

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE APPROACH IN

PICTOU COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA

by

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## ABSTRACT

The theory and practice of regional development planning has traditionally focused on economic considerations. And the prevailing style has been characterized by activities which formed the basis for prediction which led ultimately to prescribed solutions based upon a variety of normative criteria, usually provided by the political decision-makers and senior civil servants.

Recent literature in the Planning field, however, and some recent pertinent personal experience in participating in the Development Opportunities Project in Pictou County, Nova Scotia, led me to believe that the deterministic assumptions characterizing previous planning efforts might be giving way to newer approaches based on the concept of social learning.

The purpose of this study was to examine this perceived shift in the approach to regional development planning to provide some insight into the relationship between public involvement and the regional development process.

A background for analysis was presented first. A theoretical context was provided through a review of the literature in the following two areas: (1) theories on regional economic growth, and (2) recent planning thought on the theory of social learning and societal change. It was shown that the traditional regional economic growth theories

focus largely on anticipating changes in the external parameters of the system. Changes in the behaviour of the residents in a region, these theories say, are due chiefly to changes in scale brought about by external stimuli. The other models of societal change presented next were shown to incorporate non-deterministic process and say that social change is the product of an open process of social learning which can be characterized as evolutionary experimentation.

On the basis of this review, which generally presented only the major features of the landscape, I suggested that regional economic and social well-being could be fostered more effectively through an approach that seeks to strengthen social learning rather than have a direct impact on employment and individual incomes.

Next, a perspective of federal and provincial government initiatives in regional development planning in Nova Scotia was put forward in a review of some of the appropriate programmes of the departments and agencies. This was followed up with a community profile of Pictou County, an 1100-square-mile region on the northern coast of Nova Scotia which has about 50,000 residents, 60 percent of whom live in the five urban centers. The livelihood of these people was shown to be mainly manufacturing, but the traditional occupations in agriculture, mining, forestry, and fishing were shown to be very important also. And lastly, a history of the evolution of regional development planning in Pictou County was presented.

Having presented a background for analysis, and also having stated a working hypothesis to give some focus to this study, I then described in detail the Development Opportunities Project which I was involved in. The aims of the Project are set forth, the actors are identified, their institutional relationships are delineated, the process of decision-making is reviewed, and the activities flowing from this effort are illustrated. Throughout this description, however, the characteristics of the approach adopted are accented.

Next, this study examined the previous federal and provincial regional development efforts in Nova Scotia and also the Development Opportunities Project in light of the theoretical concepts outlined initially. The study showed that many of the previous efforts attempted to satisfy either the goal of income redistribution in favour of the poor or at least the minimum criterion of economic efficiency, and related closely in style also to the traditional regional economic growth concepts. However, the evidence gathered as part of this study showed that there appeared to be a gap between early ambitions and the actual scope and impact of the projects or programmes. Contrasted with this was the experience of the Pictou County residents who participated in the widely-based regional development planning effort called the Development Opportunities Project. Using an initial grant of \$47,500 provided by the provincial government to the Pictou County District Planning Commission, Pictonians undertook a closely-related series of experimental

efforts to initiate and sustain broad-based development activity. The study showed that though a variety of studies were conducted, they were initiated by and conducted with the intimate involvement of Pictou County residents who had been and would continue to be affected by the decisions arrived at. The study further showed that Pictou County residents were fast learning through their involvement that so much of what would likely happen in Pictou County depended on the initiatives they would take. What was happening in Pictou County by virtue of the Development Opportunities Project was found to embrace quite closely the concepts which form the theory of social learning.

The study concluded by saying that while great care was necessary to rule out cause and effect relationships that may be spurious, the previous federal and provincial regional development planning efforts seemed to have had marginal influence on the economic well-being of residents in Nova Scotia regions and may have even hindered social and political development. On the other hand, evidence appeared to exist to suggest that social and political development was taking place as a result of the Development Opportunities Project. No hard data existed on the economic effects of the Project. Generally, however, this study suggested that regional development planning that strengthens the process of social learning within the region will have more fundamental and worthwhile effects than the more traditional approaches.

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## PROLOGUE

### THE ATLANTIC DILEMMA\*

In the space of half a dozen years, the conflict between economic growth and what we have all come to call "the environment" has become one of the great issues of world affairs. Some see it as the most ferocious challenge that mankind has ever faced, surpassing in its threat to our survival even disease, racial conflict, and the possibility of nuclear or chemical warfare.

The concern manifests itself in ways both solemn and hysterical, both responsible and self-serving; in the Club of Rome, an international organization of eminent scientists who call for zero population and zero economic growth; in frightful warnings from agencies of the United Nations; in a band of economists who've begun to question the whole inviolate old orthodoxy of growth economics, who've begun to build a new theory about stability as a source of economic life; in ecology groups that, again and again in the United States, have achieved the political sabotage of massive power projects; in the rise of whole industries and technologies to fight pollution and recycle waste; in lawsuits to block housing developments and industrial complexes; in think tanks and futurists' institutes;

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\*Source: Sixth Annual Review: The Atlantic Economy. Halifax, 1972: The Atlantic Provinces Economic Council.

in a thousand save-our-environment periodicals; in bumper stickers and posters and lapel buttons; in pollution probes, Nader's Raiders, tourist-go-home movements, think-small clubs, undevelopment commissions, rural communes, nature-worshipping cults, conservation lobbies, pickets, gurus, Rachel Carson, Paul Ehrlich, sit-ins, sit-outs, anti-litter campaigns, ecology seminars, Opportunities for Youth projects, service club campaigns, scare headlines, and in the oil that so befouled the remotest high seas that Thor Heyerdahl disdained to jump off his raft to bathe his body.

The concern does not find such colorful expression in Atlantic Canada as it does in, say, California. We do not have to face the stupendous people problem that afflicts so many parts of the world. Our problem is hardly over-development. In any event, we are a relatively phlegmatic people, even stoical, unlikely to feed revolution, suspicious of extreme behaviour. We do not easily warm to the carnival side of modern public protest. And yet, there are respects in which the great confrontation between the traditional forces of economic expansion and the passion to preserve the environment is more clear and painful here in the Atlantic Provinces than it is anywhere else in the western world. We have so much to win: jobs, a decent standard of living for everyone, an economic future at home for our children. We have so much to lose: clean air, clean water, a clean wilderness, a sane pace of life, and the unique quality of life in Atlantic Canada that, in a sense, tells us who we are.

No responsible discussion of growth centres, even in undergrown Atlantic Canada, can quite avoid the confrontation. This Review has explored the idea of growth centres, and suggested they are promising enough as a development tool to warrant further research. The catch is that if a growth-centre policy works the way it is supposed to work for Atlantic Canada, it will accelerate urbanization, it will accelerate the urban concentration of industry. Unless we are more careful than other people in other places have been we will be welcoming within our own walls the Trojan Horse of troubles that has already wrecked much of the pleasure of being alive in so many cities of the world. Growth inspires increases in job opportunities and average incomes, but jobs and wages are only a means to achieving an end, and the end is a better life than our people have known.

We need growth but the larger questions remain. They are no less stubborn for being cliches. Can we have our cake and eat it, too? Must we shrink spiritually to grow materially? Must we sell our east-coast souls to buy Toronto's living standards? Would that be so bad? How much do we treasure the way of life we say is superior to the urban rat race? In Atlantic Canda, when is big too big? Is there any general agreement at all on the kind of place the Atlantic Provinces should be when our children are as old as we are now?

We are lucky in an odd way. There's a sense in which our very misfortunes have finally left us fortunate. The perpetual depression in Atlantic Canada, the fact that for generations we've been industrially underprivileged, means that we

never got the chance to wreck a lot of our seascapes and countryside. We never got the chance to build the cities where, at best, the pace of life and business are punishing and, at worst, the heart of the place rots, and bubbles in social unrest. If we'd had the chance, we might have done the same things, but we didn't; and now, in some respects anyway, we may find that through losing we have a chance to win. The speed with which Americans and central Canadians are buying recreation land in east-coast Canada indicates that a lot of people know that the Atlantic Provinces are a place, one of the very last accessible places, where things are still as they once were and perhaps should be.

This appeal has already inspired many Canadian scientists, medical men and academics permanently to settle in Atlantic Canada and - if there's to be a propulsive industry in research, higher learning and brainpower down here - we would be rash to promote development till it scuppers such intangibles as our "way of life". A newspaper advertisement of Industrial Estates Limited asks, "How do you equate the crash of industry with the cry of the loon?" The answer is not easy.

Our slow growth has left us with a population of about two million people. They share a land area of 194,000 square miles. If you leave out Labrador, which contains some of the world's most formidable and least populated landscapes, the land area of the Atlantic Provinces shrinks to about 94,000 square miles. That's roughly the size of New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, but the combined population of these states is

almost twenty times greater than ours. The coast of Atlantic Canada stretches for more than 15,000 miles - three times the width of the whole continent - and, over great lengths of this shore, year after year goes by without anyone ever setting foot on it.

There are other "rewards" of underdevelopment. Life is slower here than it is in richer places. The widespread attacks of flu and colds at the opening of the trout and deer seasons are legendary. There is less hassle in the business of life in the Atlantic Provinces. You can safely cross the street in the middle of the block without being a track star. People have time to stop and talk in the street, to help a neighbour. There is sometimes a lyrical sense of life here, even among the poor, that denies the pursuit of money as the only road to happiness. What have "propulsive industries", "dynamic regional economy" and "rapid growth" got to do with this image of our pleasant, unaggressive style of life? What are the sources of the style? Is it something transitory, something that hardship forced on us and prosperity will prove was fragile? Or does it go deeper than that?

And, one wonders, how closely does the image reflect reality? Statistics indicate that the average employee in the Atlantic regions works longer hours for fewer dollars than his counterparts all over Canada. Is he really more interested in escaping to the old fishing hole than he is in making a buck? Finally, assuming this leisurely approach to people and work and daily life is real, what do we think is worth sacrificing in

order to keep it alive?

Is it totally incompatible with the new skyscrapers and the fields of factories in a Toronto or a Los Angeles? Christopher Pratt, the Newfoundland painter, pointed out in a recent television show about his life and work that Newfoundland was indeed industrially backward, perhaps fifty years behind most of North America; but that, curiously, this very fact might mean that it was really fifty years ahead of its time. While the rest of North America would spend the coming decades fighting its way out of the troubles that twentieth-century industry and technology had inflicted upon it, Newfoundland had scarcely known even a whiff of these troubles. Hers were of a different sort. If misfortune can turn to benefit, the backward may yet become a paragon of the future.

In the meantime, it is the present that troubles us with all the penalties that chronic underdevelopment inflicts on our people; lower wages than the rest of Canada, higher unemployment rates, poorer services and, for too many, the nagging awareness that their future in Atlantic Canada is forever shaky. The "pace of life" may not appeal to every father who's been out of work for several months. If combatting pollution means losing factories, you may not find him among the pickets of the ecology movement. There are respects in which the ecology is a high-brow issue. The people who most treasure our "way of life", the most vehement defenders of our air, our water, and our unspoiled shorelines, lie among those with safe jobs and the money to revel in these things. They own cottages and,



ironically, the power boats and snowmobiles and camper vans that assault the silence of what used to be our wilderness. The evidence is that, as poorer people increase their income, they too want water-skis, dune buggies, 50-hp. outboards, and over-land jeeps, and who's to say they cannot have them?

The subject is complex, and the easy statements always turn out to be less than the whole truth. We habitually lament the exodus of our most talented people. We sigh that there is simply not enough economic activity here to keep our young at home, but it is also true that a lot of them leave not because unemployment or narrow prospects have encouraged them to go but, rather, because they simply want to live in a city. They do not treasure the good, slow, meaningful life that their parents may feel down here. Some day, they may. But big cities have always lured the more ambitious and adventurous of our youth from their quiet homelands. The attraction of great cities is older than Rome, as old as the city mouse and the country mouse.

We have no satisfactory formula for the happy resolution of the conflict between the environment and economic development in Atlantic Canada. Nor, so far as we can see, has anyone else. Politicians, newspapers, academics and businessmen suggest from time to time that the solution must come or, more optimistically, that they're working on it and it may be just around the corner. We do not believe that. Unless our people and governments sit down together and agree that the question is of crucial historical importance, unless they agree

to solve it through some unprecedented mechanism or super co-operation, then the Atlantic Provinces will flounder from stop-gap to stopgap, from crutch to crutch, from bandaid to bandaid. Until it is too late. Until, one day, we may wake up to find that we have neither a healthy economy nor a healthy environment, and the quality of our air and water is as grim as the life on our breadlines.

Exaggeration? Perhaps. It is nevertheless clear that something is very wrong with the administrative machinery that our society relies upon to deal with these immensely complicated social, economic and environmental issues. L. E. Poetschke, former executive secretary of the Cabinet Committee on Planning and Programmes of the Government of Nova Scotia, has discussed the government's failure to design new machinery to tackle new problems.

He has described "an apparently unbreakable, self-generating and self-reinforcing circle of administration, politicians, political parties, media and much of the academic world, all of whom are preoccupied with expenditure programs and, with a few notable exceptions, are unable to deal with the systems and processes which are the stuff of socio-economic development".

Poetschke was delivering a paper, on what he called Problems of Dealing with the Problems of Regional and Rural Adjustment, to the joint CEA-CCRD Conference in Winnipeg about two years ago. We quote him now not because people are unaware of the baffling and frustrating situations he described, but because those who deal with government at the planning level

know them only too well, and remain unable to do much about them. For the effect his words have had on most of Canada's public life, Poetschke might as well have been talking to Patagonians; and, if repetition ever achieves anything, his opinions are worth hearing once more:

On the bureaucracy: "The bureaucracy, at all levels, operates in a world which is divided neatly into sectors, responsibilities and jurisdictions. To step outside a boundary is to court displeasure, and for one department to suggest policy changes to another - to better achieve an objective of the first - at best is considered presumptuous.

"...The government structure must be made service, market and systems oriented. This will of necessity be an evolutionary process. It can be started immediately, however, by inserting a mechanism which can work across the government structure with authority and competence to work with any and all groups and interests in the economy and to use the resources of government, university and the private sector to assist in the development of systems that will actually do what people and their representatives really do want done."

We have to decide for ourselves "what people and their representatives really do want done" with regard to development - vs. - our-way-of-life. The answers are here. They are exactly appropriate only to life in our corner of Canada. We will not find them in either invidious or yearning comparisons with things as they are in Toronto and Montreal. The comparisons have become tiresome substitutes for hard thought about our own place in the sun.

We need the hard thought, but what we yearn for are simple answers. There's a widening gap between the policy-makers and administrators, on one side, and the politicians, the press and the general public on the other. Sensitive legislators know they often have little influence on the basic policies of government. And the media, for the most part, simply do not attempt to fathom the intricacies of modern government; they limit their attention to the politics of bread and circuses. Yet, we know something is slipping away from us and periodically the cry goes up, "restore power to the people (Parliament)." At the same time, the populist revival in the United States, and the yearning for the one man who can straighten everything out are reflections of a desire for simplicity, an end to professionalism, and a reluctance to think hard.

Hard thought. Poetschke was not thinking specifically of development - vs. - our-way-of-life but he may have been close to the direction Atlantic Canada must follow to meet its most crucial dilemma head-on. It would be a path of change, and change is the path of survival everywhere. It would be a path of unprecedented co-operation among dozens of federal, provincial and municipal governments; among hundreds of departments and agencies and committees and officials that frequently work now at cross-purposes; and among universities and private business as well. It would be, at last, a path towards a system that would enable us to control, as fully as people can, our own destiny. We should think about that system. We should think about the destiny.

