AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND RESOURCE DEPENDENCY IN ONE
NORTHERN HINTERLAND COMMUNITY

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Department of Anthropology and Sociology)

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
October, 1984
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Abstract

Research on communities in Canada has generally utilized a functional or systems approach. The metropolis-hinterland explanation of dependency is presented here as a way of arguing for the adoption of an alternative conflict or structure approach to the study of resource-dependent communities.

Economic dependency largely determines the way in which hinterland citizens behave both collectively and individually. The basic argument put forth in this study is that the dependent status of the northern B.C. community of Terrace significantly determines the realities of power in hinterland communities, including the absence of collective responses to common problems and the patterns of individual accommodation to social conflict.

In the resource community, dependency is coupled with transiency, uncertainty about the future and a rapacious economy. The system of stratification is rigid and closed; ethnic differentiation is persistent, employment opportunities for women and youth are limited, and institutions dictate much of community life as citizens are isolated from other alternatives.
Terrace is characterized by a high degree of privatization which, combined with restricted social interaction, precludes the development of a strong sense of community and suppresses overt social conflict. This study examines the exercise and maintenance of local power, the effects of dependency, the powerlessness of some groups as measured by their accommodative responses and lack of collective action, and the consequent effects of social disorganization within the community.

Documentation of life in Terrace relies upon demographic and survey data, complemented by interviews which elicit the attitudes and beliefs of a cross-section of community residents.
Foreword

From the first European settlements of Canada until the present, many Canadians have lived in little communities that were shaped by the needs and decisions of large enterprises controlled in metropolitan centres (Bowles, 1982: IX).

Small Canadian resource communities which are dominated by large industries are of growing concern to sociologists. This concern is reflected in the number and variety of studies which have been undertaken over the past two decades. Although these communities may differ in type and range from northern indigenous communities which have undergone industrialization, to "boom" towns, single-industry company towns, through to established rural communities, many of the concerns which have stimulated sociological interests are common to all these residential and work settings.

One of the main themes running through the Canadian resource community literature is the social breakdown that comes in the wake of certain patterns of industrialization. Studies which document changes in incidence and types of criminal activity, alcohol abuse, family violence and other measurements of social disruption are
highlighted in the social impact and community studies literature. The underlying assumption of these studies is that change produced through industrialization and capital intensive technology has a profound effect on the inhabitants of these communities. Hinterland status in conjunction with economic dependency upon an externally-owned primary resource is taken to be a major factor in social breakdown. The result is a sense of individual and community powerlessness and alienation. By "alienation", I mean the sense people have of estrangement from their absent controllers which results in their perceptions of personal and communal isolation. By "powerlessness" I mean, not only their lack of power, but in addition, their perception of personal and communal ineffectiveness due to a lack of legal or economic authority in shaping the course of their own lives. The perception of their own powerlessness leads to feelings of resignation, and to social behaviour which is anti-social and destructive. The community response is often acceptance of dependent status, and an unwillingness to struggle for economic autonomy.

The Thesis Focus

In this research I examine some of these effects within the community of Terrace, B.C. My aim is to
describe and analyze the effects of dependency, the role of local power in the maintenance of dependency, the functioning of systems of belief, and some of the social consequences of these structural features on specific segments of the community. In this study, the perceptions of residents and the meanings they attach to events will be a primary source of documentation.

Bowles (1982: 8) notes that the work of C. Wright Mills provides a perspective for connecting local contexts to broader forces. He identifies three separate but interconnected levels of analysis: 1) biography, or the inner life and external career of individuals; 2) small-scale milieux or everyday worlds; and, 3) broad structural forces most evident in patterns of historical change. Men and women are shaped by broad forces or great changes in society but identify and live most commonly within their personal spheres:

Nowadays men often feel that their private lives are a series of traps. They sense that within their everyday worlds, they cannot overcome their troubles, and in this feeling they are often quite correct. What ordinary men are directly aware of and what they try to do are bounded by the private orbits in which they live; their visions and their powers are limited to the close-up scenes of the job, family, neighbourhood; in other milieux, they move precariously and remain spectators (Mills in Bowles, 1982: 8).
The Background of the Research

The image of rural settlements that has been most prominent in community studies has emphasized autonomy and self-sufficiency. Bowles (1982) suggests, however, that many small Canadian communities have been linked and shaped by metropolitan forces. This research seeks to describe one Canadian resource community by applying a metropolis-hinterland explanation of dependency. This structural (conflict) approach is a departure from the traditional systems (functionalist) approach which has long dominated the community study literature.

The Canadian resource community is not a single entity but has a variety of faces. We are probably most familiar with the single-industry or the "boom town" as we connect these in our minds with gold and copper, oil and tar sands, pulp and paper, aluminum and coal. We hold images of company ownership and the closing of mines when the resource is depleted or the demand diminishes. And yet these are only one kind of resource community in the Canadian context.

We have truly northern indigenous communities which have borne the brunt of resource development; we also have
small towns with a history of local economy into which external resource development and extraction have intruded. While they have not emerged around the existence of a resource as have the one-industry or boom-towns, nevertheless, the indigenous and rural hinterland towns have felt the effects of urbanization and external economic ownership.

Within the Canadian hinterland resource community residents focus narrowly on the personal spheres of their lives. This results from a perceived lack of individual and community control over events which affect and shape people's lives. For all community members a state of dependency exists; for many the effects are devastating. An examination of the powerlessness of certain groups is a major objective of this study, and I try to show that the structure of the hinterland community, resulting from domination by the metropolis, creates real and/or perceived powerlessness. Various forms of individual and group behaviour are documented as the most visible effects of alienation and powerlessness, effects which are experienced more sharply within the hinterland context by typically low-status groups such as Native people, women and juveniles.
Limitations of the Study

Since there are many aspects of community life which could be the focus of study, it is important at the outset to establish the limitations of this research and to identify the particular methodological approaches that were used.

The work reported here looks at only one component of life in a resource-dependent, hinterland community. It attempts to document the general sense of powerlessness for most community citizens; more particularly it attempts to document the more entrenched and destructive effects of alienation and powerlessness on Native people, women and juveniles.

The majority of the people who were interviewed were involved either professionally with the formal service delivery structures or as paraprofessionals in more informal ways. I relied upon information provided by certain individuals who could be regarded as the "informants" for particular groups, eg, the director of the local Friendship Centre, the Native courtworker and the women who organized the local women's groups. I tried, however, to interview a substantial number of
ordinary citizens in order to provide a broad range of attitudes and perceptions that would enable me to ground the information from "expert" sources within the community context.

It was not possible to document all of the changes that occurred since the advent of major company control over the forest industry in the community. Nor was it possible to examine all the economic metropolis-hinterland linkages as this would have entailed a full-scale analysis in itself. Two guiding assumptions of the study are that the issuing of tree farm licences in the early 1950's eroded local control over the economy, and that the situation today is one in which the forest industry and the mainline economy are externally controlled with the help of local power brokers.

Because of the breadth of this study it has also been necessary to be selective about the literature sources reviewed. The decision to focus on the community studies literature (particularly the body of literature which focuses on single-industry, primary resource and northern towns) and the dependency (metropolis-hinterland) literature reflects the main thrust of the study. This allowed a focus on the relationship between geographic
location and economic dependency and what this means for particular groups of people and for particular kinds of behaviour.

Finally, it should be kept in mind by the reader that this work is exploratory. It raises issues, seeks explanations, and in doing so offers one way of looking at a particular hinterland community. It does not claim to present a framework or methodology for all future hinterland community research. By adopting a structural or conflict perspective it does, however, provide some new directions for further research, particularly research which addresses social pathology in such communities.

Chapter I reviews the community studies and metropolis-hinterland literature. The metropolis-hinterland perspective is chosen as an instructive framework for interpreting the data.

Chapter II describes the Northwest region and the community of Terrace. It seeks to give a general description of the Northwest hinterland prior to situating Terrace within the context of this hinterland region. It examines a number of economic and demographic variables and discusses these within the context of underdevelopment.
Chapter III documents the effects of dependency in the underdeveloped, hinterland community.

Chapter IV describes the occupational hierarchy of the community and the local power structure. It discusses the exercise and maintenance of local power and the effects of powerlessness on Native people, women and juveniles.

Chapter V examines the way in which the dominant systems perpetuate certain traditions, rules and regulations and maintain that status quo. It focuses on individual responses to life in the hinterland community and on the community response to social problems.

Chapter VI offers an overview of the findings and suggests possible solutions to some of the problems afflicting hinterland resource communities. The chapter concludes by identifying the contribution of this research and by suggesting future directions for further research.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my research supervisor, Bob Ratner, and to my advisory committee members Adrian Marriage, John McMullan, and Tissa Fernando, my thanks for their assistance and support.

To Tony Mann, for all his advice, assistance and time; to Linda Brant, for her cheerfulness and typing skills, my thanks.

To my children, for all the weekends and evenings they gave up with me so I could work, my deepest thanks.

To all of the people in Terrace who gave me their time and interest, I am sincerely grateful.
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CHAPTER I

A Research Framework
Introduction

This thesis began with a number of observations raised in the course of doing other research in Terrace, B.C. The first was that some signs of social disorganization, notably family violence and juvenile delinquency, seemed very marked in the town. There was also a feeling that the character of the town had changed in that such problems had become more prominent. The second observation was that the town seemed particularly ineffective in responding to these problems as a community. Terrace is hardly unique in these regards. However, these problems were startling enough to require some explanation.

I sought an explanation that would place the observations within a sociological tradition and Terrace within a larger Canadian context. That explanation is supplied by the metropolis-hinterland theory - a conflict theory perspective with particular resonances within the Canadian social sciences. The theory suggested that Terrace's social disorganization is one consequence of its dependent status as it has been increasingly drawn into a metropolis-hinterland relationship.
To oversimplify a bit, among the manifold other consequences of that dependency relationship is a social stratification system in which local "elites" have little interest in coming to grips with the problems of social disorganization. Other groupings "accommodate" themselves in ways which drain off pressures for change.

In this chapter, I begin to develop that argument as it has been set out in the sociological literature and to indicate the ways in which this thesis attempts to apply and advance metropolis-hinterland concepts.

Community: Geopolitical or Relational Definitions

As this thesis is about social organization and community response in Terrace, it is important to begin with the understanding that there are two different ways of conceptualizing community. They not only direct one's focus to different phenomena but each bounds the community in a different way, so that a community in one sense may or may not be one in the other. In effect, this thesis poses the question of the way in which Terrace is a community in each of these senses.

Gusfield (1975) describes these two major uses of the
term. The first is the territorial, which defines community in terms of location, physical territory and geographical continuity. This perspective is used in "community studies", which concentrate on locality as distinguished from remote physical relationships:

The thrust of work in this area of study is to understand what is occurring to such community entities, what is the structure of authority, of class relationships, of political governance within that area. How are these entities changing? (1975, xvi).

The second perspective is the relational which refers to the quality or character of human relationships without any particular reference to location:

Here, studies are oriented toward the way in which group members co-operate and conflict, to the existence or absence of bonds of similarity and sympathy, to what unites or differentiates a collectivity of people. In this usage, community is a characteristic of some human relationships rather than a bounded and defined group, as it is in the first, or territorial, usage (19-5, xvii).

Jackson (1975: 1) in reviewing the community studies literature also discusses these concepts of community. He points out that Nisbet (1953) in The Quest for Community focused on primary relationships; integration, status, membership, hierarchy, symbol, norm, identification group,
which are in the form of Gemeinschaft-like relationships. These are relationships of concord based upon bonds of blood (kinship), place (neighbourhood) or mind (friendship). Like Gusfield, Jackson describes the territorial concept of community as one that emphasizes place or locality. This perspective according to Jackson, views settlements, town, villages or cities as communities.

Both Gusfield in *Community: A Critical Response*, and Jackson in *Community and Conflict*, adopt the relational meaning as useful in making a contribution to sociological study and social thought. In this thesis, an attempt is made to relate the structure of authority in the town (defined as a locality) with the potential for cooperation and conflict (ie. the character of actual relations).

Community Change - Global Processes

No matter which perspective is taken on community, the classical approach in community studies has been to trace the transition of communities under the influences of large-scale (societal or global) forces.

Stein (1977: 4-5), notes that social theories about the forces which have transformed Western society during
the past four centuries have converged on three kinds of processes—urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization. Park examined urbanization in Chicago; and the Lynds studied the effects of industrialization in Middletown; Warner looked at bureaucratization in Yankee city and Vidich and Bensman utilized the same concept of bureaucratization in their examination of Springdale (Foote, 1973: 10). Secular change i.e., gradual transformations that result from the development of new patterns in society has dominated community "modernization" literature. Episodic change which result from a sudden and dramatic development has been less studied; consequently, the adaptation that people have to make to living conditions that are substantially different from those to which they had been accustomed has had less attention.

The point about all such studies, however, is that they suggest that particular global forces tend to push all communities in similar directions. Perhaps the most hallowed generalization of this kind in sociology is the transition from communities defined by status relationships to those defined by contract. For communities in the Canadian hinterland—such as Terrace—this sort of analysis has been done by Blishen et al (1979).
Communal and Privatized Communities

Blishen et al categorize communities into two types - those that are located in "socially-determined interpersonal reciprocity networks" and those that result from an "economically determined interdependency contract relationship".

In the first type, social integration results from a high level of mutual agreement about values and a strong socialized community sense of reciprocal obligations. This results in individuals understanding their responsibilities to the group and exercising control over the functions of the group.

In the second type, there is an extensive division of labour and highly specialized sets of roles. Interactions in all but the immediate primary groups of the family and close acquaintances tend to be formalized, and members are caught up in what Blishen et al label the "privatization syndrome". As a result, there is a high degree of dependence upon organized services.

In this study, the extent to which Terrace has become a "privatized" community is apparent. Whether this transition
has been the result of internally-generated change is rather problematic however. In fact, as will be argued below, it is essential to consider these changes as due to external forces. Moreover, while at one level global forces like "modernization" or "urbanization" change the nature of community relations - in Terrace as elsewhere - in the direction of privatization, at another level, that of community structure, the consequences of modernization are quite different in a hinterland town like Terrace and a metropolis like Vancouver. This point is elaborated in the metropolis-hinterland theory discussion below.

Hinterland Community Characteristics

There is a considerable body of literature on small resource towns in Canada. Much of it characterizes this sort of town in terms of its internal attributes and looks at it as a fairly autonomous entity.

Exemplifying this perspective. Lucas examines the consequences of small size, isolation, and dependence on a single industry (Minetown, Milltown, Railtown, 1971) and looks for universal processes at work rather than the unique historical features and structure of that sector of Canadian society. He suggests that social relations develop
in the community as a consequence of industrialization and locale.

Himelfarb (1982(a): 16) notes that Lucas counted 636 such communities in Canada and that these towns are a pervasive feature of Canadian society. Research on single-industry towns has been of five sorts (1) social characteristics of the migrants (Mattiasson, 1971); (2) community perceptions regarding quality of life (Mattiasson, 1971); (3) objective assessment of "quality of life" (Riffal, 1975; Nickels and Kehoe, 1972); (4) assessment of working conditions (MacMillan, 1974; Cram (1972); and, (5) studies on community participation (Wichern, 1972). The gaps in the existing literature on one-industry towns relate to social stratification and inter-personal relations. The one exception to this is the work of Rex Lucas (Himelfarb, 1982(a): 19).

Social impact research in Canada has focussed primarily upon the objective assessment of "quality of life" in those communities which have undergone rapid technological expansion. Measures of social disorganization as reflected in crime rates, alcohol abuse, divorce statistics and changes in types of deaths and suicide levels, are most frequently used to document problems in communities.
Research directed to the "service and supply" (as Stalter and Artibise (1982) label the older, more diversified resource community) is very limited. Some information is available on Cobalt (Baldwin, 1978), Thunder Bay, (Weller, 1977), Drummondville (Hughes, 1943) and more recently on Terrace (Marchak, 1983), but there has not been a comprehensive or concerted attempt to document more than isolated events. Virtually all of the research other than Marchak's has adopted a functionalist approach. Moreover, while social stratification is often described, there has been little emphasis on its functions in maintaining hierarchial structures or the powerlessness of certain groups.

Whatever these limitations, a number of common characteristics has been charted. These may include unbalanced sex and age structures, a truncated or unbalanced occupational structure, high level of transience or mobility, explosive growth rates (or decay at another point in the community's growth cycle) anomie and alienation, problems of social disorganization and underdeveloped services. Many of these "characteristics" are logically or causally related. In considering the community by itself, however, only limited explanations can be offered for these characteristics.
By way of illustration, some of the most interesting work on community change, tying together many of these characteristic observations, has focused on social disorganization, utilizing particular measures of social disorganization. This body of work suggests "a decrease of the influence of existing rules of social behaviour upon individual members of the group" (Gould and Kolb, 1964: 653). A review of this research is informative as it provides a rationale for focusing on individual behaviour as an important component of life in a hinterland community. It also suggests the effects of geographic isolation and urbanization upon hinterland communities whether they exist in the far North or in the mid-belt regions of Canada. Some of the major works on social disorganization in northern Canadian communities are presented here.

Honigmann (1966) selected five northern Canadian communities of varying sizes with Native and non-Native populations to determine if any indicators of a disintegrative condition existed, i.e., law breaking, extensive poverty, extra-marital sexuality, heavy drinking, and negative attitudes toward authority. The common denominator of the communities was geographic isolation from the larger society, which Honigmann believed, reduced the ability of residents to interrelate both psychologically and
socially.

Honigmann found that types of deviance were peculiar to a community; for example, juveniles delinquency was peculiar to Frobisher Bay which he attributed to the lack of stable employment\(^1\). In the remoter communities, the patterns of social disintegration were different, which Honigmann attributed to the kinds of social control mechanisms in the communities.

A variant of the social disorganization approach is presented by Nickels and Kehoe and Siemans.

Nichels and Kehoe (1972: 13) in examining a number of Yukon communities developed a typology of communities based on a four-type classification. They found that "each of these types presents its own variety of social and mental health problems, conditioned by size, age, history, economy

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and social structure". They claim that in mining boom-towns the variety of behavioural disorders and stress reactions appear to result from the unsettled and frequently changing social structure and that the air of impermanence in the community makes long-term social planning difficult. Moreover, with respect to the boom-and-bust economics of these communities, Nickels and Kehoe claim that these kinds of towns can be created and destroyed overnight by the vagaries of the economy.

Siemans (1973: 23) notes that the stress symptoms of isolated northern Canadian community residents most often referred to in the literature include depression, alcoholism, extreme loneliness and feelings of insecurity and uncertainty resulting from a state of transiency. In addition, Siemans suggests that promiscuity, suicides, accidents, injury and violence are more characteristic of these areas than of more centrally located urban communities.

Little empirical research exists, however, to document rates of family violence and/or juvenile delinquency in northern hinterland communities. There is a widespread belief that the incidence of both is significantly higher than in urban areas. Most of the information about incidence of family violence and juvenile delinquency has been
generated at the local level through submissions to municipal councils for emergency shelter funding (i.e., as was presented in Prince Rupert in 1979, and in Terrace in 1980); through public meetings on vandalism or through reports from social agencies.

The major thesis of the social disorganization approach is that the intervention of an external economy may result in a loss of traditional economy and cultural identity for Native people as well as general dislocation for all community inhabitants. The rapidly changing social structure of the newly urbanized or the "instant" town may result in disoriented or lawless behaviour - either norms themselves are in conflict or there are no clearly defined norms. Thus, economic development is an essential element in social disorganization and in individual deviation from norms.

All this work on the characteristic problems of isolated, resource or hinterland communities is suggestive. There is clearly some relationship between the narrow economic base, the rapid growth and decay, the lack of services, the isolation and alienation and so on. Community relations are everywhere influenced by the implacable forces of industrialization and urbanization. But why are these consequences apparently so negative in the hinterland community and so extreme? Is it that these communities are
"in transition" and just never seem to settle down?

Other literature that addresses these questions argues they cannot be answered by considering the hinterland community in isolation. Nor does it help to adopt a functionalist position\(^1\) the dominant one in Canadian community studies. Instead, one must focus on the hinterland community always in relation to its metropolis which suggests inherent and continuous conflict rather than functional harmony and equilibrium.

The Metropolis-Hinterland Perspective

Within Canada, the geographic distance between metropolis and hinterland, the geographic and social

1. Lowry, a major proponent of functionalist explanation, has summarized the approach as follows:

...functionalists argue that human society has a structure and an organization as reflected in roles, statuses, relationships, behaviour, norms, values, groups, institutions and the like. These parts of the large system are organic in nature, as is the large system. Each part functions to accomplish its own special purposes and to contribute to the maintenance of the larger system as well. No part, therefore, is really indispensable. The ultimate purpose of these organic social processes is to ensure a kind of social equilibrium - that is the orderly, predictable and routine continuance of daily social activities (1974: 204).
isolation of the hinterland and its "hard frontier"\(^1\) shape not only the hinterland communities but also their relationship to the metropolis. Many economic theorists (Innes, 1930, Easterbrook and Watkins, 1967; Deutsch, 1969) maintain that Canada, in contrast to other industrial societies, contains a strategic and pervasive duality between its metropolitan regions and its hinterland and that in order to understand Canadian society one must be cognizant of this duality (Ossenberg, 1971).

To dependency theorists, (see Laxer, 1973; Frank, 1967) Canada's development is not seen simply as the result of a unique geography and climate or of a series of unrelated events. It is the systematic outcome of imperialism and economic domination and exploitation by a succession of metropolises acting on behalf of their own economic interests (see Watkins, 1977; Naylor, 1975; Safarian, 1966; and Levitt, 1970). For instance, Davis (1971) argues that the most fruitful perspective for understanding Canadian society is the metropolis-hinterland explanation of dependency.

This dependency is economic, political and social:

1. Clark notes that the concept of Canada as a "hard frontier" evolved from the belief that primary resources were hard to get at. What was called for in the opening of this Northern half of the continent was massive accumulation of capital, large-scale forms of economic organization, long lines of communication and transportation, and extensive state support. S.D.Clark, Canadian Society in Historical Perspective. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1976 (a): 55.
Metropolis continuously dominates and exploits hinterland whether in regional, national, class or ethnic terms. Hinterland means, in the first instance, relatively underdeveloped or colonial areas which export for the most part semi-processed extractive materials - including people who migrate from the country to the city for better educational and work opportunities. Hinterland may also usefully denote urban under-classes as well as rural peasantries and rural proletariats. Metropolis signifies the centres of economic and political control located in the larger cities. Further, the term may denote urban upper-class elites or regional and national power structures of one sort or another (p. 12).

Weller (1977), in describing the northwestern Ontario community of Thunder Bay, suggests that alienation occurs as a result of a number of factors resulting from dependency. In the primary resource hinterland, material, people, and money are extracted to serve the interests of the metropole; transportation and communication are structured to facilitate the flow of resources out of the region, the resource extractive industry is highly capital intensive rather than labour intensive, and there is a narrow economic base.

Shearer (1968: 8) provides an operational account of the metropolis-hinterland relationship within British Columbia:

It is true that there are striking contrasts between metropolitan Vancouver (including Victoria as a branch office, established by historical accident) and the rest of the province. The metropolitan area contains 56% of the population of the province, and has
population density in excess of 1100 persons per square mile, in contrast to 2.3 person per square mile in the rest of the province. But the concentration of population is not the only point of contrast. The structure of economic activity is also markedly different. Whereas 80% of the metropolitan labour force is employed in service industries and secondary manufacturing, only 54% of the labour force in the balance of the province is so employed. And whereas 37% of the workers in the rest of the province are engaged in agriculture, resource extraction and resource processing, only 9% in the metropolitan labour force is so employed. Are these not two separate economies?

In spite of these striking contrasts with the rest of the province (or perhaps because of them), it would be a mistake to regard the Vancouver-Victoria metropolitan area as a separate economy. Rather, it should be regarded as the "node" or "central place" of the regional economy. It is in the metropolitan area that we find the central government offices (provincial and federal) for the province and most of the regional head offices of business firms and financial institutions. It is in the metropolitan area that we find specialized health and education facilities, specialized manufacturing activities and auxiliary services to the continuing efficient operation of basic industries through the province.

These are activities that are drawn to a nodal location for the efficient servicing of the entire population. In the metropolitan area, we find the major concentration of financial institutions and distribution facilities, as well as the major ports through which the province's goods move to world markets. Almost all major overland transportation routes radiate from Vancouver.

Thus the regional economy has the appearance of a major city with its hinterland, both existing in a state of mutual interdependence - in biological terms, in a symbiotic relationship to each other. The hinterland provides the real basis for the economy of the region, and the "node" provides centralized political and economic administration, distribution and specialized services. The city cannot and will not prosper alone, but the functions that it performs are also vital to the hinterland.
Within the northwest British Columbia region, Farstad (1975) uses the metropolis-hinterland relationship to account for the social impact of economic conditions. He contends that the lack of regional control over growth leads to increased labour mobility, high turnover rates and general instability in local communities, as heavy in-migration occurs in expansionary periods followed by net out-migration in periods of recession. In addition, he claims that,

...serious imbalances often occur in such communities due to the predominately male labour market and this in turn accentuates labour turnover problems and contributes to weakened community attachments (1975: 3).

In his analysis of the direct outcome of the metropolis-hinterland arrangement on the state of the community, Farstad's major conclusion is that the ultimate result is a truncated community structure within the hinterland. The schisms that follow from the economic implications of the model derive from the fact that most of the management and technically skilled positions remain in the metropolis. Of more concern to Farstad is that the actual level of social services in the hinterland communities is lower than that in the metropolis, even when their differing sizes are taken into account. Other troubling aspects occur as well. Education levels tend to be relatively low relative to provincial levels. In addition, selective labour shortages
are evident and, in general, professional and non-industry related services are in short supply (Farstad, 1975: 3-4).

Farstad discusses the impact of this type of economy on minority groups. By using a metropolis-hinterland model and focussing on information relating to educational, health, unemployment, labour turnover, and recreation data, and the specific service levels recorded by one Ministry of Human Resources region, Farstad demonstrates the disadvantaged economic and social position of the Pacific Northwest communities generally and the impact on specific minority groups, such as Native Indians\(^1\). Lower education levels, "Hinterland" conditions can also exit within the metropole. For example, the same negative impact on Native people within the urban environment is discussed in one anthropological study which takes a "fourth" world perspective.

Mooney (1976) in studying Coast Salish Indians in the city of Victoria, positions satellites within satellites in an urban environment. This appears to be a clear illustration of power positioning in the community. Whereas the urban environment is the seat of power (economic, social, cultural, political) within that environment, there are pockets of economic deprivation and powerlessness among the chronically unemployed and underemployed. These pockets (or satellites) contain within themselves smaller satellites, occupied by Native Indians, which exhibit the same characteristics of powerlessness and dependency in a more extreme form.

This study contrasts the acculturation model with the metropolis-satellite model. The former claims that as Indians become acculturated into white society, moving from a state of dependency along a path toward full acculturation, their economic status will improve. In testing the acculturation against the metropolis-satellite model, however, acculturation failed as a way of overcoming dependency. As the level of acculturation increased, (whether defined in terms of education, employment by age group or movement of Indians off the reserve), there was no appreciable overall improvement in Indian conditions. Indeed, disparities appeared to increase, i.e., Indian and white rates of unemployment and underemployment continued to widen (Mooney, 1976).
higher hospitalization rates, shortages of health personnel, labour turnover rate, male-female imbalances, unemployment levels and cost of living differentials are cited.

These features of hinterland localities which were noted in classic community studies, take on new meaning once the focus shifts from the community as a quasi-autonomous entity to the community as a dipole in the metropolis-hinterland relationship (Bowles, 1982). Local instability, labour turnover, resultant weak community attachments all exacerbated by inadequate service levels, with particularly devastating effects on an unskilled Native underclass—all these are consequences of hinterland underdevelopment. But the shift to a metropolis-hinterland perspective does not then tie the various observations together; it refocuses attention on particular issues as keys to understanding. These include the re-creation or maintenance of hinterland-metropole relationships of inequality and, within the hinterland locality, the expression and management of conflict. Indications of social disorganization become newly problematic as possible expressions of tension.

Conflict and Accommodation

The metropolis-hinterland perspective sets out a distinct research program for community studies. Blishen et al (1979) organized their inquiries around three issues,
of which the last two restate our problem here:

Within each of the communities which were the focus of our pilot study our aims were threefold. First, to examine economic conditions to determine the validity of the notion that economic behaviour could be analyzed in terms of its relation to the community's degree of economic dependence on or independence of the existing regional, provincial or national economy. This we call community economic viability. Second, to study the community's patterns of social behaviour to ascertain the extent to which they could be described as "privatized" or "communitarian". This we call social vitality. Thirdly, we explore the extent to which the community's economic viability and social vitality are associated with the mobilization of political power or processes. This we call "political efficacy" (p. 10).

In reviewing the single-industry town literature, Himelfarb (1982(a): 37) draws a number of related conclusions which are applicable to this study of Terrace:

In terms of the personalism of relationships and the high degree of role observability, one-industry communities come close to being archetypal small towns. The lack of anonymity produces strains within the industry and the community and makes access to other communities particularly important. The communities seem to be characterized by a high degree of "privatization"; the family and small friendship groups take on special significance. Interaction patterns reflect the larger divisions in the community. Privatization and restricted interaction make it unlikely that residents will develop a strong "sense of community". Nevertheless, the precariousness of the community does encourage residents to perceive that they share a common fate. In this context, we can understand the lack of overt social conflict. Feelings of dependency, powerlessness, resignation, and fatalism prevail.

Foote (1973) examined the social consequences of
urbanization in Port Hawkesbury, Cape Breton, one of the few empirical studies in Canada on the root causes of social disorganization in northern, resource-based communities. Foote claims that few recent studies have focused upon the more recent processes of change resulting from externally imposed forces of economic development, and from the social disorganization which occurs within the community as a result of expanding federal and provincial government power. He stresses the need to recognize the decreasing autonomy of small towns in the face of this increased external power. Along basically similar lines, Finkler (1976), one of the few theorists to document changing patterns of delinquency among indigenous people, claims that the development of a delinquent sub-culture among the Inuit has partially evolved out of the strain experienced by juveniles denied the legitimate means to participate more fully in the socio-economic structure of the white-dominated communities.

The important point about these observations of alienation and social disorganization is the disguised or displaced expression of conflict. What is suggested, in terms of Blishen's research program, is a chronic situation of low political efficacy. Phrased in an active manner, the study

1. By conflict I mean organized, conscious opposition which may result in direct and open opposition from those without formal power in the community.
of hinterland communities should pay balanced attention to the inequalities that lead to conflict and the mechanisms that mask, displace, control or resolve it.

Jackson, in creating a theoretical model for Community and Conflict, takes conflict to be a form of human interaction that exists side by side with harmonious interaction. His claim is that:

...conflict may well contribute to the disintegration of certain existing relationships within the community. On the other hand, it may contribute to the building of new relationships while breaking down a particular status quo (1975: 2) ....

Empirically it is difficult to conceive of a pure value conflict. Incompatible values are usually compounded with position and resource scarcity ... Conflict episodes, initially take place over specific and tangible issues. These issues, in the course of mediation, draw underlying values and status differentials into play (p. 6).

The history of Canadian colonization and the foreign control of its resources permits us to think of the metropolis hinterland perspective as a distinctly Canadian variant of conflict theory. Conflict theory suggests that a) social inequality emerges as the result of domination, exploitation, and constraint of one or more groups by another group or groups; b) the dominant classes are able to establish and disseminate a value system which serves their interests; and c) since class relationship are exploitative, members of the dominant class are faced with
crucial problems of social control of the subordinate classes (Vanfossen, 1973).

Davis (1971) notes that the domination of the hinterland by the metropolis may change as a result of confrontations resulting from a desire for improved status by hinterland members. Metropolis-hinterland conflict may be latent rather than overt for long stretches of time, however, and be suspended by conditions of prosperity or temporary alliances between members of representative groups. The metropolis-hinterland perspective is seen by Davis as a variation of the dialectical approach. The dialectical premise is that major long-term changes in the socio-economic structure of a society result from oppositions. The metropolis-hinterland perspective in the Canadian tradition suggests a modified dialectical model. It emphasizes that regional and national confrontations rarely turn into full-fledged structural revolutions. Instead, hinterland residents seek to improve their status within a modified existing order rather than in a drastically and perhaps violently re-structured system (pp. 13-14).

