operation of the mine has influenced municipal government in the community? Community organizations?
4) Who are the individuals you consider to be community leaders? In what ways are these individuals connected to the mining industry?
5) In what ways has the company supported the town? In what ways has the town supported the mining industry?
6) Have there been tensions and challenges between the company and the community as well? If so please explain. How have these challenges been managed? Through what processes?
7) Have you ever been involved in community organizations? In what ways has your connection to the mining industry affected your involvement in community affairs (e.g. as a volunteer, councillor)
8) Have you ever been involved in local planning or decision-making processes? If yes, in what ways if any did your connection to the mining industry influence your involvement in these processes? (*Prompts: E.g. the position you presented, your willingness to be involved?*)
9) From your experience/standpoint, how do you think that the mining activity in this area has had some impact on the survival or sustainability of the community?
11) *For Buchans residents:* Although the mine has been closed for nearly 30 years, do you (or do you think others) still identify with the mine? If so, how?
11) What kind of impact do you think the mining industry in the community has had on a sense of community identity shared by residents?
12) What future directions do you see for community identity and relationships in regard to the mining industry? Do you think that these will have a lasting impact on how the community is governed and how the region is developed?
13) What can you tell me about how the governance of the community has changed over time? (*Prompt: For example, how has the role of mining companies changed? Of citizens? from the American Smelting and Refining Company governing the community compared to a locally-appointed municipal government?)*
14) What similarities or differences do you see between the initial mining activity at Buchans and the current activity at the Duck Pond mine in Millertown? (*Prompts: E.g. in terms of company involvement in the community, employment conditions, impacts on the local environment or community and family relationships*)
15) What made Buchans so resilient?
16) Are there any lessons we can learn from Buchans?
17)Do you think there's a type of identity or sense of community that comes from being a miner or living in a mining town?
15) Is there anything else you would like to add on these topics?

Appendix V: Table of Research Themes and Sub-Themes

Identity	Resilience	Paternalism
	Economic adjustment and regional development post-closure	
"Second to none"		"Second to none"
Impermanence	Impermanence	
Resiliency in the face of challenge	Resiliency in the face of challenge	
Extent of control		Extent of control
Camaraderie between workplace and community	Camaraderie between workplace and community	
Sense of self and the label of 'miner'		
Isolation leading to cohesion		Isolation leading to cohesion
Sense of community/nostalgia	Sense of community/nostalgia	
Determination for survival	Determination for survival	
Recreation leading to cohesion		Recreation leading to cohesion
Ownership and sense of pride	Ownership and sense of pride	
	Immense changes in mining in the area (control and community investment)	Immense changes in mining in the area (control and community investment)
Segregation between uptown and downtown and everyone being the same		
Length of mine life leading to disbelief of closure	Length of mine life leading to disbelief of closure	
Worker exploitation and owner domination		Worker exploitation and owner domination
	Leadership	Leadership