## CHAPTER ONE

## APPROACH TO THE STUDY

## INTRODUCTION: PROBLEM/OPPORTUNITY STATEMENT

The theory and practice of regional development planning has traditionally focused in large part on economic considerations, treating only marginally social and demographic factors. And the prevailing style has been characterized by activities which formed the basis for prediction which led ultimately to prescribed solutions: rationalistic planners studied what had been, analyzed what was currently happening, made some educated guesses at what would probably occur in the future, and offered suggestions for altering that future based upon a variety of normative criteria, usually provided by the political decision-makers and senior civil servants.

Recent literature in the Planning field, however, and some recent pertinent personal experience lead me to believe that the deterministic assumptions characterizing previous planning efforts may be giving way to newer approaches based on the concept of social learning.

Diminishing in influence, it appears, is the long-standing, mutually self-serving dialogue between planners and politicians who asserted that there were certain "basic issues" in every important policy matter that were either too sensitive or too important for the average citizen to understand and deal with. Commanding greater attention and appearing to be adopted

more and more is a style of planning which not only accommodates local involvement, but encourages it, facilitates it, and is becoming characterized by it.

And this appears to be happening at the regional level, long the preserve of agents of federal and provincial governments. The purpose of this study is to examine this perceived shift in the approach to regional development planning to provide some insight into the relationship between public involvement and the regional development process. I will focus my inquiry on a specific effort in this area: the Development Opportunities Project in Pictou County, Nova Scotia, and the local efforts which preceded it.

From September, 1972, through July, 1973, I participated in the Development Opportunities Project. As a Regional Planner on contract to the Nova Scotia Department of Municipal Affairs, I was resident in the Pictou County community and assisted and advised the residents and their governmental and non-governmental organizations in this process. Specifically, I worked with the Pictou County District Planning Commission and its six member municipal councils, while facilitating the involvement of a number of other special interest groups and organizations.

During my involvement in this effort in Pictou County I could see what I felt to be evidence of not only economic growth, but social and political development as well. I could see a group of businessmen mature as they repeatedly confronted problems, experimented, sought new information, tried alternatives, and continued to learn about the ways they could make

wise public investments. I could see a young school teacher take his concerns about the lack of proper and sufficient recreational resources to a newly-created provincial Department of Recreation, put forward his case, buttressed by intimate local knowledge and experience, and return to his community to activate a series of processes designed to respond to those concerns. I could see a farmer's wife, frustrated by years of attempting to influence a school board's budget-conscious decisions, but also acutely aware of the growing community concern with the inadequacies of the County educational system, decide to run again for a municipal council seat, win that seat, and then get herself appointed to the school board. I could see these and many other events and processes taking place.

## OBJECTIVES

What I want to do now is step back and take a long hard look at the approach to regional development planning that was being attempted by the residents of that county and try to learn from that experience.

Before outlining the specific objectives of this study, however, I feel it would be useful for me to describe the line of thinking that led to my selection of this particular subject area.

In his report to the Minister Responsible for Housing, Harvey Lithwick (1970, p. 213) speaks of the inflexible trend towards an urban society in Canada, but finds that "evidence

suggests that beyond some critical point, not easily defined or measured, the interaction between size and rapid growth leads to an acceleration of costs primarily as a result of competing demands for scarce urban land".

Lithwick chooses not to accept the inevitability of a continuation of the present urbanization process, but rather selects the option of managing growth, preserving the benefits while reducing the costs. He believes that the sequential development of new communities is the most suitable approach. Among the strategies to be employed, he says, should be the "building on urban infrastructure already in place in relatively small areas closely linked to the main urban system" (p. 231).

My own thinking closely parallels this progression of ideas. But, to expand a bit, I also look at the urbanization trend from the perspective of the rural region with its particular style of life. For too long, I believe, have the economic, social, cultural, and political aspects of rural living been circumscribed by the requirements of the large urban centers. To be trite, but to restate a truism, I believe that in diversity you will find strength. The people who live in rural regions, and the people who would live in them, given suitable opportunities - these people merit recognition and their desire to maintain and foster an alternative way of living requires serious consideration and appropriate response at every level of government. (This view is shared by Gordon C. Cameron, 1969, p. 207-220, 1970, p. 14-17, and John H. Cumberland, 1971, p. 8-10.)



This viewpoint provides some of the basis of a proposal for action by the Committee of the Senate on Manpower and Employment (1961, p. 6):

The massive migration of the population is neither socially nor economically desirable, and we reject this possibility. Therefore, the other course, namely of providing better opportunities for these people in the areas concerned, must be undertaken with determined effort.

Thoughts such as these have led me to believe that an improved understanding of the processes of development planning in a specific region can assist in future policy-making and actions. Accordingly, the aims of this study are:

1. To describe and analyze the approach to regional planning in Pictou County, Nova Scotia;
2. To compare the Pictou County approach with some of the theories underlying regional development planning;
3. To discover the limitations, hurdles, problems, and/or obstacles and also the advantages inherent in this particular approach.

I am examining a dynamic social process, designed to result primarily in long-term development returns. Because of this, I will not attempt precise quantitative measures of the impact of the Development Opportunities Project, which began a little over two years ago. There can be no "final score" at this time, if indeed there can ever be. Rather, there will be indications of greater or lesser convergence with the ideas or concepts of regional development reviewed in this study.

## METHODOLOGY

The methodology pursued in this study is first to present a background for analysis. To begin understanding the behaviour of individuals and of groups, I believe it is prudent, even necessary, to examine the context in which it occurs.

A theoretical context is presented through a review of literature in these two areas: (1) theories of regional economic growth, generally, and (2) recent planning thought on the theory of social learning and societal change. Given certain time and resource constraints, I offer no exhaustive review, but rather attempt to present the major features of the landscape. Having done this, I then make some preliminary suggestions about what might constitute an appropriate approach for an effective regional development process.

Next, a perspective of government initiatives, both federal and provincial, in regional development planning in Nova Scotia is put forward in a review of some of the appropriate programmes of the departments and agencies. This is done not only for the purpose of providing a background to the Pictou County efforts but also to give relevant examples of programmes which were based on regional economic growth theories.

A community profile of the Pictou County region, followed by a history of the evolution of regional development planning in that county completes the task of presenting the major features of the landscape, to return to the metaphor, and sets up the consideration of the specific effort to be examined.

The Development Opportunities Project is then described in detail. The actors are identified, their institutional relationships are delineated, the aims of the Project are set forth, and the activities flowing from this effort are illustrated. The characteristics of the approach adopted are accented, and for this purpose, the description of the Project is limited to only the first phase which ended in the Fall of 1973.

The previous federal and provincial efforts and the Development Opportunities Project are then examined through the use of logic in light of the theoretical concepts outlined in the initial part of this study. As stated previously, there is no objective rating or score-keeping, and the allusions to "performance standards" are not relevant to this purpose; rather, an attempt is made to relate these approaches to regional development planning to the variety of relevant theories and concepts for the purpose of obtaining insights. Finally, the impacts, or rewards and benefits, of each approach are analyzed and conclusions are drawn.

Partially drawing upon the insights derived from the preceding review of pertinent government programmes, utilizing the first-hand knowledge of the Development Opportunities Project gained from my recent experiences as a participant in it, and quite candidly engaging in a measure of crystal-ball-gazing, I complete the study by making notes on some of the implications of a social learning approach to regional development planning.

## NOTE ON DEFINITIONS

Great confusion exists over the meanings of numerous terms found in the discussions of regional development planning. What is the difference between growth centre and growth pole? What is growth? Development? Can one separate economic and social growth? These are a few examples of the kinds of questions which arise in even a cursory review of planning thought in this area. Throughout this study my response to this dilemma is to make every effort to relate the definitions of terms to the context in which they are used. I realize this presents difficulties in comparing theories and concepts, but I believe this is unavoidable. The difficulties encountered, though, are not insurmountable.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESIS FORMULATION

The purpose of this chapter, as the title suggests, is to provide a theoretical background to guide me in the formulation of an hypothesis. I describe and comment on some of the more traditional theories of regional economic growth and also recent theories of social learning. My examination of those theoretical concepts enables me to begin making some preliminary conclusions about the regional development process.

### THEORIES UNDERLYING REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

#### REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROWTH

How do regions grow in an economic sense? This section presents some partial responses to this question which are provided by a review of the literature in this field. These responses reflect the fact that economic change within a region is determined partly by forces external to the influence of local parties and partly by the local parties themselves through their own decisions and actions (Hoover, 1971, p. 251). However, the theories I have chosen to discuss were also selected because they have been proposed as ways of understanding the origins of regional economic growth, and of appreciating some of the factors involved in sustained growth. These theories have a spatial approach and reflect the dominant theoretical orientation in regional planning.

Three theories are presented: (1) Export Base, (2) Stages-of-Growth, and (3) Growth Poles/Growth Centres. A general description of each is given.

For the purposes of this review, growth refers generally to an activity system that is increasing the scale of its social structures and the quantitative level of its activities (Dunn, 1971).

### Export Base

According to Export Base theory, a region's economic growth, whether one measured it by income or output, depends upon its ability to export. "Growth in a given unit," says Perloff, et. al. (1960, p. 57), ". . . is initiated by the response of the industries within the unit to an increase in demand arising outside the unit itself".

The concept of the export base is based on the following logic:

Base theorists divide the regional economy into two sectors: basic and service. Comprising the basic sector of the economic base of the region are those economic activities whose markets lie outside the region, i.e. those industries which export their final products; the non-basic or service industries are those industries whose markets are contained within the region. A particular activity may of course be partially basic and partially service if it simultaneously serves both markets. (Davis, 1972, p. 2).

The ratio between export activities and service activities, measured in income or employment, is then used as a multiplier. For example, a one-to-one ratio would mean that an increase in exports will cause an equal increase in residential, or service activities. (Tiebout, 1964, p. 256).

The rate at which a region grows, it is suggested, will depend on the rate at which the export base expands in line with the increase in the demand for the regions exportable commodities and services. (Perloff, et. al., 1960, p. 58).

The export base theory appears to be more applicable to a long-term view of a regional economy. C. M. Tiebout (1964) says that the export base is only one of a number of important factors in income determination, and therefore is inapplicable in the short run. He suggests that in the short run, business investment, government expenditures, and the volume of residential construction may be just as autonomous with respect to regional income as are exports.

However, Douglas C. North (1964) who studied the factors of economic growth with a long term point of view, where "the objective is to determine the factors that will affect the decade-to-decade changes in the real aggregate and per capita income of an area" (p. 261) concluded that:

. . . the importance of the economic base is a result of its primary role in determining the level of absolute and per capita income in a region, and therefore in determining the amount of residentiary secondary and tertiary activity that will develop (p. 254).

Even in the long-term, however, the Export Base theory has some limitations. Perloff, et. al., (1960) argue that it doesn't explain very well internal growth sequences. Real life factors just don't respond automatically as elements in a model do:

Residential employment does not adopt passively and automatically to the strategic "region-building" or "city building" industries that have external trade relationships. Nor can all services be viewed as "dependent". Some provide the essential framework for the production of export products and in a real sense are "lead" items...The interrelationships among the various kinds of activities within a region, including the complicated multiplier effects, are critical in regional economic growth (p. 60-61).

In conclusion, it can be stated that economic base theory can help explain in many cases the origins of long-term growth. It falls considerably short, however, in providing insight into the mechanics of sustained economic growth.

### Stages-of-Growth

Elements of the Sector Theory when joined with location factors form the rough basis of the theory of Stages-of-Growth. Although others, for example Losch (1938), and Hoover and Fisher (1949), have sought to explain economic growth by reference to a sequence of stages, W. W. Rostow has probably developed the most thorough treatment of this concept.

Since the mid-1930's, W. W. Rostow has worked on trying to bring modern economic theory to bear on economic history and to relate economic forces to social and political ones in the workings of whole societies. To explain the economic development of societies as interacting organisms, he uses a well-developed Stages-of-Growth theory. While Rostow used this theory to explain the economic development of nations, I have



included it in this present section on regional economic growth because the concepts he offers and the logic he utilizes can offer insight when applied with a degree of prudence to the interactions which take place on sub-national levels.

Rostow (1963, p. xxiv) defines economic growth as "the result of an interacting process involving the economic, social and political sectors of a society, including the emergence of a corps of entrepreneurs who are psychologically motivated and technically prepared regularly to lead the way in introducing new production functions into the economy". Further, a growing economy is described by him as one in which a "relation (exists) between the rates of increase in capital and the working force, on the one hand, and in population, on the other, such that per capita output (not necessarily consumption) is rising" (1960, p. 81). Exactly how this comes about is described by reference to five stages of growth and a dynamic theory of production. Central to his propositions, it should be noted, is the viewpoint that "the economic decisions which determine the rate of growth and productivity of the working force and of capital should not be regarded as governed by the strictly economic motives of human beings" (1960, p. 11).

According to Rostow (1964, p. 4) there are five categories into which all societies can be placed to explain the nature of their economic dimensions. Briefly stated, they are:

(1) the traditional society, (2) the pre-condition for take-off, (3) the take-off, (4) the drive to maturity, and (5) the age of high mass consumption.

The traditional society can be described as capable of expansion in an ad hoc manner and limited by a "ceiling (resulting) from the fact that the potentialities which flow from modern science and technology were either not available or not regularly and systematically applied" (Rostow, 1964, p. 4).

The second stage of growth includes those societies which are in the process of transition from the traditional society to the take-off stage. This is a time when the pre-conditions for take-off are developed. Modern history shows that this usually resulted from some intrusion by some external, more advanced society. Entrepreneurs came forward, willing to take risks to obtain possible profits or modernization. Investment increased, usually in transport and communications. But all this activity proceeded at the traditional society pace - the old social structure and values still dominated and regionally-based political institutions held strong. "In many cases," Rostow points out, "the traditional society persisted side by side with modern economic activities, conducted for limited economic purposes by a colonial or quasi-colonial power" (1947, p. 7).

The take-off stage is characterized by old traditional resistance finally being broken down and "compound interest

becomes built, as it were, into (the society's) habits and institutional structure" (Rostow, 1964, p. 7). The stimulus for this take-off is mainly technological. Three elements are seen as necessary for this surge forward: (1) a build-up of social overhead capital, (2) a bursting forth of technological development in industry and agriculture, and (3) the emergence to political power of a group willing and able to handle and foster the modernization of the economy (Rostow, 1964, p. 8).

The fourth stage encompasses the drive to maturity. The growing economy pushes outward to reach all sectors through the application of modern technology. Maturity is formally defined as "the stage in which an economy demonstrates the capacity to move beyond the original industries which powered its take-off and to absorb and apply efficiently over a very wide range of its resources - if not the whole range - the most advanced fruits of (then) modern technology" (Rostow, 1964, p. 10).

The age of high mass consumption, or fifth stage, is described as a state in which a society moves towards durable consumers' goods and services and chooses to allocate, through the political process, increased resources to social welfare and security.

While these stages may appear to be descriptive, they are not; they have an inner logic and continuity, rooted in the dynamic theory of production, according to Rostow (1964, p. 12 and 1960, p. 307). This dynamic theory of production can be summarized thusly: there is a framework set by supply and demand

forces which determines the total level of output. Out of this comes sectoral optimum positions. Now on the demand side this framework is determined largely by levels of income, of population, and by the character of tastes, and on the supply side by the state of technology and the quality of entrepreneurship, this determining the proportion of technically available and potentially profitable innovations. Rostow (1960, p. 309) says that "the economic history of growing societies takes a part of its rude shape - as a first approximation - from the effort of societies to approximate the optimal sectoral paths." Recognition is made of the fact that sectors expand at different rates, due in part to the discontinuity of production functions and also from high price or income elasticities of demand. Social decisions and policies of government also affect demand for resources in terms which transcend conventional market processes. These broad collective decisions outside the market place along with the dynamics of market demand (in addition to risk-taking, technology, and entrepreneurship) have worked together in different ways to determine the make-up of the different stages of growth (Rostow, 1960, p. 310, and 1964, p. 15).