In examining single-industry towns (which share many of the same characteristics as the more economically diverse towns like Terrace i.e., smallness in size,
isolation and dependency), Himelfarb (1982(a): 41) describes the lack of focussed conflict:

The residents are dependent on a sole employer and on the often unincreasible resource being exploited. The community as a whole is dependent on decisions made at corporate headquarters in the metropolis, often a foreign metropolis. Decisions crucial to the life of the community are then often made by people removed from that community. Not surprisingly, the residents can be characterized as resigned and fatalistic... feelings of powerlessness prevail. Nor do the residents know whom to blame, there seems to be little class consciousness and most residents seem to share the feeling that the company, its managers and employees and the rest of the community are in the same boat, all dependent on vast and impersonal forces over which they have no control. This may result in part, from the fact that the decision-making processes are remote and invisible. The workers only see the consequences of the decisions, never the decision-making process or even the offices in which decisions are made.

This same theme recurs in much of the literature on single-industry towns (Lucas, 1971; Mathews, 1976). These communities are portrayed as noticeably without overt conflict, even the institutionalized conflict between unions and management. Lucas (1971: 145) notes:

When talking about the community of single-industry Canadian style, the "we" is the townsfolk (bosses, supervisors and all) and the "they" are those who command general policy, union and management alike. Because of these and other factors, it is rare that there is open conflict between union and management, or that unions have great meaning to the employees in the community of single-industry.
Himelfarb (1982(a): 26) is even more pointed in his account of a lack of union militancy in one-industry towns. He suggests that local unions are not strong in these communities, certainly not militant, and attendance at union meetings is low. There are few strikes and when negotiations are carried on they are typically friendly. Local union leaders may even feel separate from their own metropolitan headquarters. Any "we" feeling among workers is in terms of shared membership in a single-industry community vulnerable to impersonal factors over which they feel they have little control.

The main assumption of this research is that a sense of dependency shapes accommodative structures and inhibits effective collective action. Dependency is an ever present reminder of a subordinate even "colonial" status in relation to the metropole. There is a constant awareness that anonymous outside forces may at any time profoundly affect individual and community life for good or ill, temporarily or permanently. It is no wonder, then, that in such a climate, the community arrives at a tacit modus vivendi with its economic controllers. At the core of
this arrangement is the necessity to accommodate.  

The nature of the primary resource economy in the hinterland conditions people to adjust to economic uncertainty. This ever present uncertainty coupled with the past upheavals to the hinterland economy have fostered acceptance of the community economic and power structures. Accommodation and toleration preclude radical action aimed at changing institutional structures and ownership patterns. Acceptance of the status quo and an emphasis on economic survival at all costs are preferred.

Collective Inaction

Collective action theory not only asks why collectivities of people form but it also asks why they do not. In the community where there is a lack of collective action (as a result of accommodation to the system rather than acting against it in a collective way) individual rather than collective solutions to problems emerge. These behaviours, however, are only the end result of a larger process of accommodation (Gould and Kolb, 1964: 15).

Where decision-making is invisible to the community, community members are then unable to see and to shape the

1. Accommodation refers to a social process or product which follows, reduces or avoids conflict, implying that that resolution of the conflict is necessary for maintenance of the social order, but without implying a complete resolution of conflict mutually satisfactory to the contenders (Gould & Kolb, 1964: 5).
decision-making processes which control their lives. What members do see are the consequences of the decision and not the real, external causal forces. Within the hinterland, this is a direct result of geographic isolation and it is a condition which community members feel and describe in a variety of ways. In Terrace, for example, it is most often described in terms of the effects i.e., company cut-backs, a discussion of boom-and-bust cycles or through a sense of resentment of "outsiders", particularly those who are seen to represent major metropolitan interests and to be in a position to influence what happens within the community.

The economic precariousness of life in the hinterland resource community produces a climate in which people learn to accommodate to one another and to the system rather than to adopt collective action or develop a common identity which would enable them to confront their economic situation. Within this milieu, the boom periods provide a cushion against the bad times and for many, become the visions and hope of the future. Some of the effects of this are found in the transient population of unskilled or semi-skilled workers who are drawn to the area because of its periodic high wages and job availability. It is this aura of "big money" that often cripples the future life-chances of many of the adolescent and young adult
males, as it disguises the reality.

The strong and enduring concerns about survival not only reinforce and direct people into patterns of accommodation (even in the "best" times) but produce perceptions of vulnerability. This sense of vulnerability emanates from the knowledge that the decision-makers are absent and, for many, that there is no way of influencing local agents. There is a common belief that people are in the "same boat" and that they are dependent upon the vagaries of the dominant industry for survival. This produces tacit agreement on the need to survive and to accommodate to one another and to the system (whatever uncertainties it may pose) in order to survive.

Summary

Regarding the implications of a metropolis-hinterland perspective, we began with some observed commonalities of hinterland resource communities.

These communities are uniformly subject to market fluctuations, migration of workers, lack of social services, uncertainty of livelihood, and a sense of alienation which is due to a feeling of being controlled by self-interested forces located outside the community.
A simplified occupational structure is another common feature of resource towns. Stalter and Artibise (1982) claim that a number of factors discourage the development of a diversified economy which would result in a more heterogenous work force - isolation from major markets, high wages, and high development costs combine to prevent the influx of secondary industry.

Finally, physical appearance is a common characteristic of resource communities. Uncertainty about the future of the community coupled with a lack of planning and second rate construction quality often give a ramshackle appearance to these towns.

The above characteristics of resource communities connote underdevelopment in the hinterland regions. We require a way of looking at these communities that will account for the effects of external forces in shaping institutional beliefs and individual behaviour. Because it addresses the impact of power which is externally imposed upon such communities, the metropolis-hinterland perspective is selected for this purpose.

This chapter has outlined a way of looking at the data which follow. The conceptual framework adopted suggests that external ownership of the local economy,
abetted by compliant functioning of the local power establishment, results in social pathologies which are concentrated in certain sectors of the community. These are not easily dispelled owing to feelings of powerlessness and dependency instilled in those victimized by these arrangements. Accommodation becomes their chief means of managing existence within a setting of massive external constraint.

Terrace From a Metropolis-Hinterland Perspective

As a case study of a hinterland community, this research seeks to accomplish the following:

1) describe how the hinterland community is shaped by the metropolis ownership of its economy and the application of metropolitan standards to its citizens, that is, the effects of dependency; and

2) describe how the unique features of a particular hinterland community shape accommodation structures, and produce social disorganization.

The shift in Terrace from a locally-owned to a wage system of employment based upon the extraction and processing of a primary resource, has created a state of dependency for the population. Dependency dictates the
way in which hinterland citizens behave both collectively and individually. The basic argument put forth here is that the dependent status of the community of Terrace reflects the operation of the power structure and the absence of collective response to common problems; moreover, it shapes the structures which accommodate conflict and dictates the forms of individual behaviour. Within the community of Terrace, the most important factor which accounts for the lack of conflict between the powerful and the dependent is the state of economic dependency.

The primary ways of inducing accommodative responses are through the use of force and/or the maintenance of particular belief systems and practices which are based on rules and regulations. Force denotes the internal or external pressures exerted upon individuals to bring about a certain kind of behaviour or activity. The maintenance of belief systems refers to how particular beliefs, such as the roles attributed to men and women, are maintained through social pressure. The maintenance of beliefs and practices sustains the status quo.

In Terrace, overt force has played no significant role in promoting accommodation. The emphasis on economic survival, however, has sufficed to ensure that the
community continues to exist in a traditional way, in spite of bad economic times. Moreover, for the non-transient, stable population who are concerned with land development and other enterprises, it is essential that the status quo be maintained and that their local power be retained. The way in which the major institutions, i.e., family, social control, social services and education systems operate, is largely a reflection of their interests.

The rules, laws, and customs that dictate the operation of the institutions in Terrace reflect as well the maintenance of certain social and institutional practices. For example, within the family, the patriarchal form is emphasized. This is manifested in male employment opportunities, lack of employment and other opportunities for women, and in the neglect of (and suspicions at expressions of concern about) particular problems that women face in the hinterland communities - such as isolation, lack of day care facilities, and transportation, and the seasonal and shift work of husbands. Inherent in this state of affairs is the philosophy of "that's the way it is and I can't do anything about it". People are resigned to the status quo and feel powerless to bring about change; consequently, they compromise and accommodate themselves to the state of things.
Social control agencies such as the criminal justice and educational systems reflect the concerns of those in positions of power and serve to reinforce the status quo. For example, the police concern with the protection of property reflects the interests of the powerful. There are no special officers assigned to youth nor are women officers called in cases of domestic violence. Furthermore, there is an absense of plain clothes community officers. Similarly, the education system neglects the future employment needs of many of the working or minority class juveniles by focusing on an academic middle-class curriculum as opposed to vocational forms of education. Because of this, many young adults and juveniles fall out of the system, thereby entrenching them deeper into dependency and distancing them further from "outside" opportunities.

This is not to insist that the administration of the criminal justice system, the education system or the social agencies in the community wilfully neglect obvious community needs. Neither does it necessarily argue that there is conscious connivance between the legislative and administrative powers in the metropolis and the administrative power in the hinterland. Minimally, and unarguably, what it indicates is that the systems they administer do not serve the needs or interests of certain
subordinate groups in Terrace, and that these needs, even when recognized, are generally ignored.

The privatized nature of the community implies an increased dependence upon agencies for the regulation of daily life. It is not surprising then that accommodation and resignation result. Awareness of the community's dependence upon a powerful, enduring and externally-owned resource leads to feelings of hopelessness and futility about challenging the "system". In fact, most people do not believe that there is any other way of doing things so they accept life the way it is. Within such a climate there is an inevitability about the powerlessness of certain groups and about the way in which people learn to treat their troubles as "personal" rather than as "public" issues.
CHAPTER II

Terrace: An Underdeveloped Community
Introduction

Terrace is part of the large northwest area, a primary resource hinterland tied first and foremost to multinational corporations, financial institutions and government bureaus centred (or at least with regional offices) in Vancouver and Victoria. While it shares many of the general characteristics of the region, Terrace's particular history and location and its relationship to other centres in its immediate area (notably Kitimat and Prince Rupert) give the town some distinctive features.

In this chapter, the sketch of the Northwest Region is followed by an overview of Terrace. This description is in three parts - a) a profile of the town examining location, composition, population and economy; b) a brief economic history which traces its under-development, and c) a discussion of some of the most obvious social (and physical consequences) of the town's transition from a local to an externally - controlled economy.
The Pacific Northwest Hinterland

The first European to see any part of the North American Pacific Coast north of California was Vitus Bering, a Dane in command of a Russian-exploring expedition in 1741, as European attention was first focused on the area in the search for the Northwest Passage. Tales of ships sailing in these regions had existed for years but it was not until Juan Perez sailed from Mexico to the Queen Charlotte Islands that European contact was made with the Indians.

During the year 1846 to 1876 as Gough (1978: 28) notes:

...an imperial tide lapped the shores of the Northwest Coast and in doing so changed the character of human occupation, and it brought with it at the flood new political, legal and social institutions whose legacies are still apparent.

In describing the settling of the British Columbia frontier, Gough concludes that the zone which was so designated and which included all of the Pacific Northwest, (see Map 1), came about through the influence of imperial administration emanating first from England and later from the colonial capitals, Victoria and New Westminster, in British Columbia.
Also included in Gough's account is the way Europeans extended their jurisdiction, occupied land, managed a resource base, developed an Indian policy, and established sites for the exploitation of the sea coast and the interior land mass. In accounting for the particular way in which the British Columbia frontier developed, Gough concludes that:

The unique environment of the Pacific slope meant obviously that the founding of a new society in the area now known as British Columbia would be influenced by geographical features, particularly in land occupation, resource extraction and spatial functions of hinterland and metropolis (p. 40).

**The Northwest Region of British Columbia**

The Northwest region extends north from the Yukon border to the southern tip of the Queen Charlotte Islands, east to the Pacific Ocean and west to the centre of the province. It is comprised of scattered coastal islands, urban centres and isolated rural communities (Map II).

The Northwest Region is a grouping of four separate sub-regions: - the Kitimat - Stikine Regional District, the unincorporated Stikine District, the Skeena-Queen Charlotte Regional District, and the Bulkley - Nechako Regional District.
Terrace is located in the Kitimat - Stikine Regional District.

Population

The Northwest Report, a 1977 provincial government study of economic development in the Northwest Region, notes that over the past twenty-five years the population growth rate in the Northwest Region has fluctuated significantly, reflecting the cyclical, export-oriented nature of the regional economy. The three major population centres of Prince Rupert, Kitimat and Terrace together accounted for almost one-half of the region's population in 1976 and estimates of the regional status and non-status Indian population range from 20 to 25 percent. Total regional population growth has exceeded that of the provincial average, expanding from 20,000 in 1951 to 76,000 in 1976 (Ministry of Economic Development, 1977: 13).

The period of the most rapid growth in the Region was from 1951-56 when the Alcan plant in Kitimat was established. However, in the following five-year period from 1956-61, the population growth was less than 5% due to poor export markets and little economic expansion. During the 1960's,
with a heavy export demand for resources, the Regional population growth exceeded that of the Province. However, as a result of recession in major North American and overseas markets during the 1971-76 period, the population growth rate again slowed to less than 5%, a rate which is significantly below that of the Province (see Table I).

**TABLE I**

Population Change, 1961-76

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C., Northwest Region and Sub-Regions</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest Region</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulkley-Nechako Sub-Region</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitimat-Stikine Sub-Region</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skeena-Queen Charlotte Sub-Region</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stikine Sub-Region</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above table also demonstrates that since 1961 the various sub-regions in the Northwest have expanded at different rates. The Bulkley-Nechako areas has shown the most consistent expansion followed by Kitimat-Stikine. The Skeena-Queen Charlotte and Stikine areas have declined in population as a result of the limited economic activity in those areas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northwest Region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulkley-Nechako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Houston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Smithers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Burns-Lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Telkwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Granisle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Subdivision B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Subdivision C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Indian Reserves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitimat - Stikine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Kitimat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Stewart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Terrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Hazelton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Subdivision A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Subdivision B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Subdivision C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Indian Reserves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skeena-Queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Prince Rupert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Port Edward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Subdivision A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Indian Reserves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stikine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Unorganized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Indian Reserves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A boundary extension during 1976 increased Smithers' population by 159 to 3,944 however, comparable figures for 1971 are not available.

Table II reveals the population changes in the various communities, towns and Indian reserves in the sub-regions. The fluctuations suggest the uneveness of the regional economy.

The Northwest has a generally youthful population. In 1971, 71% of the 1971 total was under the age of 35 as compared to the provincial average of 59%.

In examining more recent age differences in the Region and in the Province, 1976 census data revealed that 33% of the Regional population is 14 years of age and younger compared to 24% for the province; similarly 17% of the Regional population is 65 years of age and over compared to 30% for the province.

The 1976 census data for the region revealed that of the 48,000 people in the region over 15, 53% were males and 47% females - this ratio of males to females (113 to 100) is considerably higher than the provincial average of 99 to 100 and follows a persistent trend in the region and northern areas in general.
The general trend during the recent years in the Northwest has been for the off-reserve Indian population to increase significantly while the reserve populations have grown very little.

The Major Economic Centres

The British Columbia economy is characterized by a relatively narrow industrial base, export market dependence, primary resource orientation, and concentration of economic activity in the Lower Mainland area. The lack of diversification in the Provincial economy is indicated by the fact that approximately 55 percent of the total value added by all primary and manufacture industry in British Columbia is accounted for by forestry, mining, and primary metal processing. In terms of its geographic distribution, approximately 52 percent of Provincial manufacturing employment is located in the Lower Mainland and southern Vancouver Island; more significantly, about 80 percent of that portion of manufacturing employment which is not directly related to forestry or mining is located in the Lower Mainland and southern Vancouver Island (Ministry of Economic Development, 1977: 116).

The forest industry is the dominant source of economic activity in the Northwest region. The Northwest Report (1977: 12) notes that logging and wood processing account for slightly more jobs than do fishing and fish processing, primary metal processing, mining and agriculture combined. Logging and sawmill operations are concentrated in most parts of the region with access to the Highway 16 - C.N.R.
corridor; pulp mills at Kitimat and Prince Rupert provide substantial employment opportunities and utilize chips and pulp logs. Sawmills at Terrace and Kitwanga take advantage of the lumber market and send high quality logs out of the region for processing. The primary source of metal processing in the Northwest is the Alcan aluminum smelter complex at Kitimat. This complex uses the regional resource hydro-electric power generated at the Kemano power plant about 50 miles southeast of Kitimat. There are four producing mines in the region; two at Granisle and one each at Stewart and Cassiar.

The major fishing and fish processing area in the Northwest is Prince Rupert, second only to Vancouver as a provincial fishing centre.

The agriculture activity in the Northwest region is located in the Bulkley Valley, Hazelton and Burns Lake areas. Agriculture in these areas provides a limited number of full-time jobs but adds significantly to the flow of local income (Ministry of Economic Development, 1977: 15).

Secondary manufacturing within the Northwest region is restricted to the production of a limited quantity of goods for the regional and/or local markets. While there
has been some expansion in the manufacturing sector in the region (concentrated in the forest products, fish and metal processing areas) it has not significantly altered the employment profile of 1971 which indicates that his sector was relatively unimportant in terms of employment.

The region's main population centres of Prince Rupert, Kitimat and Terrace account for the primary employment in the secondary and tertiary economic sectors and, in turn, the levels of activity in these sectors are determined by the economic situation of the surrounding areas. Similarly, transportation services and employment are primarily dependent upon traffic along the main highway - railroad corridor.

Table III indicates that Kitimat - Stikine has the largest concentration of manufacturing employment in the region as it has two industrial operations in Prince Rupert and a number of saw mills in Terrace. Prince Rupert (Skeena-Queen Charlotte sub-region) is second in importance due to the Cancel mill and fish processing products.
Employment in Manufacturing/Processing,
Northwest Region, 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Kitimat-Stikine</th>
<th>Bulkley-Nechako</th>
<th>Skeena-Queen Charlotte</th>
<th>Stikine</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food and beverages</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1,050</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woods and furniture</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper and allied</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary metal</td>
<td>2,265</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>3,960</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>2,220</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6,960</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Tourism and recreation play important roles in most parts of the region due to the multitude of lakes, rivers and developed parkland. This sector has an economic and a social function. Visitors are attracted to the area as a result of the geographic attributes and these same factors provide a wide variety of recreational opportunities for local residents.

Regional Underdevelopment

Weller (1977), in examining the northern Ontario community of Thunder Bay, concludes that, of all the factors that create dependency and alienation in hinterland areas, the basic
ingredient is underdevelopment. Underdevelopment refers to an area's economic, social or political potential and its failure to reach this potential. In examining the Northwest-region of British Columbia, it is possible to document the effects of underdevelopment and dependency.

a) Transportation and Communication

Since the beginning of white penetration into the region, transport development has been spurred by two motives: first, the development of transport links through the region to the sea; and second, the extraction from the region to raw materials - furs, fish, minerals and forest products. Unfortunately, no periodic booms lasted long enough or left sufficient of the extracted transport system which has survived intact. Either technology changed or the reserves of resources were depleted, so that many of the various transport developments gradually fell into disuse. (Ministry of Economic Development, 1977: 149).

The most well-developed area of the Northwest region is the highway 16 - C.N.R. corridor. While improvements in transportation and communication within the Region have decreased the isolation of its inhabitants, (many of whom live in geographic areas where isolation is compounded by the long and difficult winters), the demand for transportation and communication services continues to be greater than the supply.

The Northwest region today contains the last large
area of the Province which lies outside continuous tele-communications facilities. It is estimated that within the Terrace - Watson Lake Highway corridor (which falls within the Stikine Regional District) there are over 1,000 people without basic telephone, radio and television service.

Transportation services are also differentially distributed throughout the region as noted in the Northwest Report (Ministry of Economic Development, 1977: 49):

...While the southern parts of the region suffer in comparison with other parts of the Province in terms of access to markets, mixed quality timber, costly infrastructure, and climatic limitations both to timber growth and harvesting season, the more northerly part of the region suffers to an even greater degree. A full evaluation of the extent of the economically extractable forest has not been completed; it can nevertheless be forecast that timber harvesting may well not be able to proceed without major government initiatives, particularly with respect to the necessary transport infrastructure.

Lockhart (1980: 2) claims that the tertiary service sector in the Northwest has been very much oriented to the needs of the primary economic activities. Transportation routes and facilities have been geared to the development of the macro-economic sectors and local transportation remains underdeveloped.
Material, people and money serve the interests of the metropolis where, of course, the markets are; resource revenues used to upgrade community, transportation and communication services are not the concern of the metropolis capitalists or consumers. These underdeveloped services result in a lack of regional cohesiveness because of poor internal links. Because of the growth of the forest industry and the fact that the region is not self-contained in its processing operations, being an exporter of both chips and logs, transportation and communication are structured to facilitate the flow of resources out of the region.

Economic Instability

a) Hinterland Unemployment

In examining unemployment rates between the region and the lower mainland city of Vancouver the following figures were revealed (Table IV).
TABLE IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region 99 (Northwest)</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above table suggests that unemployment rates between the region and the urban area of Vancouver are comparable during periods of economic stability but that the gap widens in time of recession as was experienced in 1983. This vulnerability is a direct result of the economic dominance of several cyclical primary industries, namely mining and forestry.

b) The Forestry Industry

Resource extractive regions such as the Northwest are characterized by a narrow economic base. The instability of the forest industry in the Northwest was demonstrated in 1974 and 1975 by drops in production which were the result of falling international markets. Sawmills shut down in Smithers, Hazelton, Prince Rupert and Terrace in 1974, and the drop in production continued through 1975. Production
in the coastal area fell to 69% of the 1974 total while
in the interior of the Northwest the drop was to 77%.
Although the decline in forestry was felt throughout the
Province, a more serious decline was experienced in the
region as a result of less favourable timber land.

These events demonstrate two economic realities in
the Northwest region. First, the forest industry is crit-
ical to the regional economy; and second, the forest
industry is highly sensitive to market fluctuations. The
Northwest Report claims that this market sensitivity is due
to a number of factors, which affect other regions in the
province but which are concentrated in the Northwest -
higher transportation costs, variable timber quality, higher
operating costs due to climate and terrain, and the costs in
developing a transportation infrastructure (Ministry of
Economic Development, 1977: 49)

The forest economy in the Northwest region is based on
the supply of timber. In the future (and this is already
reflected in reinvestment policies), the Northwest will face
increasing problems in competing in world pulp and woods
fibre markets; this competition will come from the southern
United States and South America which produce similar timber
quality more quickly and at a lower cost.
c) The Mining Industry

Four mines are active in the Northwest region - Cassiar Mines, Granduc (operating near Stewart) and two copper mines near Granisle. Since 1960 there has been considerable mining activity in the region but the success of mining ventures is largely dependent on world markets and stable metal prices. Unfortunately, mining activity in the Northwest has been dogged by falling world prices and decreases in demand for its supply of minerals. Although it provides a much more limited economic base in the region than forestry, it shares the same cyclical and uncertain characteristics.

The Community of Terrace

a) Climate and Physical Setting

Terrace is located at the cross-roads in the Northwest region of British Columbia. The road to the south (Highway 25) leads to Kitimat, with the Nass river Road providing access to the Stewart Cassiar Highway to the North. The main highway in the region (Highway 16) cuts through Terrace and follows the Skeena River from Prince Rupert in the west to Hazelton, Smithers, Prince George and the interior to the east.
Terrace is 50 miles east of Prince Rupert and 30 miles north of Kitimat, approximately 430 miles northwest of Vancouver. It has a West Coast Marine climate (benefitting as it does from its closeness to the ocean) which gives it the advantages of both an interior and a coastal climate. As a result, the winters are much milder than those of the interior, and the summers considerably drier than those of the coast. Much of the fall and winter weather, however, is characterized by greyness and rain. Physically, the town is located in a scenic valley surrounded by coastal mountains, and this locale provides many desirable recreational features which attract townfolk and tourists.

b) Municipal Growth

The first non-Indian settlers arrived in Terrace in 1905. In 1911, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway bought land in Terrace for a railway station, by 1927 the town was incorporated as a village and in 1959 it became a municipal district.

The change to municipal status was occasioned by a fiscal crisis. In 1958, Terrace was a village consisting of a small area about four blocks long and two blocks wide with a population of 1,000. In the surrounding area, which included the community of Thornhill, there was an additional
population of 2,000. As the Terrace village debt grew without an adequate residential tax base, the village council decided to change the governmental structure to that of a district municipality and extend the boundaries of the community. With the construction of a road between Terrace and Kitimat in 1958, Terrace grew from a small village to a bedroom community for Kitimat (interview with former mayor, November 1980).

Today, the greater Terrace area is a diverse collection of villages, bedroom communities and Indian reservations with colourful names, like Jackpine Flats, Usk, New and Old Remo, Copper Mountain, Kitsumkalum and Kitsalis.

Old Remo is predominantly non-reservation status and non-status Native Indian, where intermarriage has weakened the blood lines, while Kitsumkalum and Kitsalis are reserves of the Tsimshian tribe.

The single "bedroom" community is Thornhill. It is in an area that is unorganized (i.e., without its own form of municipal government) and is thus under the direction of the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District. Since the Skeena is on the major highway to Prince George, there is also a natural traffic flow from Terrace to Thornhill (Regional District of Kitimat-Stikine, 1980).
c) Population

The population in the Greater Terrace Area is set out in Table V.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thornhill</td>
<td>4,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackpine Flats</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakelse Lake</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subdivision - Highway 16E</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usk</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Remo</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Remo</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KitsumKalum</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalum Lake Drive</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrace</td>
<td>10,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16,163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The population in Terrace has increased overall in the past 45 years, but this has occurred at varying rates. In examining population growth, it appears that from 1941 to the late 1960's the annual increase in population was 8-10 percent, but the 1961 census showed a 200 percent increase over 1956. Between 1961 and 1971, the population increased about 6 percent a year, far above the provincial average. In spite of great optimism and predictions about a rosy future for Terrace, however, the average population rise between
TABLE VI
Population by Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1,473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>boundary extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>5,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>7,149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>8,637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>9,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>10,251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


TABLE VII
Ethnic Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Terrace</th>
<th>British Columbia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>4,805</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Indian</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1,030</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9,990</td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>British Columbia</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>1,265,450</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>96,695</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>79,665</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>198,225</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>53,985</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Indian</td>
<td>52,440</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>70,710</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>112,305</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>60,355</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>195,150</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,184,980</td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1971 and 1976 was only 0.5 percent. The drop in the copper and lumber market at the end of 1974 had a major impact on the economy of the area (Table VI).

Terrace has a diverse ethnic composition (see Table VII) similar to that of B.C. but with a much larger Native Indian, Dutch and French population. The large French population stemmed from a migration during the mid-fifties when the forest industry activity boomed and there was a surge of workers from Quebec.

The image of northern communities as a "young peoples" town is substantiated in the Terrace Community Plan (1980: 26). The population composition reveals that the largest age group in the community is in the 5-19 year range and that there are considerably fewer people in the over-50 age groups.

Comparing these age groupings to Vancouver, Census Canada data reveal that while 30% of the Terrace population is between the age of 5-19 only 16.7% of the Vancouver population is; conversely only 4.2% of the Terrace population is 55 years and older compared to 26% of the Vancouver population (Census of Canada, 1981).

The following table reveals some additional demographic differences between Terrace and the major Lower Mainland city of Vancouver (Table VIII).
TABLE VIII
Comparative Data Terrace - Vancouver

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Terrace</th>
<th>Vancouver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single, Persons</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of People/Household</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The changing economic base has also had an impact on the ethnicity of the population. The Native Indian population has remained stable in the region (although it has fluctuated in Terrace with migration in and out of the reserve areas) but other ethnic groups have become more visible with changes in the economy, particularly German, Scandinavian and French Canadian.

d) Employment and Income Structure

The present economy of the community of Terrace is based primarily on the forest industry and the trade and services sector. Logging, sawmilling and pole production dominate industrial employment. Two sawmills and wood operations are estimated to provide a third of the jobs in the Greater Terrace area (Table IX).

Other major industrial employees include B.C. Hydro with
78 people, the construction industry with 300 people and 100 employees of the Aluminum Company of Canada who reside in Terrace (see Appendix B for a listing of private sector employers and businesses in Terrace).

### TABLE IX

**Employment Statistics**

**Forest Industry - Direct Employment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Cellulose Ltd.</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Pohle Lumber Operations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Twin River Timber Ltd.</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price-Skeena Forest Products Ltd.</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacGillis and Gibbs Ltd.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little, Haugland and Kerr Ltd.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logging Contractors (see Appendix I)</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurocan Pulp and Paper Ltd.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown Zellerbach Ltd.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacMillan Bloedel Ltd.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,532</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*February, 1979


Part of the attraction in moving to resource communities which may be geographically isolated is the wage scale differentials between that community and the metropolis. Marginally, Terrace shares the hinterland characteristics of higher wages, averaging in 1975 $1,500 more per annum than in Vancouver.
There is a discrepancy, however, between Terrace and Kitimat as the average income for Kitimat in 1975 was $11,840 compared to $10,085 in Terrace (see Table X).

**TABLE X**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Income (Based on All Individual Taxation Returns) Northwest Region, 1974 and 1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Income ($)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest Region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulkley-Nechako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Houston</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Smithers</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Burns Lake</td>
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<td>- Telkwa</td>
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<td>Kitimat-Stikine</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Kitimat</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Stewart</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Terrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skeena-Queen Charlotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Prince Rupert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Port Edward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stikine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The 1981 labour participation rate in Terrace was 80%
for males and 56% for females. In 1982, 35% of the labour force was unemployed and 20% of those were female (Canada Manpower, Terrace, November 1982). This compared to an unemployment rate of approximately 9% in Vancouver for 1982.

**Under/Development**

The physical, demographic and economic condition of Terrace as presented above developed out of a number of historical processes. Here, we turn from this synchronic representation of the current situation to a brief examination of the developmental stages that underlie it. The nature of this development is one of progressive underdevelopment, an increasing incorporation of the town into a hinterland status.

I The Period of Locally-Owned Enterprise

An examination of the economic history of Terrace documents its progression from a locally-owned economy to an externally controlled, resource-dependent community.

The main industries during the early years of settlement in Terrace were farming, trapping and the supply of cordwood to riverboats enroute to and from the village of Hazelton. With
the demand for railroad ties, prompted by the building of the Grand Trunk Railway from Winnipeg to Prince Rupert, many small lumber operations developed along the right-of-way and the first tie mill in Terrace was built in 1908.

The railroad reached Terrace in 1911 and at this time a second lumber mill was built. Two other mills located in or near Terrace were built in 1928 and 1930. During the depression years, these mills provided steady employment, and Terrace remained a small logging and farming community with little population growth (Asante, 1977).

Prior to 1941 the population in Terrace was about 500. During World War II a boom occurred in the lumber market; with the arrival of Terrace of 3,000 service men, extensive building and other activities related to an army base helped the economy to flourish. The population dropped back to normal, however, at the end of the war.

The second industry in the Terrace area was agriculture. Farming began in the 1900's and flourished within and around the town although it never reached the economic importance that was originally predicted for it during the early settlement of the area. Even so, the region had many natural assets as described in the local paper in 1919:
The salubrious climate of this valley is most delightful. Terrace has an elevation of 223 feet above sea level, while the surrounding mountains rise to heights of several thousand feet. The valley is just far enough east of the coast to be out of the wet belt without finding itself in the dry belts such as occur in the eastern interior.

Though a comparatively new district, this valley has been found to give most marked success in small fruit growing and already has won considerable fame through its production of strawberries.