### Growth Poles/Growth Centres

The meanings of the terms "growth poles" and "growth centres" have been a continuing concern to many. Darwent (1969, p. 5), among others, including myself, have asked the question,

"Are we speaking of places or phenomena that have grown, that are growing, that are predicted to grow, or that (in the normative sense) we wish to see grow in the future? No clear answer has emerged from my review of the literature. The following paragraphs relate some of my findings.

The theory of growth poles was first introduced by Francois Perroux (1950, p. 89-109) who was referring to economic space, rather than geographic. Economic space is described as a field of forces, and growth poles, says Perroux (1950, p. 27), are ". . . centers (poles or focii) from which centrifugal forces emanate and to which centripetal forces are attracted. Each center being a center of attraction and repulsion has its proper field which is set in the field of all other centers." These poles are firms or industries, or groups of them, and "are best regarded simply as sectors of an economy represented by an input-output matrix in which growth effects can be transmitted across the rows and columns" (Darwent, 1969, p. 5).

Growth takes place when one firm comes to dominate others. This dominant firm, or economic unit, to be more precise, is known as a "propulsive unit" and has three features: (1) a high degree of dominance (of output), (2) large size, and (3) high interaction with many other firms. Perroux puts forth the position that the process an economic unit employs to become dominant, to grow rapidly, is the force that makes the whole economy grow.

Where this process takes place forms the subject matter for the theory of "growth centres", locations in geographic space. The link between the pole and its location is probably best demonstrated by Isard and Schooler (1959): they developed an inter-activity input-output matrix for the elements of an industrial complex. By doing this, "they (were) able to deal with the choice of what to invest in (the growth pole), simultaneously with considerations of optimum size of each of the elements of the complex, the scale economics involved, and the transport costs of each of the inputs and outputs. The linear programming solution to this (gives) the optimum location for the optimum combination of linked processes in a complex, in terms of the maximization of some objective function - say profits" (Darwent, 1969, p. 12).

While "growth poles" theory relied on the big firm or big industry as the basis for growth, "growth centres" theory seems to recognize more of the complexity of industrial growth. "Growth centres" are usually areas where one is quite likely to find "agglomeration economics". They are usually urban concentrations which are likely to have a large and diversified pool of labour, reduced transportation costs because it is a large market in a small area, a broad range of financial services, communications facilities, etc. And while the notion of agglomeration economics doesn't explain how a growth centre comes into existence, it does help to explain why success in growth and development breeds more success (Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, 1972, p. 16, and Hirschman, 1958). Thomas Wilson

(1964, p. 16-17) offers the following rationale for growth centres:

It is necessary to recognize that manufacturing cannot be scattered in small pockets all over the country in an attempt to bring more work of this kind to every district where there happens to be excessive unemployment. While isolated factories will sometimes succeed and should, of course, be given any reasonable facility that will enable them to do so, experience everywhere shows that some geographic concentration of industry is desirable. An urban centre is also necessary if much progress is to be made in extending office employment. It is for these reasons that particular attention should be paid to centres of growth.

Edgar Hoover (1971, p. 276-277), in an outline of basic strategy issues for regional development assistance, views growth centres in much the same way, stressing efficiency in the allocation of government spending and manpower in a regional development effort:

One of the four basic issues of regional development assistance strategy concerns the focusing of such assistance upon a relatively small number of selected growth centres at which there exists or can easily be created the necessary conditions for expanding employment opportunity, and especially the public infrastructure and the external economies that most activities require. Such growth centres are then expected to attract commuters and migrants from surrounding areas of labour surplus, and at the same time to stimulate secondary growth of employment in some of those areas.

John Friedmann (1966) discusses the spatial incidence of regional economic development in terms of a center-periphery model. The impetus for growth is usually external (the periphery), the export of a primary product or resource to

other areas or nations. Friedmann says the interaction of the center with the periphery is dependent upon socio-political structure and distribution of incomes and expenditures within the region. Local investment and government infrastructure are necessary, and this is dependent on the quality of local leadership. This is encouraged by a decentralized administration providing opportunities for local decision-makers. A hierarchy of cities and towns emerges and this is evidence of increasing spatial integration, and therefore development. Growth, says Friedmann, is proportional to the size of an agglomeration (Darwent, 1969, p. 17-18).

In summary, "growth pole" theory as advanced by Perroux and others describes the notion of economic growth occurring as an economic firm or unit propels itself into dominance over other units. It has some explanatory value, I believe, but its utility as a tool needs to be examined further. "Growth centre" theory, on the other hand, tries to explain in a normative manner the interactions within the total economic space of a given geographic region. The notion of agglomeration economies and a belief that economic growth, after being initially localized, would spread to surrounding communities are basic assumptions of this theory.



## SOCIAL LEARNING

Recent thinking on the processes of regional development planning shows an increasing tendency to consider it in the context of more complex functional systems that are related to concepts of behavioural change. Development rather than growth is the emphasis. For a working definition of development I turn again to Edgar S. Dunn, Jr. (1971): "Development implies that an activity system is transformed in the mode of its behaviour (p. 9)".

Strategies for regional economic growth in depressed areas have begun to recognize the importance of human development. The stimulation of human creative potential is being viewed as possibly not only a significant, but necessary factor in the process.

And more recently, theorists are advancing the notion that social change is actually based on a complex, non-deterministic learning process. This process is characterized by evolutionary experimentation.

This section relates in more detail my investigation of these thoughts in the relevant literature.

### Entrepreneurship Development

The driving force initiating economic and social changes has been called by some researchers "entrepreneurship", and a body of theory has been developed to explain its processes. According to McClelland (1971, p. 109), this theory

focuses on the human values and motives that lead man to exploit opportunities, to take advantage of favourable trade conditions, in short, to shape his own destiny.

In writing about the problems and potentials of a lagging economy in East Kentucky, Mary Jean Bowman and W. Warren Haynes (1963) define underdevelopment as a "large gap between what has been realized and the potentials of an area" (p. 280-81). They say this relates to not only physical growth, but also, more basically, to the formation of human capital.

More normatively, Donald Schon (1966) argues that more emphasis must be put on the men who can apply and commercialize research.

Joseph Schumpeter, more than any other person, has advanced this body of theory which focuses on the development of entrepreneurship. He begins by bringing forward his own definition of development: "(It) involves changes in economics as are not forced upon it from without, but arise by its own initiative, from within. . . . It is a spontaneous and discontinuous change. . . which forever alters and displaces the equilibrium state previously existing (so much) . . . that the new one cannot be reached from the old one by infinitesimal steps. Add successively as many mail coaches as you please, you will never get a railway thereby" (Schumpeter, 1971, p. 45-6).

Development, according to this theory, is really entrepreneurship in action, or as Schumpeter (1971, p. 47) calls it ". . . the carrying out of new combinations (of productive

means)". This means ". . . the different employment of the economic system's existing supplies of productive means" (p. 48-49).

This concept, says Schumpeter (1971), covers five cases:

- (1) the introduction of a new good, or a new quality of good;
- (2) the introduction of a new method of operation;
- (3) the opening of a new market;
- (4) conquest of a new source of supply of raw materials or half-manufactured goods;
- (5) the carrying out of a new organization of any industry (e.g. the creation of a monopoly, or breaking up of a monopoly).

Who is the special kind of person who carries out these new combinations? Kilby (1971) describes the entrepreneur as one who has the intuitional capacity to view things in a way which afterwards proves correct, the energy of will and mind to overcome fixed habits of thought, and the capacity to withstand the inevitable social opposition. He has a desire for achievement, says McClelland (1971, p. 114), rather than for money, is willing to take moderate risk, and desires to assume personal responsibility for decisions.

In order for this entrepreneur to carry out new combinations, Schumpeter says he must have command over means of production, and this relates directly to, and emphasizes, the

significance of credit. "The possessor of wealth," Schumpeter (1971, p. 50) says, "even if it is the greatest combine, must resort to credit if he wishes to carry out a new combination, which cannot, like an established business, be financed by returns from previous production".

How an entrepreneur gets the sums to purchase the means of production he needs to carry out the new combinations is actually a new combination in itself. Traditionally, and characteristically in a growing economy, these sums came "out of the annual growth of social savings plus that part of resource which may annually become free" Schumpeter, 1971, p. 51-52).

But there is another way, a way which has special relevance for depressed areas because it does not presuppose the existence of accumulated results of previous development. This new method of getting the money for production is the creation of purchasing power by banks out of nothing. Schumpeter suggests bank notes not fully covered by specie withdrawn from circulation, different methods of deposit banking (where they increase the sum total of possible expenditure), and bank acceptances in so far as they serve as money to make payments in wholesale trade (p. 52).

The banker assumes a new role now. He is not a middle-man, merely transferring sums of money which translate into purchasing power. The banker actually produces purchasing power by his willingness to invest in human potential, and becomes an entrepreneur himself.

A number of other writers who have offered strategies for overcoming the seemingly intractable problems of depressed areas have also come to the position that a good place to start is with the people who live there. Harry Caudill in his classic Night Comes to the Cumberlandds (1962) speaks so very eloquently of the need for a proper educational system. Mary Jean Bowman and W. Warren Haynes (1963) also argue that the fundamental and highest priority is a continuously improving school system, touching all groups, becoming part of every aspect of life "until the hills are saturated with it". Stanley Foster Reed (1964) in writing about West Virginia says that where a community has lost its receptivity to new ways of making a living, it must be re-educated. This must take place for one primary reason, he says, namely the revival of the lost art of entrepreneurship (p. 30).

### Societal Guidance

Learning among groups of people and an active approach to societal decision-making is presented in a more comprehensive way by Amitai Etzioni in The Active Society: A Theory of Societal and Political Processes (1968).

People relate to one another in collectivities, Etzioni says, which are large units with a potential capacity to act by drawing upon a set of normative bonds which tie together members of a stratification category. This societal unit has transformability, meaning that it has not only the ability to

to generate adaptive changes or to restore new stability to an old unit, but also to bring about a new pattern (p. 121).

How is this mobilization accomplished? Etzioni does not view level of commitment as given, but rather as a dynamic quality (p. 388). Level of commitment, he states, is affected largely by the change in the capacity to control and use assets. The processes of this change "entail a more or less permanent modification of the boundaries of the system or its structure - its patterns of integration and organization" (p. 390). Boundary modification, in turn, is characterized by an increasing number of collective projects - and this is the key to the take-off stage of mobilization (p. 403).

A project is defined by Etzioni as a "concerted effort which entails the focusing of energy and a comparatively intensive and guided activity oriented towards specific tasks" (p. 403). The reasons that a project acts as a societal catalyst are three:

- (1) projects dispel "walls", psychologically built, and release blocked energy;
- (2) walls may be real, but a project may suffice to remove them;
- (3) projects can build collective consciousness of these constraints, even though at present they cannot be moved or removed (p. 403).

Finally, projects involve an internal change in the mobilizing units because they bring new personal and collective commitments. And Etzioni says that "there is growing evidence

that the most effective way to commit a person (to change) is for him to act, to participate, in a 'sample' of the intended line of action" (p. 404).

In the process of societal activation, Etzioni states that not only do more people gain a share in society, thereby reconstituting its structure, but the members themselves are transformed. He observes that there exists a need for dynamic interchange between personal self-realization and societal action (p. 11, 15). Edgar S. Dunn, Jr. (1971) calls this the interface between individual and social group learning.

#### Mutual Learning Through Innovation and Experimentation

The concept of social learning is further refined by those who extend the description of the process to include mutual learning through innovation and experimentation.

Reg. Lang (1972b) argues that the community decision process is a continuously operating open system of monitoring, feedback, and changed perception. Planning and implementation, he says, are part of a single operation which is basically a learning process rather than a predictive one.

Stephen Grabow and Allan Heskin present a similar case in "Foundations for a Radical Concept of Planning" (1973). They say a new paradigm is rising to challenge the "rational-comprehensive" model of modern planning. This paradigm "is based on systems change and the realization of a decentralized communal society which facilitates human development by fostering an appreciation of an ecological ethic based on the evolutionary process: spontaneity and experimentation" (p. 109).

Edgar S. Dunn, Jr., in Economic and Social Development (1971), says that the learning organism in the human species has reached the point where learning has become largely socialized because the dominant aspect of the individual organism's learning environment is the presence of and the sharing with other learning organisms. This process of social learning is one of evolutionary experimentation, an activity of problem solving and hypothesis testing of quite a different character (p. 239-41).

The social learning process, according to Dunn, is different from the experimental process known to classical science in the following ways:

The basic point of departure is the fact that the social system experimenter is not exogenous to the system. He exists as an endogenous component of the system he is attempting to understand and transform. He is not dealing with the understanding and design of fully deterministic systems. He is immersed in the act of social system self-analysis and self-transformation. He is the agent of social learning - a purposive, self-actuating but not fully deterministic process. He is not interested to the same degree in establishing universals because the social system which engages his activity is phenomenologically unique and both its structure and function are temporary in character. He is engaged, rather, in formulating and testing developmental hypothesis. The developmental hypothesis is a presupposition that, if the organization and behaviour of a social system were to be modified in a certain way, the goals of the system would be more adequately realized. This development hypothesis is not tested repeatedly under nearly identical or controlled conditions. Rather, it is tested by the degree to which goal convergence is realized as a result of the experimental design. Problem solving hypothesis formulation and testing - is an iterative, sequential series of adaptations of an adaptable, goal-seeking, self-actuating system. It can be characterized as evolutionary experimentation (p. 241). (Emphasis mine.)



Disparities are usually defined in statistical terms rather than the "disparity between what individuals, neighborhoods, communities, and regions are and what they could become," says L. E. Poetschke (1972, p. 57). In "Regional Planning in a Dynamic Planning Process" Poetschke says that public wisdom seems to be stating that development is something people do, not governments:

Planning which is relevant in this world would be a process to support and strengthen the indigenous capacity of people to define their aspirations and opportunities and develop capability to manage and control their own destiny - a process of growth in human terms (p. 57).

Poetschke goes on to describe an evolutionary process of experimentation:

The guidelines for action would not be regulation but a concept of a desirable and feasible direction for evolution. Actions would be judged on the basis of whether they reinforce or undermine the desirable evolutionary process, not whether they conform to arbitrarily established administrative criteria. Within this framework, planning and technical capability would be directed to working with interest groups, neighborhood groups, investors, and others to help them take innovative action which reinforces strategy (p. 61).

John Friedmann also believes in a participant-dominated process of social change which focuses on institutional change. However, he more strongly emphasizes mutual learning. "Participant planning", says Friedmann (1973c, p. 76), "occurs under conditions where power to implement decisions resides in community forms of social organization and consequently is dispersed". For this process to work effectively, however, he says that there must be a forging of a personal relation between expert and client actor, that is, the adopting of a "transactive" style of planning.

"Transactive planning," says Friedmann (1973c), "changes knowledge into action through an unbroken sequence of interpersonal relations" (p. 171). He calls this the "Life of Dialogue". Since Kas Kalba (1974) calls this definition soap opera of a high intellectual order, I think it might be useful to probe a bit further into Friedmann's explanation.

Dialogue, says Friedmann (1973c), means a willingness to open yourself to others. It means an acceptance of others and their differences. And this he believes can only lead to a process of mutual self-discovery.

What does dialogue presume? Since relationships cannot always be harmonious between persons different from each other, dialogue must presume a relation in which conflict is accepted. However, it also presumes total communication, in which gestures and other modes of expression are as vital to meaning as that which is actually said. It presumes a relation of shared interests and commitments, of reciprocity, mutual obligations, and suggests intimacy and a continuing process of mutual learning (Friedmann, 1973c, p. 177-181).

## AN INITIAL ANALYSIS

## PREDICTION AND PLANNING

In the economic growth concepts presented in the first part of this chapter, prediction and planning have a very defined role. According to Edgar S. Dunn, Jr., (1971), "prediction is directed to anticipating changes in the external parameters of

the system, (and) planning is addressed to the efficient co-ordination, or specification of the subsystem interrelationships" (p. 17-18).

I believe it is important to point out here that the focus of these conventional economic growth theories is on external factors. Internal changes are relegated to being classified as adaptation. Changes in behaviour are due chiefly to changes in scale brought about by external stimuli.

Prediction and planning are carried out within a deterministic framework. A final state is adopted and every effort is directed toward reaching it. This type of activity, according to Dunn (1971), places the burden of explanation and prediction upon the behaviour of linked exogenous systems. Those systems must, however, encounter resource limits to their expansion and to the expansion of their demand for resource exchange with linked systems.

The other models of social change presented in the second part of this chapter incorporate non-deterministic processes. They tell us that social change is the product of an open process of social learning, creative and not programmed. Dunn (1971) says this process has a learning capacity that is endogenous in character and does not depend on external agents; new behaviour is instigated by the system's own purposes (p. 29-30). This social learning is described as a process of evolutionary experimentation.

Prediction, then, is not prophecy. Rather, it takes the form of a developmental hypothesis. Planning is not

engineering. Planning, according to Dunn (1971), takes the form of conducting an experiment, that is, testing the developmental hypothesis in action (p. 133-4).

#### AN HYPOTHESIS

This study seeks to obtain insights into the relationship between public involvement and the regional development process. It is a search for an approach that will better foster social change.

In this chapter I have reviewed literature relating to two major bodies of thought relevant to this inquiry. I examined first the more traditional theories of regional economic growth, and secondly, I analyzed the more recent theories of social learning.

On the basis of this cursory literature review, I believe I can make some preliminary suggestions concerning the regional development process. It appears that the traditional economic growth models do not help us very much in understanding what is fundamentally involved. I would suggest that regional well-being could be fostered more effectively through an approach that seeks to strengthen social learning rather than have a direct impact on employment and individual income. A degree of experimentation seems to be desirable to promote the ability of local communities to assess their problems and opportunities to take appropriate action.

The next chapter outlines a regional development planning process in which I participated: the Development Opportunities Project. I use it as a rudimentary test of this initial analysis.

## CHAPTER THREE

## REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN PICTOU COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA

This chapter begins with an outline of the intentions of a number of recent federal and Nova Scotia provincial initiatives designed to carry out policies for regional development planning. Next, a community profile of Pictou County is presented which describes in limited detail the history and living environment of the place nearly 50,000 Nova Scotians call home. Following this background, the attempts of Pictou County residents to bring about desirable social change is described fully. These efforts at organizing at the regional level to deal with common problems are shown to be the beginnings of a learning process that leads them to a more experimental and less regulatory approach to planning and development. The final section of the chapter describes the formal initiation of the developmental planning process in Pictou County, an effort called the Development Opportunities Project.

A PERSPECTIVE OF FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL INITIATIVES IN  
REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

## AGRICULTURAL REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT ACT

In December, 1960, Alvin Hamilton, then Minister of Agriculture, introduced the following resolution in the Commons:

That it is expedient to introduce a measure to authorize the Minister of Agriculture to enter into agreements with provincial governments or agencies thereof for the undertaking jointly with those governments or agencies of projects for the alternative uses of lands that are of marginal or of low productivity, projects for the development of income and employment opportunities in rural agricultural areas, and projects for the development and conservation of the soil and water resources of Canada. . . (Brewis, 1969, p. 104).

And so, in 1961, the first fully national programme to combat inappropriate land use and its attendant rural poverty was established under the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (ARDA). The introductory paragraphs of the First Agreement expressed the desire of the co-signing governments:

...of facilitating the economic adjustment of rural areas and of increasing the income and employment opportunities and improving the standards of living of people in rural areas... of improving the use and productivity of resources in rural areas (Buckley and Tihanyi, 1967, p. 93).

ARDA programmes and policies required formal co-operation and agreement between the Federal and Provincial governments and entailed a sharing of the costs. The provincial government had the responsibility for policy direction and expenditures within their own boundaries. The federal government advised and made recommendations but it was clearly up to the provinces to select the programmes they wanted from among those authorized under the agreements signed pursuant to the legislation. Research projects, which the federal government could initiate and carry out, were the only exception (Brewis, 1969, p. 107).

With these kinds of ground rules, ARDA became "essentially a collection of provincial programmes" with considerable federal influence. How ARDA functioned, though, actually depended on the wishes of the provinces (Buckley and Tihanyi, 1967, p. 96).

Even though the First Agreement gave recognition to economic and social problems in rural agricultural areas, ARDA funds were used mainly to promote efficiency of land utilization and to "underwrite projects of physical resources development" (Canada, Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1969, p. 35). On data based on tabulations received from the Department of Forestry and Rural Development, Buckley and Tihanyi (1967, p. 98) found about seventy-one percent in land use and soil and water development related projects, only 12.1 percent in people-centered rural development, and approximately seventeen percent research.

#### AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

On April 1, 1965, a Second Agreement was signed between the federal government and the provinces which focused on the problem of rural poverty through an expansion of the types of programmes and projects authorized. This new orientation is reflected initially in the name change to Agricultural and Rural Development Act (ARDA II). ARDA II consisted of the following eight parts (Buckley and Tihanyi, 1967, p. 99 and Brewis, 1969, p. 112):



- (1) Research
- (2) Land Use and Farm Adjustment (involving the establishment of viable farms through enlargement of regrouping as well as withdrawal from agriculture of farmland areas unsuitable for that purpose)
- (3) Rehabilitation (of the underemployed)
- (4) Rural Development Staff and Training Services
- (5) Rural Development Areas (increased assistance to areas in need)
- (6) Special Rural Development Areas (carrying out of comprehensive rural development programmes)
- (7) Public Information Services (expansion of these services to encourage community interest and support)
- (8) Soil and Water Conservation.

While expanded budget funds accompanied these new areas, none was as extensive as those authorized for Special Rural Development Areas. In 1966 legislation was passed allocating \$50 million for the Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED) which was earmarked for comprehensive rural development programmes. In March, 1967, this fund was increased to \$300 million (Canada, Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1969, p. 36).

The Special Rural Development Area programme comprised the following components:

- (1) physical, economic and social studies and investigations to determine the development problems and potentials of the area;
- (2) the involvement of local people through the establishment of rural development committees or similar bodies;

- (3) the preparation of comprehensive rural development plans, incorporating a broad range of projects to increase income and employment opportunities and to raise standards of living (Poetschke, 1968b, p. 3).

It appears, then, that the accumulating experience in rural development planning that began under the First Agreement under ARDA helped to shift the emphasis of the new Agreement to a more regional orientation (Wilson, 1973). Brewis (1969) points out that it soon became apparent to all involved in ARDA that a more comprehensive approach had to be taken towards the problems of rural (not just agriculture-related) poverty and that a major effort was needed in the development of the human resources in rural areas. The new emphasis, he says, was clearly on "program to help rural people to re-establish themselves in new employment or to resettle in areas where improved opportunities exist" (p. 111).

The 1965 Agreements and the 1966 FRED legislation were turning points, according to Brewis (1969). FRED plans, he says, for rural development may lead into the broader field of industrial structure. He cites discussions relating to the ARDA plan for Northern Nova Scotia: "The basic problem (in this area of Nova Scotia) is thought to be an inefficient and declining industrial sector; without improvements in this sector, action to improve productivity in agriculture, fisheries, and forestry may only aggravate the problem of low-incomes and under-employment" (p. 128). This was apparent to L. E. Poetschke, Director of Policy and Planning for ARDA, when he stated:

The strategy of planning for this area has not yet been completed. It is our view, however, that the main emphasis must be on the development of manufacturing and service activities. Moreover, we expect that the program cannot be based on further support for the inefficient industries or on expansion of the existing small and regionally market-oriented manufacturing activities which are at present characteristic of the area. The objective must be accomplished through the promotion of developments which take advantage of the area's locational and natural features, and which will entail a change in the total structure of the industrial sector, moving it towards large efficient operations oriented to export markets (1968c, p. 13).

FRED programmes have necessitated the joint co-operation in plans for development. In fact, the evaluation of co-operation between the two levels of government, according to Brewis, (1969), might be the most important factor in an evaluation of ARDA policies.

#### THE ATLANTIC DEVELOPMENT BOARD

The causes contributing to the slow economic growth of the Atlantic provinces were investigated in the mid 1950's as part of the enquiries of the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects (the Gordon Commission). The Commissioners believed that the appropriate response to these problems was considerable expenditures on infrastructure, that is, the development of basic public facilities and resources, including a transportation system and sources of power. In addition, they recognized that an increased awareness and knowledge of the resources of the region and better land use was desirable (Brewis, 1969, p. 172-4).

Even though the Gordon Commission revealed its findings in 1957, it wasn't until 1962 that the government expressed its intentions to establish an advisory board for the Atlantic region. And after much debate, it was finally concluded that this board would have to be more than just advisory. Consequently, in December of 1962, the Atlantic Development Board (ADB) was established. The 5-member Board, however, had only advisory powers. But in July, 1963, an amendment to the Atlantic Development Board Act increased the size of the Board to eleven and provided it with an operational budget of \$100 million (increased to \$150 million in 1966) to invest in infrastructure and evolve a planning framework for the development of the region (Wilson, 1973, p. 129).

According to the legislation, the Board could inquire into various measures and projects for fostering the economic growth and development of the Atlantic region even if these measures didn't require use of the fund (Brewis, 1969, p. 176-7). In doing this, the Board had a number of statutory options available to them. The more important among them were the systematic and comprehensive assessment of factors relevant to economic growth in the Atlantic region, the preparation, in consultation with the Economic Council of Canada, an over-all co-ordinated plan for the promotion of the economic growth of the region, and subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council, the entering into agreements with Atlantic provinces for undertaking projects or programmes which in the Board's opinion would contribute to the growth and development of the economy of the region and for which satisfactory financing

arrangements were not otherwise available (Brewis, 1969, p. 177).

#### THE CAPE BRETON DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

In an effort to establish a new economic base for Cape Breton to replace the declining steel and coal resource, the federal and Nova Scotia provincial governments jointly set up the Cape Breton Development Corporation (DEVCO) in July, 1967.

DEVCO was given the responsibility "to acquire, re-organize, and manage the coal mining interests of the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation and to help promote and finance the development of modern industry on the island within the context of a comprehensive economic development plan covering both the Cape Breton area and eastern Nova Scotia" (Brewis, 1969, p. 216).

The statute setting up DEVCO gave it \$25 million for a Coal Division and \$20 million for an Industrial Development Division. The Coal Division fund has basically subsidized the coal operation. The Industrial Development Division operates as a business operation with unusual motives. After deciding on plant location, DEVCO provides all the capital on a loan basis, as well as free technical services, and then "they" have the opportunity to buy DEVCO out and take over the operation as soon as they are ready and able to do so (Kent, 1972).

Whereas most public regional development corporations have been provincially established and have co-operated closely with the federal government, DEVCO is unique in Canada as being

the only case of a primarily federal crown corporation accepting direct working responsibility in the field.

#### DEPARTMENT OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC EXPANSION

To strengthen the efforts of the federal government to reduce regional disparities, the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) was established in April, 1969. This new Department brought together all regionally-oriented federal development programmes to provide an integrated co-ordinated approach to regional development.

Generally speaking, DREE policies emphasize three main elements, (1) the planning process, (2) urban growth poles, and (3) the mechanism of growth in urban growth poles (Gertler, 1972, p. 75-6).

The legislation empowers the Minister to designate "special areas" where employment opportunities are severely limited. He can then formulate and carry out development plans for the social adjustment and economic expansion of these areas. The emphasis here, contrary to ARDA policy of investment in marginal and mainly rural areas, is on "finding and building on the points of strength in a regional economy" (Kent, 1969). These plans can be effected through joint agreements with the provinces, with the federal government providing financial support of the province's effort at implementing the development plan. And also within these special areas the Minister can provide grants or loans to a province for economic infrastructure and special incentives to a commercial undertaking,

all for the purpose of successful implementation of the development plan.

A second piece of legislation came into effect on August 7, 1969 which granted the Minister the power to offer financial inducements to industry to initiate or expand its operations to certain designated regions. Called the Regional Development Incentives Act, this legislation set up the programme which was to offset part of the initial capital costs in establishing expanding, or modernizing certain manufacturing or processing enterprises.

In 1972, a policy review was undertaken by DREE staff to assess the results of their efforts. This was completed as a basis for the Minister's talks with the provincial premiers in the Spring of 1973. A number of reports resulted from that policy review. I believe it would be useful to relate briefly some of the points made in the report entitled "Nova Scotia: Economic Circumstances and Opportunities" (Canada, Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1973b).

The message of the report is quite clear: Nova Scotia's economic growth will depend considerably on the extent of local community involvement in both planning and implementation of development objectives. It said that improved performance, responsiveness and viability in each sector of the Nova Scotia's economy, could provide a strong framework to which groups of communities could relate their efforts to foster development. Initiated at the local level, this action would in itself contribute to strengthening of the sectors.

More importantly, though, the report said that deliberate initiatives of their own on the part of groups of communities would generate quite a bit more in the way of potential for development, and could enable them to accept intrusions from outside systems on terms negotiated to their best advantage. The report quite clearly showed that the ability of communities and to take independent action could be a critical element for provincial and regional social and economic development.

Though this report suggests a departure from the traditional approach used by DREE to assist regional development, no policies or programmes have emanated from it.

#### NOVA SCOTIA DEPARTMENT OF MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

The responsibility for regional economic development planning in Nova Scotia rests with the Provincial government. The organizational structure to carry it out was formally established in 1969 with the adoption of the Nova Scotia Planning Act (Chapter 16, April 25, 1969). However, Reg Lang in Nova Scotia - Municipal and Regional Planning in the Seventies (1973) points out this did not mean the Province itself must or should do all the regional planning, rather "the Province assumes the ultimate responsibility for initiating the formulation of regional plans and programmes and for ensuring that agreement on them is reached" (p. 98-9).

The Department of Municipal Affairs has the direct responsibility for implementing the Planning Act. The Nova



Scotia Department of Development provides economic support service to Municipal Affairs.

Two parts of the Act establish the framework for bringing economic policy and intermunicipal issues together in a provincial-municipal consultation process that results in regional development strategies/plans and programmes. Part II - Regional Development Plans describes procedures for designating planning regions, specifies the content of a Regional Development Plan, and outlines the process of development control under a Regional Development Plan. Part IV - District Planning Commissions outlines the administrative vehicle for intermunicipal and regional planning.

The evaluation of regional planning method and priority areas recognized by the Department of Municipal Affairs has resulted in two basic approaches:

- (1) Regional Studies within District Planning Commission areas, and
- (2) Preparation of regional development plans and supporting studies in the two "Special Areas" designated by the Department of Regional Economic Expansion.

District Planning Commissions are composed of elected representatives of member municipal units which achieve inter-municipal planning and development controls through shared finances and technical planning staff. Department of Municipal Affairs cost shares 50 percent of the operating expenses with the District Planning Commission. There are District Planning Commissions in operation in the following five areas:

- (1) Pictou County
- (2) Industrial Cape Breton

- (3) Annapolis Valley
- (4) Lunenburg
- (5) Halifax-Dartmouth (MAPC-2)

There are two "Special Areas" designated by DREE,  
(1) Metropolitan Halifax-Dartmouth and (2) the Strait of Canso.  
The regional planning section of the Department of Municipal  
Affairs has been active in preparing regional development  
interim plans and background studies in both of these areas.

#### NOVA SCOTIA DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT

Previously called the Department of Trade and  
Industry, the Department of Development was formally established  
in 1971 to:

- (1) Administer and co-ordinate economic develop-  
ment activities of the province;
- (2) Co-ordinate the formulation of future  
development policies;
- (3) Provide liaison with and service to the  
Federal Government, other agencies of the  
Provincial Government and provincial  
industry and commerce;
- (4) Promote the trade and commerce of Nova  
Scotia; and
- (5) Perform related economic studies and analyses  
(N. S. Department of Development, 1973a).