Poultry raising, bee-keeping, and limited dairy farming promise to develop rapidly in harmony with fruit growing (Kitto, 1979: 18).

II Change and Progressive Incorporation

Major changes took place in the 1950's and 60's which altered the economy and social organization of Terrace in fundamental ways. There was a change in both the scale and ownership of local enterprise and in the strength of incorporation of the town into a hinterland-metropole relationship.

The first change can be traced to the granting of a tree farm licence to Columbia Cellulose a Vancouver-based company. The very large acreage (825,000 acres) extended from the west side of Kitsum Kalum Valley through the lower Nass Valley, the Meziadin Lake area (near the Stewart - Cassiar junction), the Zymvetz River watershed, and portions of the lower Skeena drainage watershed.
The second major development in the area was the construction of the Alcan Smelter in Kitimat in 1954; this was the beginning of Terrace's role as a service centre. From these beginnings the pace of change accelerated. Little, Haugland and Kerr Ltd., the major producers of lumber and poles in the area, was sold in 1958 to a Chicago company. Soon after, lumber operations were shut down but the production of poles continued. Skeena Forest Products bought off Little's timber rights and became the second largest producer of lumber products in Terrace. Multinational corporations, Crown Zellerback and MacMillan Bloedel, provided the major stimulus to the economy of Terrace in the 60's and early 70's.

The primary economic base narrowed in this period as agriculture declined. Farming, which had become quite diversified by 1950, suffered from the high costs of clearing land, poor transportation, low returns for farm produce and the absence of marketing agencies. In addition, the burgeoning forest industry with its better pay and shorter working hours attracted labourers. The influx of workers into the area as a result of the changing economy also created a strong demand for residential lots and much of the farm land was sold and sub-divided. Moreover, the upgrading of the major highway allowed produce to be shipped to Terrace from southern British Columbia and California.
These factors led to a sharp decline in farming activity in Terrace.

The farms which flourished in the 1950's were essentially family-run enterprises. Those remaining in recent years have been hurt financially through the "dumping" of products from southern British Columbia and northwestern U.S.A. into local stores and local producers have taken financial losses by being forced to sell below production costs. In addition, another effect of dumping was the loss of markets for the goods of family-run enterprises. The development of agriculture continues to be hindered by the purchase of prime farmland for non-agriculture purposes such as housing and industrial developments (Lockhart, 1980).

Within the town, however, there are a number of indications of its past agricultural life. Several private yards have an abundance of apple and cherry trees and many homes sport luxurious flower and vegetable gardens. Terrace continues to have lush growth and a satisfactory climate for growing fruits and vegetables; one is still able to go to a neighboring community where agriculture is dominant and purchase a winter's supply of apples or potatoes. Agriculture in Terrace, however, is now a very limited part of the economy and is engaged in by only a few families of German or Dutch origin and usually for private rather than
commercial consumption.

The reorientation of the local economy changed the composition of the town. Most obviously, it marked the decline not only of major local ownership but also of a substantial number of small entrepreneurs - local farmers and growers and small-scale, independent lumbermen. Reflecting on the narrowed economic base, Lockhart says:

In the fifties, of course, the logging industry was composed primarily of a very large number of small scale units operating relatively independently. The so-called portable mills, usually family operations, some of them a little bigger than those that operated on timber sales, small sales which the B.C. Forest Service allocated here there and everywhere. The lumber was of course cut in the bush. It was milled in the bush against small portable mills then hauled into central places like Terrace and the rough cut lumber sold to the planer mills. The planer mills then finished the lumber and sold it in large blocks abroad or wherever. This created a kind of environment in which you saw quite a bit of opportunity for small capital, small entrepreneur- ship if you like. You saw a lot of seasonal employment and a lot of off season trade-off employment. Workers tended to divide their time say between the fishing industry, the lumber industry, maybe some agriculture (though in Terrace not as much as some of the other regions) and it created patterns where people tended to work 3 months in the logging industry, a couple of months in fishing industry (maybe off to Rupert) and so on. I think it distributed the opportunities better than they are distributed today. People didn't identify themselves so much in one sector and so what opportunities were available were sort of fairly well distributed.

What happened then, as everybody knows, through the sixties and particularly the seventies, there was major consolidation in the forest industry aided and abetted, (almost promoted I guess) by government policy
which wanted to consolidate these small timber sales into large scale tree farm licenses, have a large corporation manage these treefarm licenses and the large corporation then was responsible for all aspects of the logging. Along with this also came as you know, presumably a better utilization of the timber inasmuch it was now the chips of the pulp and paper industry. And so it became really quite impossible, virtually impossible, for small scale operators to exist and they really went right out of business.

So then we have the large scale operators too in this region, and the consolidation goes on. The only area left in the forest industry which is still open to small entrepreneurs, small family enterprise in a field that used to be dominated by small family enterprise, is the independent truckers (interview, 1980).

III Terrace as a Regional Service Centre

By the early 1970's, Terrace faced a potential crisis as its dominant industry, forestry, was running out of available timber. Diversification was necessary if any stable economic base was to be established. With relatively good transportation links with the surrounding regional centres (the Kitimat highway had been improved in the 1960's), it seemed feasible to develop the town as a service centre. This prompted the influx of government agencies to Terrace which was followed in 1979-80 by the growth of light retail industry, a by-product of government involvement (B.C. Business, July 1980: 60-61).

Although industrial employment continues to be dominated by the forest industry, the largest number of
employment positions is provided by trade, services and administrative activity. Community perceptions are that 1976 was the year in which the nature of employment changed. The growth of the service sector is demonstrated by 1979 figures revealed in the recently commissioned community plan. These show that 36% of the employment activity relates to services and commercial, 32% to wood processing and 32% to government agency employment. In this way, the composition of the town again shifted, with significantly increased groupings of entrepreneurs in the service sector and public sector bureaucrats on rotation "up north" in Terrace.

IV Prospects for True Development

This shift to services and government, while changing the employment profile of the community, has not significantly altered the dependency upon the forest industry. The light industries such as welding shops, equipment contractors and heavy equipment suppliers are still dependent upon forestry for the major portion of their business. The district has sufficient industrial land to accommodate normal industrial growth for the next decade. The absence of secondary industry, however, makes for a fragile economy and this economic vulnerability is noted in the Terrace Community
Plan. It finds that economic stability is particularly elusive....

for resource communities such as Terrace, which can be significantly affected by world market conditions or introduction of a major new industry into the area. The past industrial development was based upon forest resources. Two sawmills and related wood operations provide about a third of the jobs in Terrace. Over the last decade, some diversification in the industrial base has occurred with establishment of a variety of light industries based on equipment supply and services, construction, warehousing and wholesaling. There is still a real need for further broadening of the industrial sector, through either secondary wood manufacturers or further expansion of light industries (Kerby, 1980: 50).

The Community Plan also suggested the susceptibility of northern resource communities like Terrace to fluctuations in world market conditions. As previously noted, between 1961 and 1971 (a period of strong lumber markets) the annual population growth in Terrace was 6% and the average annual growth of 0.5% from 1971-1976 reflected a collapse in world lumber markets. During 1978 and 1979 the devalued Canadian dollar generated a good market and economic prosperity for local mills. More recently, however, the local labour forest industry, which directly employs a third of the local force, has had to face the possibility of serious difficulties in obtaining timber in the next decade and a decrease in forest based jobs is
Predicted. Even potential growth in a methanol plant in Kitimat and a port at Prince Rupert have only marginal implications for Terrace; nevertheless, the local Chamber of Commerce and other service and business groups are optimistic about the future of each of these communities. This optimism is based on the location and interdependence of the communities, and it is suggested that they will play a dominant role in the development of the Northwest region of the province (Ministry of Economic Development, 1978).

Contrary opinions about future economic development in Terrace, however, are revealed in the July 1980 edition of B.C. Business:

Residents of Prince Rupert, Kitimat and Terrace are masters of the waiting game...During the past 30 years, these three major northwestern B.C. communities have been the focus of much discussion in regards to industrial and resource development, port expansion, improved transportation links and increased tourist traffic. For the most part unfortunately, talk has been in abundance while concrete results have been rare (p. 59).

Thus, predictions about the economic future of Terrace are discordant. The Northwest Report (1977) suggests that the forest industry will remain the dominant source of primary industry employment. It does, however, recognize
that operating margins are getting thinner for Terrace sawmills as distances to logging sites increase; it also sees manpower shortages in the forest industry and in particular skill trades.

The Terrace Community Plan (1980), while noting the problems facing the community, identifies some alternatives which might provide a more diversified and stable economy. It suggests, for example, that agriculture in the Terrace area shows promise for the future as a result of increasing transportation costs which will mean that the cost of imported vegetables will rise. Consequently, local produce again, as in the earlier period, will be in a more competitive position. The Plan emphasises, however, that in order for agriculture to regain some importance it is essential that agricultural land not be put to other uses (Kerby, 1980).

The Community Plan also suggests that in order for Terrace to achieve a broad and diversified industrial base the Municipality will have to actively support the existing forest companies and attract new industry to the area. No new major industries have located in Terrace since the construction of Skeena Forest Products in 1959-60. By contrast, light industry has increased significantly but
many of the new companies are dependent on the forest industry for a major portion of their trade. Secondary wood industries such as a plywood mill, furniture plant or a finished wood products factory have been given as the local preference. The attraction of these industries is that they would allow those in the work force with skills in timber extraction and processing to fit into new but related jobs. The authors of the Community Plan also stress the need for the reality of the problems confronting the local forest industry to be faced in the community. Because of these problems they recommend a feasibility study to examine the potential for establishing secondary wood industries in Terrace; moreover, they suggest that the Municipality investigate carefully the future of the local forest industry (Kerby, 1980: 63-65).

Finally, the Northwest Report (1977: 213-214) in predicting the economic future of Terrace, notes that, while "external" problems exist in relation to forestry, agriculture and mining (as providing the potential or current economic base) there are also "internal" problems of underdevelopment. The most significant of these, and one which the Report claims creates inequitable social and financial cost for area residents, is the uneven tax burden between Terrace and Thornhill. The Terrace area,
according to the Report, is faced with the dual problems of high property taxation levels in Terrace and an inordinately large and unserviced population in the unincorporated Thornhill area. This situation not only creates an unequal tax burden but also results in poor transportation and poor social facilities in Thornhill. The recommendation made in the Report is that a senior government agency investigate and carry through the amalgamation process so that the Terrace area can eventually become reorganized into a viable, well-serviced integrated community.

Overall, these development plans have a striking symmetry. The hopes of Terrace seem to rest largely on the possibility of "undoing" much of the process of underdevelopment that incorporated it in a hinterland relationship in the first place. However sanguine planners and local boosters may be, a metropolis-hinterland perspective would suggest that real development is, by definition, difficult to achieve. It is made all the more difficult by the fact that many elements in Terrace are unwilling or unable to confront the nature of the town's hinterland status. That point, however, is the burden of later chapters of this thesis.
Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the Northwest Region of British Columbia. It describes, in general, a hinterland region and the peculiarities and characteristics common to the communities located in this area. It then focuses on the community of Terrace. It attempts to show that Terrace, a resource-dependent community whose economic life is externally owned and controlled, exemplifies the metropolis-hinterland relationship, and the underdeveloped hinterland community.

It is a mirror image of the Northwest Region held hostage to the world markets for forestry products. Unless primary and secondary industries can be attracted to the region, the prospects for change, which will better serve the interests of the inhabitants, remain remote.
CHAPTER III

The Effects of Underdevelopment
Introduction

The geographic location of Terrace, its size, and its economic resource base produce a distinct reality for the people who live in the community. This reality is reflected not only at the local level when discussing life in the north and its attendant problems for residents, but also at the metropolitan level where the hinterland evokes common images of life in the north - geographic isolation, transiency and sense of living in the "boon-docks". How well these images reflect the reality of everyday life in the community is central to understanding the hinterland nature of the town.

The urban area of Vancouver is generally perceived by people living in the north as being more settled, more stable and more "rooted"; to contain a diverse economic, social and political base which allows for options and alternatives. People living in Vancouver are seen to have a wider range of choices in the selection of educational facilities, professional and social services, employers, recreation and entertainment; they are perceived to have a wider range of friendships and life styles from which to choose. However, as this chapter explains, this is not the situation in the underdeveloped, resource-dependent, hinterland community of Terrace.
Lack of Basic Urban Amenities

Viewed from the bridge across the Skeena river connecting Thornhill to Terrace, the ramshackle physical appearance of the town is immediately apparent and provides evidence of the erratic development which has occurred over the years as a result of a shifting economic base. If the outward appearance of a community is an important indicator of the social stability and quality of life, then Terrace has little of either. The natural setting of the community is beautiful and yet it is marred by the vacant lots, litter, open ditches, abandoned cars and unpaved roads. The town lacks park facilities, particularly at the neighbourhood level and the lack of developed parkland has a profound impact on the physical appearance of the community.

Thornhill itself is even more obviously unplanned. Visually many parts of it are an "eyesore" with trailer parks and shacks abounding as a result of lack of zoning and building restrictions. Although dependent on Terrace for all of its services, shopping recreation and entertainment, Thornhill maintains a distinctive and separate presence. There has been an effort on the part of the local council to undertake a "beautification" program in Terrace but to date this has been limited and there is no general consensus (or concern) that this is a necessary
undertaking\textsuperscript{1}. Indeed, such a program is seen by many as irrelevant to the real economic needs of a community which struggles for survival in an often changing economic market. There are, however, two large recreational facilities in Terrace: a swimming pool and an arena.

Access to what facilities there are is made problematic for some residents by the lack of local transportation, as noted by the Skeena Manpower Development Committee (1979: 7):

A major concern encountered in all communities involved the need for some type of local public transportation. This would fulfill the need for shopping trips, recreation and entertainment trips centred in the community. In addition, it would provide a service, besides taxis, to people after pubs and movies closed for the night.

Terrace has recently established public bus service in a few areas of the residential and downtown cores but there is no corresponding service in the bedroom community of Thornhill, which is dependent solely upon Terrace for all its services except public schooling. Even special interest

\textsuperscript{1} The centennial library is one of the few public buildings in town where a concerted effort to visually improve its surrounding area has been made. The library sits on the corner lot of about one-half acre in the downtown core and the entire space has been landscaped with flowering shrubs, fruit trees and public benches and picnic tables. The librarian remarked that it was one of the few places in town that had been subject to a beautification program which had not subsequently been destroyed by vandals.
groups like the Women's Centre have tended to remain situated in Terrace, rather than spreading into the outlying areas around Terrace. One of the original sponsoring bodies for the Women's Centre was the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District which is involved in town planning in Thornhill. An official from this organization noted with some displeasure:

The original concept that we were told as the sponsoring body was that they were going to try to get out to people's homes in Thornhill - women that were tied in with children and stuff. And in the end they ended up with just wanting to be a drop-in centre, wanting everybody to come here into town and it just didn't work because the women that really need that kind of support couldn't get there.

Lack of Local Opportunity

The nature and structure of the regional economy and society have contributed to the incidence of a number of social problems in the Northwest, many of which are typical of northern, resource-extraction dominated areas in this Province and elsewhere in Canada (Ministry of Economic Development 1977: 30).

The technological change and increased capitalization of the resource industries have created the present occupational and social structure within the Northwest region. During the 1950's and early 1960's, rapid shifts in labour skills demands occurred and local workers found themselves excluded from a job market which was accommodating large
influxes of workers recruited from outside the region. Similarly, small independent operators, particularly in the lumber and fishing industries, found themselves taken over by consolidated industrial companies. These operators were also excluded from access to public resource by government policies which stressed efficiency and conservation (Lockhart, 1980).

The social effects of this change in conjunction with geographic isolation are wide-ranging and pervasive. Newcomers to the highly paid economic activities often see residency in transient terms, as a means of making money or gaining valuable professional experience. Formal certification demands by highly technical companies puts local unskilled workers at a severe disadvantage; social tensions develop in the absence of economic opportunities, and many young people leave the region due to a lack of economic and social opportunities. Lockhart points the finger at the logging industry for its lack of training programs. He claims that the industry is not interested in training but wants its workers to come trained (interview, November, 1980).

Just as many men are attracted to the region by the resource extractive economy, women may move away because of a lack of job opportunities. As a result of sex
imbalances, a labour force characterized by high turnover, is further destabilized.

The Northwest Report states that school drop-out rates in the Northwest exceed the British Columbia average while education attainment levels are below average (1971 census data indicates that 51% of regional residents had completed grade 11-13 compared to 57% for the province). In addition, access to higher education has been more difficult for residents of the region.

This report, however, also notes the necessity to maintain a pool of surplus labour in the community. In order to accomplish this, it recommends that a pool of employees be kept available to fill these projected shortages; in addition, it recommends that appropriate vocational training be instituted. The recommendation is echoed by the secretary-treasurer of the Regional District:

We have a fair degree of energy but we're a little timid about developing some of it, but we have a fair supply of raw resources alright. If we have failed in any areas it is the manpower area. We might have failed because we are first of all not training our own people that are in this area to take on those responsibilities. We may not be paying them enough. You know when a person like my daughter can be on an all girls survey team with very little experience and earn up to $2,000 a month at 19, then we do have a lot of jobs that don't require a higher level of training but the real key here is that we have not yet discovered how to match the opportunities that exist (interview, February 1980).
a) Native People

With respect to employment and minority status, Lockhart (1980) claims that with shifts to capital intensive primary extractive employment, unemployable non-Natives could leave for opportunities elsewhere and thus have greater access to retraining. For Native people, however, leaving means entering another culture and losing their own. Many think the price too high and consequently, they stay. As a result, Native people in the Northwest face severe unemployment. Data from the Department of Indian Affairs indicated that in 1973 almost one-third of the status Indians living on reserves in the region were dependent on welfare (Ministry of Economic Development 1977: 31).

Interior Natives are primarily hunters and trappers. The erosion of the traditional economy of interior Natives has increased the unemployment in this group. For the most part the employment situation for them is dismal. Unemployment rates on reserves are approximately twice as high as those of the rest of the regional population (Ministry of Economic Development, 1977).

1. In contrast, the coastal Indians have been less affected by the loss of the traditional way of life. Indeed, some coastal Indians have done quite well. They lead a less migratory life style, tend to put down permanent roots and consequently have less unemployment among their people. An example of this economic stability (and in some cases, wealth) is seen in many of the Native families in Prince Rupert.
The unemployment problem is particularly acute among Native women. A survey by the Kermode Friendship Center in Terrace revealed that of 300 Native women only 27% were employed. This compares to a general female labour force participation rate in that community in 1981 of 56%. Although the Native women surveyed gave lack of training as the primary reason for unemployment, Native women between the ages of 21-40 who were skilled also experienced difficulty in finding employment (Kermode Friendship Centre, 1979).

b) Professionals

While in many respects professionals stand at the opposite pole from Native people, women and youth in the Terrace labour market, they too suffer from a lack of alternatives locally. Professionals or skilled people who want to stay permanently in the community may be unable to do so because of a lack of employment. The editor of one of the three local papers (who is herself seeking alternate employment) sees the employment situation as problematic for a number of people:

I can think of several people who've left because they've had to, either they were over-qualified or there was simply too many of their kind in this place and some of the best people who want to stay have to leave.
This particular problem relates most often to professional women who are unable to find employment in their fields in a predominantly male-employment milieu. The professional and service base is either not wide enough or willing to accommodate the skills of many of its citizens and they find alternate employment, where possible, or leave.

**Labour Instability**

Lack of employment opportunities for the labour reserve of the young, women and Natives and of employment alternatives even for skilled workers and professionals, makes for a condition of labour instability which feeds on itself. The Skeena Manpower Development Committee (1979) describes the region as a "revolving door". High wages occasion high prices; difficult economic conditions curtail employers' operations:

Thus, the very attraction that may draw people initially becomes the source of instability (Skeena Manpower Development Committee, 1979: 10).

Labour instability is an economic fact of life since it is in the logging and woods industry (including pulp) that the greater volatility in labour force reductions, layoffs and turnover occurs. Even so, the true magnitude of layoffs
and employment decline remain somewhat hidden by the practice of temporary closures of varying duration. Even in stable producing enterprises such as Alcan, the instability can be crippling:

Yes, these major employers are concerned about the high cost of turnover and retraining employees and I understand that when Alcan first opened, they had something like 200% turnover and now it's down to 40%. That's a really high cost to employers (Skeena Manpower Development Committee, 1979: 11).

Major employers like Alcan and Eurocan continue to have a difficult task in retraining workers. This is a particular problem in a town such as Kitimat which offers little in the way of cultural and social diversity, ironically a "planned" community but with no central core:

There isn't enough to do. You can't just wander down the main street of Kitimat for entertainment cause there isn't one (interview Community Planner, Terrace).

In a distribution and service centre such as Terrace, the problem is somewhat different but of comparable magnitude.

1. Terrace has tried to act as a service centre for Kitimat. However, as Marchak notes (1983: 328) Kitimat has had greater success than Terrace in the provision of services because of its access to the Douglas Channel and as result, is generally perceived to be the regional service centre.
The government employers tend to have high turnovers due to transfer rather than turnovers from labour instability that might result from quitting, layoffs, or seasonal employment. Desired stabilization has not been achieved. The senior probation officer, for example, himself a government employee commented:

I would like to think the town is less transient and yet the trend toward government employees is a suggestion that it is going to become more transient—government employees being fairly upwardly mobile and directed back down south again.

**Transiency**

The negative synergism among the problems of limited opportunity and poor amenities is conceptualized in terms of a single issue—transience—that townsfolk put forward as the most destructive problem facing the community.

For the unskilled or semi-skilled labourer, Terrace represents one of many potential employment locations which depend upon the forests for survival. Work may be seasonal, thus pushing workers from one location to another. The unskilled labour movement, however, is only one kind of transiency which confronts the community.
Perhaps the more entrenched and potentially destructive aspect of transiency relates to that group of middle class professionals for whom Terrace represents a means to an end, and the means is most often related to financial gain. This group is best represented by doctors, lawyers, school teachers, engineers and managers, who do the northern stint:

Our experience has led us to speculate that a large proportion of people who come to the north (both the hourly-paid and the "profession" workforce) do so with a predetermined and finite time commitment for the job and to the community. Many people refer to this commitment as a "northern stint". The usual time-frame is an expectation to stay in the area between three and five years. The decision both to stay for such a period and to leave eventually, although rarely made explicitly, appears to be by no means wholly unconscious. The actual length of the "northern stint", however, can in many cases be influenced by certain events and some of these potentially "quasi-permanent" employees may decide to leave before "their time" and hence take on the characteristics of "shorter-time stayers" (Skeena Manpower Development Committee, 1979: 27).

The corrosive effects of transiency touch many aspects of community life, many of them in unexpected ways. A number of illustrations serve to show how Terrace is condemned to a lower quality of life than the structure of services and facilities it has built up would suggest.

A young female employee of the District who has worked in Terrace and Thornhill on plans to provide recreation and
services, notes the effect of transiency on the local real estate market:

Since I have been here, I have watched turnover of managers in Manpower or Canada Employment Centre and I think we are just starting on our fourth manager in three and half years. Each one of those managers bought a house here and sold it for $20,000 profit. They are artificially forcing house prices up above the value or the cost they should be. Like, people coming in here and turning over, and other people coming in and they don't value the price of houses for what it's worth here. And maybe they are being transferred from Calgary where a house goes for $250,000 and they come in here and get for $80,000 and think "great bargain" but that really is a $60,000 house on the Terrace market. You know, I have seen this again and again, and that example comes to mind because there is just a manager leaving and one coming. There are very few self-made businessmen in Terrace except small business and those don't have any significant impact. The most significant employers here are government and multinational.

The long-range impact of this is that those people who are more permanent and who decide to purchase a house find that, in an inflated market it is no longer possible. In this, the economy favours the interests of professional transients who represent or are agents of the metropolitan institutions and services.

Professional transiency has other ramifications, particularly within the education system which is the
single largest employer in the community. A local housewife with children in school noted:

If you've got transiency in the teachers as well, you're getting less of a commitment. Here you lose them every year, every two years.

The impact of transiency is also evident in the social service area. During 1979-80 all but two of the casework staff of the local Ministry of Human Resources either left the community or found different jobs. For many, job frustrations are an accumulation of a number of factors which are not all employment related. The decision to leave the community may be a result of a number of concerns, some community related, other personal or professional. The net effect, however, is a lower quality of service.

This negative effect, moreover, is reinforced by a further tendency. The geographic location, as well as the relative hardship conditions of the North, produces job applicants for both private industry and government positions who are less well-qualified in relation to academic attainment and job-related experience than in the more
southerly areas of the province. This is particularly important as these communities in the northern region are most in need of qualified and experienced people. The dilemma was pointed out by a professional woman who has spent many years in the Northwest and who is concerned about the future of communities like Terrace:

It's isolated and needs highly competent people but these people are not prepared to put up with isolated, troubled communities. As a result, inexperienced people get the top jobs without the corresponding competence. If experienced people do come, they don't want to work with such incompetence.

According to the Regional Director of the Ministry of Human Resources, Kitimat and Terrace have particularly high turnover rates of social service workers as a result of the number of "sick" families and the generally demanding conditions, in addition to the other problems of northern living. She claims that workers in these agencies either burn out because of the demands of the job, or because of personal problems that they bring with them to these northern communities. Less well-qualified people also come to these areas in order to gain experience which will make them employable in more geographically-attractive regions of the province. The net result is predictable:
Every service is crisis-oriented so everything goes around in circles. Work loads are tremendous and most of the agency policies don't confront the major problems.

Despite the abundance of alcohol-related problems in the community, there is only one alcohol counsellor. The counsellor recently changed jobs as a result of "too much work and too little pay" and it took three months to replace him. This is in direct contrast to Campbell River, another resource-based community of a similar size in the Lower Mainland, which has six permanent alcohol counsellors. What this suggests is that, in a province like British Columbia, all resource-based communities do not share the same hinterland characteristics. The proximity to the Lower Mainland may account for differences since accessibility to large urban centres influences job-seekers.

The geographic location of the town has created for many a sense of isolation and lack of communication with either the Lower Mainland or more southerly parts of the province. This sense of isolation was identified by the Skeena Manpower Development Committee (1979) which was initiated at the request of local industries and unions in order to document and account for the high rate of labour turnover in the area. The committee found that geographic
isolation was strongly associated with job turnover.

**Inability to Identify and Respond to Central Issues**

Some Terrace residents recognize the various problems identified with transience. Their hope is to find a solution in a new development program. Regional development is seen by many as the key to the future of Terrace and the answer to the boom-and-bust cycles which have long plagued life in a community dependent upon the forests for its survival.

The hoped for effect of regional development whereby Terrace would become a general service centre for the North, is based on the premise that more people employed by the logging industry will move out to remote camps. Thus, there are expectations that the economic nature of the community will change from a boom-to-recession economy to a more stable, service economy (Bostock and Stillwell, 1980).

The burgeoning service economy is welcomed and optimism about its impact continues to grow (B.C. Business, 1. For a discussion of the meaning of term see Appendix A.
July 1980); nevertheless, concern is voiced by some longtime residents working in various positions about the future of the town. As logging sites become increasingly remote and expensive because so much of the area adjacent to the town was logged out without adequate reforestation, there is a sense that unless new industry, either primary or secondary, comes in to fill the gap, the town may be in for another decline. These sentiments were echoed by the manager of the local Kitimat-Stikine Regional District:

Secondary industry for some reason is really hard to get off the ground. People talk about it a lot and it seems like a really logical route to go but our main problem is that we are so far from the market, you know, that it seems (what happens) up here is to ship out everything raw and get it made up somewhere else.

and also by the editor of a local paper:

Well it's been talked about since I've arrived in Terrace that there's no need whatsoever for us to keep shipping out our beautiful woods, our good hardwoods, to places like Japan and the buy them back. But somehow it never comes about that we get together and do these things ourselves here.

The knowledge of "being controlled" by outside forces is very much a part of community perceptions, and a number of individuals alluded to a feeling of helplessness or a
lack of control over their own destiny. Two longtime Terrace residents who work in community research, put it succinctly:

So basically I think we are victims of a fickle economy and sort of puppets to controls outside of this region. And I wouldn't say we had much control over our own destiny. And that's what I would consider the biggest disadvantage to all the planning and developing of these small communities. You have just got to be really careful what you develop, because you know it could just all go out from under you in a few years.

and,

Well I see that unless the government, provincial, especially, --because the municipality is a ward of the provincial government and the business community -- if we don't get it sorted out as to what we're going to replace the forest industry with, then the future for Terrace is a gradual loss of, first of all, the forest industry, and then the civil service. That backs up the forest industry because, whereas we've been growing say at 5% a year, we will start going the other way.

And from an official source:

Amongst residents, there is not only a sense of isolation from essential services, but perhaps more deeply felt is lack of involvement in decisions made by governments whether in Victoria or Ottawa, or by corporations with "absolute control" from places like Vancouver, Montreal, or Toronto, or even from outside the country (Skeena Manpower Development Committee, 1979: 9).
Although a recognition of the fickle economy of the town exists, it goes along with a strong belief in the durability of reforestation. "Boom and bust" cycles are perceived as a normal risk for those who live in a resource-based community. Moreover, a general optimism (stimulated by the local Chamber of Commerce and business groups) tends to prevail about the future of the town, an optimism that is shared by similar northern resource communities that live on the edge of world market demand.

Thus, even among those who recognize the nature of the problems that Terrace faces economically and socially, there is a sense that nothing ever really gets done about them. Optimistic endeavours seem always to be slightly beside the point. For example, 1979 saw a building boom of sorts in Terrace. A large indoor shopping mall, a regional health centre complex, the foundations for a new courthouse, and new regional head offices for B.C. Hydro and B.C. Telephone were begun. Whatever its other benefits, such growth does little to change the dependent and inherently underdeveloped status of the town.
The "Northern Mentality"

The contradictions of hinterland status are reflected in a set of attitudes that can be styled the "northern mentality". Consistent with the discussion above, this set includes a sense of relative deprivation, resentment against powerful external forces from the "south", but also optimism and a feeling of frontier potential. From the boom-and-bust environment in which they exist, "northerners" live simultaneously on the verge of things suddenly becoming much better and of everything collapsing around them (Mattiasson, 1970; Marchak, 1983).

The northern mentality is generally given a positive cast (particularly in the north). A sense of geographic isolation, intemperate weather conditions and economic uncertainty work together to shape community identity. In addition, the combination of geography, industrial base, environment, and small size play a major role in the development of northern image as a population of hardy, independent, hard-living and hard-drinking individuals (Nickels and Kehoe, 1972).

1. Although not geographically a community in the far Canadian north, people in Terrace still possess many of the attitudes and values common to what are known as northern communities. They talk about Terrace as if it were the classic northern community. This is an important factor as the ability to be categorized or the degree of self-categorization affects expectations and behaviours.
This same self-image also has a negative side and acts as an ideological constraint on effective mobilization of community resources to deal with problems of dependency. This chapter on the effects of hinterland status concludes, therefore, with a discussion of additional elements of the northern mentality and their implications.

Isolation and A Sense of Hardship

While Terrace is at the intersection of the transportation routes in the northwest (road, rail and air) it is still a very isolated from the major centre of Vancouver, having little access to the stimulus which city life offers. We are isolated, often by weather conditions which make travel in the region impossible. And, most of all, we in Terrace are isolated from each other, in that small communities hold little opportunity for people to develop friendships and form support relationships with each other. The meeting places of towns like Terrace are the taverns (Kinesis, 1980: 6).

Within northwestern British Columbia people generally live in what are considered (certainly by southern standards) relatively isolated communities. The main mode of passenger travel in the area are private car, airplane, bus and train service. Although the mode most often used locally and for outside travel is the private vehicle, the Terrace - Vancouver air route is one of CP Air's best money makers. The price of air fares, however, has increased substantially (by 50%) over the past two years and even with economy and charter flights and the advent
of Pacific Western Airlines onto the scene with a daily run to Terrace and Smithers, frequent travel to the Lower Mainland remains a luxury for all but the affluent. Travel by car to Vancouver is at least a two-day trip, often under extreme weather conditions in the winter and spring months.