The Department's branches are designed to focus  
maximum capability in the key areas of its responsibility. The  
following lists them and briefly outlines their functions:

- (1) Industry Operations - promotes and assists new  
and existing Nova Scotia business;

- (2) Industry Services - provides diversified services to existing and potential industry, advises on transportation, communication, production and marketing, accumulates and disseminates information on various forms of incentives from all sources, and identifies and follows-up export sales potential and opportunities for N. S.-based industries;
- (3) Planning and Economics - identifies new opportunities and assesses the relationship of economic development to other factors such as urban planning, social services and physical infrastructure, collects and analyzes economic and social data, and provides economic support service for regional planning efforts of the Department of Municipal Affairs;
- (4) Special Projects - supports financially, Nova Scotia enterprises experiencing difficulties and provides "task force" capability for major development possibilities;
- (5) Nova Scotia Development Board - acts as approving body for loans and is responsive instrument for the implementation of provincial development policies, especially in fisheries, tourism, agriculture, and certain forestry sectors;
- (6) Finance and Administration - performs internal departmental accounting.

## PICTOU COUNTY COMMUNITY PROFILE

The purpose of this section is to trace some of the social and economic forces which produced the Pictou County community.

Pictou County is located on the north side of the Nova Scotia peninsula, bounded northerly by the Northumberland Strait, easterly by Antigonish County, southerly by Guysborough County, and westerly by Colchester County (see Figure 1).

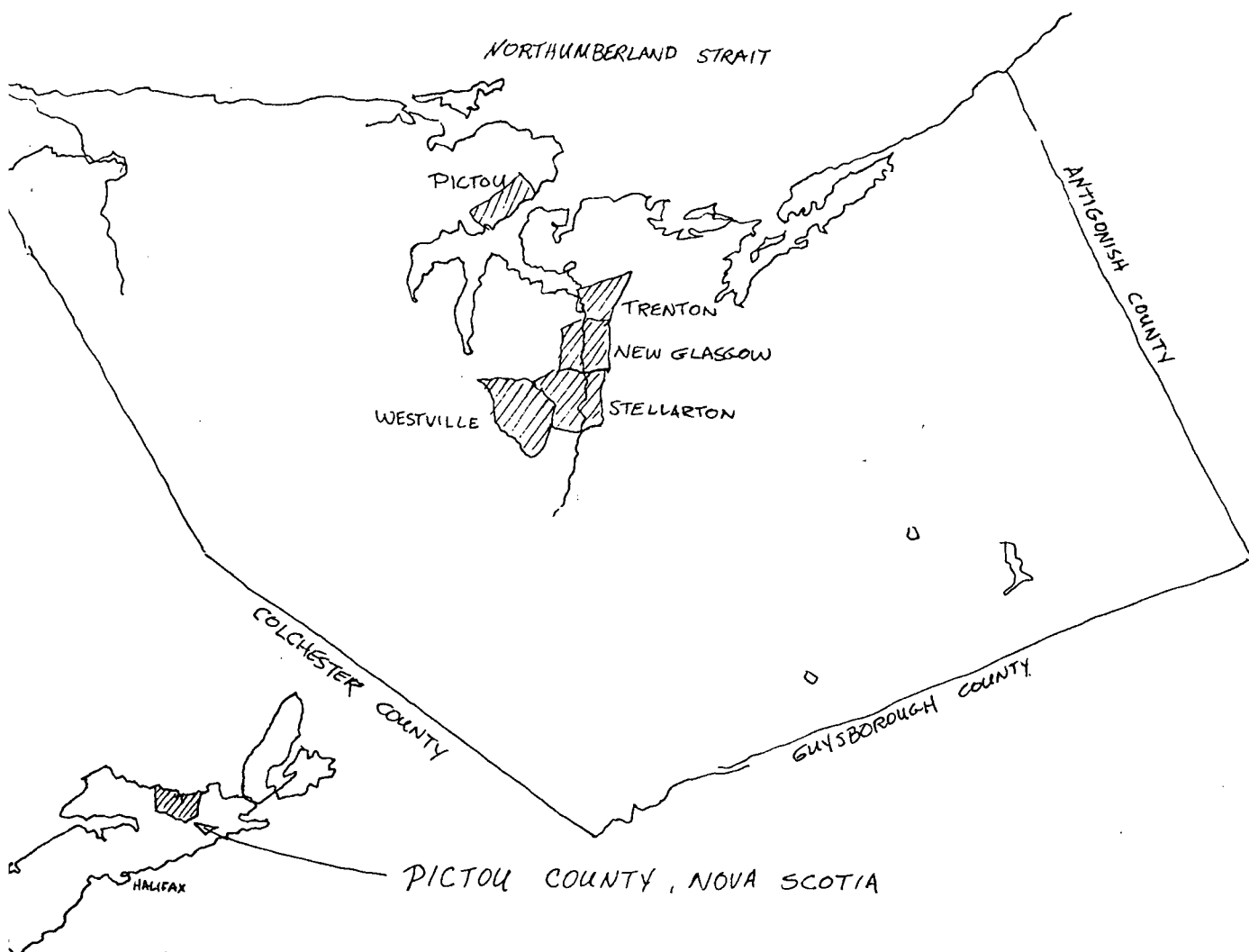


FIGURE 1

## MAP OF PICTOU COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA

The Micmac Indians were the area's original inhabitants. Part of the Algonquin tribe, they lived mostly on the coast with their probable headquarters at Merigomish. The river-mouths on the coast lines were advantageous camp sites because they were filled with an abundant supply of shell and vertebrate fish, the surface of the water was covered with waterfowl, and the nearby forests were well stocked with caribou, moose, and small game (James M. Cameron, 1972).

The first settlers in Pictou County were French, arriving sometime between 1725 and 1750. In 1767, the first English settlement was established with the arrival of the "Betsy" from Philadelphia. Later in 1773, 189 settlers from Scotland came to Pictou on the "Hector". The population of the area was increased during 1783 and 1784 by the settlement of disbanded soldiers. In 1792 local government was initiated when the Pictou area was created as a special district. Each year between 1801 and 1805, several vessels carrying Highland Scots settlers arrived to make their home in the Pictou area (Harvey, 1968, and N. S. Department of Development, 1973b).

In the early 1800's lumbering was the focus of economic activity. Whereas before 1820 agriculture was directed primarily at raising crops for immediate needs, the period after 1820 saw a greater utilization of the occupied farm land as markets grew due to improved transportation and the development of mining and manufacturing. By 1827, it was generally believed that all the land capable of economic cultivation had been taken up by agriculture (Torey, 1968).

Even though coal deposits were discovered at Albion Mines (later called Stellarton) in 1798, it wasn't until 1827 that the first mining shafts were sunk in the East River Valley. For the next one hundred and twenty-five years coal mining was the predominant economic factor. Prospective employment attracted people from Scotland, the north of England, and all parts of Nova Scotia.

The East River Valley area also began to grow and prosper socially and culturally. Schools were established including the famous Pictou Academy which opened its first classes in 1817. Many churches were built and became focal points for social activity. Newspapers began publication. The first hospital in the area was opened at Pictou in 1848, to be followed by a Marine Hospital in 1880 and a general hospital in 1893. In 1821 a subscription library was formed. Fraternal Orders formed lodges. The East Pictou County Local Council of Women was formed in 1899 when the National Council of Women was but seven years old. YMCA branches were established at Pictou, Stellarton and New Glasgow in the 1860's. Curling, cricket, regattas and other organized sport flourished. Service clubs such as the Rotary, Gyro, Kiwanis, Lions, and Kinsman were organized (James M. Cameron, 1972).

During this period of the mid-1800's, shipbuilding became a very important economic activity, especially at Pictou and New Glasgow. Steel ship construction began at New Glasgow, followed in Trenton and Pictou. Wooden sailing ships were made in New Glasgow and River John. Grist mills, saw mills, cheese factories, textile factories, tanneries, foundries, and meat packing were also in operation at this period of the County's history. Coal mining continued to expand. New seams were opened near Westville by the Drummond and Acadia Mines. New rail lines were laid to the shipping wharves at Granton, Pictou Landing and Abercrombie. There were over 2,000 men employed in the Pictou County coalfields at its peak and they were producing

900,000 tons of coal a year. Also during this period several disastrous explosions and fires in the mines occurred (N. S. Department of Development, 1973b).

The first Canadian Census return in 1871 showed the County's population had increased to over 32,000. In terms of employment, farming was the leading industry. Farming continued to be important up to the 1880's and the rural population continued to increase. However, railways began to be constructed enabling people to move further afield and this led to the opening up of more productive agricultural areas in other areas of Canada and the United States. Thereafter, agriculture decreased in importance in the County's economy (Harvey, 1968, and N. S. Department of Development, 1973b).

Between the 1880's and the early 1920's, the foundations were laid for the County's era as a leader in heavy industry. Steel works were built at a site north of New Glasgow later to be known as the town of Trenton. A blast furnace for the production of pig iron to be used in steel mills was set up in 1892. By 1912 the Trenton works of the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Co. Ltd. comprised head office, finishing mills, cogging mills, forges, nut and bolt department, machine shops and other ancillaries, as well as the works of their subsidiary, Eastern Car Co. Ltd., which produced railway cars of various kinds. This steel works was producing 50 percent of the steel annually consumed in Canada at that time (N. S. Department of Development, 1973b, p. 9).

In the 1920's, the axis of commerce moved away from Atlantic Canada into Ontario and Quebec. Pictou County rapidly lost its leadership in the heavy industrial field. The depression of the 1930's added to the economic troubles of the area. Coal mining held its ground for a while, but soon began feeling the effects of loss in demand for its products with the increase in popularity of oil for fuel purposes. The last of the large mines to continue operation, the McBean Mine at Thorburn, was finally closed in 1972 (N. S. Department of Development, 1973b, p. 10). Coal mining while being a major industry for over 150 years, left its scars on the landscape and the people of the County.

During the 1950's, the County experienced a period of general recession. However, during the last twenty to twenty-five years there has been a revival in the economic climate. Manufacturing activities have begun to expand. New large-scale ventures were established, including a pulp mill and a rubber tire manufacturing plant. Older industries such as the production of railroad rolling stock, car axles and heavy forgings, shipbuilding, structural steel, and brick and tile have stabilized and are progressing.

Today, Pictou County has about 50,000 residents, or almost six percent of the provincial total. The County's population is predominantly (about sixty percent) located in the five urban centres. New Glasgow is the largest, having almost twenty-five percent of the county's population at 10,800 in 1971. Stellarton has about 5,400, Pictou 4,300, and Westville and Trenton with just below 4,000.



With a bit of caution, the level of material prosperity in the county may be measured by the annual incomes as reported in income tax returns. The average income per return in 1971 was \$4,636, or 95 percent of the provincial average (N. S. Department of Development, 1973b, p. 19).

The most important economic activity today in Pictou County is manufacturing. The total value of shipments of goods was almost \$100 million in 1970, the last year for which figures are available, which represents about 13 percent of the provincial total. Since 1970, the Michelin Tire Manufacturing Co. plant at Granton has begun operations. Before 1970, and continuing in operation today are the following major firms: Hawker Siddeley (Canada) Ltd. (boxcars), Scott (Maritimes) Pulp Ltd. (kraft paper), Maritime Steel and Foundries Ltd., McGregor Bedding, Canso Chemicals Ltd., Eastern Woodworkers Ltd., Ferguson Industries Ltd. (shipbuilding), Maritime Packers Division of National Sea Products Ltd. The total number of workers employed by these and smaller firms is around 2,800 (N. S. Dept. of Development, 1973b, p. 29-33).

The more traditional occupations in agriculture, mining, fishing, and forestry play a lesser role in the county's economic life. Farming is rapidly changing over from smaller farm units to larger, more viable entities; the smaller units are becoming part-time operations where the incomes available have to be supplemented by other types of seasonal activity. Mining does not play the major role it once did in the county economy. Only 60 or so men are now employed in coal mining.

Fisheries, also, does not play a very important part in the county's economy relative to other industries. Fishing is not typically a full-time occupation. Forest production, however, has shown a considerable increase over the past few years, due mainly to the building of two pulp mills in the province, one at Point Tupper on Cape Breton and the Scott Pulp Mill at Abercrombie Point.

#### THE EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL PLANNING

Local government began for Pictou County with the Court of Quarter Sessions, which was a system in operation in England for a great number of years, exported to Virginia and New England with the colonists, and from there transplanted with amendments by settlers from New England to Nova Scotia within a short time after Halifax was founded (James M. Cameron, 1972, p. 184). This Court had administrative as well as judicial functions and governed the County until 1879 when the Government of Nova Scotia passed the County Incorporation Act. The Towns Incorporation Act was enacted in 1879 also.

Over the years since then, local government in the County has evolved into the formation of town Councils in five towns, Pictou (1874), New Glasgow (1875), Westville (1884), Stellarton (1889), and Trenton (1911), and a council of the rural municipality of Pictou (1889). Consistent with the County's Scottish ancestry, parochial traditions and loyalties grew strong and remain to this day.

However, a common determination to accept the opportunities and responsibilities of economic and social changes slowly began to manifest itself. A regional attitude evolved in the County and this was formalized with the creation of the East River Valley Planning Commission in 1962. This body included elected representatives from Stellarton, Westville, New Glasgow, and Trenton, and was chaired by David R. Hayman, a hardware merchant and former mayor of Stellarton. And in 1964, upon the recommendation of the Provincial Planning Director, the town of Pictou and the municipality of Pictou joined the major municipalities in the County (Paton, 1967, p. 13).

At about this same time the private sector was also organizing itself at the regional level. Responding to this local initiative, the Nova Scotia Legislature passed the Pictou County Development Act in March, 1964, which incorporated the Pictou County Research and Development Commission (PICORD), an organization of private business leaders and clergymen in the County. According to the Act, the objects of the Commission are:

- (a) To encourage the expansion of existing industries, including Tourism and other businesses within the County of Pictou.
- (b) To solicit and encourage the Establishment and Development of new industries within and about the County of Pictou.
- (c) To sponsor by means of advertising, personal solicitation and otherwise, campaigns of publicity for the purpose of making known the advantages of the County of Pictou and its environs as a location for industrial enterprises.

- (d) To prepare and disseminate statistical and other information for the purpose of creating interest in the County of Pictou as a location for industrial enterprises.
- (e) To make recommendations to the Towns in the County of Pictou and the Municipal Council in the County of Pictou respecting:
  - (i) zoning for industrial and business purposes;
  - (ii) the provision of sites suitable for specific industries and the municipal services required therefore;
  - (iii) the effect of the municipal taxation system upon corporations or persons commencing or doing business in the County;
  - (iv) such other matters which in the opinion of the Commission relate to the development of industry and business in the County of Pictou.
- (f) The Commission will co-operate with the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, Industrial Estates Limited, The Atlantic Development Board and any other organization set up for the purpose of promoting industry, business or Tourism.
- (g) Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained the Commission may do any matter which will provide a benefit for the County of Pictou.

On April 14th, 1965, an order by the Minister of Municipal Affairs established the Pictou County Regional Planning Commission which replaced the East River Valley Planning Commission and formally included the recently-joined town of Pictou and the municipality of the County of Pictou.

Later, in June, 1965, an agreement was completed between the Federal government, the Provincial government, and the County's six municipalities to undertake a Regional Urban Renewal Study. Sponsored by the Pictou County Regional Planning Commission, this was quite possibly the first such study of its

kind in Canada. It is believed that all others were sponsored by a single municipality (Paton, 1967, p. 13).