The outside media, television in particular, are a constant reminder to those in the hinterland of their comparatively austere and isolated existence. They reinforce, especially through visual presentation, what people don't have and may never have. For example, a television portrayal of Vancouver, which includes such things as crowds, an urban downtown, and the profusion of choices available, reinforces the sense of isolation in Terrace. This feeling is aggravated by the fact that most of the media that come in to the north reflect metropolitan life and interests.

The Vancouver Sun and the Province, both published in Vancouver, arrive in Terrace daily, weather permitting. They are sold out in a matter of hours. Their popularity reflects a "hunger" for news of the outside despite the fact that they are a daily reminder of the community's geographic isolation. Most of the contents relate to metropolitan activities such as "big-time" politics,
cosmopolitan lifestyles, professional sports and entertainment. There are stories on hinterland communities but usually they are negative and leave the impression of unattractiveness.

In contrast, the local television and newspapers reflect purely local interests; for example, community affairs, guest speakers at the last Chamber of Commerce meeting, Concert Society events and other social and recreational activities. Community interest is less enthusiastic about the local media than about the provincial and national.

**High Cost of Living**

The average income in Terrace is only somewhat above the provincial average - i.e., $11,700 - $11,111 (Central Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Economic Development, 1976), and yet it is a hard reality that living in a town like Terrace is generally more expensive than in most of the southerly areas of the province.

The Northwest Report notes that, although there are no recent or comprehensive studies available on comparative cost of living differentials in various regions of the Province, two studies undertaken in 1971 and 1972 relate costs in Prince Rupert and Kitimat to those in
Vancouver. These studies indicate that the overall cost of living in the Northwest communities was 8 to 9 percent higher than in Vancouver; food was about 14 percent more expensive and the overall cost of shelter was 10 to 11 percent higher. Factors contributing to this differential appear to include high transportation costs\(^1\) and limited competition among retail outlets in some Northwest communities (Ministry of Economic Development 1977: 29).

Wages in Kitimat are higher than in Terrace, and this is largely a result of its major employers' (Alcan and Eurocan) ability to attract workers (at least initially) with better pay, strong union representation and the benefits of living in a company town. Moreover, employers realize that workers must be offered above-average wages in order to promote recruitment in these relatively isolated environments. The costs of living for the two communities are similar, although housing costs in Kitimat may be slightly higher than in Terrace.

\(^1\) A local merchant in Terrace put it in simple terms saying "the transportation problem is going to lick you every time - the freight rates".
Services and Facilities

For reasons already noted above, one of the most common complaints of residents in Terrace relates to the calibre of social services that exist in the community.

Medical and legal services in Terrace are considered adequate - there are three clinics which employ a total of 15 general practitioners and 3 law firms of 3 to 4 members each, in addition to another lawyer in practice on his own. There is, however, neither a full time legal aid lawyer nor a neighbourhood legal services society in Terrace. Medical specialists who are based in Terrace (a pediatrician and an urologist) service other communities in the Northwest as well. Three of the town's lawyers also travel on circuit to the distant communities of Dease Lake and Stewart. This is also the practice of the two provincial court judges who service the outlying areas in conjunction with their full-time duties in Terrace and Kitimat. The country court judge travels to Terrace from Prince Rupert every two months for divorce hearings and trials.

Virtually all other service segments exist in the community - insurance companies, accountants, land appraisers, dentists, an orthodontist, a chiropractor.
In some respects, as seen by the number of specialists, the service sector is sophisticated and uncharacteristic of the hinterland. In other ways, as exemplified by the limited social service network, which never really addresses the social problems in the town, it is typical of the underdeveloped hinterland.

Services also vary by socio-economic status and by age of recipients. This is shown most clearly in the social and recreational areas. These services abound for adults who can afford skiing, golfing and curling or for those who have particular interests or skills. Similar facilities do not exist for teenagers. A middle-aged female volunteer worker with the local Friendship Centre note

Well, I know if I had to state categorically the one major shortage or concern that I have for social services in the greater Terrace area, say the Terrace and Thornhill area, it would be for teenagers.

For adolescents who remain in school, the situation is more positive because there are a number of school-related activities. For the many school dropouts, semi – or unemployed youth, the situation is bleak; there are two pool halls and two pinball arcades. Until it burned down in 1970, a Civic Centre brought townspeople together
in a social way. The former mayor who moved to Terrace in 1958 described it as a more "together" town as a result of the Centre:

It was the only show in town; it was the only place to go. You had bingos, you had dancing, and it was because of the size of the thing and the high ceilings and the fact that the floor was not finished until the last. Just before it burnt down they put hardwood floors but up till that time it was a very hard type plywood, and so you could do anything on it.

My wife was involved with the Little Theatre. We had a stage there and you could nail the props into the floor, whereas we now have a nice R.E.M. Lee Theatre. It's a beautiful theatre but, if you want to put a stage set up, you've got to use sandbags. You've got to be careful with everything.

The Civic Centre was not rebuilt. The town split over how to spend the insurance money and the issue was decided when a new mayor was elected who was against rebuilding the Centre.

There is now a swimming pool and an arena and activities are geared to organized sports. Thus, recreational and social events that were once held at the community hall now take place at separate locations and some of the more unorganized activities, which teenagers were formerly involved in, are non-existence. There is now a more formal planning of social events and recreational activities.
The Resultant Construct

The effects of underdevelopment as seen in inadequate transportation, lack of basic amenities and local opportunities as well as general labour instability, are ever present realities for the residents of Terrace. They are also constant reminders of the subordinate position of the town in relation to the metropolis. The "northern mentality" emerges in response to the resulting feelings of helplessness and powerlessness.

The "northern mentality" reflects the conditions of life as seen in isolation, relative hardship, uneven opportunities, high costs, and, many other aspects of hinterland life, not least the weather and the presence of the wilderness. Some further correlates of these are discussed in later sectors of the thesis.

The hinterland as an isolated, harsh resource frontier is a male-oriented, macho environment. The boom-and-bust economy leads to an emphasis on optimism, risk-taking and rugged individualism. These, in combination with a relative lack of resources, means that sociability is valued: work hard, play hard. A clash between the values of rugged individualism and sociability means that neighbourliness, while celebrated, is strongly tempered by privacy. And the sense that one's fate is in the hands
of big "southern" interests also conflicts with attitudes about independence and engenders fatalism.

As with its counterpart constructs that reflect life in the metropole (eg. Vancouver's 'lotus-land' mentality), two things stand out in this list. First, this set of attitudes is not equally characteristic of Terrace residents. A person newly transferred to Terrace does not immediately start thinking like a "northerner". More to the point, the contradictions among these attitudes and inherent ambivalences are important. It is part of the "northern mentality" to scorn big-city life but, in towns like Terrace, the sentiment is likely to be one of envy.

The "northern mentality" seems to function as a set of attitudes that can be selectively addressed. For example, the feeling for the outdoors and interest in hunting, fishing, camping etc. would suggest the basis for a certain kind of environmentalism in Terrace. To the extent that "environmentalism", however, can be characterized by influential persons in the town as an outside southern ideology, opposed to development (the raison d'etre of a frontier resource community), opposition can be mobilized against it.

Because this thesis is concerned with social problems and the management of conflict, the "northern mentality" enters the argument primarily in negative
ways. As noted already, the value ascribed to optimism and risk-taking makes it more difficult for the community to acknowledge serious structural problems in the town's hinterland economy. Similarly, in discussions below about social problems like family violence and juvenile delinquency, machoism, an adult-male orientation, and related views about privacy on the one hand, and the emphasis on self-reliance and gainful employment on the other, inhibit attempts to even raise these issues as community concerns.

Hinterland Status and Social Problems

Both the severity of social problems and the emphasis on institutional response vary depending on the hinterland status of the particular community. Terrace's institutional response to social problems is typical of the hinterland community in general outline. However, it is important to realize the different outcomes of under-development in various hinterland communities.

For example, the work of Blishen et al. (1979) and Honigmann (1965) document the differences in hinterland communities in delinquency rates by using social cohesiveness measures. Blishen et al., in reviewing the literature on communitarianism, note that:

Rural smallness or hinterland remoteness is in-and-of-itself no guarantee against the encroachment
of the privatization syndrome; forces that for the past century have promoted the economic over the social basis of community may now be revising these priorities (1979: 33).

However, the findings of Blishen et al. document the pervasiveness of privatization and social isolation in many hinterland communities. By selecting eight communities in the Pacific Northwest with a diverse economic base the authors found that the most socially, economically and politically cohesive community was the agriculture community of Smithers, while the most privatized and socially isolated was the single industry town of Kitimat (see Appendix D). Similarly Honigmann (1965) found that juvenile delinquency was rampant in those communities with the least amount of community cohesion.

Another instructive comparison would be Campbell River and Terrace. Campbell River has a much more diverse resource base than Terrace, and, in addition to logging and pulp and paper, has fishing and mining. This diversity provides a more stable economy than does dependence on single industry, such as forestry in Terrace. Furthermore, it provides different employment opportunities for youth, particularly for Native juveniles. As many of the

1. Smithers is considered by many residents in Terrace to be the "model" community of the Northwest. It is seen to have economic and population stability, low crime rates, better service levels and is generally more progressive in terms of addressing human needs and social problems.
Native fathers are owners of fishing boats in Campbell River, Native children have access to employment opportunities in that industry. In Terrace the situation is quite different. Few of the Native fathers have regular employment, and there is little opportunity for Native children to get employment through parents. The probation officer in Campbell River claims that there is no problem with delinquency among Native youth and that at any given time, only about 5% of his juvenile probation caseloads is Native (interview, March 1981). In Terrace, by contrast, Native juveniles comprise approximately 38% of the juvenile caseloads (LaPrairie & Griffiths, 1982).

The institutional response naturally reflects those differences. Even more significant, however, may be the differences due to relative geographic isolation. Much of the British Columbia population resides in the Lower Mainland, and communities like Campbell River which are located in that region, tend to be serviced more like metropolis communities than like those in "real" hinterlands. Communities with easy access to the major urban centres of Vancouver and Victoria are perceived as more attractive places in which to live and there is little difficulty in staffing social agency and government positions with experienced personnel.

The differences extend even to policing styles. As officers get transferred laterally, it is common for police
who have spent considerable time in special units such as youth work to be transferred to Campbell River from Victoria or Vancouver. In Campbell River, for example, there are two police officers who deal exclusively with juveniles. In Terrace, by contrast, juveniles are dealt with by all police officers as part of their general work and few have had any particular training or experience with youth. Frequently the officers transferred to Terrace are young and on their first or second assignments. Those officers with more experience in police work have been posted to other communities such as Prince Rupert, Prince George, Whitehorse and Williams Lake which are similar to Terrace but have not had special unit policing.

Other differences and similarities in hinterland communities are identified in the literature. Marchak (1983) provides a snapshot of the instant town of MacKenzie, B.C. MacKenzie, like other instant towns, is described by Marchak as isolated with shallow social roots. In spite of a body of literature that describes the "stages of growth" (which ultimately leads to a nature community) in instant towns, Marchak claims that this literature largely ignores the basic economic conditions of dependence. The economic stability of resource dependent communities is a direct outcome of steady employment (according to Marchak) and it is this and not social conditions that accounts for differences in communities. For example, there is a much greater

1. Interview with the crown counsel in Campbell River March 1981.
instability of total employment in the almost single-industry town of Quesnel than in the more diversified Prince George. This is not to suggest that there are no differences in social conditions in resource dependent towns, but rather that a lack of economic diversity and economic autonomy creates the difference in labour stability, and ultimately in social conditions.

MacKenzie, though a new forestry town, exhibits many of the same characteristics as the old logging town of Terrace, despite its being a "planned" community. Marchak notes that the municipal council appears to act in the interests of the dominant company, the lack of local control is exacerbated by the absence of any independent group of employees, the only entrepreneurs are tied by insecure contrasts to the major forestry companies, and transiency cuts across the social fabric of the whole community (1983, pp. 317 - 321).

Summary

Within the underdeveloped, resource-dependent, hinterland community of Terrace certain realities of life exist for the population. A lack of basic amenities, lack of local opportunity, labour instability and transience are everyday facts of life.

The kinds of decisions which face urbanites and residents of Terrace are different and are important factors in
understanding the wide-ranging effects of underdevelopment. In cities, for example, one can choose a variety of educational, recreational and social facilities. Within Terrace no such variety exists. Perhaps of more importance is the limited decision-making in the employment area. The narrow economic base of Terrace (and the limited opportunities for promotion within the sawmill and logging industries) often forces people to remain in unsatisfactory jobs.

In response to these conditions, a set of attitudes, commonly described as the "northern mentality", has evolved. This mentality consists of a sense of hardiness and independence in the face of isolation and general hardship. However, privacy (a consequence of the clash between individualism and sociability) is revered and a general fatalism reflects a recognition of continued dependency.

And yet not all hinterlands are alike in terms of social problems or the community response to these problems. What seems to account for the differences are factors such as economic dependency, geographic proximity to larger urban centres, the development of a sense of community whereby there is a "communal" response to problems, the diversity of the economic base, and the steadiness of employment. What these difficulties argue for is the need to comprehend the specific characteristics of separate hinterland communities in order to understand individual and community behaviour within particular
metropolis-hinterland contexts.

In Terrace, attitudinal positions reflect the nature of social relations, and in particular, underlying power positions. Therefore, it is to the social organization of power that we turn next.
CHAPTER: IV

Social Relations and Power
Introduction

The ability of Terrace to generate a unified community response to problems (or even to generate any consensus about the nature and cause of problems) is compromised by the very dependency that is at the core of these problems. This is a vicious circle but not a simple one. To explain how it operates, one must augment the description of problems of hinterland status as they affect everyone, through examining in greater detail the social organization of the town. For, in fact, the common problems of isolation, difficult transportation, economic instability, and high cost of living each hold different implications for different social strata in Terrace. Equally, each grouping has different motivation and capacity to respond to perceived problems.

Social Strata

1. The Labour Reserve and Native People

The labour reserve is not a social stratum so much as a residual economic category - the unemployed and the under-employed who, for whatever reason, remain in town. This grouping includes some relatively skilled persons and a larger proportion with few skills. Much of this category
consists of the same groups we will discuss in greater
detail later, as among the most powerless and down-trodden
in town - the young<sup>1</sup>, women and Natives. While neither
youth nor women fit very comfortably into traditional notions
of social strata, Native people can be so placed.

There are two small reservations, Kitsalis and
Kitsumkalum, which are situated on the fringes of town. The
majority of Natives (many of whom are part-Native as a result
of considerable inter-marriage) live in ghetto-like areas of
the town. Native people are publicly visible in some of the
ways that Natives, typically, have been visible in Canadian
towns and cities, - drunk, wandering the downtown streets,
or grouped in front of hotel entrances or stores. The lack
of acceptance of Native by the townspeople is summed up by
one resident:

The Native people, they don't seem to belong here
in Terrace very well, The Friendship Centre for
instance, - I don't know if you know them very well,
but they - even since we came here - they've really
been, they've had a hard time getting programs off
the ground. They rely on grants. They have to.

Over time, discrimination against Native people has
not changed:

1. The serious lack of career opportunities for youth
in Terrace has already been raised.
Now your old-time population already had their feelings about Native people and those feelings have not changed.

The integration of ethnic groups into the dominant social and economic activities of the community would seem to relate to what one theorist describes as their ethnic "acceptability", i.e., whether their economic contributions are considered important and whether their values are seen to be similar to those of the dominant groups (Symeist, 1975). Within Terrace, people of German, Scandinavian and French origin are readily accepted into the economic and social mainstream. Stereotypes of other minority groups, such as Native Indian and East Indian,¹ are generally negative and self-fulfilling.

People of Native origin are the most chronically unemployed in Terrace as in other hinterland communities, a fact which Lockhart (1980) attributes to the distinct clash between cultural values and technological demands which occurs when industry moves into heavy Native-populated areas.

¹ Another minority group which suffers similar prejudices, but who seem more able to find employment, are East Indians. The East Indians are viewed, nevertheless, as untrustworthy as a result of their self-imposed cultural segregation. In this community, East Indians are not physically integrated into the community but keep tightly to themselves. East Indian children walk to school with other East Indian children and are as socially isolated at school as are their adult counterparts in the work-place.
The employment situation for Natives, both adults and juveniles, is a major problem and the unemployment and underemployment of Native people continues. The most pervasive sentiment in the community, even among "liberals", is that Native people are less reliable as workers than non-Natives. The editor of the most liberal newspaper in town stated:

I can understand how it starts because there is a different approach to lifestyle. And when you hire a Native person, you can be fairly sure that you're gonna have different kinds of problems from when you hire a white person. And we've had proof of that just in five years, which makes you reluctant to try again, and so I can see how it develops if you've lived in an area for very long and you've only run across Native people who don't come through with your expectations of them.

For Native juveniles there is little access to employment opportunities as this group lacks the skills and contacts which are necessary to gain employment and this is compounded by workers (and employers) reinforcing the stereotypes of Native employees:

I think it's manifested, - it's essentially in the work place, though I would like to think workers were the embodiment of all wisdom, knowledge and goodness, in fact they've not. There's a tendency to see foreigners and Indians as essentially a threat to jobs. A lot of stereotyping with respect to laziness, of lot of stereotyping with respect to rate busting; East Indians rate-bust and Native Indians are lazy; both are a threat from opposite ends to the established work culture (Lockhart, 1981 interview).
Employment opportunities are scarce for this group as they are without fathers or friends in influential positions to offer them employment. The Native manpower counsellor describes the connection between unemployment and the structural reality for Native youth:

Native kids find it hard to even look for employment because of families on welfare and broken homes.

The economic weakness of Native people is a major reason for their ineffectiveness in raising issues and influencing decisions to their benefit. Although there has been considerable activism among the provincial Native political organizations in B.C., there is very little activism evidenced in Terrace. The Regional Director of the Native Court-workers Association who has been politically active in B.C., suggests that this situation is the result of Native people in Terrace being transient and tribally diverse, two factors which have made it extremely difficult to reorganize the Native population within the community. The only exception to this is the recently formed Native Women's Association which has organized more successfully since it cuts across status lines and its members are probably less transient.
2. Workers

A description of the economic profile of Terrace and the composition of its work force has already been given above. The forest industry, some forest industry-oriented light industry, the utility companies and various government services employ considerable numbers of workers. This local economy is characteristically unstable and work force instability and transience, therefore, are two factors that clearly compromise the ability of workers to cohere and deal effectively with the problems they might identify in Terrace. But it is not so easy to write off workers as ineffectual in face of the fact of significant unionization. Organized labour might seem to provide a clear counter to some of the effects of transiency. What needs explaining, therefore, is the nature and striking limits of union militancy.

Union Militancy

In Terrace, labour militancy is sporadic and episodic. Himelfarb, in examining unions in single-industry towns, concludes that local unions are neither strong nor are they very militant and seldom do they participate in community affairs. In addition, negotiations are friendly as there is a concern that militant unions could jeopardize the
economics of the community.

Jamieson (1962), in accounting for the lack of union militancy in hinterland communities, isolated a number of causal factors. He claims that, in B.C., unions are centralized in the urban lower mainland and are, therefore, distant from the hinterland areas. Wages and working conditions are the primary union concerns. Finally, the intense competition on the Pacific Coast between the International Woodworkers of America and the major building trades unions has diffused other union issues.

The fact that unions are not localized but come from the metropole means that union activities may not address the specific needs or concerns of the local community. Rather, general union policies are filtered to the community from three sources, all very removed from the local community: international, regional (Canada) and local (Western Canada). The IWA has only three locals in Canada, which means that it is very difficult to exert any pressure for a recognition of community concerns, particularly when the community is in the hinterland rather than in the large urban areas. This is not to suggest that the needs of workers are unrecognized by the union. What it does suggest is that union policy-makers are too physically removed from the community to adequately
address local needs. As such, the local union officials must accommodate to local conditions as best they can. A member of the Skeena Manpower Committee pinpointed the problems the unions:

I would say that the IWA's a very large union and it may vary from location to location, but then this region, speaking specifically to Terrace, ----- is the business agent in this area and he is a member of Board of Governors for the college, he's extremely focused on training and entry. He's absolutely a gem and therefore the IWA in this region is absolutely a gem. They push and push and push but without great success. Now it is industry wide bargaining and I would think, I don't want to speak for ... but I would assume that he has some problems with his headquarters when time comes to bargain with the industry, they probably put his points fairly low on the bargaining list.

Personal connections in a small town may also diffuse the power of the unions. In Terrace, for example, the head of the IWA sits with management on the Labour Council, and there is an attempt to try to work out differences as it is commonly believed that negotiated settlements are best for the industry and for the community. The president of the IWA in Terrace also feels that unions are generally less militant now than they used to be. He attributes this to the fact that thirty years ago it was necessary to be more militant, but now that unions are well-established and members have gained many of the benefits that older members fought for, there is more complacency.
A number of groups with an involvement in environmental and labour related activities exist in the community but it is difficult to assess the impact they have or will have in the future. The Skeena Manpower Development Committee, representing several employers, unions and government agencies, is challenging the existing labour structure (and through this, many of the problems that they see as endemic to the community, such as labour instability, alcohol abuse, transiency and the provision of professional and social services). As the co-ordinator of that group notes:

I think labour instability was the thing they couldn't avoid and that shows up on the bottom line of both union and labour and at the same time there was also bad labour relations generally in the wind. So the combination of labour instability and bad labour relations I suppose was the motivating factor for them to create an organization which would bring labour and management together in one forum.

The Committee recognizes that economic growth is not adequate in addressing a range of community needs and that a community must also develop and mature in other ways. They realize that past growth has tended to leave out certain segments of the population such as Native people, women and youth and that for everybody to prosper from growth, change must occur. By including Natives, women and youth, the committee feels that longer lasting ties
in the community would be established, solving problems of seasonal employment and high turnover rates (The Hearld, Oct. 20, 1980). There are signs, however, that this Committee is losing its momentum and one member has predicted the outcome of the work of the committee:

...here we don't have the organizational base, we don't have the funding ... that's always true to start so why is it we can't build it? I think the reason we can't build it is that we are still viewed skeptically at one level and fearfully at another.

Even the involvement of the local Canada Manpower agency has not provided a power base for the Committee. The co-ordinator claims that Canada Manpower views the Committee as a kind of regional clearing house for forecasts on labour needs, labour and power development and expects it to keep out of the quality of life and community development issues. Support for both Canada Manpower and the Provincial Department of Labour subsided when the Committee began to address social issues as major factors in labour instability.
3. Spiralist Professionals and Bureaucrats

"Spiralists" are persons pursuing careers that require them to advance through a succession of postings. In Terrace, there are two (at least partially distinct) groupings of such persons, distinguishable mainly in terms of their connection to the town's central economic institutions. Directly connected are managers in private industry and commerce, dealt with in the next section. Here, we discuss very briefly, the professionals and government bureaucrats.

Most of the provincial government departments and some federal government agencies are represented in Terrace (see Appendix C). At both levels of government, regional directors and local managers are posted from the Lower Mainland. Like the company managers in the private sector, the public sector managers take their direction from their central agencies in the metropolis (Marchak 1984).

The transient professionals use the community as a way of creating a particular life style which excludes social involvement and commitment in community concerns. A few members of this group may have settled into the community as long-term residents, but the community remains a means to an
end. It is a place where doctors and lawyers (to a lesser extent) can make considerable amounts of money in relatively short periods of time. Their involvement in long term municipal activities is minimal. As one respondent notes:

Well, government groups are again the transient people who are non-involved, and the professional groups, oh it was about the time I came twelve years ago, there was a doctor on the school board and there was a doctor on council, and there hasn't been since. They just are not interested in municipal things for some reason.

There are a few professionals, however, who do not let their temporary residence interfere with their ambition. To succeed, however, they must exhibit certain characteristics which gains them entry to the local corridors of power:

A selected few of these incoming professionals, if they serve the right kind of social apprenticeship and show the right kind of deference and also show the right kind of financial interest, will be admitted but only under those terms will they be admitted (interview, Nov. 1980).

Thus this group, which is in a position to become knowledgeable about and articulate local social issues, tends either not to get involved or, for those who decide to make a career in the community, join Terrace's equivalent of the "old families".
Those employed in the government sector exert power in a very different way. The representatives of the bureaucratic structures administered by federal and provincial government, while not having power directly at the local political level\(^1\), nevertheless exert considerable control over the lives of citizens. In this, however, they operate to service the powerful by controlling the behaviour of the disruptive elements of the community. As Elias (1975: 99) notes, with respect to the operation of the bureaucracy in another northern hinterland community:

As a tool of the powerful and as participants in the administration of authority, the bureaucrat becomes a supporter of the attitudes, ideals and objectives prevailing amongst the powerful.

4. Spiralist Managers

In all of the forestry companies, the senior personnel from the mill managers up, are from the Lower Mainland and local offices are controlled and directed from the metropolis. Hiring, operating and training practices and policies are designed in the metropolis and carried out to the letter, by the managers in the hinterland.

1. The nature of their political participation is circumscribed by their role as civil servants.
Similarly, all the financial institutions such as banks, trust companies and lending firms fill their managerial positions from their head offices in the Lower Mainland (Marchak, 1983). This means that local people are excluded from the senior managerial positions. Again, all policies and major decisions emanate from the metropolis.

The large food chains, Safeway and Overwaitea, and the department stores, K-Mart and Woolworths, follow similar practices as the forest industry and financial institutions, and send senior managers in from their head offices. Another company which follows the same managerial policy is B.C. Tel, a private American-owned company with a regional head office in Vancouver.

The position of managers as representatives of metropolitan interests in the hinterland makes it manifestly clear that they are not the people to spearhead any radical community response to the problems of dependency. If they involved themselves in community affairs, it would be to diffuse dissent and channel action towards 'development' (i.e., enhanced hinterland status). For various reasons, however, including some corporate ones, they tend not to be intricately involved and gladly use proxies (see next section).
A major reason for limited involvement is personal and careerist. On a personal level, most of these managers want to do well as their posting to the hinterland is a necessary step in climbing the career ladder. Their personal goal is for their work to be noticed and approved at head office and subsequently rewarded. The reward may be a more senior position and/or a posting back to the Lower Mainland. Not only is their heart not in the town, but the problem of getting noticed in head office when you are out in the field, is itself, a full-time job.

5. Local Business and Independent Professionals

From the above, it may seem that all of the economic life of the community is externally controlled. This is not the case as there is a locally-owned business community (and an allied group of independent professionals). As will be shown in some detail in the remainder of this chapter, they are centrally involved in running Terrace and generally control all local councils and boards. Their public interest stems from fact that their personal and career investments are mainly in the town. It is those investments that suggests the terms in which they are likely to view community issues.
The business community, to begin with, is critically dependent on the forest industry. For example, Totem Ford, a car dealership, leases and services all of the vehicles used by B.C. Timber. Similarly, the trucking companies in town owe their financial stability to the forest industry. It is not surprising that most of these locally-owned businesses, dependent upon the forest industry, do little to "bite the hand that feeds them". In other words, they give tacit support to the more directly controlled local offices to maintain the policies and practices issuing from the metropolis.

Those active in municipal affairs seek not merely to please metropolitan interests, however, but also strive to bring about additional benefits for themselves. While this means their goals and those of the large corporations are not identical, paradoxically, they often tend to serve metropolitan interests better than their own by pushing the community in certain economic and social directions. The directions which dominate and which are initiated by the local powerful include business and land development and ensuring that the region of the north becomes an industrial heartland. As Lockhart states:
I think that an awful lot of the local politics is dedicated to certain kinds of development schemes which are well designed to line the pockets of the particular politicians and/or their friends and/or that particular world view. The influential manager of the Regional District has a world view that sees the north and this region of the north particularly as becoming an industrial heartland - a 19th century view of progress that's a very privatized image (interview, 1980).

The 'group' that has controlled the municipal council originally organized around the issue of paving the roads in the early 1960's and at that time it was known as the Timberman's Association. In 1964, it backed three candidates in elections for public office (Municipal Council) and two of the three were elected. The group changed its name from the Timberman's Association to the Better Municipal Government group in 1967 and increasingly its members were drawn from the small business sector rather than the forestry industry. Recently, the name of the organization has changed once more, and it is now known as the Concerned Citizen's Group. The perception of individuals, such as a former mayor and the town historian who claimed some knowledge, was that the main concern of the group was for land and industrial development as members have considerable land in and around Terrace.

Muller (1979) claims that land development is a primary concern of the powerful in Terrace. In Kitimat, its nearest
neighbour, the development of the light industry sector and the more limited heavy industry sector have made land within the Municipality a precious commodity. Land development in both Kitimat and Terrace is a primary concern to the councils of both municipalities and there are suggestions that the local elite of the two towns control all the major political decisions particularly as these are reflected in land development:

The connection between Terrace Council, Kitimat Council and the Regional District board to the property industry is a cosy relationship ... it is this local elite that dominates the political process of the Northwest and also controls the planning and development process.

If it weren't for the two teachers on the Terrace Municipal Council, the total number of council members involved in real estate and development corporations would probably even be higher (Muller, 1979: 12-13).

Another power base resides in professional groups and, within this particular community, is located with the group that has the greatest money-making potential - the doctors. The hospital board, which meets in-camera, is seen by some to exist for the convenience of the doctors, and appointments occur where there are clear indications of conflict of interest. The doctors are also known to be large landowners and developers in the community. According to a local activist politician who has just
recently come back into the political arena as one of the two reform candidates elected to the municipal council, the influence of the doctors is considerable:

I spent three years on the hospital board and the doctors played a major part in the development of the town. They've played a major part in the political (sense) because they have the money. They've played as partners with the other people. I can't think of one doctor that has actually been a developer themselves, they have generally gone in with someone else.

...because you see, to look at the power tree of the doctors, - I always think of the hospital as the money tree and the doctors cultivate the money tree and they do that through the hospital board to make sure that the hospital functions to the best of their benefit.

Social Stratification and Social Organization

a) Housing

Terrace, as with similar small communities, allows a glimpse of this social stratification in ways that are more obvious than in a city. Such things as the composition of the residential areas, where people live, and the kinds of structures in which they live, are indicators and clues to the socio-economic patterns of the community.

One of the most visible aspects of the residential "sorting out" is the difference in housing areas. Terrace
nestles in a ring of mountains with a natural plateau formation creating a ledge around three-quarters of the town. The area near this ledge, known as the "bench" or "horseshoe", is considered a choice place to live. Within this large residential area, there are desirable locations, primarily the edges of the "bench" which overlook the town and offer a spectacular view of the river and the mountains. Status is further enhanced by living on view streets on the bench, a move from the valley to the bench is an indication of increased status. The residents of one of these streets are mainly doctors and dentists; there are a few blue-collar workers living side by side with the professionals. However, they remain socially apart as there is little socializing among neighbours of different status.

There are many housing areas in the community which reflect the economic status of middle to lower income groups but these are primarily in the less desirable geographic locations. There are sprawling housing developments in the flats of the town and on the bench behind the ridge which overlooks the town. Houses may still be purchased in some of these locations for $30,000 to $50,000. On the other hand, there are the trailer courts and the Native settlements along the Queensway where trailers and shacks are plentiful.
b) Socializing

The way in which people interact also reveals the social layering in the community, as much of the social and recreational activity depends upon membership in formal structures. Porter (1965: 13) provides an account of community layers:

Most communities have their "old Families", their "high class" streets, and their "other side of the tracks". They have their church congregations of important folk and their gospel tabernacles, their country clubs and their pool rooms. Between these institutional roles which separate the high rankers from the low rankers is the unpretentious and respectable social life of the middle groups.

Attitudes and beliefs about life in the community correlate with membership in particular social, professional or recreational clubs and associations. Although diverse in nature, the groups have internal consistency in terms of demographic and status characteristics. There is little movement between the more distinct groups but some individuals may hold membership in more than one group. For outsiders who lack professional and/or other qualifications but who may adopt similar beliefs, access to the various groups is possible but limited. Access, however, is virtually denied to those who are defined as radical, activist, or ethnically inferior.
In present day Terrace, the Concert Society and the Little Theatre not only play major roles in the cultural life of the community, but provide a forum for social relations based upon particular allegiances. The pool-arena complex promotes sporting associations through hockey, swimming meets and other contacts. Memberships may overlap where there is a merging of occupational and recreational interests, and membership in the Golf and Curling Clubs is a good example of that overlap.

There are certain occupational patterns which dictate social interaction and groupings. Those involved in the various components of the criminal justice system socialize with each other as do medical personnel, teachers and local business people. At another level, workers in the logging industry, public works, B.C. Tel and B.C. Hydro interact socially. For minority groups, such as Native people and East Indians, culture and status dictate social relationships, and for the former, social life often revolves around the consumption of alcohol. For the more transient and unskilled whites, who are less easily integrated into any of the established groups, the major social activity is related to drinking in the local beer parlours.
The church in Terrace plays a relatively important part in the life of the community. Himelfarb (1982a) claims that as in most small towns in Canada, one-industry towns are characterized by an accentuated sectarianism. The large number of churches, each serving a different denomination, is an indication of deep religious cleavage. Not only does the church provide a ready made in-group but it also provides facilities for recreation and sponsorship of a variety of clubs and associations (Riffal (1973) in Himelfarb, 1982).

Within the community of Terrace there are fourteen churches ranging from Seventh Day Adventist through evangelist to the well-established Roman Catholic, Anglican and United Churches. Although membership in the Roman Catholic church is largest, the church with the most influential membership is the United Church. Local politicians and businessmen as well as lawyers and doctors belong to this church. Many social activities are church-related, particularly for those who belong to the Catholic and Anglican churches.
Political Institutions

Provincially Terrace votes Social Credit; federally, NDP won the Skeena riding (of which Terrace is a part) in the last election although prior to that election the Liberal party was in power.

Historically, at the provincial level, the MLA's from Terrace have played an active role in the development of the forest industry. E.T. Kenney, a member of one of the oldest Terrace families, was the Minister of Lands and Forests when the first tree farm licence was issued in Terrace and subsequently sat on the Forest Management Committee which administered the Forest Act. Kenney was also involved in the implementation of the Industrial Development Act under which the aluminum smelter in Kitimat was constructed; this same act will allow the implementation of Kemano II. Apart from Kenney's six year reign as a Minister of Lands and Forests, there have been few Ministers from the Terrace riding. Kenney was also the Minister of Public Works in 1952 but only for a few months; the only other Minister from the Terrace area was Cyril Shelford, who was the Minister of Agriculture for the Social Credit government for approximately four months but was defeated by Frank Howard, the present NDP member.
It was suggested by a number of respondents that Terrace proper is Social Credit despite the fact that the riding has voted N.D.P. both federally and provincially. One person noted wryly that "the people who vote N.D.P. are not the businessmen". At the municipal political level, Social Credit businessmen with land and industrial development interests retain the balance of power. As a former woman member of the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District Council commented:

Well, it seems like the political organization sure dominated by men who just do not understand what people are all about, and they keep going on the old treadmill because that's what they saw happen and that's what they keep doing, and I know that people have said you cannot run a campaign on social issues, it just won't go over.

The district of Terrace is incorporated and run by a 6-member municipal council comprised of 5 men and 1 women; the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District Council represents the unorganized area and has nine

1. In the 1980 federal election, the combined Liberal and Conservative vote in Terrace, was a third higher than the N.D.P. vote (Personal communication, N.D.P. Research Office, Ottawa). This, and the provincial Social Credit vote, suggest that little influence comes from the N.D.P. within the community.
men sitting as councillors; and the School Board is comprised of twelve members, three women and nine men who represent the various jurisdictions served by School District #88.

There are no other strong political organizations in the community to counter-balance the power of the local councils and boards.

**Institutional Networks and Power**

While a description of the occupational structure and the related social activities suggests the system of stratification which exists in the community, it is possible to delineate the relationship more clearly. Marchak (1975: 35), in identifying the class structure of the primary resource hinterland in B.C. notes:

> With the exception of unemployed, each of the classes has institutional affiliations. The policy-directing class is divided into economic and political elite, managerial workers are divided into corporate technicians, professional in universities, judicial, hospitals and other state organizations etc. Similarly, the skilled and unskilled workers experience institutional divisions within their class (Marchak, 1975: 35).

In order to describe the decision-making processes in Terrace, the next section will demonstrate that power is
exercised by a small group of individuals who are able
to maintain their power through control over the influ­
ential institutions.

Mills (1959: 11) describes the structure of power
relationships:

The people of the higher circles may also be con­
ceived as members of a top social stratum, as a set
of groups whose members know one another, see one
another socially and at business, and so, in making
decisions, take one another into account. The elite,
according to this conception, feel themselves to be,
and are felt by others to be the inner circle of the
upper classes. They form a more or less compact social
and psychological entity; they have become self-
conscious members of a social class. People are either
accepted into this class or they are not, and there
is a qualitative split, rather than merely a numerical
scale, separating them from those who are elite. They
are more or less aware of themselves as a social class
and they behave toward one another differently from the
way they do toward members of other classes. They
accept one another, marry one another, tend to work and
to think, if not together, at least alike.

The metropolitan resource owners may live outside
Terrace; however, as noted above, their interests in the
community are looked after by certain proprietors of small
business and some managerial and professional people. This
is evident through representation of the latter on the local
council and institutional boards which play a major role in
the Community. Another obvious way in which outside inter­
est are protected is through the importation from the Lower
Mainland of managers to fill senior managerial positions in the forestry companies.

This business, managerial, professional group holds a wide range of positions within the community. Its members enjoy high social standing in the community and the means to exert control over decisions made at the local and perhaps the provincial levels of government. For example, the relationship of this group to the forest industry is very strong. One respondent noted that the previous Social Credit Member of the Legislative Assembly for Terrace, was directly employed in the forest industry.

The individuals with internal control in the community are widely connected. Some are directly involved with the major forest companies such as Canadian Cellulose and Pohle Lumber; others are connected to such powerful community institutions as the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District Council, the District of Terrace Municipal Council, a real estate firm, the school board and school administration, CFTR Radio, the most influential law firm in town, and a variety of small businesses.

How do local entrepreneurs support the metropolitan owners? They do this by controlling the most influential bodies in the community. These are, the School Board, the
District of Terrace Municipal Council and the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District Council. The decisions made in these boards and councils are the ones that most affect the social, economic and political life of the community. If the most powerful positions on these bodies are not occupied directly by local business people, then husbands or wives of business people fill them. For example, a logging contractor is also the town manager and sits on municipal council; it is reported that his wife is the liaison person between Terrace and the Social Credit government in Victoria. Another example is the chairperson of the School Board who is the wife of the owner of a number of drugstores in Terrace and other communities in the Northwest. In addition, the secretary-treasurer of the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District is also the technical advisor to the Northern Development Council and to the industrial commission for that area of the Northwest. The wife of the school superintendent sits on the local hospital board; the wife of the chairman of the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District is a past alderwomen on the municipal council; the school teacher husband of one of the prominent doctors in town sits on the local hospital board; the partner of the largest law firm sits on municipal council as does the owner of the local architectural firm; the manager of the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District was at one time the lawyer for Alcan; the son of a provincial Minister was recently made the publisher of the Daily Herald, the largest and most conservative of
the three local papers. This control ensures the maintenance of power.

While these examples only suggest the connections between metropolis and hinterland they are reinforced by the perceptions of people in the community who point out the mutual access between metropolitan owners and local controllers. One respondent, for example, told of a member of the school board who often boasted that she phoned friends in the government in Victoria when she wanted something done.

This influence is also seen in more diffuse ways. One of the political powers behind the Regional District Council is a man who married into a prominent forest industry and political family in town. As a result, he obtained appointments from his father-in-law in government and forestry areas and also moved into investment circles in the local business community. The woman who sat on council for one term, noted that this individual's influence both in Terrace and in Victoria was considerable. Two other long-time members of the Regional Council, with power and influence, were directly involved in the forest industry and were seen to have strong backing from other forestry people.
Needless to say, few decisions inimical to the interests of the forest industry are passed in the councils. This is not surprising since most of the local business, as already pointed out, are connected in some way to the forest industry.

The senior industry managers and some professionals occasionally get seats on these boards; however, the majority of positions are held by locals. The important intermingling between the two groups, i.e., the local business people and the mainland managers, takes place in the various community clubs. These clubs are the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club and the Curling and Golf Clubs. The first two are community service clubs while the last require membership fees set high enough to exclude many of the townspeople. The membership mixture in these clubs is business, professionals, government and senior managers. This group mixture represents a fraternity of interests, and the club forum provides an ideal setting for promoting common interests and goals away from public scrutiny. It has to be assumed that each group keeps the other informed of current business activities which may have an effect on the well-being of the group members, both individually and collectively.

As noted previously, the two service clubs with the
most influence are the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary Club. Their influence is described by a former mayor:

The Chamber of Commerce puts out its figures and people feed on the information and it has a small group of people that meet and that same group of people are also Rotarians. And they socialize with each other and they go out to parties on a weekend and they meet the same people. So generally if you talk to someone that is an obvious Chamber of Commerce type, you're gonna get the set line, cause they don't hear anything from anybody else.

The interrelatedness of all the political and social institutions is demonstrated in a number of ways, most visibly in the social activity of the town. Acquiring memberships in the golf and curling clubs, as well as attending the major social events that take place at the R.E.M. Lee Theatre, under the auspices of the Concert Society, are the recreational activities of the establishment groups. At these events rows of influential people, grouped together, represent the powerful interests in the community - real estate, financial, corporate, and educational.

In sum, this powerful network appears to have a monopoly on power and most other people in town retreat into a sort of apathy. The local probation officer noted "It's not a town, by and large, where people want to get
involved”. A District Council worker expressed the other side of that problem:

Well, I think you are faced with the problem that you get in a lot of smaller communities. What happens up here is that some people are doing ten different things and you get a lot of apathy from a lot of other people. There's a high turnover population and people don't get involved. So that you get a sector of people that are over-involved almost, like almost every person that is on a board, say, whether it's municipal or hospital or school or district regional board, they are also doing several other things. Some of them I even see at different meetings, you know related to things. Almost everybody seems to wear a couple of hats. People that are involved, I mean.

Self-Interested Decision-Making

The view that local politics in Terrace is virtually a closed shop was expressed many times. A professor on sabbatical leave from Trent University (who was formerly a long-time resident of both Terrace and Smithers) describes the political scene in Terrace:

...It has very cliquey-type local political institutions. What you essentially have is a clique of people who run the town, - from time to time reform candidates get in.

He notes the foci of these interests:

One of those cliques operates at a king of exclusive social level and also tends to be very influential
with respect to community-level decision-making. While many of the decisions that affect this community are not made at the community level in the area of community decision-making, they are made in terms of community development—zoning and land and housing development. You see a very small group of people tending to influence those decisions if not directly making them, I would certainly put into this picture the Regional District people.

Power is very centralized in the Regional District manager and his chosen few. I think that meshes well with the civic government, or has in the past, and I think there has been more than a small amount of evidence of collusion and under the table kinds of arrangements with respect to zoning developments. I think we also see that the sort of social activities that go around that group are very compact also, you'll never break into that.

The deciding factors, in terms of who is elected to Council and the School Board, are financial and ideological. The senior probation officer who has lived in Terrace for six years and whose perceptions are shared by many people in the community, described the financial factor:

I mean it is financial. In some ways you get into a stereotype of who sits on the councils and it tends to be the businessmen.

The other factor which binds people together in their quest to seek and retain power are the shared beliefs about business functions and the accumulation of personal wealth. One respondent suggested that "the business and the council work together even if it means swinging the rules". One example of this was the events surrounding the building of the "potato warehouse" in 1977. A local businessman
with a number of business connections in the community went to Council to apply for permission to put up a kitchen cabinet factory on agriculture reserve land. He got permission on the understanding that he would be licensed to be building a potato warehouse. The people on the residential area adjacent to the reserve land, realizing that the building was not built like a potato factory, petitioned to the Municipal Council for its removal. The response to the Council was to re-zone the land for industrial use. This was seen by a business-oriented council as an appropriate solution to a business problem.

At the municipal council levels the decision to favour the Kemano completion project (or Kemano II)\(^1\) was influenced strongly by the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District council and the Terrace District Council although the project was turned down by a number of other councils from Prince George to Prince Rupert. In addition, the major of Kitimat has aspirations of developing Kitimat as an oil port and made overtures to Dome Petroleum for the development of a liquid natural gas project. While

1. This hydro-electric development project would involve the damming of the Bulkley River.
there is strong opposition to such plans from environmental groups, development interests have been consistently dominant on council.

Management of Dissent

The amount of control over the decision-making process which the powerful group has acquired is considerable. The psychological effect on the general population of this control is seen in the public indifference toward most issues unless a particular concern makes people feel personally threatened. This indifference coupled with professional and worker transiency creates a political vacuum which metropolitan-owners and allied local elites readily fill in order to maintain and expand their control.

However, dissent does arise and is taken seriously by the local power group. A variety of mechanisms are used to suppress dissent or, better still, keep contentious issues out of the public forum entirely.

1. Environmentalists

One of the most persistent of opposition forces in Terrace is the environmentalists, under the umbrella of
the Skeena Protection Coalition. This Coalition is comprised of about 150 members from the environmentally active groups of the Steelhead Society, the Wildlife Federation and the Farmers Institute. The members are concerned about heavy industry being brought into the area with no control of and protection for the environment.

This grouping has had some measure of success. An organizer for the Coalition claims that the protests of the groups instigated the Thompson inquiry into the proposal to name Kitimat as an oil port. In addition, in the November 1980 municipal election, three candidates endorsed by the Coalition did well - one topped the polls, another was elected by a comfortable margin, the third lost by only a few votes. Until that election the balance of power on the council had been tipped toward industry. This change would appear to be a result of the voters reflecting a desire for new people rather than for a different ideology as one of these elected members has since been voted out of office.

The counterattack by the local powerful involves the use of scare tactics in a chronically uncertain economic climate. In the Kemano II debate, for example, local politicians warned of major economic loss and unemployment if the project was not supported.
2. Critics and Reformers

Challenges to the existing order are usually dealt with through a process of stigmatization and/or expulsion. Two examples of this process are noted. The first occurred during the winter of 1980 and relates to the "honesty" of the hospital board administrator. A considerable amount of coverage in the local media was given to this individual and his alleged embezzlement of hospital funds. The administrator was a newcomer to the position and to the community. There was a good deal of talk about him and the changes he was making or attempting to make in the hospital administration. After a great deal of speculation, the administrator was forced to resign and shortly thereafter he was charged with fraud. When the case came to court a few months later, it was dismissed for lack of evidence. A member of the academic faculty at the local community college noted wryly:

Yeah, the guy sounded like he probably worked his expense account a little bit hard perhaps, but the overtone was essentially that he'd come in a more basic philosophical sense into conflict with the power elite of this community, -- if we can talk about a power elite, -- and I think we can in this community. And that was the basis of his firing and all the rest was sort of with a thread of truth about pushing his expense account a little hard. The rest was trumped up and subsequently proved to be trumped up. The implications were that this brash young administrator had threatened the established power structure in some kind of way and that this was the way they dealt with it.
Other similar incidents have occurred when individuals have spoken out against the establishment. One respondent tells the story of a United Church minister who started writing to the local paper suggesting that a community plan should be more than just re-zoning and land development, and suddenly nothing more was heard from him about a community plan even though he remained in the community. Since the United Church is the "establishment" church in town, such a deviation or at least what appeared to be an attack on the decisions of the powerful, was not tolerated.

The examples of the hospital administrator and the local minister demonstrate the way in which those in control deal with dissent, that is, it is eradicated in one way or another and the status quo is maintained. The strong and swift response to any deviation from what is considered to be the community standard clarifies what is unacceptable. In addition, it inhibits the development of a social awareness and serves as a warning to potential "intruders". These kinds of constraints directly suppress popular initiatives and/or maintain the boundaries of control by preventing people from exploring alternatives.

In 1977, three high school students made a presentation to the Municipal and the Regional District Council
as part of a social studies course. Their presentation was on the need for a community centre in Terrace. According to a former member of the Regional Council, their presentation was met very coldly at both council levels. Similarly, an open-line radio show on CFTK in 1976 and 1977, hosted by one of the station officials, follows the local "business" line. One individual remembered listening to the show:

When people called up who talked about social things, he wasn't very welcoming and, when they were environmentalists, he openly sneered.

Control is also directly exercised through local businesses. The editor of the newest and most left-wing paper tells the following story:

We had an article about Jim Fulton, the N.D.P. candidate - we had his picture on the front page and we said some nice things about him. Well, we used to sell the paper at Smilin' Jack's restaurant, the most expensive restaurant in town, and I was told that they didn't want them anymore. Being aggressive, I went to them to find out why and a guy who worked there told me that it was because of the N.D.P. thing and he heard people saying that they wouldn't eat there anymore if they continued to carry one paper. When we ran a series about the detriment of the Alcan smelters to Terrace, our papers were cut back in the local stores.
3. Upstarts (and Researchers)

Social problems are not popular issues with the local government and councils. Social issues threaten to make problematic the status inequalities of Natives, women, and youth. Because of the generally conservative nature of the community, it is a simple task for the dominant group to get public support in its endeavours to identify and defuse "radical" groups. Environmentalists, academics and women's groups are the most visible, and the most threatening to those whose own interests are rooted in male-oriented business ideology.

1. The one women who was elected in 1978 was defeated in the last election in 1980. She suggested that her defeat was brought about by a small group of Social Credit businessmen in the town who dictate all the political appointments and who exert economic influence over regional district and municipal council boards elections.

This same women maintains that in her case there was a concerted effort to influence the voters because she was representing the Lakelse Lake area when in fact she lived in the town which is about four miles from the Lake. While not explicity blaming her sex as a factor in the elections, she maintains that she was defeated by a campaign which suggested that she was "parachuting" into another location. She noted that the area that she represented was largely Native. This area extends south to Klem Tu (an Indian Village about 100 miles south of Terrace which is accessible only by plane). She claims that she was the only elected representative from that riding who had ever even visited the Indian Villages in her area, and with her defeat, the Indians would be neglected once again.

It should be noted that in the same election, November 1980, one women who was particularly vocal in her criticism of the school board, lost to a very conservative opponent who was strongly supported by the local United Church.
New perspectives, and a determination to address social problems or social policy may also be stimulated through outside intervention. The present interest in family violence, for example, was generated as a result of the public hearings held by the Task Force on Family Violence (a Vancouver-based initiative) in 1979. In response to this intervention, a citizens' committee was organized to examine issues of family violence. This suggests that although the family violence problems facing the community are considerable, they may be ignored until outside attention is focused on them.

For this reason, research is highly suspect. Three separate research applications were made to the school board in 1979/1980. The first was made by the Alcohol and Drug Commission to do a survey of drug usage in the senior secondary school. The actual survey was permitted but the results were not allowed to be published. Two different rationales for this decision were presented by the same board member. The first suggested that the refusal was in accordance with an undertaking by the school board to the parents that the results would not be made public. The second (provided by this individual in a more informal setting) was that the researchers had not presented their questionnaire to the Board prior to the survey and because of this they were being "punished" by a refusal
to publish. Given the extent of alcohol abuse in Terrace (see Chapter V), a refusal to make the findings public takes on added significance.

Of the requests made in 1980, both were turned down. One was a project on juvenile delinquency sponsored by the Ministries of the Attorney General and Solicitor General and Simon Fraser University, which requested a self-report questionnaire to be handed out in the junior and senior secondary schools. The second was a request by the local Women's Centre to offer a seminar in the schools on racism.

Both requests were denied and there was considerable hostility directed toward these requests by the Superintendent of Schools and the members of the School Board. Neither of the petitioning groups represented the "establishment" in the community. The necessity for an establishment status was revealed when a local doctor (whose school-teacher husband sits on the hospital board) made a submission for sex-education in the schools and it was promptly passed.

In commenting on the women's group's request for a seminar on racism, the editor of one of the local papers described the reaction of the School Board in the following way:
They are scared of stirring something up they don't know how to contain, and that's understandable. But that's a colonial mentality and they know they have problems with their Native people. If you notice anything to do with the School Board that's positive that happens with Native people, it happens in small Native villages; they don't happen in Terrace. They're hiring an Indian art instructor in Terrace now but they're not really addressing the social problems.

The status-quo position of the School Board was also described by the senior probation officer:

I'm sure that the schools see it as their function still to convert people to middle-class norms, lifestyles, values, and the few school people I know around here wouldn't dissuade me from that position.

Summary

Terrace is dominated by business interests that maintain their power through a network of memberships and affiliations on boards, in clubs and institutions. They use both the authority of office and personal influence to suppress dissent. As well, they give a low priority to social issues so that there is no process in place to educate people in activist roles or create a strong and enduring awareness of community issues.

Essentially, they carry out the policy directions
issued from head offices in the metropolis. That is their obvious business function; however, this function does not end at the close of the business day. These same managers are also members of the clubs that matter in town; the clubs whose permanent membership is made up of the local governing and business elite. The latter are all in some way dependent on the forestry industry, so at social gatherings many mutual interests are discussed and resolved.

The local powerful sit on all the boards, councils and municipal offices where crucial economic, political and community decisions are made. It goes without saying that few decisions hostile to their economic interests are passed. They too, though in a less obvious way than the senior managers, are powerful allies of the metropolitan rulers. Their aims are in harmony: economic prosperity, more specifically and personally, the acquisition of wealth.

The civil servants in the hinterland are also representatives but of the provincial and federal governments. They carry out policy directives emanating from their respective offices in the metropolis. They represent and maintain, in less overtly partisan
ways than the managers in the private sector, the interests of the metropolitan bosses and the local powerful. This group also joins the right social clubs and mixes with the managers and the local elites.

The transiency and general indifference to community affairs characterizes many of the professional and government bureaucrats who come to Terrace for career and/or financial reasons. The lack of input into community affairs from those with the most potential to affect change means that the powerful are able to exercise and maintain their control with few real challenges to their authority.

The vagaries of the economy also inhibit conflict as is seen in the general lack of union militancy. Union concerns are primarily employment-related and only marginally do they address social issues, through representation on a tripartite labour committee. Both the provincial and the municipal political processes are tied in with the dominant forest industry. Although Terrace is part of the NDP Skeena riding at the federal level, this has little impact on the day-to-day activities of the town as the town itself votes Conservative and Liberal.
There is little overt conflict in the community and when it does appear the response of the powerful is swift, particularly if it is directed toward an individual or a group with little community support. The more difficult challenges come from the larger and more legitimate groups such as the Skeena Protection Coalition and the Skeena Manpower Committee, and these groups have had some impact on both environmental and labour issues.

There are also some flurries of discontent over the status quo. Recently, at a public meeting regarding the demotion of two school principals, one parent made the following observation about the school board:

The board's attitude is a reflection on the vast secretiveness about any issue on every level of government in Terrace. Taxpayers need to stop being apathetic and watch out for these issues (The Herald, May 7, 1981, : 1).

Whether these concerns will endure is difficult to determine, but the history of the community since the granting of the tree farm licences in the 1950's would suggest that they are little more than infrequent and isolated murmurs of discontent. Without strong,
persistent, and organized expressions of concern about the economy and a rejection of the "boom-and-bust" way of life, the present patterns of life will continue.

Many of the social issues (e.g., alcohol abuse and juvenile delinquency) that confront the town tend to be ignored, except when they reach intolerable limits, or when personal privacy or property is involved. Problems become a matter of official concern only when they spill over, violating third-party interests. The next chapter considers these social problems.
CHAPTER: V

Social Problems and Institutional Response
Introduction

The effects of underdevelopment noted in Chapter 3 are often manifested in social problems such as family violence, juvenile delinquency and alcohol abuse. This chapter examines these behaviours in Terrace and describes the way in which the various institutions in the community respond to them.

Family violence, juvenile delinquency and alcohol abuse were selected on the basis of their visibility and because they were generally identified within the community as the most wide-spread social problems. Documentation of these activities was also found in official sources such as court records, police, probation and social agency files. Although suicide, attempted suicides and divorce rates may be high within the community of Terrace, they are neither visible nor commonly known. Thus, we will focus on those behaviours most explainable in terms of available data.

The inability of people to confront their problems in a public way often means that they seek individual rather than

1. The research literature on northern and hinterland communities also identifies family violence, juvenile delinquency and alcohol abuse as serious social problems in these communities.
collective solutions to these problems. At the individual level, the expressions of frustration may be manifested in certain kinds of behaviour: high divorce and suicide rates, changes in causes of death (such as alcohol or violence-related deaths) or as this research suggests, high levels of family violence, juvenile delinquency and alcohol use. The phenomena examined reflect inter-personal rather than collective conflict; this would suggest that anger is inwardly rather than outwardly directed.

The response to these social problems by officialdom, that is, institutions and companies, is instructive. The various institutions, criminal justice, social services and education, all respond to take care of the immediate and most visible cases but seem powerless to alleviate or decrease the endemic problems. The companies do not appear to respond to social problems at all. Institutional attempts to solve these problems will prove futile unless the underlying causes are recognized and rectified.

Family Violence – Wife Assault

Family violence is thought to be high in Terrace relative to larger urban areas. Wife assault in particular is a problem. However, reliable data on incidence are limited. The explanation for the dearth of information lies
in the low reporting rate both by victims and by the medical profession.

One study undertaken in Terrace does, however, provide some information on the scope of the family violence problem (Nelms-Matzke, 1981). Using figures collected from a number of agencies which deal with situations of abuse (medical, social service ministry, women's groups), the following was compiled: of the 575 incidents recorded over the period of one year, (1980), 413 cases (71%) concerned situations of wife beating; 29 (5%) involved husband's abused by their wives; 51 (9%) involved actual physical abuse against children by parents; 65 (11%) reflected emotional abuse to children as a result of parents' fighting; and 15 (2.6%) involved other forms of family violence, eg., sibling or grandparent abuse. Alcohol was cited by social agency personnel as a factor in 80% of those cases involving family violence. To put the amount of family violence in perspective, the project manager stated these figures are a conservative estimate given that the personnel in local

1. The wife assault literature (see Dutton, 1982; Jaffee, 1982) suggests that the acceptance of patriarchal beliefs, fear of reprisal and a lack of alternatives are the most frequent causes of the failure of victims to report assaults. Within Terrace these would be major factors in the reluctance to report assaults. The failure of the medical profession to report would be little different in Terrace than elsewhere as there is a general reluctance among doctors to take the initiative in these kinds of cases.
agencies were reluctant to respond to the questionnaires.

This view was supported in other interviews, one in particular in which a battered wife (who also had a child in care as a result of child abuse) painted a grim picture of family life in the community:

The town is full of family violence and unhappy people. Of everybody I know maybe there are three that I would consider normal families.

Underlying Factors

The literature on wife assault would suggest that Terrace's high incidence is tied to several features of the community. Abuse grows out of inequalities and resultant tensions within the hinterland economic and social structures and takes this particular form because of the "traditional" orientation toward women. Wife assault goes unchecked because of the inability of women to escape their situations, and in part, because of women's own internalization of the female stereotype. Each of these points is considered in turn.
1. Economic Insecurity

Economic uncertainty and job instability have been discussed above as central features of the hinterland situation. These inherent tensions can be magnified where working conditions are also hard and dangerous, as in most resource industries. These tensions and insecurities get taken back into the home where the worker looks for respite and security. Where traditional attitudes towards sex roles exist, the man tries to resolve his dependent status outside the home by exerting strong control within it. He "wears the pants" and expects unconditional, absolute obedience and nurturance from his wife. From some men, any additional stress spills over into violence. For example, the senior probation officer and the Native courtworker in Terrace attribute their doubled family violence caseloads over the past eighteen months to the high unemployment resulting from the recent recession.

For women and children in Terrace, life is very much tied to the interests and employment of men. One of the main reasons for this is that most of the families who have moved to Terrace have done so because of the availability of work for men, or because a man's career necessitates a training period in Terrace before a move up the corporate or
bureaucratic ladder.  

2. Conditions of Work

The nature of men's work compounds the problem:

Women who accommodate their lives around their partner's work needs tell of the profound effect that his work (especially shift work and travel) has on the management of personal life, home life, and the family's relation to the community (Ellis, 1980).

Seasonal work means that men are unemployed for parts of the year, and during their employed periods may be away in logging camps. Another pattern is for men to be away in the camps during the weekdays, returning home only for weekends. There is consistency in the way in which these patterns are seen to impinge upon family life. Men return to town, go for a drink "with the boys", and come home drunk to lonely, angry wives. Or, women find raising children alone too burdensome, neglect their children or get involved in extra-marital relationships. These are common explanations for what many residents perceive as the cause

of the high rates of family violence and marital disruption in the community. A worker with the local Friendship Centre who has lived for a considerable period of time in a number of locations in the Pacific Northwest noted:

In Terrace there is a lot of mate-swapping, wife abuse and child abuse. There is a general sense of a lack of satisfaction within people.

This woman also places some of the responsibility for the marital discord on the fact that women are marrying and having children at too young an age; in addition, she stresses that employment factors create the problems which plague family life:

It's a logging town so men are often away from home five days a week. They are making good money but there is no family life so the women take up with men who are in town and this leads to abuse.

3. Traditional Roles

Because of the economic development priorities in more isolated areas, the role of women in these regions is primarily one of providing services to husbands and children. The needs of women (and often of children) are invisible or ignored:
The existing separation between the public world of development and the private world of home and family serves to enforce and encourage continued invisibility (Ellis, 1980).

In documenting life for women in a hinterland, resource community in northern Manitoba, Luxton and Campbell (1982: 730-131) note:

The underdevelopment of secondary industry and social services also contributes to a rigid sexual division of labour within the community ... The majority of households in Flin Flon is based on a single-income, two generation nuclear family unit in which the wife does the labour full time.

For many women in the community, marital status defines social life and social status. Thus, social contacts are largely spouse-related and based on occupational, recreational, religious or cultural interests1. Services designed especially for women are few and those that do exist reinforce role expectations. For example, the local recreational division of the municipal government offers predominately home-related courses and even a "how-to-use" make-up course.

1. Living as a women married to a teacher at one of the two junior secondary schools, I found my social life dictated by the events which were of relevance to the local teachers. We socialized with other teachers and, all of the conversations at these occasions related directly to teacher's concerns. There was little interest in my work and unless I was able to join the conversation on the level of other teachers and their spouses, I would be excluded from conversations.
Terrace has a strong macho image which is most visible on weekends when the loggers come into town. The "macho" flavour of the town is evidenced in a number of ways, often through distinctive dress and behaviour. Due to the geographic location of the town, there are many large recreational vehicles with oversize wheels, and while not exclusively a macho symbol, they, nevertheless, represent what are very much traditional male interests, primarily hunting. The dress of many males is also representative of an adherence to a macho model—heavy lumber jackets (often cut off at the shoulders and worn without a shirt so the chest is exposed), and boots worn whatever the season. In addition, there is a good deal of male drinking that excludes women; the beer parlours and bars are crowded with groups of men particularly on Thursday, Friday and Saturday evenings.

1. During the first autumn that I lived in the community it was interesting to see the degree of excitement that was generated at the opening of the hunting season. A considerable number of men are involved in hunting activities singly or in groups. One memorable scene was walking down a residential street one Sunday afternoon past a group of men who were cutting up moose in a garage attached to a house. The dead moose was strung up and was being hacked at by the hunters, and the pieces were being smoked over a "smoker". Blood was running down the driveway and two hunting dogs were sniffing and licking at it. The men were drinking beer and talking in loud, happy voices in the heat, blood and smoke of the garage.
Inherent in the macho role is the understanding that a man is the boss in his home; he makes the decisions his word is law, he brooks no opposition from his traditional role wife and if he gets any his response is often to lash out "to put her in her place". More often than not, this occurs after bouts of "drinking with the boys".

Many of the activities in which men engage, such as drinking, hunting and driving recreational vehicles, are visible and have the advantage of allowing men to define male prerogatives to their female counterparts. The women often share the belief that men have the right to engage in exclusively male activities. These beliefs are constantly reinforced, through the attitudes and activities of both groups, for example, women stay at home caring for children while men socialize together. The men's behaviour is rarely challenged by women, and if it is, there is little support for women except from those who are considered the "radical" women who are affiliated with the Terrace Women's Centre and the local community college. The effect of this labelling is social stigmatization within the community.