Further action in 1965 demonstrated quite clearly that Pictou County was embracing a regional approach to problem-solving and decision-making. During that year a committee composed of both elected and non-elected representatives from the towns of New Glasgow, Pictou, Stellarton, Trenton, and Westville initiated discussions on the possibilities of co-ordinating municipal services within the urban areas of Pictou County. Ultimately, the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University (Halifax) was assigned the task of conducting a comprehensive study of such services. In 1969 The Pictou County Municipal Co-ordination Study was completed by Larry Sandford. The Phase I report analyzed the efficiency and economy of every local service and ways of meeting the urgent problems of adequacy and cost of these services. The Phase 2 report developed the argument that effective local government in Pictou County demands a large enough area for adequate planning and development control and a sufficiently large population and tax base to permit the realization of the efficiencies and economies of a reasonably-sized operation. The major recommendation of the Study was that one amalgamated government be created for the whole of the geographic area of urban and rural Pictou County. A "Pictou County Regional Council" has never come into existence to this day; however, it is important to note that the conclusions and recommendations of that study continue to serve as the rough basis for intermunicipal co-ordination.

In 1970 with the passage of the Planning Act of Nova Scotia, the Pictou County Regional Planning Commission became the Pictou County District Planning Commission (PCDPC). Its mandate and duties included:

- (1) the provision of assistance to the Minister of Municipal Affairs in the preparation of a Regional Development Plan;
- (2) the preparation of a Municipal Development Plan on behalf of the participating municipalities;
- (3) the undertaking of any function delegated to it by the Minister of Municipal Affairs or by a participating municipality;
- (4) providing ad hoc advice on matters affecting planning generally.

Appointments to the Commission are made annually by each member Council. The Commission has a permanent staff whose activities are divided into the functional categories of planning and regional services. The Planning Division has responsibility for regional and municipal planning and the Regional Services Division has responsibility for refuse collection and disposal, water pollution control, building inspection and the administration of development controls including zoning, building by-laws, subdivision regulations, and mobile home parks by-laws.

Much of the Commission's activities prior to 1971 centered on the provision of regional services. The County's municipalities used the Commission as the mechanism for providing the necessary focus of effort to obtain local services at reduced cost (in most cases) and at a higher level of quality. A not untypical example was the establishment of sewage collection and treatment facilities for the towns of New Glasgow,

Trenton, and Stellarton. These three towns are situated right on the East River and were dumping untreated sewage directly into it. Each of the Towns was faced with the costly prospect of undertaking the construction of treatment facilities of their own. However, they delegated this responsibility to the District Planning Commission and requested that an engineering feasibility study be done. By looking for a regional solution to their local problems, these three towns were eventually able to take advantage of a more sophisticated and more effective technology in sewage collection and treatment. The particular type of facility they eventually undertook to build required the volume of sewage possible only by collection from all three towns (PCDPC, 1972a).

The District Planning Commission began to realize early in 1971 that a relatively radical change in development activity was happening in the County and that the effects of many aspects of this change were going to be transferred to the municipalities. Key development decisions were going to have to be made and the Commission initiated discussions on a suitable co-ordinated strategy for handling expansion. The preparation of Municipal Development Plans was believed to be the short-run vehicle to control the problems of development and to provide the framework for the adaptive decision-making concerning the extension of municipal services. The approach to the County's longer term future took advantage of the regional planning part of the Planning Act. Recognizing that regional planning was a Provincial function (with assistance from the

Commission, of course), the Commission made a proposal to the government for a series of special purpose studies to assess the potential of the County in a wide range of areas.

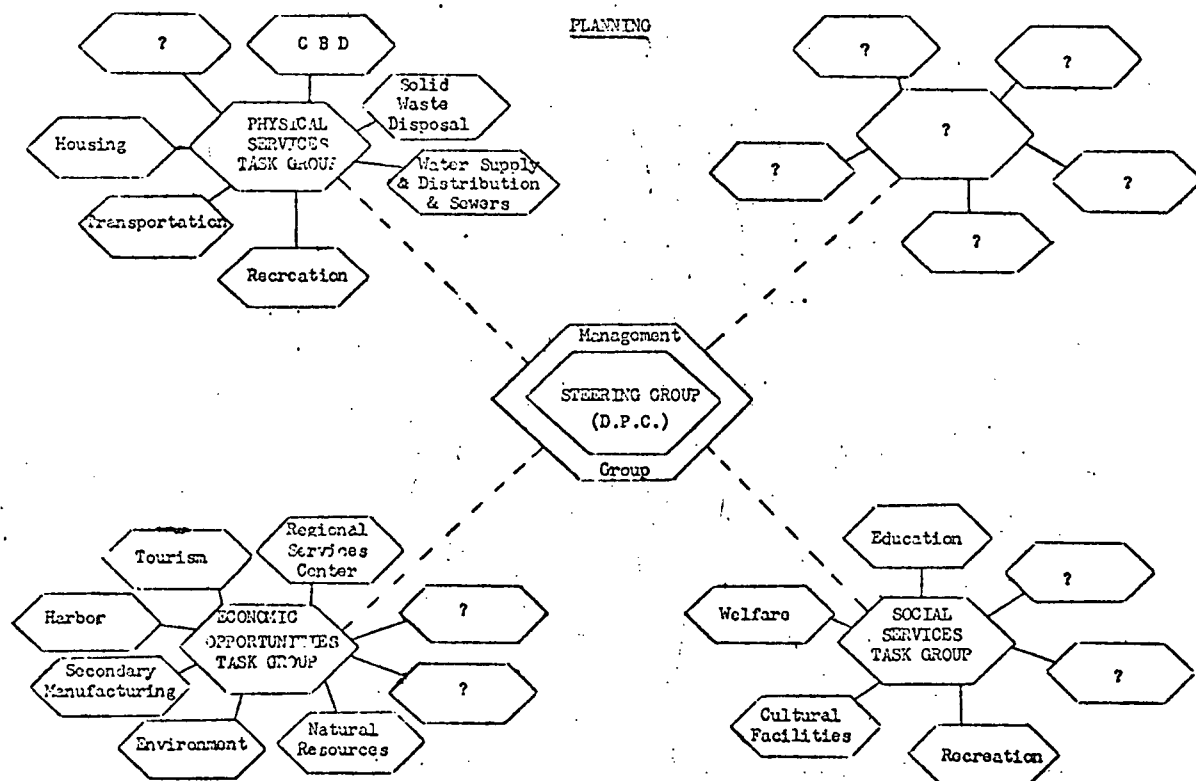
There are two key aspects to note in the Commission's response to impending development and growth. First, they began a sequence of actions to control and regulate. And secondly, they never challenged, in fact felt comfortable with, the legal concept that regional planning was a Provincial responsibility. In January 1972, the Commission endorsed a staff report which made a fairly frank assessment of what the main barriers to integrated planning were.

Entitled "Planning in Pictou County: Proposals for Form, Process and Strategy", this report went on to suggest an approach to compensate first for the lack of a Regional Plan and second to establish the framework in which both municipal and regional planning could proceed. The report proposed a highly-structured organization (Figure 2) stressing the importance of local participation and focused on three broad policy areas: Physical Services, Social Services, and Economic Opportunities (PCDPC, 1972b).

Each of these general policy areas was to be considered by separate Task Groups composed of elected representatives and volunteers from the community whose function was to prepare reports and recommendations in their respective sectors.



ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE FOR  
INTER MUNICIPAL & REGIONAL



NOTE: The individual Sector Groups are illustrative only.

FIGURE 2

ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE FOR  
INTER MUNICIPAL & REGIONAL PLANNING

Following the adoption of this report by the Commission, the Pictou County Research and Development Commission (PICORD) was approached to provide the major input in carrying out the activities of the Economic Opportunities Task Group. It was felt that this group of private business leaders and clergymen could supply the critical financial expertise required. In connection with this aspect of the process, the Provincial Department of Development was approached and, following talks,

the Minister of Development, who coincidentally happened to be a local MLA, announced his Department's intention to provide funds to the District Planning Commission for the technical work which was to be undertaken.

In May, 1972, the District Planning Commission formally requested the Minister of Municipal Affairs to undertake regional planning in the County. The following September, the Minister of Development on behalf of the Minister of Municipal Affairs announced that a Regional Development Plan would be prepared for Pictou County. As a first step in inaugurating the regional planning process the Department of Municipal Affairs assigned a planner under contract to work in the County under the direction of the Commission. I was that person, assisting the Commission from September through July, 1973.

It is significant to note, I believe, some of the statements being made by the local public and private business leaders on the occasion of the Minister's announcement. They indicate an evolution in orientation or approach to the regional planning process.

David Hayman, Chairman of the District Planning Commission, said he was "particularly delighted that the process will emphasize local responsibility and a significant degree of local involvement right from the inception. . ."

Kingsley Lewis, (staff) Director of the District Planning Commission, noted that the regional programme had a number of specific aims and features: (1) planning would be oriented to goals rather than trends, (2) policies would be aimed at breaking adverse trends rather than trying to adjust

to them, (3) all programming and projects developed as the process continues wouldn't necessarily be kept waiting for a "grand scheme" to be fully developed before implementation action is taken.

Bill Knoll, Chairman of PICORD, stated that his organization would provide the nucleus of the Sector Task Groups and co-ordinate the involvement of other local groups who had an interest and could provide an input into identifying and activating economic opportunities.

Taken together these statements suggest that the local leadership in Pictou County was gradually viewing the regional planning process more as an activity of initiative-taking at the local level rather than of management and control. There was a general awareness that a plan was necessary as an administrative tool which stated policy and technically laid down procedures for implementing that policy. However, it was becoming clearer to all involved that the regional planning process meant the creation of a strategy for the identification and development of the human and physical resources of the region.

During the fall of 1972 the Pictou County District Planning Commission initiated the formation of some of the working sector groups of the Physical and Social Services Task Groups. The Director called together a number of interested persons to begin study in the transportation and housing sectors, while I began discussions with others who formed the educational and recreation sector groups. The first few meetings of all these sector groups were strained, relating, I believe,

to the varying commitments and expectations of the persons involved. However, the transportation and housing groups soon began to identify problem areas such as the Trenton Airport, public transit facilities, the construction of a new bridge to Trenton, and the arterial road system. The education sector group quickly identified the goal of bringing together the seven different school boards in the County to get them talking to each other about common problems and opportunities. The recreation sector group undertook a series of actions designed to stimulate personal involvement in specific recreation projects, such as community adventure playgrounds, N. S. Youth Agency arts workshops, cable-vision programmes, etc.

In December, the Director of the District Planning Commission wrote a Working Paper on Regional Planning in Pictou County which was intended to stimulate discussion, to crystalize some key issues, to draw out operational guidelines, and to facilitate evaluation of the process. This paper provided a succinct resume of the objectives of this undertaking and clearly illustrated some of the main implications of the particular approach which had been adopted.

The Working Paper stated the objectives as follows:

- (1) the establishment of an ongoing process... that results in decisions which systematically:
  - (a) identifies opportunities and problems,
  - (b) brings together the four decision types (Government, Municipal, private sector, and technical/administrative),
  - (c) increases the number of considerations in preparing alternatives,
  - (d) examines the implications of various courses of action.

- (2) the formulation of a plan or development strategy which:
  - (a) enables governments to legislate on the basis of explicit decisions,
  - (b) serves as an administrative tool to facilitate programming and day-to-day decision-making. (PCDPC, 1972d, p. 3-4).

The approach to regional planning adopted by Pictou County had two major implications, according to that same Working Paper:

- (1) Agreement on the part of additional senior government departments to the principles of the approach as outlined necessarily means a commitment of more than one year,
- (2) The initial investment may be higher than the traditional approach (PCDPC, 1972d, p. 13).

However, the Working Paper went on to point out some of the potential benefits of this particular approach:

- (1) A much clearer understanding of collective regional aspirations and a means of articulating changes in them;
- (2) A systematic means of uncovering conflicts between various decision and options and the creation of mechanisms for resolving them as work proceeds and before expenditures have been made;
- (3) Increasing ability to draw groups of people into the process means increasing the ability of the human resources available within the region to be responsible for and benefit from the development and implementation of programs necessary to take advantage of opportunities which can be created or uncovered;
- (4) A decreasing load on the province's financial and technical resources as the process proceeds (PCDPC, 1972d, p. 13).

In line with the thoughts expressed in this Working Paper, the Commission continued further discussions with the

Provincial Department of Development who finally agreed on a specific initial amount (\$47,500) to be provided to the Commission to begin, with PICORD, the private-sector research body, the operations of the Economic Opportunities Task Group. The activities of the Economic Opportunities Task Group and its evolution into the Development Opportunities Task Group will be described in the next section of this chapter.

The Pictou County District Planning Commission in 1973 continued to undertake a variety of projects and set in motion a number of activities, all designed to enable County residents to participate in the discovery of their opportunities for change.

With the assistance of the Maritime Resource Management Service (MRMS), a technical research body sponsored by the three Maritime provinces, and the Department of Municipal Affairs, the Commission staff engaged in the collection and mapping of data categorized roughly as socio-economic information, the man-made environment, and the natural environment. The resulting Pictou County Regional Atlas is to be used as background resource material for the total process.

In June the Commission was provided a grant from the Nova Scotia Department of Recreation to undertake a study of recreation groups and facilities in Pictou County and to make recommendations with respect to co-ordinating recreation programmes in the County. This study was carried out by a local consultant and his report was distributed for discussion to the municipal councils and the various recreation commissions in the County.

In addition to distributing a pamphlet entitled "Planning and Development in Pictou County in the Seventies" which invited public participation, the Commission brought more residents into the planning process by conducting three major "learning sessions". A two-day North Shore Citizens' Workshop was held to (1) assemble facts and information about the resources and needs of the residents of the Northumberland Strait area, (2) promote discussions and understanding by community people and representatives of government agencies of the area's opportunities for development, and (3) outline suggested steps which the area community might take in assuming active, integrated, and responsible programmes of economic and social development. Secondly, the Commission (with the Nova Scotia Division of the Community Planning Association of Canada) held a public seminar on local government just prior to the Fall municipal elections. And, lastly, a two-week course in land use planning and development was held under the joint sponsorship of the Commission, the Nova Scotia Department of Agriculture and Marketing, and the Maritime Resource Management Service.

Under the general heading of Ad Hoc Assistance Programme, the Commission was involved in the following activities:

- (1) Pictou Water Study - an investigation into the water supply and sewer system of the town of Pictou;
- (2) Stellarton Coal Dump Reclamation Land Use Policy - a land use study which provided recommendations for future land use of an area being reclaimed by Thorburn Mining Ltd., a subsidiary of PICORD;

- (3) Trenton Airport Study - an investigation into the feasibility of cost-sharing the operation and maintenance of the Trenton Airport on a regional basis;
- (4) Pictou Redevelopment Scheme - assistance to the town of Pictou in exploring a redevelopment scheme for the town;
- (5) Development of Rotary Club Lands - investigation into suitable proposals for the development for community benefit of the lands owned by the Club with frontage on the East River;
- (6) Westville Road Development - consultation with merchants on the Westville Road commercial strip on proposals to upgrade the area.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES PROJECT

The Economic Opportunities Task Group that was organized as part of the regional planning and development effort begun in Pictou County soon expanded its focus. Formed with representation from the private sector via PICORD, the local governments via the PCDPC, and the Province and various community groups and individuals on an ad hoc basis, this Task Group changed its name to the Development Opportunities Task Group and changed its role: it defined development as not only economic growth, but also social and political growth or change as well. With the assistance of a grant of \$47,500 from the Provincial Department of Development, this Task Group



undertook a series of activities known collectively as the Development Opportunities Project. This section describes those activities and the process of decision-making which took place throughout the Project.