Female interests are generally of a very traditional nature. There is a good deal of church-related activity for many of the women. For those with the financial means, membership in the golf and curling clubs provides
opportunity to socialize. The very limited scope for participation in the wide range of community affairs and, for many, considerable isolation, seem to keep women out of touch with the events that shape their lives. For example, a researcher involved in a Gallup poll study which was designed to interpret the level of awareness of Canadian issues in the community, commented thusly on the results of the survey in Terrace:

The men were far better informed than the women. It was absolutely scandalous. I gave it to so many men and so many women. But it was really staggering, the men weren't actually that bad, but the women! And they were all housewives, even though we sampled properly.

4. Lack of Outlets and Opportunities

MacFarlane (1983), in noting the high incidence of wife abuse in general in northern Ontario communities, outlines the context in which wife abuse occurs:

These localities have a primarily industrial base, and a largely male population. They tend to be controlled by men, and most social groups are male-oriented. Often, there is little or no opportunity for women to meet and discuss problems, and they are extremely isolated. When this type of isolation is coupled with traditional male values, often found in an industrialized or mining community, wife abuse flourishes (p. 29).
Life for women in single-industry or primary resource towns has been documented in literature (Errington, 1979; MacFarlane, 1983) and film (Kreps, 1980). The lack of resources may be an expected reality for many individuals who live in these communities, but the masculine ideology which prevails as a function of employment and recreation fundamentally victimizes women. The transiency of workers in the resource industry, the lack of employment and other options for women, and the lack of an alternate feminist ideology maintain the status quo.

Women lack information, education and transportation. Their identities are so closely aligned to their husbands that they are not seen as needing child care services in order to spend time away from children, job opportunities, or even simple communication lines outside the home.

Lack of housing services and public transportation isolate women from contact with other women or from involvement in the community; the lack of day-care in a town with a large number of young families has a major

1. Some of the concerns which face local women are problems common to women in general but some are specific to the area and the community, such as isolation, lack of transportation, limited employment opportunities and few, if any, day care services.
impact on the ability of women to become better integrated into community life; employment for women, except in the most traditional forms such as secretarial, waitressing, or clerking, is difficult in find\(^1\).

There is a tenacity about sex-role stereotypes in the community which favours male interests and limits opportunities for many women, particularly those women who belong to the working class. These women have limited options owing to several factors: lack of education, number of children, limited financial resources and living in a hinterland community. (Even for the wives of professional men options are limited but take a different form as this group is socially and economically accepted within the cultural, voluntary and recreational activities that are offered by the community). For many of those who do not have the finances, time, or access to become involved in volunteer, church, or recreational activities, life in a primary-resource town is tedious and discouraging, with little help available to deal with problems. This was

\(^1\) For women, opportunities for work are limited, particularly in the business or professional sectors. One of the few professional working women describes the problem in terms of the limited kinds of work available to women:

Well, there are significant number of women working. You've just got to look at clerical support for all the government here. So there are a lot of women, but as I say, you won't find many women working in the industry or business sector.
noted in a survey which was taken in Terrace during International Women's Year. For women in Terrace, isolation, communication, employment and education were identified by those interviewed as the critical areas of everyday living. These problems have also been identified as reflecting the reality for women who live in transient primary resource areas of the north (Kreps, 1979; Errington, 1979).

Institutional Response

The institutional responses to the problem of wife assault and abuse are in many cases hampered by the non-co-operation of the victims.

a) Social Service Agencies

Victims are reluctant to report incidents of assault for fear of future assaults. They are also less likely to be able to leave abusive situations because of a lack of employment opportunities which would provide some degree of economic self-sufficiency. In addition, unlike the metropolis, there are no houses where battered wives can stay after reporting the crime. This lack of refuge would seem to be deliberate. Some years ago when the Ministry of Human Resources was first approached to build
a transition house for battered women, the proposal was
turned down on the grounds that such a house would
contribute to the break-up of marriages in the community.

b) Police

Police are hampered in bringing criminal charges
against wife batterers by the aforementioned reluctance
of the victims to lay charges. In addition, there has been,
until recently throughout Canada, a reluctance on the part
of the police to get mixed up in domestic disputes. In
Terrace there also is social pressure to sanction the
behaviour. Indeed, in some cases the police response is
one of contempt for the victims¹.

¹. I was asked by the organizer of Mothers Time Out (a
morning program for women which provides a baby-sitting
service so that women can meet for discussions and activ-
ities) to give a series of seminars on family violence.
Approximately sixteen women came to each of the sessions
and while initially discussing family violence in general
terms, they soon began to provide information about their
own personal experience. Virtually all the women had
been the victims of wife assault. About one-half of the
women who attended were Native. One Native woman told
the group she had been frequently assaulted by her first
husband but when she called the police for help she was
given little assistance. In fact, on one occasion the
attending officer said "It's just a squaw" and the police
left. Another Native women came to me after the session
as she was obviously reluctant to discuss her problem in
front of the group. She told me that her husband not only
beat her regularly but that he would not provide food and
clothing for herself or the children and that her family
was coming regularly from Prince Rupert in order to provide
her with these necessities. She felt obligated to stay
with her husband as her family could not take her in and
she had no way of gaining employment and did not feel that
there was any service in town to help her.
c) The Courts

The traditional response of the courts when a case does get to trial has been to be lenient. In one case known personally to the author, an assault victim with obvious injury to her face was told by the judge hearing the case to "go home and kiss and make up".

Collective Response

Feminism is generally regarded as threatening and there is a concerted effort to reject behaviour which is suggestive of it\(^1\). Organizations which have developed to address the needs of women, such as the Terrace Women's Centre and Women's Studies at the Northwest Community College, are looked upon with suspicion, not only by the men but by many women in the community as well. An organizer of now defunct Status of Women commented:

> It leans more to suspicion; - what are they really doing anyway? - you know, because they're not in any recognized, organized thing that we understand. And women are that way too because they don't understand. They recognize that there's a problem,

\(^1\) One women who attempted to form a status of women group in the community reported that when she got her hair cut short, a number of people in town identified her as a "libber" as "libbers" wore their hair in that fashion.
but how do you deal with it and what are those people doing anyway? Actually, I hear that a fair amount, even more than I think is right and from people that I don't expect it from. Well, one thing that bothers me a lot about this community is that just so many communities across the North now have women's centres and we were one of the first large centres to get one and people look at it with suspicion.

Examples of this attitude can be seen in the meagre funding for the local Women's Centre, and in the recently phased out Women's Studies program at the local community college. Even the child-minding centre which recently closed was initially greeted with concern. It was viewed by the more conservative segment in the community as somehow posing a threat to family stability and togetherness:

Well, you know all those women are going to go out to tea parties and just "drop" their children.

For the young, unmarried women whose primary interests are related to women's issues (which are reflected in programs offered by the Women's Growth Centre, or Women's Studies at the Northwest Community College) there is clear separation from the traditional, conservative mainstream of women's life in the community. Considerable discussion may exist among these "feminist" groups in terms of function, direction and degree of adherence to the feminist
model, but they still stand separate and apart from much of the traditional social life of the community.

Family Violence - Child Abuse

Very limited empirical research on child abuse has been undertaken within the community but some data have been collected in the Northwest area. Terrace falls into Region 7 of the Ministry of Human Resources which covers the Pacific Northwest from the Queen Charlotte Islands to Burns Lake. Data on child abuse cases are collected by the Ministry, and during the year 1978, statistics showed this region to be the highest in child abuse reporting in British Columbia.

Less serious but nevertheless real, is the emotional abuse to children created by the stresses and strains on family life described in the previous section. For some children, abuse and neglect begin before birth. For the past few years, the local pediatrician has been documenting incidents of fetal alcohol disease in a number of communities in the Pacific Northwest. He finds the symptoms of the disease far more prevalent in these northern areas on a per capita basis than comparable figures for other areas in the province.
A number of officials in the criminal justice system alluded to the problem of child abuse in the community. The Native courtworker suggested that it was the area that she dealt with most frequently and while it was generally very bad in Terrace it was particularly prevalent among Native families. A young RCMP officer, on his second posting from Nova Scotia, stated that on his arrival in the community he was horrified at the Native "situation", mainly the drinking, and the abuse and neglect of children. He claimed that on virtually every patrol shift, there is a report of child abuse or child neglect and that the problem is so acute that he cannot imagine a solution:

What do you do - I nearly took these kids home myself as the situation for them was so terrible.

During the early 1970's, three children in Terrace died from injuries inflicted by parents and while a brief flurry of official activity occurred as a result of that, there was little change in overall approach to, or concern about, child abuse.

Underlying Factors

Many of the hypothesized causes for child abuse parallel those for wife assault with the additional factor
that mothers, because of the tensions to which they are subjected, may also "resolve" intolerable stress by battering their children. Family problems can easily lead to neglect. Alcoholism, obviously, is associated with child abuse (see below). In effect, child abuse illustrates the interconnections among the various social problems in that an abusive situation seems to be one of the best predictors of delinquency (LaPrairie and Wachtel, 1982).

**Institutional Response**

On the whole, the institutions' responses to child abuse are almost non-existent. Again, like wife abuse, the different agencies show a notable lack of concern for this widespread problem, so much so that the following example provided by the wife of the local pediatrician, illustrates this indifference:

...We had three children beaten to death within a two-year period about seven years ago. Six or seven years ago I hear my husband - who is the local pediatrician - talking on the phone to somebody about the third death. And I - as just the wife of a doctor - was so aroused, that I phoned the chief of staff of the hospital, the Crown Prosecutor; the head of Human Rights, the head of the Skeena Health Unit, the Human Resources people, and about three or four other groups - the police, the Chief of Police, and I told them that they were going to all be at my place on a Friday night, the next Friday night at 8 o'clock or I was going to expose them all as murderers, because they were allowing children to be killed by their parents in Terrace.
And to my absolute amazement, they were all there at my house, all of them. Now this was one citizen, taking things into her own hands, and from that meeting where I was absolutely astounded as a novice. I didn't have a clue that these people didn't work together. None of them worked together! None of them!

I couldn't believe it. I just couldn't believe it. From this evolved a card index system, so that any child under the age of six who was brought to the hospital had to have a card filed if it was an accident of any kind at all. Because what happened was that parents were getting mad and breaking the child's leg or something, and taking it to one doctor; and because there's four clinics in town, or three clinics in town now, they could take the child to a different clinic the next time they broke its arm. Or they could take it to Kitimat, or they could not go to the doctor or something.

So - and then - they would see the doctor in emergency but not in his own office, so that there was never any check on abusive parents, so that it became mandatory that a card file system be set up so that, -- an alphabetic system which was going to be kept in the records department of the hospital, of Mills Memorial Hospital, and every child that was brought in that had an accident under the age of six, they had to have a card.

Now this wasn't preventive medicine except, - when they built a file up of this child having a few limbs broken or coming in with bruises and so on, they could intervene. Now this, then, - it had to have some sort of a liaison person to keep this going, - that would be bothered going to the clinics and picking up these cards and taking them to the hospital to put them in the file and going from the emergency of the hospital and so on and putting them in the file.

The person who did this was a public health nurse called Nora somebody, - I forget, - I can't remember her name. But she was killed on the highway between Rupert and Terrace within about a year of this card file system being started and I understand that nothing is being done, once again, about abused children.

This women suggested that one of the primary reasons
for the lack of interest in child abuse is the high level of transiency:

...the Anglican clergyman's wife was worried about child abuse about the same time I was, and she started a thing called Hope to Cope or Cope to Hope or something, -- giving mothers time off from their children, -- and that worked wonderfully well for about a year or two, and then her husband was transferred to Smithers where they are now.

You know leaders in the community tend to be just as transient as everybody else, and if a Chief of Police is very involved, -- one of the Chiefs of Police was very involved at the time I was with child abuse, -- he's living in Victoria. He's not even in the police force anymore. A judge that was involved is in Burnaby. You know, everybody leaves.

a) The Medical Profession

The medical profession sees many cases of child abuse, however, it does not appear to document or report most of the cases. This may simply be the medical professions' reluctance to mix law and medicine. An RCMP officer, whose wife works in the local hospital expressed concern about the reaction of medical personnel to child abuse. He said that many child abuse cases come to the hospital but go unreported as the doctors are reluctant to get involved. On the other hand, the cases are so numerous and the problem so pervasive that the non-reporting of cases may not be accidental.
Juvenile Delinquency

Delinquency in the community has been a chronic source of irritation and anxiety to business and to much of the establishment population, yet, it has only been addressed as a "criminal" activity. Few citizens (among those who have been involved with social issues) identify juvenile delinquency as essentially non-criminal and place the delinquent behaviour within a "community responsibility" model. Most often, people refer only to the scope of the problem:

There's an incredible problem with delinquency in Terrace¹. People get outraged, agency groups aren't cohesive and nothing happens.

Juvenile delinquency is a problem the town doesn't want to have and doesn't want to solve.

The police also identify the extent of the juvenile delinquency problem. As one constable noted:

¹. Provincial rates of juvenile delinquency were provided by the British Columbia Police Commission. Data for 1979 and 1980 show Terrace to have the highest overall delinquency rate for a community of its size (see Appendix E). Interview data with people working in the criminal justice system in Terrace support the findings of the Commission.
Juvenile delinquency is a terrible problem in Terrace. One of the things most distressing in working here is the plight of the children, - alcoholism, assault and other family problems.

Underlying Factors

The high rates of juvenile delinquency in the community reflect a variety of factors. The number of offences may be greater than in other communities of a similar size (as a result of geographic location, and employment opportunities) and/or there may be a more vigorous enforcement policy on the part of the police, stimulated by the concern of local merchants over incidents of vandalism. A number of alternate explanations were put forth by local residents. Some of the residents who were interviewed, particularly those who expressed concerns over problems in the community, claimed that the lack of recreational, employment and social outlets for juveniles played a major role in generating behaviour. The severe family problems that exist in the community, however, override all other considerations in accounting for the delinquency phenomenon. Each of these factors deserves further elaboration.
1. Lack of Recreational Outlets

The social situation for young people is a product of social location. For many of the lower-class juveniles in the community, social activities take place on the streets as this group has either limited or no access to the more established social and/or recreational institutions. Some people expressed concerns about juveniles not having money for or access to recreation. One resident notes:

Recreation is more geared to adults or to those families with the financial means to take advantage of them. The arena and pool are geared to competitive sport and not just providing recreational time at a small cost to non-affluent children. Skiing costs $10 a day plus all the equipment and transportation to and from the hill.

As this is a community where interests are geared to young adults, juveniles may simply be excluded on the basis of age. The former Mayor expressed his concerns about the need for particular facilities for adolescents:

I was going to try to get this other, - the new community centre, - we were trying to aim for those who were the 12 to 17 years old, who are not yet men and women, but who are too old to be considered children. You have to have something for them to do and that should be things like recreation ... they want to sit around and smoke.
Access to facilities, whether social, recreational or group activities is largely dependent upon having money and/or having parents who are supportive of their activities\textsuperscript{1}. For children with neither, most of the activities in which they are involved, occur on public streets.

Lack of recreational outlets is not a primary factor, of course, but is itself symptomatic of other inter-related problems - school failure, economic marginality, and family breakdown.

2. Educational Failure and Economic Marginality

Employment in Terrace is based on resource extraction and government services, and juveniles who are not well-connected have little chance of breaking into the job market.

\textsuperscript{1} The commanding officer of the RCMP told me that one summer he was coaching a boys' baseball team. Two young Native boys turned out for the first practice but were not seen at any subsequent ones. Apparently, the coach had announced at the initial practice that each of the players would require a baseball glove and the cost would be $10.00. He heard later that both boys stayed away as neither had money for gloves.
The employment situation in Terrace is similar for Native people and juveniles alike. Apart from the normal barriers to youth, there has been a significant reduction in the number of "entry-level" jobs, the learning jobs for youth. Lower-class non-Native youth without connections and Native juveniles are the most excluded groups:

The logging industry has been most remiss in its training programs and, as a result, the young people in this region find that there are no significant opportunities to enter the field (Lockhart, 1980, interview).

For youths who lack family, employment and education supports, and have no way of gaining skills and thus access to employment and other opportunities, the picture is bleak (although not necessarily seen that way by the youth). School offers little flexibility as the education process serves the dominant interest groups in the community and is premised on a middle-class value-system, this being most visibly demonstrated in the lack of technical and vocational training in the public school system.

The usual patterns for many of these lower class youth is to drop out of school, and end up on the streets or hanging around the pin-ball arcades when unable to find employment. For those who have access to cars, time is spent cruising up and down the main street. The
visibility and a lack of a perceived activity make these youth vulnerable to social control agents and many of them appear in juvenile court during their adolescent years and criminal court through young adulthood. Their behaviour is rarely recognized by the community as being anything but bad or misdirected and in need of rehabilitation.

Community events and activities are geared to the interests of groups of adults and children whose parents have the money to allow them to participate in community activities. Because the family concept is a traditional one, there is the expectation in Terrace that children will be provided for and socialized by the family and that this will occur for all children. Although this is not the case, the inequity is recognized only in the most superficial ways, that is, in special programs for "difficult" children which are organized at the school district level or community work service programs designed to give delinquents work experience and to develop in them a sense of responsibility for their wrong-doing.

In addition to a general lack of access to employment and other opportunities for lower class youth, the
"boom" periods of the economy influence the educational directions of many other youth. The local senior probation officer who is involved with local juveniles in both educational and employment efforts, maintains that this "boom" image, is both pervasive and destructive to youth. He states:

There are more working class children who quit school at an early age and, unless they can go to work for their fathers or have a friend whose father needs someone, they are not going to work. The other part of the drop out rate at schools is that for kids who are employable, schools makes little sense when they see their own father making tremendous money in the bush with limited education.

3. Lack of Family Supports

The root cause of delinquency, however, is seen to be in the nature of the family life and litte responsibility is attached to the community. Police officers and other criminal justice personnel expressed strong opinions about the role of family life in the determination of juvenile behaviour. Each officer interviewed attributed the problems of the juveniles to parental issues such as alcohol abuse, violence, neglect, or a general lack of discipline and structure. One officer cited a specific example:
I really feel sorry for some of these kids. Two that I know of don't even have a place to sleep - they are both Indians - and often I find them sleeping over the warm air-vents at the hospital. You really have to worry about the Indian children as there is no way that children who are brought up in the circumstances of so many of the Indian children in Terrace will even have a chance at doing anything but committing delinquencies and getting themselves in trouble.

Another officer describes some of the family situations with which he has to deal as "horrendous". A social worker with Human Resources felt that there was no question about the correlation between what happens to juveniles in their families and their subsequent involvement in the human welfare and criminal justice systems.

Many criminal justice agents and other community residents perceived the situation for Native children as particularly hopeless. A member of the local Anglican church notes:

For Native juveniles, school is hopeless and they have a very great opportunity for delinquency at a very young age. Social circumstances of parents are so bad that children are in a damaged environment from a very young age.

1. Very small Native children are frequently seen late in the evening sitting on the steps of the local hotels waiting for their parents to come out of the beer parlours.
A profile of these juveniles is provided by the probation officer:

The type of kids we're getting on probation, by and large, come from either an unstable home or a home from a very low socio-economic background and single parent families, and parents where there is alcohol. I think that that is quite prevalent here ...

If's the kid's constantly on the street, what you're saying is, there is something wrong at home. If he's constantly on the street, the home backgrounds quite often are very similar, -- I mean, -- there may be cultural differences but the problems in the home appear quite similar. And that puts them on the streets, and once they are on the street, they're visible.

Another young officer from Quebec stated:

The juvenile delinquency situation is very severe and the kids behave very different from where I come from. All the juvenile crime is committed by the lower class children and alcohol is a very, very big part of what happens in the town.

A lack of recreational facilities and the prevalence of drinking and drugs are cited as contributing to the juvenile problem, as Terrace is seen as a haven for drugs and alcohol. One officer feels that, in addition to these problems, crime is passed down through the generations:
... an awful lot of kinds who are involved in crime in the community have parents who are also involved in the criminal justice system in some form or another.

The visibility of many of these "rootless" young-sters is high and they are soon labelled as problems by the justice system officials (primarily the police) and tend to go round and round in that system and/or other systems such as Human Resources. There is little escape from the small community and its personal knowledge and categorization. The probation officer summed it up as follows:

Well, the advantage is that it's a small town and so it doesn't get very impersonal. You can't kind of get lost in the system. The disadvantage is - and it's one of the advantages reversed - once you're known as a shit-disturber or trouble-causer, then everything closes up very quickly on you.

Institutional Response

The reaction of the community to juvenile delinquency and the problems of juveniles is primarily one of formal-ized social control, as demonstrated in the operation of the criminal justice and education systems.
a) The Criminal Justice System

One of the primary ways in which coercion occurs is through social control mechanisms. The legal apparatus that serves to control behaviour is primarily concerned with the protection of property, an emphasis which maintains existing patterns of social relations.

The attention of the criminal justice system is directed toward juveniles, transients, Native people and the 18-35 year old male, primary resource workers. All are perceived and labelled by the police as troublesome groups (interviews with police). The juveniles are a chronic source of irritation to the police because of their unruly and destructive behaviour and because merchants are constantly complaining of vandalism. Natives are selected because of their racial origin and because of what the police perceived to be their undesirable personal characteristics - lazy, drunken and shiftless.

The way in which the components of the criminal justice system operates reflects the kinds of interests that dominate the community. There is no separate system of legal aid, cases get farmed out and only two of the twelve lawyers in town are willing to accept them. Lawyers see these cases as troublesome, costly, and
therefore simply not worth their time or trouble. There is no duty counsel, and the turnover in crown counsel has been very high with the result that chronic uncertainty exists about its level of functioning. Cases are passed on, ad hoc, to the few local lawyers who will accept legal aid cases.

b) The Police

The functions of the criminal justice system, primarily the police, are to regulate the behaviour of certain groups thereby maintaining the established order. Because vandalism and property-related offenses have been singled out as on-going problems, police emphasize the need to patrol commercial and industrial properties in order to protect business interests. The primary concern generated in a citizens' meeting in 1976 was the alarming incidence of vandalism in the community. According to a respondent who attended the meeting, it was the most well-attended community meeting she could remember in her 26 years in Terrace. There was a tremendous outcry on the part of the local merchants over the amount of damage

1. Personal communication with the courtworker who is responsible for referring legal aid cases.

2. In court there are times when lawyers have to excuse themselves as they are prosecution and defense counsel in the same case.
that was occurring to their property and during the course of the meeting the commanding officer of the RCMP, sensing the mood of the crowd, was forced to restore order and calm the angry citizens.

Police patrol efforts are largely directed toward the "street kids" because of perceptions of their undesirable behaviour and their visibility. There is constant patrolling around the pinball machine establishments which the juveniles frequent and the result of this kind of surveillance is two-fold. There is an increased rate of arrest (due to actual offences committed and to unruly behaviour resulting from continuous surveillance) and there is increased tension between police and juveniles.

The police also direct their attention to other groups. Native people, particularly those with whom the police come into regular contact, are viewed with suspicion and derision and are vulnerable to criminal justice processing because of their visibility on the streets. For their part, Native people rarely resist and police themselves will admit that in arrest situations, Natives are easier to deal with than are the non-Natives.

Police are very aware of the social divisions in the
community and, while they deride the "powerful" people, they are acutely cognizant of the range of their own activities in relation to this group. The police function is one which is dominated by a strong emphasis on the protection of private property.\(^1\)

c) The Education System

The school system is a major employer\(^2\) and a powerful part of the community. The operation of this system (similar to other institutions and services in the

1. Both police and probation services have increased substantially in size over the past decade. Two RCMP officers policed the town in the mid-1950's (pop. 8,000), but there are now 33 members on the force, and Terrace is the site of the new RCMP communications centre. The expansion of the police structure does not reflect a strong social service concern but is directed to increasing its law enforcement potential through the use of more sophisticated technology and more specialized units of operation.

2. School District #88 covers an area of approximately 580 square miles. Its administrative core is in Terrace and it is the largest single municipal employer in the community. There are seven elementary, two junior secondary schools and one senior secondary school. The Northwest Community College services the entire Northwest region from Smithers to Prince Rupert and is known for its vocational and technical programs. Its academic programs, however, do not reflect or enjoy the same community support. Difficulties have been encountered with its course offerings and the transfer of course credits, and a large segment of the community feels that its faculty represents a radical left ideology. There is also a reputed schism between the vocational and the academic administrators which has caused internal dissension within the college.
community) is geared to the needs of the children of middle-management. Like the criminal justice system, it fails to serve the real needs of many local youth, and consequently contributes to the high rates of delinquency in the community.

Children of lower socio-economic status are less well-served by the education system than their middle class counterparts. The most ill-served are the Native adolescents who do not, in many cases, stay in the system beyond grades 7 or 8. These drop-outs end up on the streets and many, eventually, in front of the courts.

The attrition rate for Native children, particularly at the junior secondary level, is extreme (LaPrairie and Griffiths, 1982). The Native counsellor (a non-Native) at one of the junior secondary schools cites a number of factors:

The Native kids feel left out by the white kids at one level and feel as if they can't compete at another. The result of these factors is that the Indian kids just get discouraged and quite school.

The Director of the Kermode Friendship Centre sees the school system as one of the fundamental problems in high unemployment rates for adolescents:
Unemployment amongst Native youth is a serious problem and the main reason for it is the drop-out rate in school. The school board, school administrator, teachers and the community are all responsible. Kids don't stay in school after grades 7 or 8 - they have problems assimilating and are isolated.

A concern about the plight of the Native juveniles who come to school in Terrace was expressed by two non-Native respondents familiar with the system. The "usefulness" of Native students was perceived by these people to be in the financial provisions which are made to the School District by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Once the amount has been collected, there is little interest in whether or not the Native children remain in school (Marchak, 1983). A longtime resident whose children are in high school notes:

I know that they don't care about keeping them on because they've collected for them. I know that the Indian kids hang around together and don't go - very seldom do they have white boy and girl friends. They stick together with the Indian kids in school.

It was so bad and the ratio of dropouts so high that the Nishga people, who were the majority of people that sent their children from reservations, demanded their own school in Aiyansh. That's how bad they thought it was. It really doesn't matter what we think it's like; it's what they think it's like, and they thought it was so so bad they pulled their kids out of our schools.

For children who do remain in predominately
non-Native schools, there are few to champion their cause. At the school administrative level, there is a general ignorance about problems for Native juveniles in the "system". For teachers and administrators the education system is not seen as a means to solving community problems. Indeed, the educational preparation of students for the job market seems by its very neglect to add to the ranks of the unemployed. The predominant impression of the educators is one of self-interest and conflict with their employer.

A good deal of dissension exists between the administrator, local school boards and the teachers at all school levels. Many of the difficulties, as in other communities, revolve around pay negotiations but there is also a belief among teachers that the school officials are heavy-handed and more concerned about maintaining their own positions of power than they are about working conditions for teachers.

1. A public meeting was held in Terrace in September, 1980 by the Minister of Education. In attendance was the Chairman of the local school board. A Vancouver Sun reporter covering the education tour, asked the Chairman why no Indian parents were present at the meeting and he was told by the Chairman that it was because they were all satisfied with the system and saw no reason to attend (Private conversation with Larry Pynn, Reporter, Vancouver Sun).
The activism of teachers, however, appears to be directed more toward their own professional concerns rather than the needs of the students. One recent example of teacher activism in the Terrace area occurred in the summer of 1981 and made headlines in the Lower Mainland papers. It was focused on what the teachers saw as unfair working conditions as well as the demotion of two school principals in the area. Similarly, at a public meeting in September 1980 with Minister of Education, Brian Smith, which was attended by many local teachers, the concerns of the teachers were of two kinds - better working conditions and more effective means of disciplining students.

The emphasis on teacher's concerns rather than on student's concerns becomes more apparent when examining the attrition rates for students at the junior secondary level and the lack of specialized curriculum for particular groups of students. Although Terrace has the second highest Native/non-Native ratio of any community in the province after Campbell River, there is little within the school system that is directed to the needs of Native students. No Native people are employed in the district, and there is no multiculturalism training or information about the particular needs of this group of students, provided to teachers. This is important as the majority
of teachers in the area (some 300 individuals) come from either the Lower Mainland or from other provinces, particularly Saskatchewan and Ontario. The result is that the Native students have the same white-middle-class metropolitan value systems and standards applied to them by teachers as are applied to the non-Native students.

Alcohol Abuse

The pervasive abuse of alcohol is closely linked to family violence and juvenile delinquency. Quite apart from those issues, however, the high level of alcohol use persists as a major social problem.

Within northwest British Columbia, a number of studies have identified heavy alcohol use as a problem of the hinterland. In addition, the data describe a major increase in alcohol-related deaths from 1974-76. In examining the scope of alcohol usage the Skeena Manpower Development Committee (1979) concludes that:

There are a large number of binge drinkers in the north and there is an increase in drinking in the lower age groups. There is also a well-known problem among the Native Indian groups and in addition to this, there are other ethnic variations noted; for example, the male Portuguese population have a greater consumption of wine. Eighty percent of professional case loads in the north reflect alcohol problems (p. 6).
That is, heavy drinking is a major problem not only in Terrace but quite generally in northern primary resource communities. Ervin (1968) documented that drinking in Inuvik was the major social problem in the community and that the mixed drinking of the Indians, Eskimos, Métis and the male transient construction workers created the times of most "trouble" in the community. Parsons (1970) noted that excessive drinking appears to be closely associated with life in most other isolated mining communities and that it carries with it a high social price tag.

Underlying Factors

1. Labour Instability

The Skeena Manpower Development Committee (1980) tied problem drinking to the structural feature of labour instability in the hinterland. They note a distinct and identifiable attitude in the north toward drinking. Consumption of large amounts of alcohol appeared to be a way of escaping gloomy weather, shift work and social
Alcohol is fundamental to the patterns of life and social interaction for many of the primary resource workers. Much of the social life of the town takes place on Friday and Saturday evenings when workers come home from the woods and the bars are filled. The use of alcohol as a socializing factor is most evident during these times and there is a sense of excitement and vitality in the town. For many, alcohol is the key to social activity.

The institutionalized "frontier style" of drinking as well as isolation and transiency (which lead to particular drinking practices) are the two explanations most commonly applied to heavy alcohol consumption in northern communities. Both derive from the natural base of employment, logging and fishing, which require periods of intense activity coupled with isolation, deprivation, and a disruption of family life. The type of work

1. There are approximately 12 beer parlors, cocktail lounges and discos in town and on Friday and Saturday evenings it is difficult to find seating as they are all extremely busy. Individual police officers often said that they always hope it will either be very cold or raining when the bars close on Friday and Saturday night so that the drinkers will go home and not get into trouble on the streets!
required may be seasonal or take men away from home during the weekdays with family interaction and participation occurring only on weekends. Thus, the "styles" of drinking reflect aspects of the economic basis of a community rather than measures of size or population density. This hypothesis also takes into account the various social groups that emerge around employment. Demographically, the community is heavily weighted with males, many of whom fall into the 18-35 age range, who work at labouring jobs and, when employed, earn high wages, particularly in the logging industry. For many people who lack the structural supports based in family life and employment, or who lack the social acceptance necessary for access to the established recreational and cultural events, drinking becomes the primary social activity.

2. Social Inequality

Siemans (1973: 26) explains the heavy drinking in terms of a state of generalized depression in communities but suggests that the roots of depression vary with the ethnic and socio-economic differences among communities.
The production of inequality in the hinterland exacerbates drinking. Drinking is more severe where there is high unemployment and the hinterland economy is particularly hard on Native people. The visible unemployment of Native people in the community reinforces prejudices against them.

The structural inequality which characterizes Native people suggests that they are particularly at risk to alcohol abuse. In fact, however, there are a number of additional factors that must be taken into account. These are the strong strain of prejudice and racial discrimination in hinterland communities like Terrace and the effect of internalizing the negative stereotype of the "drunken Indian".

The line between structural inequality and blatant discrimination is not altogether clear. For example, the director of the Kermode Friendship Centre notes:

There are incredibly bad housing situations for Native people, situations that are fire hazards but which keep getting passed by Municipal Council and are used by Human Resources time and time again to house Native people.

On such place, the Luso Hotel, is a notoriously dirty and rundown hotel with a series of small single rooms and
a bathroom on each floor which is used by the Ministry of Human Resources to house welfare recipients, most of whom are Native. In addition to housing discrimination, other forms of discrimination exist. The Native courtworker who has dealt extensively with Natives and non-Natives suggests that real discrimination exists among the police in their handling of the two groups:

If the police are apprehending a white and an Indian, the Indian gets the worst time.

A telephone company employee describes the facets of discrimination:

75% of white people in Terrace are prejudiced against Natives, ... Indians have had a big chip on their shoulders because white people don't treat them well. The Indians are called bush niggers and often to their faces. Terrace Indians are resented by non-Indians because of their status rights and also because a lot of Indians are on welfare. But white men have no objection to going and buying sockeye salmon for $3.00 per fish from them!

An explanation of prejudice on a broader level is put forward by a non-Native resident involved in local church activities:

Prejudice in all its forms exists throughout the entire community. There is no integration at all and no concept of multi-culturalism in the community.
She claims, however, that prejudice is a difficult thing to identify:

You feel this, you see it and you can't prove it. A teller will smile at ten people at the wicket and an Indian comes and they do their job without a smile.

Other respondents felt that the negative image of Native is of their own doing and is reflected in some of their behaviour, demeanour and physical appearance:

... the Indians for the most part that you see in Terrace in the evening are drunken Indians. You see neglected kids sitting in cars in front of beer parlours; you see neglected kids on the street ... there is hardly a whole Indian that you see walking down the street. They either have a gimpy arm or leg or burn scars or cut scars or something, and I think that these statistics, - hospital statistics on Indian children admitted to the hospital for abuse and neglect and so on, would back this up (interview with local historian).

A well-known Native drinking place is located in the Terrace Hotel and is known as "the Zoo". Many people in the community spoke of this beer parlour and the overriding tenor of comment was that it was a place where "drunken Indians" fought and generally behaved in a deplorable way. One person reported that it was cleaned every night after closing by attendants using brooms to sweep the blood and vomit into a hole in the floor.
Institutional Response

a) Social Agencies

The education and justice systems represent metropolitan interests in Terrace. Their expansion exemplifies the way in which community issues, particularly those facing youth, are given priority and social needs are identified. There are other striking examples of issues (such as alcohol abuse) which have little priority and where service gaps persist in the face of perceived local needs.

Terrace was recently cited as having the second highest rate of alcohol consumption (documented by liquor sales) in the province\(^1\), and yet only one drug and alcohol counsellor services the community\(^2\).

1. (Dotinga, Gail, Nov. 13, 1980: 1).

2. The Terrace counsellor, who began the program in 1977, resigned when the workload began to affect his health and interfere with his home life. According to the rules of the Alcohol and Drug Commission, a drug counsellor should not have to carry more than the equivalent to one caseload at a time. As a result, in Terrace, there is anywhere from a 15-day to a 3-week wait for counselling and treatment, and if often takes the counsellor a week to respond to a call from the local hospital's psychiatric unit (The News Advertiser July 19, 1980: 2). The drug counsellor states that during the 1979-80 year, he counselled about ten students for alcohol abuse, but had numerous requests to go to local schools to help others with similar problems. Given his caseload backlog, answering these requests was impossible.
Concern over the alcohol and crime problem has been expressed by the police in letters to the alcohol counseling service and the local hospital. These stress police support for a detoxification centre in the community (see Appendix F).

The research findings from the Skeena Manpower Development Committee project (1979) on labour instability and the student study by the Northwest Alcohol and Drug Counselling Service (1978) documented the extent of alcohol usage among groups of workers and students in Terrace and the adjacent areas. Despite these findings, no alcohol or drug education programs exist in any of the junior or senior secondary schools, and few treatment resources are available in the community.

b) The Courts

Most of the time when cases of alcohol abuse appear in court the charge is either impaired driving or drunkenness in a public place. Recommendations for treatment of alcohol dependency in lieu of incarceration or fines is not a major component of the criminal justice response. This is due to the lack of alcohol abuse services in the community. The usual response then is to impose fine or jail sentences. The former crown prossector stated that
the overall crime rate in Terrace doubled from June, 1979 to June, 1980. Most crime in Terrace is alcohol-related, and break-and-enters are usually attempts to steal liquor.

This part, the relationship between alcohol and crime, can be traced back to work in the logging camps which takes men away from the community for varying periods of time. Most of the "criminal" activity that takes place in the community occurs on Friday and Saturday evenings with the influx of the resource workers into town. It is not serious crime but there is still an expectation on the part of the police that certain types of activities will occur, i.e., impaired driving and fights, and police surveillance increases in response:

The general type of crime in Terrace is not what one would describe as serious crimes. There tends to be a great deal of abuse of alcohol in the community and the crime in the community is reflective of that abuse of alcohol. There is a tremendous amount, an undue and inordinate amount of impaired driving in the community that doesn't seem to be addressed adequately as yet. That's either the fault of the prosecutor's office or the fault that the court system is incapable of dealing with it in such a fashion as to effectively cause a deterrent effect to take place in the community (Crown counsel, interview 1980).

General perceptions of the relationship between alcohol and criminal behaviour correspond to the patterns that are reflected in criminal justice statistics in
Terrace. Impaired driving comprises only a small percentage of alcohol-related offenses; however, during a four-day random selection of observations in criminal court, August, 1970, 30 percent of the cases heard were for impaired driving. In addition, the RCMP have released figures on being "intoxicated in a public place", for a 6-month period, from October 1979 to March 1980. Of a total of 362 individuals charged, 187 were Native people. For the same period of time, 163 individuals were charged with impaired driving. In all, the police dealt with 525 incidents of alcohol abuse over a 6-month period (see Appendix G).

Criminal charges relating to alcohol and driving appear to be on the increase. In 1979, there were 286

1. A judge, transferred to the Lower Mainland after sitting in Terrace for two years, noted that it was a relief to be dealing with a diverse caseload and not simply hearing alcohol related charges all the time.

2. Of the total, 183 were under 25 years of age, 141 between 25-45 years and the remaining 38 over 45 years of age. Sixteen percent were repeaters (see Appendix G).

3. This does not take into account all the incidents that do not proceed to charge, - usually many more than charged, - or other kinds of alcohol-related charges, e.g., minor possession in a public place, drinking in public, etc.
cases of people tested for driving over the .08 limit, but in the first six months of 1979, 215 people were stopped for impaired driving (The Herald, July 9, 1980: 1). The effects of heavy drinking are not confined to driving offenses; the local newspaper states that in a recent survey of husbands who physically abuse their wives, 79 percent had been drinking or were drinking at the time they lost control (The Herald, July 30, 1980: 3).

In a recent study of juvenile delinquency in Terrace, alcohol was used as a factor in determining two aspects of juvenile behaviour, i.e., alcohol involvement at the time of offense, and levels of normal usage by juveniles. It was found that out of the probation simple (N 446) only 14 percent of the juveniles were non-users of alcohol or drugs or both. Similarly, it was found that alcohol was involved in a considerable number of juvenile offenses (LaPrairie and Griffiths, 1982).

In citing incidents which related to family problems, individual police officers focus on many of the situations they deal with and claim that alcohol problems with juveniles are a result of a lack of activity, a lack of interest, and a general lack of stimulus. This is most evident for the "street kids who have no exposure to anything but Terrace" (interview with police officer).
One of the primary concerns of the police is the increasingly early age at which children are exposed to and experiment with alcohol. One officer mentioned a recent dispatch while on patrol:

At 7 o'clock this morning, I was called to a family dispute. When I got there, not only were the parents drunk but there were about 4 or 5 kids in the house, ranging from about 12 to 15, and they were all so drunk, they could hardly stand up too (patrol Oct. 12, 1980).

The Privatized Community

Blishen et al., utilize the concept of the privatized community as a way of explaining the outcome of external economic control over community life and institutions. Terrace, and other such economically determined inter-dependent communities, are:

...characterized by a very extensive division of labour and highly structured sets of roles. Within this complex institutional matrix, interactions in all but the immediate primary groups of the family and close acquaintances tend to be mediated through formal organizational processes ... because the institutional order tends to inhibit and in some cases forbid individuals from sharing wealth, knowledge, skills or resources ... there is a high degree of dependence upon commercially and bureaucratically organized products and services. Thus individuals in this form of "community" are rendered economically inter-dependent but socially isolated. There are greater opportunities for both success and failure at the individual level than in the socially bonded community. It also tends to create an environment in which all, regardless of their degree of personal
success tend to be caught up in the "privatization syndrome" (Blishen, 1979: 31).

It is important to consider the impact government services make on the actual integration of such a community. As government services are so highly bureaucratized and because they have such clear lines of demarcation with respect to their jurisdiction, they tend to fragment the community rather than integrate it. That is, the more a community is serviced through bureaucratic mechanisms, the higher the potential for creating a "privatized" community. To Lockhart (1980), Terrace represents such a community:

If you develop your community pattern to be more formalized and therefore more private, and depend upon community services and upon bureaucratic services, you tend to have a model of a community which I think Terrace represents, in which people don't sense the roots as deep, who may say, they may stay here all their lives but you talk to people and many of them will say, "well, I'm only up here temporarily, gonna get rich". Terrace is very cliquey, very cliquey. Denies all of what northern life is. People that have lived here for a very long time also look to Smithers as a place for a community. They would all like to live there (interview, Lockhart, 1980).

The privatization syndrome is manifested in Terrace in the kinds and variety of services which are offered, both through local funding and support, or as adjuncts to their major organizations in the Lower Mainland. The contemporary structure of the servicing network in the community reflects what appears to be the perceived rather
than the real needs of the community. This suggests that the kind of "legitimate" agencies that exist do so in response to the demands and needs of the powerful interest groups. This is most apparent in the way in which services operate in the community.

Terrace has two levels of social services: those which are branches of the established institutions such as the Ministry Human Resources, Mental Health, Alcohol and Drug Commission, and some grassroots organizations, marginally supported by the established institutions, or existing on other funding. The looseness in structure, lack of direction and the lack of fundamental community support is demonstrated in the development and staffing of many of the para-professional or grass-roots organizations. The senior probation office stated:

Where we run into some real problems are the peripheral ones: Rape Relief, Women's Centre, paraprofessionals. And they are all interchangeable; they all float around. The problem is that most of those organizations by their nature attract people that for one reason or another couldn't make it into the professional helping organizations.

1. These can be compared to the grassroot, local services that emerge in response either to particular needs or through an awareness of the inability of the legitimate agencies to address community needs in any meaningful way.
The final result of having so many uncoordinated services is noted by a town planner:

Like, part of the problem, I think is in a small community we develop such an incredible amount of services that aren't terribly integrated.

What I'm saying is that the lack of integration of services is significantly diluting the impact of anything we could be doing. And in a nutshell, that is the biggest handicap we have.

Overall, Terrace is, in a strange sort of way, "over-serviced". People bring their problems (which are seen as individual failings rather than structural issues) to the appropriate agency. The agencies, however, are not organized to address problems in a co-ordinated fashion (see the discussion on child abuse above). Certainly, they do not elevate social problems into general political concerns. Rather, the effect of service institutions is to exert additional social control over potentially disaffected clients.

Summary

The social problems most endemic to the community of Terrace i.e., family violence, juvenile delinquency and alcohol abuse, may be similar to the problems that are
common to urban and rural communities. The exacerbation of these problems in a hinterland community suggests, however, the need to examine both their cause and effect in a unique context.

Employment patterns, the dominant patriarchal philosophy, and a consequent lack of opportunities for women are the underlying factors in the proliferation of family violence in the community. While family violence is commonly perceived as a major social problem, it is only addressed when it reaches crisis proportions, when the police or courtworkers become involved, or when it is identified as a problem by an outside source.

Juvenile delinquency is the behaviour which receives the most community attention, as it is considered the most reprehensible and serious since it threatens the property of citizens. Thus, the community response to juvenile delinquency is one of coercive social control although the causes of delinquency are commonly believed to be the result of family problems and lack of recreational and social alternatives for many juveniles.

Like family violence and juvenile delinquency, alcohol
abuse in the northern community is a significant problem. Drinking practices are related to employment patterns, the domination of male interests, and for many, a lack of access to other recreational or social activities. Although alcohol is a major contributor to much of what happens in Terrace in the way of criminal activity in the primary resource community, it is only considered a problem by those who deal directly with its effects. Unlike concerns about delinquency, much less attention is paid to "private" activities like family violence and alcohol abuse which are not seen as a threat to property interests. Community perceptions about the causes of deviance are again privately rather than publicly located. The family and/or the individual are seen as deficient or blameworthy, and little responsibility is attached to the community or to decisions made by outside forces which affect community life.

The institutional response to social problems in Terrace is reactive and not designed to confront the underlying structural causes of social problems.

The social control systems maintain the interests of the powerful through their support of the "attitudes" ideals and objectives prevailing amongst the powerful"
(Elias, 1975: 95). Citizens perceive the police, and the police perceive themselves, as agents of the established order; there is increased tension between police and juveniles as police concerns are not focused on the problems of juveniles but on the protection of property. Correspondingly, the local response to crime does not focus on social problems, but seeks to externalize them by incarcerating juveniles in remote correctional institutions. A recent move by one concerned citizen to provide a place for juveniles to socialize within Terrace dissipated as no one attended any meetings to support it.

Educators also act as agents of the established and metropolitan interests, and the needs of lower class and Native juveniles are poorly addressed. As a result the attrition rates for these groups are high. Native students in particular become isolated within the system and eventually drop out of school. There are few to champion their causes as Native parents are intimidated by the institutional system and avoid involvement. The growth of the education system reflects the concern of administrators, teachers and school board members to maintain their own economic, social and career interests.

The emphasis on the education of the middle or
managerial class children means that ultimately the lower class juveniles are excluded from further education and future employment. This maintains the visibility of these youth on the streets and makes them more vulnerable to criminal justice processing.

The geographic isolation of the community limits external accountability and the systems function in response to the demands and expectations of those with influence and power. As a result, the way in which institutions function exacerbates social problems and calls out, by default, individual responses to these problems.

From the above, it is clear that the social problems most visible and common in the community of Terrace are symptomatic of more fundamental economic, social and political issues. It is equally clear that the community (and institutional) response to these problems is reactive at best and certainly not designed to combat the underlying structural causes, indeed, these institutional responses serve, in the first instance, as further instruments of social control.

The lack of an infrastructure within the community of Terrace to promote the needs of powerless groups such as
women, juveniles and Natives, and the absence of a strong sense of community, determine the kind of servicing network which exists. Some grass-roots services have emerged in response to gaps in service created by the entrenched institutions and agencies; however, an absence of general community support, lack of secure funding and shortage of trained personnel make their existence precarious.

Those without power are prevented from collectively mobilizing their individually meagre resources in order to confront the ills that befall them. Collective action requires a recognition of need and the ability to identify the ways in which powerlessness is maintained. In Terrace, such recognitions do not easily develop as people are isolated from one another by the privatized nature of their existence, and by life routines addressed mainly to the problem of sheer economic survival.
CHAPTER: VI
Conclusions
Introduction

A metropolis-hinterland framework is used in this work to account for the way in which external metropolitan interests operate within one particular hinterland community. This perspective outlines certain consequences for hinterlands dependent upon metropolitan owned and controlled economies. In adopting this perspective, the research reported here treats alienation and powerlessness as inevitable consequences of exploitation and the resultant privatization of the community. The model was chosen as being the most appropriate in understanding the social relations and social problems in Terrace, B.C. By its very nature it is the very substance of the metropolis-hinterland explanation of dependency.

Residents of the community who are cut off from decision-making in social, economic and political spheres of life in Terrace display a profound sense of alienation. In personal terms, they have little control over their own destinies. Within such an environment it is difficult to identify a common enemy, or for that matter, a common need. Thus, there is little collective action to redress the effects of alienation and powerlessness.
The privatized nature of the town emerged in response to a changed economy. With the granting of tree-farm licenses to outside companies, control over the forest industry was no longer exercised at the local level. This meant that local people were not hired and trained in the community but outside managers and workers were imported to work in the forest industry and related areas. The local economy was also eroded with the loss of agricultural land to rezoning and of agriculture exports to rising costs. The creation of Terrace as a service and distribution centre also changed the economic fabric of the town. Services and businesses were no longer primarily locally-owned, as branch plants of the metropolitan businesses and agencies moved into the community and with this change, came the erosion of local control and local autonomy.

While external control has limited or decreased the life chances of many residents i.e., Native people, women and juveniles, it has worked to the advantage of others. Much of the local business that still exists has strong links with the externally-owned forest industry and it is to the advantage of the former that the status-quo is maintained. Similarly, the branch managers ensure the success of their own organizations,
which are also dependent upon the forest industry, through their business and social contacts with the local powerful. Success in their work in the hinterland correlates with future success in their own careers. The local powerful, who are involved in a variety of land development schemes and employed in influential positions in the community are closely allied with the "local" externally-imported powerful as they share common economic interests and concerns. Thus, local government reflects the interests of local entrepreneurs rather than the needs and concerns of the broader citizenry.

Metropolitan influence and control are seen in the operation of major social institutions such as the social welfare, criminal justice and education systems. The real social problems are only marginally addressed (primarily through the grass-roots organizations) and these efforts are sporadic at best. Property is more important than people and law enforcement efforts are aimed at protecting local property from the town trouble-makers. Enforcement efforts are directed at juveniles, Native people and the young, male unskilled workers. Within the education system, the emphasis is on teachers' concerns and the curricula is geared more to the interests of middle-class students rather than the lower-class or
Native students. As a result, the student attrition rates are high; but employment opportunities for drop-outs are minimal.

The effects of the male-dominated, primary resource employment are seen in a variety of ways in the community but are most visible in their impact on women. Men have traditional expectations of women and there are few opportunities for women to deviate from expected patterns. As in other areas, any attempts to change or modify arrangements or beliefs are met with suspicion at best, or outright exclusion.

The sense of alienation and powerlessness for many emerges from a number of factors - isolation, lack of opportunities, lack of facilities, the privatized nature of the community, but most importantly, from a lack of control over those events which most affect daily life. Decisions about the economy, the functioning of the institutions and the general servicing of the community are made in the distant metropolis and carried out in collaboration with the local powerful. The end result is a social climate in which family violence, juvenile delinquency, and alcohol abuse flourish. While some local efforts have been directed to combating these problems, they have been hindered by a
lack of institutional (i.e., governmental) support.

The Limitations of the Study

This research is an attempt to describe and document the characteristics of one hinterland community in northern British Columbia. As such, it is exploratory and does not claim to address all possible issues or to provide a definitive methodology.

Although limited in scope and using a methodology which relies heavily on perceptions of "expert" respondents, this study attempts to document some of the processes which are to be found in an externally-controlled economy. It goes beyond mere identification of social problems and in doing so, tries to account for and ground these processes within the economic and social structure of the wider economy.

The broad scope of the study like this forces one to make certain a priori assumptions. For example, without investigating all of the financial linkages between the major external or "parent" companies and the local economy I, nevertheless, assume that external control exists. My respondents tell me this is so; most important, they cite the granting of the tree farm licences in the early 1950's
as having created external control of the economy.

I was also not able to investigate all the facets of community life, only touch on those that provide a general overview of the community and have relevance for our central theme. Even so, I was limited and necessarily selective in the information provided as each facet could represent a study in itself. For example, I focus narrowly on unionism in Terrace and report on how respondents view the impact of unionism in maintaining the status quo. The history of union activities and the development of working-class consciousness in British Columbia are, of course, major undertakings and deserving of extended study. I have also only touched very briefly on the federal and provincial political areas, as these, too, require more extensive study.

The focus of the study dictated the methodology and called for direct observation and interchange with those people involved in the various systems, i.e., criminal justice, education and social services. I did, however, seek a broad range of information from other sources verbal and recorded.
The Findings

The central feature of life in the northern primary resource town is its state of dependency upon external economic ownership. The decision-making processes are remote and, most commonly, residents are isolated from those processes. This results, within the community, in a sense of powerlessness and alienation.

For Terrace, the state of dependency was created with the issuing of tree farm licences in the early 1950's. Until that time, there was a more diversified economy, and although forestry was a major employer and the backbone of the economy it was locally-owned and family-run. The resultant changes in Terrace as described by my respondents are consistent with those documented in existing literature on single-industry and primary resource communities.

Harding (1978), in accounting for social disorganization in many northern communities, suggests that the shift from traditional or locally-owned to wage economies underlies the growing social problems of the north. He claims that not only do primary resources provide very little employment for indigenous people, but with wage
labour there is less survival directly off the land
and more dependence on money and imported goods which are
open to tremendous price inflation in the north. For
many, the quality of life can actually decline, while
the number of people employed by corporations from outside
actually increases.

In Terrace, as in the Northwest Region, there are
such indicators of underdevelopment, since this is one
of the primary outcomes of the metropolis-hinterland
relationship. A narrow economic base, lack of secondary
industry, high labour turnover, poor transportation and
communication facilities, and a general lack of social,
professional and educational services characterise
these hinterland regions. Many citizens perceive their
lives as sub-standard in comparison to the urban areas
which they feel receive more attention and, in turn, are
better serviced.

Metropolitan standards are applied to the community
at business, government and service levels. The higher
management in all government, agencies, banks, supermarket
chains, B.C. Tel. and forest-related companies are brought
in from outside and operate to maintain the existing
economic arrangements. Local business is dependent upon
the forest industry for survival and local businessmen look
after the economic interests of the absentee-owners through the decisions they make at the local council levels. As such, local government does not play a serious role in dealing with issues that are not directly economic in nature.

Power in the hinterland is exercised to sustain existing economic arrangements, which by their very nature exclude certain groups of people. This ensures the wealth of some and the poverty and powerlessness of others. The effects of this power are magnified in a community which is geographically isolated, and where decision-making processes are less visible and less open to "outside" scrutiny. Moreover, the lack of social, recreational, economic, and service alternatives means a dependence upon existing structures and institutions. But in general there is no conscious awareness of the effects of dependency; merely an acceptance of the boom-and-bust way of life.

While survival remains forest-related, this is often ignored and the necessity for secondary industry in the area is recognized by only a few. This suggests that there is not always a wide-spread recognition of or concern about economic conditions (except during a "bust"
cycle and even then the memory of the booms dulls the discomfort); nor is there a clear, permanent sense of being exploited. Indeed, the uncertainty of the economy often gets shrouded in the "northern mystique" with its emphasis on ruggedness, individuality and endurance. In addition, both the government and service industries have, to some degree, lessened the sense of dependence on the forest industry.

As a result of external ownership of the resource and the way in which the local power structure operates to sustain the economic relationship, many of the people who live in the community exhibit a profound sense of alienation from the decision-making sources which control their lives. This often distances them from one another and contributes to the "privatization" of the community. The highly mobile white-collar workers do not develop a strong sense of attachment to the community as they are transient and in the community for career purposes. The local residents feel a sense of isolation and powerlessness, and the occasional flurry of social action is largely imported and does not reflect indigenous concern.

Transiency, indifference and the invisible and diffuse nature of power operative in the community makes it
difficult if not impossible for most citizens to locate a source of authority (Lucas, 1971). This creates for the citizen a sense of having little control over his own destiny. Lucas (1971: 355) elaborates on this lack of control: "He knows, and publicly admits that he has no control over the number of doctors in the community or his hours of work, and level of employment".

The effect of this lack of control (both real and perceived) reduces opportunities for community conflict as conflict develops around those events on which community members feel that action can be taken and not on those that leave a community feeling helpless (Coleman, 1957: 4). Within the community of Terrace, conflict is inhibited and because of this, change is minimal. The suppression of conflict is simplified by widespread unawareness of the effects of exploitation and the class-biased operation of the dominant institutions. As a result, few movements exist within the community to threaten the dominant power structure. Even the small and limited community enterprises which do exist, such as the local co-op, are the first to collapse in times of economic constraint owing to weak local interest and support.

The lack of activism and the less politicized
character of much of the community life in Terrace is most evident among Native people and is due to a number of factors. One of the most fundamental is the physical integration of Native people within a predominately non-Native community, and their scattering throughout the community. In addition, "Nativeness" is further diluted as a result of inter-marriage with non-Natives, such that it is often difficult to identify Natives as a separate group much less as a political force. There are also tribal differences among the various groups which tend to separate them, and therefore, reduce opportunities to develop a common identity. Finally, and most important, the lack of permanent employment and access to the decision-making processes are crucial factors in keeping Native people transient and dispersed.

Environmental issues, raised through the efforts of groups such as the Skeena Protection Coalition are, at times, a threat to the local power structures. However, their impact is limited and the instigators are not members of powerful groups. Such agendas may be traced to the particular life-styles of people who move to the community as part of a larger "back-to-the-earth" movement.

This is not to say that there are no changes in the
community. The support for the development of Terrace Women's Centre originally came from one of the most powerful councils in town, the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District Council. At that time, the single woman on council was an activist for women's issues and was trying to organize a local status-of-women group. Although she had some impact on council, as seen in the support for the Women's Centre, she served only one term and lost in the next election. Similarly, of the two "liberal" candidates elected to district council in the 1980 municipal election, only one remains in office.

There are other examples of aborted attempts at change. A concern about child abuse resulted in a filing system to document abuse cases but it functioned for only a short time; day care facilities flourished and then died; the initial tripartite support for Skeena Manpower Committee is fading even though this group has had some success in addressing labour-related issues. Change is sporadic and episodic, and a long-term commitment to social issues is lacking. This is not to suggest that change is impossible but if significant change is to come about it will require a different and more representative mix of local controllers and decision makers, leading to an expanded local autonomy.
The absence of sustained collective action is in part due to professional and managerial transience, and the indifference of these class sectors to the needs of the community. This blocks development of a "communal" mentality, and perpetuates the victimization of particular groups such as Native people, women, and lower-class youth. Major social institutions operate to maintain the subordination of these groups: the family through the maintenance of the patriarchal ideology; the servicing network through its emphasis on "legitimate" services rather than on required ones; the criminal justice system through its definition of "criminal" and "deviant", and the educational process through its lack of interest in the needs of lower class and local youth.

In contradistinction, the criminal justice system, the education system and social services do work, however, imperfectly, in the metropolis, where the users of these systems are predominately non-Native and/or organized. Indeed, the systems are designed primarily for the metropolis, i.e., the systems must "fit" into the metropolis, whereas the hinterland communities must fit and accommodate to the systems. The criminal justice system in Terrace, for example, is designed by non-Native, middle-class legislators and lawyers, and is grossly
in appropriate in the provision of justice for Native people and for many other hinterland residents. Many of the metropolis-trained professionals who are sent to these communities are without the skills and experience necessary to address the kinds of problems that are found in hinterland communities.

For women in the community who are able to find work, the jobs are usually in the clerical and service sectors. This concentration may be analogous to the kinds of jobs which are available to women in metropolitan centres, but the hinterland community provides even fewer opportunities and options. In addition, there is a prevailing attitude toward women and family life which is based on traditional sex-roles which relegate women to positions of economic and social powerlessness. Any attempt to introduce change is met with suspicion. The Women's Growth Centre, for example, is classified by a broad spectrum of local people (including many women) as a radical feminist organization to which only "women's libbers" belong.

The unemployed and marginally employed are primarily Native people, unskilled transient workers and juveniles. The lower-class non-Native and Native youth who have no
connections through family or friends are particularly victimized by a lack of access to employment opportunities. The reality for many of the uneducated youth without personal contacts is that jobs are not available to them. They must compete with adult males who have work experience, and the jobs when available to these poorly connected youths, tend to be menial in nature.

I focused on family violence, juvenile delinquency and alcohol abuse as the most visible and most identifiable social "problems". In some respects, they are also the most personal and/or interpersonal, and community explanations of them are based on individual or family pathology. Structural explanations that entail some community accountability are not a common community response. Formal responses to deviance, policing styles, and social services all reflect an individualistic model of behaviour. Apart from sporadic concerns about wife-battery, no sustained collective action has emerged to address social issues. These behaviours flourish within the privatized community, which lacks a community network to respond to individual needs.

Similar problems may exist in other urban and rural communities, but the extent and form differ within the
hinterland. The impoverished and dependent status of the powerless groups in the hinterland is an outgrowth of geography, isolation, underdevelopment, privatization and an exclusion from the economy. These exist in tandem with certain attitudes and beliefs accepted widely as dominant and legitimate in the hinterland. Few counter-philosophies are available to challenge this arrangement and, consequently, the poor quality of life for the powerless continues. The local institutions, churches, schools and government are dominated by the agents of the metropolis.

Powerlessness is structurally maintained through the underemployment and unemployment of certain groups. Although powerlessness is felt even by the primary resource workers given the rapacious economy upon which employment is based, it is among the groups with the least power that victimization is complete and enduring. The economy provides limited alternatives as these groups lack vocational and other necessary skills and training. Moreover, limited opportunities to explore and affirm alternative values reinforce the sense of personal worthlessness and failure, resulting in profound alienation.

Economic exploitation of the hinterland area, in conjunction with disregard for the social and personal
needs of many community residents, continues cycles of powerlessness and dependency and eventually leads to permanent, hostile estrangement. This situation will persist in the absence of expanded local control and regional autonomy which operate to the benefit of all hinterland citizens.

Solutions to the Problems in Resource Towns

Common themes running through the resource town literature are underdevelopment and social disorganization. The intrusion of outside economic interests and the lack of adequate planning are most often cited as the reasons for these problems.

Although there are some examples of planned resource communities, namely, Temiskaming in Quebec, Kapiskasing in Ontario, and more recently, the community of Tumbler Ridge in northwestern British Columbia, most communities develop with little, if any, planning. One of the primary recommendations in the literature on resource communities is the need for planned communities. Jackson and Poushinsky (1971) recommend that health care facilities, dental care and shopping should be improved; House (1982) and Riffal (1971) recommend the provision of good housing, a wider range of education facilities, and development of separate
residential and commercial centres.

In addressing the effects of underdevelopment, House suggests that the most fundamental issue that has to be faced is that of local power and control. He recommends what he calls "dynamic dependent development" or development which occurs with local input and a share of control. For those communities already in existence, House recommends the reversing of underdevelopment in a reformist manner and suggests the revitalization of local economy, controlled industrialization, environmental controls, manpower recruitment done locally, and resource revenues applied to upgrading community services, transportation and communication facilities. Harding (1978), supports House in stressing the need for local control and appropriate technology in those communities where short-term economic benefit rather than long-term self-determination has been the norm.

In all the institutional systems which operate in the primary resource, dependent, hinterland community, what is needed is a fundamental change in design to take into account the users of the systems. An example of local control over their own educational system is provided by the Nishga people of New Aiyansh who became dissatisfied with sending their children to school in Terrace. They
suffered high attrition rates of their children in the schools and successfully organized a campaign to have a school built in New Aiyansh.

With respect to criminal justice, the late Justice J.C. Sissons pioneered delivery of criminal justice services to isolated Inuit and Indian communities in the N.W.T. in the 1950's and 60's. Although he began as the dispenser of white justice to the Native population through the north, he came to realize that the justice system was not designed for the population it was applied to. Consequently, he adjusted his own judicial practices so that they were more respectful of Native culture, by recognizing customary practices and traditional law in arriving at dispositions.

While the above examples relate directly to concerns of Native people, the underlying issues are applicable to the needs of many people who live in primary resource-dependent communities such as Terrace.

What is clear from the material presented above is that new industry alone will not solve the dependency problems of a community such as Terrace. Industry must also reflect the need for a locally controlled economy and incorporate the employment skills of a wide segment
of the population, particularly those groups who are presently excluded.

**Contribution of the Research**

Terrace represents one type of hinterland community. It has distinct characteristics with regard to its geographic location, economic ownership, ethnic make-up and its history, all of which shape and define the community. The major contribution which this research makes is the application of the metropolis-hinterland framework to this particular Canadian resource community. While this community may not be representative of all hinterland communities, nevertheless, it is representative of one kind of resource-dominated community within the Canadian context i.e., a town with a history of a local economy which has been eroded by outside control.