The Development Opportunities Project really got off the ground with the hiring of Harold Verge, a consultant, to assist the Task Group in investigating and implementing development opportunities in the County. Verge was hired primarily because of the different approach he proposed concerning his role as a consultant. Others interviewed at the time offered to undertake the study of development opportunities in a more traditional fashion, that is, they would examine the resources of the area and the markets for them, outline the actions necessary to take advantage of the opportunities discovered, all of their activity being carried out in a detached, "professional" manner, and submit a report to the Commission at the conclusion of its study. The Commission and Harold Verge, however, had quite different ideas on the appropriate manner in which this study should be carried out. These ideas are reflected in the final terms of reference drawn up and agreed to by Verge and the Commission which were set out as follows:

- (a) to assist in the design and implementation of an ongoing developmental planning process which has the particular objectives of:
  - (1) identifying the development potential, opportunities and barriers to development in the region;

- (a) (2) evolving, beginning at the outset of the consultant's work, development action based on the identified opportunities and barriers, incorporating programs and projects as required;
- (3) examining the economic, physical and social implications of taking particular development action, with specific reference to the adequacy of, and requirements for, community and land use planning, community services and facilities and other infra-structure.
- (b) to identify and integrate contributions of local people, local organizations and institutions and local government, with technical assistance from senior government departments and agencies to serve the process;
- (c) to explore and recommend methods of resolving conflicts between the needs of the Pictou regional community and existing policies and programs of senior government departments and agencies, and of local government in Pictou County;
- (d) to identify the need for and to integrate technical assistance from sources outside government;
- (e) to identify the needs for ongoing technical assistance, feasibility studies or additional requirements for organizing action;
- (f) to report, regularly, throughout the period progress, events, observations, conclusions and to submit recommendations, to the Director of the Commission (PCDPC, 1973d, p. 1-3).

It was arranged that the management of the Project be the responsibility of the Task Group made up of six members of PICORD, including its Executive Director, the Director of the PCDPC, and a representative of the N. S. Department of Development. The first phase of the project was designed to be carried out over a period of nine months with the assistance of the consultant, Harold Verge.

Based upon early acceptance by the Task Group that its development goals would include social and political growth

as well as economic growth, the Task Group adopted the principle that growth in its broadest meaning can, in large part, be achieved by planned initiatives being taken at the local level. With respect to this initiative-taking at the local level, it was accepted that three conditions apply, and that these must be: (1) a mechanism for decision-making and taking action, (2) continuing professional and technical assistance, and (3) money, in the first instance, to obtain technical and professional help, and money ultimately to implement worthy projects.

Throughout the Project strong emphasis was given to the matter of studying and understanding the structures for decision-making which relate to the County's capacity to initiate and sustain broad-based development activity. It was quickly recognized early in the process, and this view was strengthened over time, that a programme dealing with the issues, problems, opportunities and policies of development requires the strongest kind of leadership at the community level, and in Pictou County that leadership rested with PICORD. And the co-operative arrangement between PICORD and the Pictou County District Planning Commission was recognized as the required developmental mechanism at the local level.

The Development Opportunities Project permitted the community to obtain professional and technical services, not only from the consultant but from the contributions of specialists retained throughout the course of the Project. Most of the money during the first phase of the Project was

provided under the \$47,500 grant from the Department of Development.

During the course of 1973, a variety of consulting services were utilized to conduct activities which provided the County with a wide range of quite specific information concerning some of its problems and opportunities. The following is a summary of those efforts:

- (1) Personal Property Tax. A land economist was retained to investigate the effect of the personal property tax on opportunities for development in Pictou County (PCDPC, 1973k);
- (2) Communications Study. A report on communications facilities in Pictou County with recommendations regarding the need for increased two-way information facilities was prepared (PCDPC, 1973c);
- (3) Property Mapping Program. To facilitate the preparation of an agricultural sector development strategy, a property mapping program of the two main agricultural areas - the Scotsburn area and the Merigomish shore - was undertaken. In addition, a general background survey focusing on land needs, and intentions of owners in these areas, was also carried out;
- (4) New Business Projects Fund Proposal. A report was prepared which developed an approach to encourage new business development and which emphasized innovation and entrepreneurship at the regional level (PCDPC, 1973h);
- (5) Brief on Non-Resident Land Ownership. The Task Group prepared and presented a brief to the Select Committee of the House of Assembly on the Non-Resident Ownership of Land. The Brief was based on the preliminary results of the mapping program in the Scotsburn area (PCDPC, 1973b);
- (6) Examination of Transportation Opportunities. A consultant was engaged who examined and reported on transportation opportunities including the Port of Pictou, the implications of the new Trenton Bridge, highway loading restrictions, the Trenton airport, a regional rail "land ship", the energy market, and the promotion of a services industry based on summer homes (PCDPC, 1973e);

- (7) Home Ownership Public Education Program. A program of adult education relating to the acquisition of housing was undertaken which consisted of twenty weekly seminars designed to assist and advise people in home financing, contracting, accounting, lot selection, landscaping, etc. A unique feature of the programme was the construction of two small pilot houses by local developers during the course to provide a working laboratory for the participants (PCDPC, 1974b);
- (8) Social Housing Program. A meeting of all the housing authorities in the County, followed by two public meetings involving representatives of CMHC, the Nova Scotia Housing Corporation, the Interfaith Housing Corporation (Halifax), and the Cape Breton Social Housing Association, led to the decision to hire a consultant to work with the Task Group in preparing a social housing strategy for the County (PCDPC, 1974a, p. 17-18);
- (9) Tourism-Recreation. In conjunction with a province-wide study of the Tourism-Recreation sector, the Task Group are pursuing study of the desirability and feasibility of an entertainment and reception centre to be located on the East River near the Trans-Canada Highway. It is believed that such a centrally-located facility could be used year-round by the community at large as a cultural and adult-education centre - two important ingredients to achieve social development in the County (PCDPC, 1973, p. 38);
- (10) Fisheries Sector. The prospect for operating a fish factory ship in the Northumberland Strait was identified as an opportunity and is being investigated. Discussions with officials of the Resources Loan Board have resulted in the recognition by the Board of the need for a loans officer who would work more closely with the fishermen (PCDPC, 1973d, p. 36-37).

An important element to be noted concerning the activities just outlined is not so much what was being studied but rather how the investigation was carried out. The studies were initiated by and conducted with the involvement of Pictou County residents who had been and would continue to be affected by the decisions arrived at. Pictou County residents were fast learning

that so much of what would likely happen in Pictou County depended on the initiatives they would take.

The first phase of the Development Opportunities Project was completed in the Fall of 1973 with the conclusion of the contract with the consultant, Harold Verge. Mr. Verge had been hired to assist in innovating a more practical approach to planning and development than the traditional "shelf-study" approach which so often in the past had served only to postpone decisions. Although the next chapter attempts to evaluate the approach used by Mr. Verge and the Development Opportunities Task Group, I believe it may be instructive at this point to relate the conclusions and recommendations for future action that Harold Verge provided in his summary report.

The main point of departure in the Pictou County experience in developmental planning, Harold Verge points out in the beginning of his report, has been the formal recognition of the decision-making capacity of the private sector by not only the planning team and government departments and agencies, but by the private sector itself, namely PICORD. "The Pictou County Research and Development Commission represents unquestionably the County's number one development opportunity", says Verge (PCDPC, 1973d, p. 1).

The posture toward development that has been taken by PICORD and the Development Opportunities Task Group, according to Verge, embodies the following concepts:

- (1) development planning was viewed as an ongoing process, and unlike traditional approaches, planning and implementation were not seen as distinct and separate activities, but rather as aspects of each other;
- (2) as a long-term process which, among other things, is meant to be dynamic, development planning was also meant to occur in terms of three essential categories of growth: political, economic, and social (PCDPC, 1973d, p. 6-7).

Political growth is defined in Mr. Verge's report as: "Access to the decision-making facility by all people in a way which will enable their needs and concerns to be expressed and effectively solved..." (PCDPC, 1973d, p. 10). Mr. Verge points out that whereas early on in the Development Opportunities Project it was generally conceded that the co-operative arrangement between PICORD and the District Planning Commission was the mechanism for decision-making and taking action, he concludes that the emerging mechanism for managing and directing the developmental process in Pictou County includes also a Community Development Council consisting of citizens and citizen groups at large. He goes on to state that insofar as such a mechanism is eventually allowed to take concrete form, it could surely be said that this would comprise the first step in creating conditions by which real political growth is achieved (PCDPC, 1973d, p. 8-9). Figure 3 illustrates this arrangement.

Economic growth is viewed as the continual development of new sources of jobs which are essential to the prosperity of the County. Mr. Verge points out that important steps have already been taken with respect to the identification

# DESIGN FOR DEVELOPMENTAL PLANNING PROGRAM FOR PICTOU COUNTY

86.

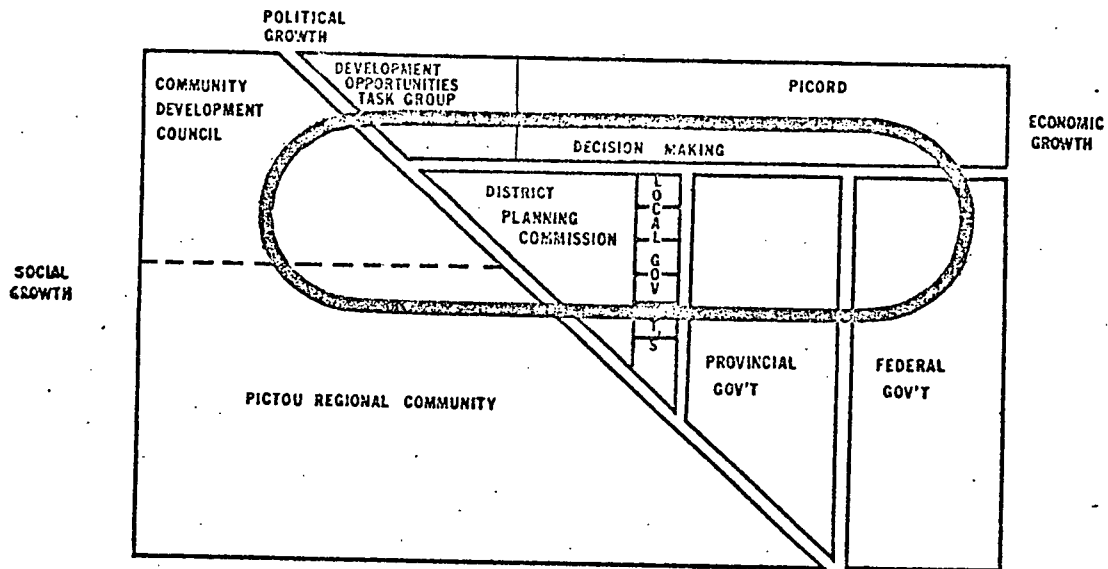


FIGURE 3

## DESIGN FOR DEVELOPMENTAL PLANNING PROGRAM FOR PICTOU COUNTY

of economic opportunities (summary descriptions of those efforts are listed previously in this section).

"A society that operates in a basically smooth way and in which all of its members can enjoy some degree of contentment, self-fulfillment and freedom from unnecessary frustration and toil is a society that has grown socially," says Harold Verge (PCDPC, 1973d, p. 11-12). Using this definition of social growth, Verge observes that the County Regional YMCA-YWCA should be expected to stand for social growth, but the opportunity it provides for recreational and artistic development is clearly not now a priority in the community. The Pictou County community is allowing the YMCA-YWCA to continue its financial decline. Using this situation as a symptom, Verge says that perhaps this indicates that the County is not



growing socially. He surmises that before social growth can be achieved, it appears that people want to be fed, clothed and housed properly and that their priorities lie in meeting these needs (PCDPC, 1973d, p. 12-13).

Verge concludes that at this stage in the evolution of development in Pictou County, "the possibilities for real political, economic, and social growth have no more than the status of potential" (PCDPC, 1973d, p. 13). He grants that important headway has been made but again returns to emphasize that a long-term developmental process depends upon long-term dynamic leadership, namely that of PICORD.

Recommendations emerging from this analytical summary by Verge revolve around the idea that central to the developmental planning process is the need for continuing professional and technical assistance to serve the three components of the decision-making structure, namely the private sector represented by PICORD, the local public sector represented by the District Planning Commission, and the community sector represented by a yet-to-be-established Community Development Council. The project proposals he sets out are intended, he says, to build up the resources of the private and public sector and to build up the capability and understanding required to negotiate resolutions of conflicts which will arise as capability for action within the community sector increases (Verge, 1973, p. 15-16).

The following is a summary of the projects Mr. Verge proposes as necessary to the continuation of an effective developmental planning effort:

- (1) Management. The success of the development process, he says, depends on a workable management function being designed to most effectively integrate the private, public, and community sectors. He proposes that PICORD perform this function and that a study be conducted to examine existing development programs and recommend the most appropriate arrangement for Pictou County;
- (2) Planning. In trying to achieve some "synergy of action" between sectors, the District Planning Commission has entered into contractual arrangements with consultants and University staff. Verge feels that the full-time services of another professional planner are required to (1) formulate strategies for resource management at the regional community level, (2) analyze urban improvement programs to reveal their impact on social and economic development, and (3) report on findings at all stages of the work in regional community planning to the District Planning Commission;
- (3) Economic Supports Analysis. There is a need, Verge states, to update the report, The Export Base of the Pictou County Economy carried out under an ARDA grant in 1967;
- (4) Supplements to Current Planning Activity. Professors and students in Atlantic universities and colleges should be hired to undertake the following activities: (a) environmental planning (coastal zones, coal dump reclamation, preservation of natural areas), (b) urban design (redevelopment of central town areas), (c) landscape design (study of East River valley lowlands potential for recreation), (d) resource planning (forestry, wildlife, etc.), and (e) community development;
- (5) Community Development and Adult Education. Trained community development workers are needed to work with groups of citizens to support the Community Development Council. Also, a study is needed to determine the particular type of community body required to represent the interests of the larger community in the developmental planning process;
- (6) Pictou County Information System. The establishment of an information and communication centre in Pictou County is necessary to support a planned program of economic, social, and political growth in the County. Functions of this centre would entail (a) dissemination of information, data, and specifications on programs and opportunities, (b) survey of community

and individual needs, (c) assist local media as requested or required, and (d) assist present informal information centres (e.g. PICORD, PCDPC, Regional Assessment Office, town and municipal offices) in becoming more effective (PCDPC, 1973d, p. 17-26).

Although Harold Verge has withdrawn his intense level of involvement, the Development Opportunities Project has continued to pursue its activities with the same learning approach it adopted at its initiation. A number of significant efforts have been carried out since October, 1973, when Mr. Verge fulfilled the terms of his contract. The most notable undertaking, I believe, was the January, 1974, visit to the Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission by representatives of all six Pictou County Municipal Governments and selected representatives of PICORD, the District Planning Commission and the Nova Scotia Department of Municipal Affairs. The three-day trip to Gainesville, Ga., was sponsored by the Nova Scotia Department of Development and enabled the group to exchange information and learn more about projects and problem areas common to both regions.

Though I am tempted to continue with a further description of the activities of the Development Opportunities Task Group, the scope of this study extends only to the conclusion of the first phase of the Project. It is appropriate, then, at this point, to proceed to a critique of the approach used in this Project.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## RE-ASSESSMENT AND CONCLUSIONS

The previous chapter began by describing some of the more recent federal and Nova Scotia provincial efforts at regional development planning. These were shown to be characterized by an approach which related closely to the concepts underlying the more traditional theories of regional economic development. This chapter starts out by looking at the impact of those efforts in a general way, not a specific programme by programme checklist, but rather a review of some of the social, political, and economic effects on the people who were on the receiving end of those efforts over the past ten years or so.

The second part of this chapter looks at some of the initial results of the Development Opportunities Project in Pictou County. The evidence is examined for certain rewards or benefits that grew out of that approach to regional development planning.

In the final part of this chapter I relate my findings to the hypothesis formulated in Chapter Two and arrive at some tentative conclusions concerning the relationship between public involvement and regional development planning. I complete the study with a note on what I believe to be key implications of the approach used in Pictou County.

## THE IMPACT OF PREVIOUS REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING EFFORTS

Many of the federal and provincial efforts at regional development planning in Nova Scotia attempted to satisfy either the goal of income redistribution in favour of the poor or at least the minimum criterion of economic efficiency. The evidence, however, appears to indicate that there was a gap between early ambitions and the actual scope and impact of the projects or programmes.

"To a considerable degree," write Buckley and Tihanyi (1967, p. 16), "ARDA project selection has been shaped by a widely held contention that improvements in land use and development of soil and water resources are the appropriate measures for raising rural incomes and furthering adjustment processes in the rural economy . . . (However), providing neither encouragement to leave nor the means to substantially improve scale and efficiency, ARDA farms programmes are judged unlikely to have had any appreciable impact on the problem of low-income farming".

T. N. Brewis (1969) points out that an overwhelming majority of ARDA projects were classified under the headings of "research", "soil and water", and "alternate land use". Very few projects, he says, were undertaken under the headings of rural development, that is, the selection of areas that might serve as focal points for development, or education, or studies of the problems of administrative co-ordination or the factors that inhibit change and mobility in certain communities (p. 126-127).

L. O. Gertler (1970) concedes that the general trend of ARDA as reflected by the later agreements was toward comprehensive development planning, but says that this remained split into rural and urban components. And while some important new ground was broken in evolving the style and method of joint planning by two levels of government, participation at the local level was not generally sustained. Citizens were involved in substantive programmes in order to facilitate execution; it was not a decentralization of the decision-making process. At the end of the period (1961-1969), he concludes, no dramatic changes in interregional disparities were recorded.

Brewis (1970), however, points out very accurately, I believe, that individual efforts cannot be adequately assessed in isolation, but rather an impression has to be formed of the general lines along which growth is to progress and the intersectoral relationships before the efficacy of individual projects can be appraised. He suggests an impression of the joint impact of ARDA, the Atlantic Development Board, and the Area Development Agency (not reviewed in this study) in the Atlantic provinces over the late sixties might be formed by looking at income, investment, and the employment figures for the period, noting any change in trends. He does this and finds that, as far as Nova Scotia is concerned, there were no relative gains in personal income, there was a marked upward trend in capital and repair expenditures, but there was no secular fall in unemployment rates in comparison with the national ones (p. 188-189).

New economic activity, particularly in manufacturing, is being attracted to Nova Scotia in the 1970's because of incentive grants and loans provided by the new Department of Regional Economic Expansion. However, a staff report by DREE (Canada, DREE, 1973b, p. 3) points out that the total impact is often much less than it could be because of basic structural weaknesses in the provincial economy. Moreover, it goes on to say, the job gains associated with the new manufacturing ventures are often offset by job losses in more traditional activities. The report even goes so far as to say that "it can be argued that the capital-intensity of much recent manufacturing investment in the province and the high leakages out of the province associated with this investment have been important causal factors behind the slow growth in total employment in Nova Scotia in recent years" (p. 11).

On a broader plane, the analysis by DREE staff of the economic circumstances and opportunities of the whole Atlantic Region (1973a) identified a more nebulous problem affecting institutional and sectoral behaviour. The Atlantic Region has been dependent on assistance and support for a long period of time and this has left its mark on the outlook of the region. The DREE report finds that it has tended to become a part of the conventional wisdom that only government subsidies or some form of special consideration point the way to achieving prosperity. The result of this has been to weaken the confidence of the region in its own ability to take initiatives and operate independently (p. 25). Roy E. George (1970) made a similar

assessment in his comparison of the social and economic development of two regions, Nova Scotia and Eastern Ontario-Western Quebec:

Within the province (Nova Scotia) is an acceptance of the customary way of life and a reluctance to fight hard to achieve personal material advancement. Coupled with this is a sense of dependency which convinces Nova Scotians of their inability to shape their own destinies (p. 167).

Pictou County has been directly affected by some of the federal and provincial regional development programmes. Two of its largest employers, Michelin Tire and Scott Paper, were attracted to Pictou County by incentive grants. However, the Clairtone Corporation, another firm attracted by incentive grants, went into receivership soon after establishing operations and left in its wake broken promises and a confused and despondent citizenry. The economic impact of this kind of "development" in Pictou County is debateable. More jobs are now available than before; that can be documented. But there is a prevalent feeling that most of the local people are not able (or allowed) to achieve the better-paying, more critical positions. Simply put, there has been a feeling that the County is being colonized by outsiders.

To go back a few years, the Northern Nova Scotia Study under the ARDA programme was not used in a productive way to produce positive economic impact. It has been characterized locally as the classic "shelf-study" effort. However, one very obvious effect has been the bad-taste left in the mouths of those who worked long and hard hours, days, and months, all on



a volunteer basis, throughout the study only to find that their efforts were for naught.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES PROJECT: SOME INITIAL RESULTS

Throughout the conduct of the Development Opportunities Project, the difference between community planning under the Nova Scotia Planning Act and development planning as it was being carried out in Pictou County was strongly emphasized. The former, it was pointed out, was undertaken by local governments (either individually or collectively) and was eligible for financial assistance from the Department of Municipal Affairs. Its end products, which tended towards planned municipal administration, were municipal development plans, zoning by-laws, and subdivision regulations. On the other hand, the latter, namely the activity of planning for development, had traditionally been the preserve of departments and agencies of senior governments. And perhaps except for the instance of the Development Opportunities Project, developmental planning at the local level had rarely been funded. Its end products, it was posited, would ultimately be measured in terms of jobs, new investments, continuity of labour force, regional well-being as reflected in improved income, adequate housing, etc. However, it was recognized that the effectiveness of the approach to the Project in all its phases, but most importantly in its initial phase, would be measured by the extent to which the process inculcated new attitudes and ideas, promoted states of mind eager for progress, hospitable to change, and capable of

applying scientific approaches to an ever wider range of problems.

The activities of the Development Opportunities Project were described in limited detail in the last chapter. Also described were a number of activities of the Pictou County District Planning Commission which were carried out during the same time period as the Development Opportunities Project. Though these activities were not part of the Project, they were certainly influenced by it. A closer examination of some of the more key activities or undertakings appears warranted here so that by viewing these "initial results" in the light of the rough criteria the participants have offered I can begin to discover the rewards or benefits of the particular approach to regional development planning.

In early 1973 the Pictou County District Planning Commission was asked by the Thorburn Mining Ltd., a subsidiary of PICORD, to undertake in the community interest, land use planning for the lands in the vicinity of the Stellarton Coal Dumps Reclamation Project. Over the course of 1973 the PCDPC worked with the Stellarton Recreation Commission, a wide-based local citizen organization, Thorburn Mining Ltd., members of the Stellarton town staff, Mr. Robert Ojolic, a Planning Consultant, the Canadian Ski Association, the Canadian Ski Instructors Association, Sport Nova Scotia, the N. S. Department of Recreation, the N. S. Department of Mines, and the N. S. Department of Agriculture and Marketing. Finally in November a proposal was submitted to Thorburn Mining Ltd. and the N. S.

Department of Mines for their technical evaluation. Approval of the technical feasibility was received in January of 1974 and the proposal was submitted to the Town of Stellarton and its Recreation Commission for their consideration and comment by the citizens of the region. This project was not an undertaking of the Development Opportunities Project but seems to indicate well the synergistic effect of politicians, planners, the private sector and government departments co-operating in pursuing an opportunity which realizes benefits for the regional community (PCDPC, 1974d).

A key undertaking of the Development Opportunities Project was the New Business Projects Fund Proposal. This was the result of the recognition by the Development Opportunities Task Group that the development and growth of existing and new businesses would depend in equal or greater measure on what mechanisms exist to encourage new ideas, innovation, and entrepreneurship and to finance new undertakings. The proposal, prepared by the Development Opportunities Task Group with the assistance of two consultants, recommended that a special fund be established to promote the discovery of new business ideas and create conditions for their testing and implementation. The proposal pointed out that this was essentially a different process than the usual development effort which seeks to attract existing businesses to a specific location; the emphasis here was on innovation and entrepreneurial encouragement within the region. Because it is usually somewhere in the flow from an identification of a market need to the formulation of a commercial plan that the would-be entrepreneur falters for lack of

funds or support, the purpose of the New Business Projects Fund was to ensure that good ideas reach the business development phase with a commercial plan that will attract venture capital. This approach to new business development was submitted for funding as a pilot project to the N. S. Department of Development, the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (PCDPC, 1973h).

Another key undertaking of the Development Opportunities Project was a seminar course known as H.O.P.E., Home Ownership Public Education, which was offered free to anyone in Pictou County interested in a home of their own. The course was the result of two decisions made at a very early stage in the discussions of the Housing Sector Group: (1) a statistical measure of County housing need would prove as useless as those provided by the Nova Scotia Housing Commission, and (2) a Public Education Programme was necessary to acquaint people with the resources available. These decisions were based on discussions with a County sample of hopeful home-owners.

The H.O.P.E. course was funded through the Development Opportunities Project and out of 200 enquiries, 120 registrations were accepted. Twenty weekly, three-hour seminars were held. Two pilot houses were constructed as part of the course to demonstrate the financial procedures and construction skills required in home building. Approximately 50 people indicated that they were planning to proceed on one of the many paths identified to secure a home of their own. A number of others planned to investigate further the provisions of the federal Assisted Home Ownership Programme (PCDPC, 1974b).

During the H.O.P.E. course it was discovered that the pilot houses built did not conform to the standards required for federal financing. The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation stated that they could relax their standards so that their financing programmes could be extended to apply to those houses constructed as part of the course. The Development Opportunities Task Group refused to accept this "solution", arguing that the validity of their course, and in fact the validity of the Assisted Home Ownership Programme in Pictou County, depended on its relevance to the task of providing housing opportunities for the general population of Pictou County. They pointed out that the pilot houses responded to the physical housing needs of most Pictou County families, and also to the limits of their financial capabilities. The federal financing mechanism was shown to have standards too rigid to relate to the average potential homeowner in Pictou County. Both C.M.H.C. and the Development Opportunities Task Group are continuing to pursue resolution of this dilemma.

The final undertaking of the Development Opportunities Project to be considered here is the involvement by the Task Group in the initial phases of a proposed "Maritime Planning Institute". It had been recognized that there was a crucial and growing requirement for technical and professional people trained to deal with specific problems and opportunities related to the development of the Maritime Region of Canada. The Development Opportunities Task Group, along with the Maritime Resource Management Service and the Nova Scotia College of Art

and Design, began discussions in the Spring of 1973 concerning the development of a "Maritime Planning Institute" designed to provide initial field-based facilities and programmes for the education of university and post-graduate students, government employees, businessmen, professionals, and others who have a role in the physical, social, and economic development of the province. The "Institute" was seen not to be a centralized school, but rather one with "labs" in the field, drawing upon existing government and educational resources for teaching expertise, and offering programmes that would satisfy both the academic requirements of Maritime educational institutions and the needs of government and private planning organizations.

The "Institute" is still not a reality, but this innovative approach to education is currently being considered seriously as an alternative to the more traditional, centralized educational institution. And the Development Opportunities Task Group continues to push for its development.

## CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined two different approaches to responding to social, physical, and economic problems at the regional level. The more traditional approaches were based on the regional economic growth concepts presented early in the study. It was shown that these approaches led to a number of federal and provincial regional development planning programmes, some of which were described later on in the study. Also studied were some of the more recent theories of the social learning pro-

cess. The Development Opportunities Project in Pictou County, Nova Scotia, and the local efforts which preceded it, were brought forward as a case study of this latter approach based on social learning. The tentative "results" or impact of both of these approaches have been set out at the beginning of this chapter. It is appropriate, then, at this point for me to make some conclusions based upon these findings. I recognize that great care is necessary to rule out cause and effect relationships that may be spurious.

This study was undertaken to try to identify and understand the process of social change. I have been looking for the conditions necessary to foster desirable social change. The literature review led me to believe that the traditional economic growth models did not provide much insight into what is fundamentally involved in the regional development process. The social learning theories seemed to describe the process of social change at the regional level more accurately. I hypothesized that regional well-being could, therefore, be fostered more effectively through an approach that seeks to strengthen social learning rather than have a direct impact on employment or individual incomes.

While I have made a hard search for evidence, I don't believe that we have all the evidence, due partly to the fact that most efforts in this area are designed to have long-term returns and also because we are still learning quite a bit about indicators of social and economic well-being. The previous federal and provincial programmes seem to have had marginal influence on economic well-being in Nova Scotia regions; and

it appears that social and political development may in fact have suffered because of them. Confidence on the part of the residents in areas receiving assistance in the traditional manner has actually eroded, and a feeling of dependence has taken its place. Contrasted with this is the experience of Pictou County residents who participated in a widely-based regional development planning effort called the Development Opportunities Project. This Project was started with an initial grant of \$47,500 from the province and was shown to be characterized not by incentives to industry or detached consultants' studies, but rather by local identification of problems and by experimentation instead of adaptation to external parameters. There exists no hard data on the economic results on a County-wide basis for this Project. But there does appear evidence to suggest that social and political development was taking place. The wish to participate in development was shown to be gradually transformed into the will to take part in the creation of future well-being in the Pictou County region. Local individuals and organizations were actively pursuing opportunities and attempting to solve their problems. Pictonians were becoming more able to not only discover opportunities for desirable social change from within their own community sphere, but also were becoming more able to accept intrusions from outside the County, be they problems or opportunities, and deal with them in a more intelligent manner. Therefore, on the basis of the evidence which was presented in the previous section of this chapter and also in a



more generalized way in the previous chapter, I believe I can say that the hypothesis was supported: this study suggests that regional development planning that strengthens the process of social learning within the region will have more fundamental and worthwhile effects than the more traditional approaches.

#### FINAL NOTES

Having participated in the Development Opportunities Project and now having examined it in a systematic disciplined manner, I have learned that the social learning approach to regional development planning has some quite important and specific implications for the participants in the process, both as individuals and as members of institutions.

The planner, the economist, the mayor, the businessman, the wage earner, the student, the welfare recipient - everyone - has to recognize that each has a particular and equally important contribution to make in this process. Each is an expert in his own special way. The traditional boundaries are blurred and in fact may disappear in some instances. This means that all participants need to increase their ability to manage interpersonal relations.

John Friedmann (1973, p. 232-236) has argued that this process requires the participant to enhance his ability to learn effectively, and my experience has borne this out. Friedmann says that to learn effectively these four abilities must be strengthened: (1) the ability to question existing

reality, (2) the ability to draw general lessons from concrete experience, (3) the ability to test theory in practice, and (4) the ability to examine sincerely the results.

For agencies, government departments, local planning bodies, and other institutions using the social learning approach in regional development planning, the following items should be considered seriously:

- (1) a long-term view is advised, and policies responding to short-term political expediency should be viewed in their proper perspective;
- (2) a high standard of educational and other social services is required to enable all participants to contribute effectively (Buckley and Tihanyi, 1967);
- (3) economic indicators need to be supplemented by social and demographic ones, and on a regional and sub-area basis, and it should be recognized that economic indicators are only very limited tools (Firestone, 1972);
- (4) this approach requires some built-in disorder and ambiguity, and by present standards, inefficiency, in favour of maintaining or encouraging life-styles important to smaller groups of people (Lang, 1972b);
- (5) the practice of social learning must be made more orderly and rational, which implies that
  - (a) concentrated attention in social science research is needed to understand the process,
  - (b) developmental hypotheses need to be more objectively and consciously formulated, and more frankly conceived as an experiment, and
  - (c) new organizational forms and procedures need to be tried (Dunn, 1971).

As a concluding statement, I believe I should point out that I have not attempted to write a handbook for regional development planning. This has been an exploratory study, and my conclusions have been conservative because of this. I know that this study reflects somewhat the biases of my employment

in Pictou County, my own personal philosophy, and some of the peculiarities of operation that grew out of the particular kinds of people living in the Maritimes. I have tried, however, to relate both theory and personal experience in a manner that will enable both myself as the writer and researcher, and also the person who reads this study, with some useful insights into the relationship between public involvement and the regional development process.

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