There are other kinds of hinterland communities, many of which do not rely upon a primary resource for survival. For those that do, however, such as the instant or boom-town, or the single-industry town, general factors of isolation and a lack of alternatives are compounded by the omnipresence of a primary resource. The importance of all such resource communities to the Canadian economy is noted by Himelfarb, (1982(a): 19):
Canadian industrial expansion continues to depend upon the proliferation of small, geographically isolated towns, as these are created and exist to extract resources.

With that in mind, we can state that one of the major contributions of this research is the attention it pays to one of these communities. The importance of these communities and the fact that they have so long escaped broad and comprehensive research attention, make this study particularly useful.

There are some ways in which this study differs from and expands upon the existing Canadian resources community literature.

Unlike the work of Lucas (1971) and Hughes (1943) which sought universal principles that could be used to describe either single-industry towns or communities in transition, this study is distinctly Canadian and region-specific. It examines specific events and social consequences in a B.C. community by taking historical, economic, social and political factors into account when looking at present-day society.

More specifically, this research focuses on a Canadian resource community that has a history of a local economy. This focus is quite different from
other research in Canada which has tended to concentrate on single-industry, or boom-towns which have developed solely around a primary resource. The established northern communities into which resource extraction has intruded, have either been ignored or included in general community studies of towns that have undergone urbanization, rather than on those with unique hinterland characteristics.

Another departure from the existing single-industry and boom-town literature is the identification of the local power structures within the resource community. Lucas (1971) describes occupational structures which are located within the resource company; in this study we identify a local elite that has business links with the metropolis and has emerged in response to local land development as well as to external economic demands.

Perhaps the feature of the hinterland community which has been most neglected in the literature on primary resource communities is the impact of control exerted by these local power structures. Previous studies note the effects of dependency, but while admitting that gradations of dependency exist, there has been no systematic exploration of these differences and their implications for various groups of people.

The work presented here differs from the existing
research on single or primary industry communities by documenting that the erosion of the local economy not only creates economic uncertainty because of dependence upon a single resource, but that it creates as well, an internal power structure that sustains the metropolitan interests. The pay-off to those who serve the interests of the metropolis is the acquisition of wealth; the fate of Native people, women and lower-class juveniles is social deprivation and political impotence. For others, namely transient professionals, managers, workers and government workers, the small miseries they suffer are tolerable since they do not view Terrace as their home base.

Another contribution of this research is an examination of the operation of major social institutions in the resource hinterland. The existing literature addresses social disorganization without connecting it to anything other than the boom-town phenomenon or alienation. This research looks to the way in which the institutional systems shape the specific context in which certain behaviours flourish. Similarly, this research attempts to document the effects of applying metropolitan policies and practices to a hinterland community, and what these mean for those groups that the institutions claim to service.
Finally, this study goes beyond the common explanations for deviance in hinterland communities i.e., social disorganization and family breakdown, and attempts to locate such behaviour within the context of alienation and powerlessness produced by an externally-imposed and disruptive economy.

Contribution of the Metropolis-Hinterland Perspective

It is becoming evident that the Canadian resource community is more and more being studied from a critical perspective. While functionalist studies of these communities still dominate the literature, we are witnessing a move to an analysis which is rooted in structure. With that in mind, we turn to a discussion of the ways in which the metropolis-hinterland explanation of dependency is of value.

One of the most important contributions that this perspective makes to the field of sociology is in providing a framework in which to understand both individual and group behaviour of people who live in such a hinterland community. Most of the existing community studies literature documents behaviour as a result of internal processes which shape and direct action, attitudes
and beliefs, but it does not adequately address the role of external forces or underdevelopment. The metropolis-hinterland perspective provides a means of accounting for some of the effects of these forces.

This perspective also allows us to understand the structural constraints which compel certain forms of behaviour in such a community. We have long believed that delinquency and other indicators of social pathology were urban phenomena and increased with population size. What the findings of this research show us is that the metropolis will produce this same phenomenon in the hinterland even though the latter has a radically different base from that in the urban area.

This is not to say that self-destructive behaviour is restricted to dependent communities, since it runs through all of society. The metropolis-hinterland perspective, however, allows an understanding of the unique manifestations of conflict in an environment where individual pathology flourishes in the absence of collective action and concerted attempts to gain local control over the economy.

In a broader way, the metropolis-hinterland perspective offers an accounting for the characteristics of this
and other communities. Blishen et al (1979), in identifying community viability as a way of assessing the socio-economic impact of industrial development, focused on particular community characteristics, rather than on external forces, as a way of assessing community "strength". The case study literature on the creation of "instant communities" on the northern resource frontier has drawn attention to the lack of a formal planning process as an explanation for the social disorganization which is evidenced in the community. Neither of these explanations takes into account, however, the powerlessness and exclusion of groups of people who exist within the community structure, nor do they, in any fundamental way, account for the long-term effects of the boom-and-bust and externally-controlled economies. Jamieson (1976), in describing labour unrest in British Columbia, accounts for much of the phenomena of social disorganization in primary resource communities as a result of labour volatility. Yet while labour unrest may account for certain conditions at times of strike, it does not address the more familiar lack of conflict, the development of accommodative structures, the nature of institutional forms, and the range of behaviours which are characteristic of certain kinds of northern communities. Nor does such an approach allow for a discussion of the important differences between hinterland communities. Similarly, social impact research on "boom" towns largely ignores the impact of exterior economic
control and underdevelopment and focuses on behaviour as generated from social disorganization. Because this latter focus tends to exclude structural concerns, such an approach often raises more questions than it answers, and questions that it cannot answer.

A final, but perhaps most important application of the metropolis-hinterland perspective, is its ability to critically analyze power relations, an area of analysis underemphasized in the community studies literature. Clement and Drache (1978) in reviewing the political economy tradition in Canada stress that the "hinterlanders" (i.e., those political economists who studied and analyzed the factors of internal dependency, primarily between the west and central Canada) tended to overlook a number of issues, one of the most important being the existence of a resource-based proletariat. Furthermore, they did not come to terms with the problem of external dependence as they stressed the bigness of industry rather than its ownership and control. By focusing on a single community and describing the existing power relations, the work reported here goes some way in addressing those issues. As a result, this research, albeit exploratory, contributes to the community studies and political economy literature.

The examination of power relations places this study
within the revived political economy tradition exemplified in the work of Naylor, Watkins and Clement. Those authors focused on "foreign ownership and capital accumulation, the branch plant economy and imperialism, modern technology and unequal development" (Clement and Drache, 1978: 32) in accounting for the shaping of modern Canada. Dependency theory and class analysis are at the root of their discussions. Although this study is limited in scope and is very narrowly focused on one resource community, it does attempt to document the effects of dependency, underdevelopment and the powerlessness of certain groups within the economically dependent hinterland.

Future Research Directions

There are a number of research directions which emerge from this study through the application of the metropolis-hinterland explanation of dependency, and, through concerns arising out of some of the existing research on boom-towns.

Since we have described this study as exploratory, we can look to a number of areas which require further research. An examination of the financial linkages between the metropolitan and the local economy would expand the findings of this study; an historical and contemporary analysis of union and political activities and their impact
on local economies is critical, as is a systematic study of local decision-making in hinterland, resource-dependent communities. In addition, more empirical data is required on family violence, alcohol abuse, suicide rates and juvenile delinquency in northern, hinterland communities.

As corporate expansion in the north is becoming a major area of concern in both the public and private sector, we need to know a great deal more about the disrupting effects of expansion. Harding (1978) suggests that there is a difference between corporate expansion in Native and non-Native communities i.e., there is a difference between creating a community with a corporate structure and values in the north and expanding corporate activities into indigenous northern communities, and we require documentation of these differences.

More information on the specific effects of external control of the economy or of corporate expansion into the lives of citizens is essential. Perhaps, given the limited number of people interviewed in this study, we need to undertake research that more systematically details the effects of absentee or foreign-ownership on community definitions and participation in a variety of resource-dominated communities. For example, Wilkinson et al. (1982) ask if the proper methodologies have been employed in
tieding measures of social disorganization to industrial development, and this query must be answered.

Both theoretically and methodologically, the social impact research on boom-towns has come under attack. Wilkinson et al in reviewing the literature, conclude that while urbanization, rapid change and outside domination are perceived to be the sources of social pathology in Western energy development communities, some underlying assumptions have not been properly tested. These authors identify a number of concerns, one of which has to do with the validity of assumptions about prior trends and conditions in the communities studied. In effect, they ask if the communities really were the classically rural types that they are assumed to be prior to development. They also question the validity of the assumption that rural life is less stressful than urban life. These queries suggest a need for more in-depth community studies and for longitudinal studies which can examine the before-and-after effects of development.

Another area deserving further research attention is that of community victimization. To date, victimization research in Canada has focused on large-scale surveys of urban areas. Small communities have been largely ignored, particularly those in more isolated
areas; moreover, there has been no victimization research on minority groups.

All of the above suggests the need to develop a typology of small, geographically isolated, resource-dependent communities in Canada. Blishen et al (1979) point out that there are major differences among a number of communities in one region of British Columbia. It is important that these differences be delineated for the many communities in other provinces and regions, as well as in British Columbia, in order to develop a typology that would compare and contrast communities.

At a broader level, we must examine the ways in which hinterland problems are handled in other countries with similar and different populations and regions. Such an approach would clarify the nature of the problems occurring within diverse hinterland communities, including the institutional responses to them. Comparisons of this order would introduce cultural and ideological dimensions, as well as further the economic analysis of metropolis-hinterland relations.

Clearly, the suggestions for future research outlined here are important to take up if we are to adequately understand and respond to the social issues confronting
small communities caught in the path of economic development and external control.
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FILMS

APPENDICES
Appendix A

Methodology

Research Framework

The research was conducted in the medium-sized community (population: 20,000) of Terrace in the northwest area of the province of British Columbia. The primary industry in the area is logging and the forestry companies operate in Terrace from the Lower Mainland. Because of the relatively young age of the male labouring population, there are a significant number of women and children living in the community. This is due to the economic base of the community which attracts a more transient population and because professional people move to Terrace at a more junior level in their careers. In addition, the community has a sizeable Native population.

Since the early 1970's the town has moved marginally in the direction of becoming a government and distribution centre in the Northwest. This is a result of its location as well as the need to pursue a more stable economy, as it has been subject to chronic boom-and-bust cycles that so often characterize these kinds of resource communities. It is claimed by some people that Terrace is now in a period of growth and expansion and there are predictions
that it will become a major service centre, - "the Prince George" of the northwest. The most recent "bust" period shows, however, that the expectations of stability about the "new" economy are false - as soon as the primary resource is threatened the community takes on all of its historical, hinterland characteristics.

In terms of carrying out the research in this type of community, the first and probably the most fundamental problem was to gain acceptance from the research subjects. A good deal of information was generated over the 18 months that I lived in the community, but this was not accomplished without some difficulty. The major problem was being accepted, as small-town life has its own rigid standards of acceptability of strangers.

One of the things that is most apparent in moving from a large city to a small town is the speed with which information travels. This is particularly important as it means that one's identity can be quickly defined. This is not irrelevant to a discussion of methodology, but critical to it. The acquisition of the kind of information that was required for this research was largely dependent upon a degree of trust and acceptance by a number of citizens and public officials in the community.
Learning about the community's perception of "outsiders" was the first problem. The idea that cities offer an anonymity and indifference that is unthreatening and even comforting is not sheer rhetoric. Small towns require instant categorization of new people which, if not immediately forthcoming, may result in instant suspicion or, worse still exclusion. Uncertainty and often suspicion about the Lower Mainland already exists as it is the seat of the provincial government and wields the power so critical to communities like Terrace. If one comes as a "researcher" from that area one is immediately suspect.

The feelings of resentment are understandable as decisions are often made about issues crucial to the community without its participation, and the sense of physical isolation exacerbates this feeling of powerlessness. B.C. is very much a province of the "Lower Mainland" and the "rest of the Province", and an awareness of this is reflected in many of the existing attitudes towards those outsiders who migrate North. In addition, there is often a feeling among northerners that they are being researched by "outsiders".

What these attitudes mean for doing research in a town like Terrace, particularly if it involves a component of the justice system, is that one must find an acceptable way of being identified (at least to those people who are
the most critical source of information). This process of establishing a legitimate identity took a considerable amount of time but eventually was accomplished.

A variety of techniques were employed. One strategy was to make my interest in family violence known to those women's groups which had particular concerns in that area, and to give seminars on the subject. These sessions enabled me not only to be visible but to collect data as well. Part of the way in which it was possible to be accepted by these women's groups was to be identified as an outsider who had a particular interest in women's issues and was coming to the groups with some kind of information that was not commonly known in the community. A good example of this was demonstrated when discussing therapy groups for batterers with the fund raisers and organizers of the K'San Society, who were struggling to acquire a transition house and were anxious to find out what kinds of programs were available for violent husbands. However, one of the possible consequences of this strategy was to identify myself with the local feminists and thus generate suspicion among the more traditional segments of Terrace society.

Another method was to offer assistance as a research consultant (without charge) to the local Native Friendship Centre, to the school coordinator of special services,
and to the probation office. Again, this allowed me to be categorized as "legitimate", to acquire data and to make other contacts.

In understanding and getting a "feel" for the town, its inhabitants, economics, politics and social arrangements, it was often more a process of osmosis than intentional and articulated design. Any move to a new place necessitates getting to know its physical environment, its facilities and services. The local daily paper and radio station provide a running commentary on municipal events; the schools, library and community centres provide another perspective; physical landmarks, such as the chip-burner and the layout of the forest-related industries in town, were a visible demonstration of the importance of wood to the town's economy; the burgeoning government offices, the new Skeena Health Complex, the courthouse, and the modern office buildings housing government departments, were all physical clues to the community.

First impressions are also a guide to the social arrangements of the community. For example, Native people are seen most often in particular locations which reflect their status in the community - the Coop store, the hotel entrances, the Woolworth-Safeway corridor at the "old" shopping centre and the adjoining liquor store. Native
juveniles, like their elders, have their special haunts: the hotel entrances and the notorious "recreation" centre, Gus's. They stand in groups in front of these establishments, often silent and suspicious, watching the passing traffic.

The field work was often lonely, isolating and frustrating but there were occasions when information and events started to "fit" and a sense of exhilaration prevailed. Perhaps the most difficult aspect of the research (other than gaining acceptance and eventually access to individuals and information) was in trying to understand the inter-relatedness of all of the data. It was possible to make most of the connections in a way that explained events but there were often gaps in information. In some cases these were filled, but as in any research undertaking of this nature, there were still occasions when it was not possible to gather important information. Some information was available only through interviews and at times it was second or third hand at best, nor was it always possible to trace its origins. In addition, there was the problem of the reluctance of many respondents to discuss power relationships in the community. In general, however, there is a sense that most of the critical issues have been addressed and that a fairly accurate portrait of the community and the
reality of life for some of its inhabitants, has been depicted. Clearly, this is my perception. I cannot ensure the reader, however, that it is a perception that would be shared by all groups given the wide range of social and economic positions within the community. Many people are insulated from the realities of others by their specific circumstances and they cannot empathize with any account of life in Terrace except one that reflects the orbit of their personal activities and sentiments.

Research Strategy

The research proceeded within a framework that on first glance might appear scattered and lacking direction but which proceeded through a process of calculated "casting about". One major advantage of this method is that a review of the data is an ongoing and continuous process. The key informant technique used in this study allowed issues to be identified by those people familiar with the community.

A number of research strategies were employed, usually simultaneously, although often not in any patterned way. The use of an eclectic rather than a central approach was necessary as I had an emerging conception of the problem I was investigating and required flexibility in
exploring its dimensions. What was collected at any given time frequently depended upon direction from the data. For example, during an interview with the editor of a local newspaper a forthcoming conference on labour conditions in the area was mentioned and this became a further source of information. Attendance at the conference led to an awareness of some prior research which was undertaken by the Skeena Manpower Committee on labour instability.

Living in Terrace and doing other research gave me access to some kinds of information but limited others. Because I was in the town in an acceptable social role i.e., that of wife and mother, I had access to a range of people otherwise difficult for an "outside" researcher to obtain. This access allowed me to augment the information acquired in formal interviews. For example, throughout the text I use references such as "few, some, many" when referring to opinions or perceptions of people. As no actual numbers are provided, these terms are used as indicators of the support for, or rejection of, particular issues. My informal, social contacts in the town were often deliberately cultivated in order to round out the information I was eliciting in formal interviews. When terms such as "many, some, few" are used they suggest that in a general way, those I formally interviewed were in
agreement (or disagreement) with those who expressed opinions or concerns in informal settings. The informal contacts I had were approximately twice the number of formal contacts outlined in Appendix H.

As suggested, participant observation carried out for the 18 months I was a resident of the town, was the single most valuable research technique. As Vidich and Bensam suggest, there is no substitute for this strategy:

As a technique, participant observation is central to all the social sciences. It has been singled out and treated as a rather specialized field approach with peculiar problems of its own, but this has obscured the extent to which the various social sciences depend upon it. Participant observation enables the research worker to secure his data within the mediums, symbols, and experiential worlds which have meanings to his respondents. Its intent is to prevent imposing alien meanings upon the actions of the subjects.

The sociologist who limits his work to his own society is constantly exploiting his personal background of experience as a basis for knowledge. In making up structured interviews, he draws on his knowledge of meanings gained from participation in the social order he is studying. He can be assured of a modicum of successful communication only because he is dealing in the same language and symbolic system as his respondents (1968: 349-350).

In operationalizing the technique, Gold (1969: 31) notes:

Every field work role is at once a social inter-
action device for securing information for scientific purposes and a set of behaviours in which an observer's self is involved.

The participant as observer, while basically similar to the complete observer or total participant role, differs significantly in that both field worker and informant are aware that theirs is a field relationship (Gold, 1969). In my case, this was compounded, however, by the fact that I was married to a community "member", my children were attending school in the community, and, as a result of this, it confused my identity as field worker. Social relationships develop from the recognition on the part of both worker and informant that the former is living as a community member. Certain social expectations, however, come with the role, such as how you behave in social situations as compared to professional ones and how to reciprocate and function socially.

The danger in the confusion of roles is twofold as Gold (1975: 39) recognizes. The informant may become too identified with the field worker to continue functioning merely as an informant or the field worker may over-identify with the informant and lose his research perspective by "going-Native". The greatest difficulty in my situation lay in trying to retain some elements of "the stranger" role while at the same time being thrust
into the role of a potential "friend". What it ultimately requires for the field worker, is a good deal of careful planning so that the stranger and the friend roles are not confused. One way in which this was accomplished was by interviewing in neutral places, for example, using a business office (in this case one belonging to the probation services) rather than my own home, and by steering the conversation away from personal subjects whenever possible. Ultimately, this technique worked as I was able to collect the information I needed. Part of succeeding in this is as Gold notes ... the ability of the field worker to help the informant know and play his role.

In addition to participant observation, which had its greatest advantage in generating a familiarity with and an overview of the community and its residents, more specific methodologies were employed as well. Newspapers and radio were monitored closely to determine coverage of local events and to identify key people in the community; in-depth interviews were done with individuals representing a variety of perspectives and positions ranging from judge to offender, from establishment figures to battered wives; official documents, originating from local, provincial, regional and national levels, were studied; court and probation files were examined to compare Native and non-Native juvenile offences; and ride-alongs
with the local police were carried out. As a volunteer research consultant, information was also gathered from the local Native Friendship Centre, school services and the probation office.

The range of material that these sources covered was considerable. In order to acquire some knowledge of the community, the initial emphasis was upon gathering data which related to the economy of the region and following that, to its political and social organization. Official government publications and interviews were the most useful data sources for those purposes. Participant observations, interviews and the research generated through the work of the Skeena Manpower Committee provided information on the more obscure aspects of life in a northern hinterland community. In order to gather material on deviance, i.e., juvenile delinquency, family violence and alcohol abuse, specific data sources were tapped. These involved interviews and other social service, criminal justice and educational sources.

It is essential at this point to make the reader aware of the data limitations. For example, when providing illustrations of the way in which challenges to the existing order were handled, only two examples are provided, although references were made to other situations by various
respondents. However, when pressed for details there was often a reluctance to elaborate.

In the area of power in particular, there are major difficulties in undertaking research in small towns. There is a lack of access to decision-making bodies and there is secrecy on the part of some community members. In some ways, the latter may be related to a concern about outsiders saying negative things about the community.

Finally, there are problems of confidentiality in doing research in small towns. There are some events that simply cannot be reported due to assurances of confidentiality.

The various research strategies will be discussed in more detail as the outcome of the research was very much a product of the methods used. Clearly, one of the primary approaches to acquiring the necessary information was through the interview process (Appendix H). This entailed identifying: a) individuals who could supply relevant information because of their particular functions and roles in the community; and, b) individuals who were willing to be interviewed. The interviews which lasted for one or two hours were taped and later transcribed so that the data could be examined in detail and categorized.
People were initially selected to be interviewed as a function of their particular roles in the community. An effort was made to identify a representative sample of persons who were able to speak from their own work and experiences in the community. Thus, the sample was composed of criminal justice system personnel, i.e., judges, probation officers, Native courtworkers, crown counsel, lawyers, Royal Canadian Mounted Police personnel, court clerk, social workers, doctors, and school teachers. Community leaders, local businessmen, local politicians, women activists newspaper editors, Native spokespeople, senior citizens, local workers, union representatives, housewives, and others who were able to supply information about the community were later interviewed in order to supplement the initial interviews and document life in the town as fully as possible. This was done in order to acquire a broader complement of information and not simply to mirror the views of the professional groups.

The first step in identifying possible candidates for selection was to get a feel for those people who were in positions of authority within the business and government sectors and within the major organizations and associations. This was done by reading newspapers, talking to neighbours and generally asking around. When identified, these people were interviewed, and a part of the interview asked
them to identify other people, within their own or other areas, with whom I might speak. This "snowball" technique was very effective and within two or three months I had a sense of who did what in the town, whom they "represented" and what groups or individuals should be included in the sample. The sample broadened, however, with subsequent interviews as more individuals were identified by respondents. By the time the interview process was completed, I felt that for the purpose of this research I had included the most appropriate hinterland people in my sample. One of the main advantages of doing research in a small town where most people know or know of one another is the ability to identify, relatively quickly and with some confidence, the range of people to interview.

One of the primary purposes of using a key informant technique is to allow informants to identify issues for the researcher. For this reason it was necessary to keep the interviews as open-ended as possible and to give respondents the freedom to discuss areas and identify issues and priorities. This was extremely important as it was impossible for the researcher to determine a priori what topics should be covered. The result was that people tended to use the general topics as a way of identifying certain specific areas and issues that they wanted to discuss. In
the final analysis, the information that was generated was impressionistic, anecdotal and rich; people provided their perceptions of the community and attached their own meanings to it. These data are presented in that context.

The interviews were conducted in a variety of ways. They were carried out either informally in a quasi-social setting, at lunch at one of the local restaurants with field notes written up after the meeting, or formally in an office or business setting. When respondents objected to being taped, notes were taken during the interview and later written up.

Other interviews were conducted within programmatic agenda. Six seminars on family violence were given to approximately fifteen people per session. Five were held with women's groups - a drop-in centre and a morning mothers' group - and the sixth for the society working to establish a transition house in the community. After I presented a short talk on family violence, there was a discussion period and field notes were taken during the discussions. My involvement in these groups served a number of purposes. It not only helped familiarize me to some members of the community but it also allowed a forum in which to gather data about the occurrence of family
violence within the community.

A secondary way of acquiring data was through the local media as there are three local newspapers - one daily, one weekly and one published every two weeks. These papers cover local happenings and local opinion in their letters-to-the-editor columns. Reports of school and hospital board meetings were reported as well as a variety of other community activities. This source of data was extremely useful in identifying the activities of interest groups and the political and social positions of people in the various institutions. Because there was a considerable spread in the positions of the papers, i.e., one was clearly identified as "liberal" as it discussed Native, human rights and ecological issues, while the other two took a much more conservative approach, it was possible to get a grasp of community issues. The local radio station (CFTRO) also provided valuable information as it was the primary information medium around which many community activities revolved. In terms of research strategy, the media was systematically covered by subscribing to the local newspapers and listening to the local radio.

A third research procedure was the use of official data. The information that was generated from official
sources was necessary in order to document demographic and other characteristics of the community as well as to acquire information on family violence, delinquency rates and alcohol abuse.

The official data material was of two sorts: the first, related to the official sources such as statistics Canada, provincial government publications, municipal and regional district publications, the 1977 B.C. Atlas, local historical records and local government agency reports, such as public health. These sources were useful as they provided fully analyzed information. The second source, which was located in local probation and court registry files of juvenile delinquents, police and other records relating to family violence and alcohol abuse, was much more time-consuming to acquire. It had to be extracted directly from files, coded and analyzed.

Information on family violence and alcohol abuse was gathered in a variety of ways. Interviews provided some qualitative data; police and other records, quantitative data such as rates of impaired driving charges, and juvenile offences. Existing documents, such as a recent study completed by the K'San Society, provided some data on the incidence of family violence.
The Native Friendship Centre's proposal for research into Native children in the school system provided data on attrition rates; the police recommendations to Council on alcohol-related crime gave some indication of alcohol use in the community; and, finally, the Skeena Manpower Study provided invaluable data on social and employment conditions in the community. Police ride-alongs which were part of Native delinquency study provided to be an invaluable source of police attitudes, particularly with regard to family violence, and juvenile delinquency in the community.

Finally, there was the actual living in the town. Although difficult to specifically document, it is clear that much of what one learns and, perhaps as importantly, senses about a community has to do with the daily routines of living. Grocery shopping, going to the bank, attending parents' night at the local schools, recreation—swimming, skating, skiing, going to the movies and local theatre events, socializing, attending the local disco, eating Chinese food at the bus restaurant, drinking in the taverns, were all invaluable sources of information. While often more difficult to analyze, this material underpins, colors and gives breath to all the other empirical data.

To the extent that a participant observer can participate and still retain a measure of non-involvement, his technique provides a basis
for an approach to the problem of validity. The background of information which he acquires in time makes him familiar with the psychology of his respondents and their social milieu. With this knowledge he is able to impose a broader perspective on his data and, hence, to evaluate their validity on the basis of standards extraneous to the immediate situation (Vidich and Bensman, 1968: 360).
APPENDIX B

Light Industry Employment Structure in Terrace

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<th>Full-Phase*</th>
<th>Full-Time</th>
<th>Seasonal*</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>30</td>
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<tr>
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<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sharples Equipment</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

*May also contract to other companies

With Price-Skeena

**Contractors* **

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<th>Contractor</th>
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<th>Seasonal*</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>D. Brown Logging Ltd.</td>
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<td>*Others listed under Twinn River</td>
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With Little, Haugland and Kerr

**Contractors**

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<tr>
<th>Contractor</th>
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<td>Kalum Pole Co.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dare Contracting</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Daigle Contracting</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Halvorsen - Cranberry River</td>
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**Trucks**

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<td>Pilot Cars (2)</td>
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<td><strong>With MacGillis and Gibbs</strong></td>
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<td>John Almgren Trucking</td>
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<td>J.B. Christy</td>
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<td>D.B.R. Trucking</td>
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<td>L. Degerness Trucking</td>
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<td>W. Kindred</td>
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GRAND TOTAL OF LOCAL COMPANIES 1403

Residing in Terrace but Employed in Kitimat Valley

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<td>MacMillan Bloedel Ltd.</td>
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Foresters - Consulting

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philpot Forestry Services Ltd.</td>
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<td>White Forestry Service Ltd.</td>
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CONTRACTORS

*Many companies lay off employees in Dec. & Jan.
With Twinriver Timber Log Haulers - Kalum & Nass

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<td>Easton Equipment Ltd.</td>
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<td>J. Hamilton</td>
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<td>Houlden Logging Ltd.</td>
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39
January 1979 Figures

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<td>Vic Froese Trucking</td>
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<td>R. King &amp; Sons Trucking</td>
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<td>K' Shain construction</td>
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<td>Skoglund Logging</td>
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*May also contract to other companies.

January 1975 figures
Terrace Community Report 1980
## BUSINESSES WITHIN THE MUNICIPALITY OF TERRACE
### May, 1979

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<td>and services</td>
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<td>- subcontractors</td>
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<td>Retail Stores</td>
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<tr>
<td>i. automotive/recreation vehicles-</td>
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<td>sales, supplies and service</td>
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<td>ii. heavy industry supplies</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Bytown Diesel Sales, Cae-Morse Ltd.,</td>
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<td>Finning Tractor &amp; Equipment Ltd.,</td>
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<td>Madigan Equipment Ltd.)</td>
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<td>iii. department stores (K-Mart, Terrace</td>
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<td>Co-op, Woolworths)</td>
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<td>iv. major food outlets (Safeway,</td>
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<td>Overwaitea, Terrace Co-op)</td>
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<td>v. other food outlets</td>
<td>94</td>
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<tr>
<td>vi. other retail outlets</td>
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<td>Jewellers</td>
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APPENDIX C

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

Public Service*

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Provincial Government

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Public Service* (continued)

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<td>Canadian National Railways</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Business Development Bank</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>786 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTALS</td>
<td>1,363 241</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX D

Classification of Communities

TABLE I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Social Vitality</th>
<th>Economic Viability</th>
<th>Political Efficacy</th>
<th>Competency Indices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smithers</td>
<td>+5 ➡️</td>
<td>+5 ➡️</td>
<td>+5 ➡️</td>
<td>+15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart</td>
<td>+4 ➤️</td>
<td>-3 ➡️</td>
<td>+4 ➡️</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiyansh</td>
<td>+4 ➤️</td>
<td>-4 ➡️</td>
<td>+5 ➡️</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skidegate</td>
<td>+3 ➣️</td>
<td>-2 ➣️</td>
<td>-2 ➣️</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>+1 ➣️</td>
<td>-4 ➣️</td>
<td>-5 ➣️</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazeltons</td>
<td>-2 ➣️</td>
<td>-5 ➣️</td>
<td>-3 ➣️</td>
<td>-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masset</td>
<td>-4 ➣️</td>
<td>-4 ➣️</td>
<td>-4 ➣️</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitimat</td>
<td>-5 ➣️</td>
<td>-5 ➣️</td>
<td>-5 ➣️</td>
<td>-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>+.8</td>
<td>-2.8</td>
<td>-.6</td>
<td>-2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

➡️ Indicates the trend is moving in the positive direction
➡️ Indicates the trend is stable
⬇️ Indicates the trend is moving in the negative direction

Source: Blishen et al 1979: 71
APPENDIX E

Juvenile Delinquency


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Juveniles Charged</th>
<th>Total # Dealt with Informally &amp; Informal</th>
<th>Combined Total #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Williams Lake</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort St. John</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawson Creek</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelstoke</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cranbrook</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell River</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Rupert</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quesnel</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrace</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: B.C. Police Commission
APPENDIX F

Alcohol Concerns of R.C.M.P.

June 23, 1980

North West Alcohol & Drug Counselling Service
5-4554 Lazelle Ave.
TERRACE, B.C.

Dear Sir or Madam:

Re: Alcohol Abuse and
Alcohol Related Crime

The attached correspondence and statistics were compiled for use by Mills Memorial Hospital. However, since they are very much a concern of ours, we felt you might find these interesting. I find the fact that the Police had to deal with 525 incidents of obvious alcohol abuse in a six month period very remarkable. This figure does not include many other alcohol related incidents and offences which are on an obvious increase.

Any suggestions you have that might assist us in controlling this problem would be appreciated.

Yours truly,

(R.G. LATTA) S/Sgt.
i/c Terrace Detachment
Mills Memorial Hospital
4720 Haugland Ave.
TERRACE, B.C.
V8G 2W7

Attn: Mr. Wayne EPP
President
Board of Trustees

Dear Mr. EPP:

This refers to your correspondence dated June 9, 1980. The R.C.M. Police Detachment in Terrace has recognized the exceptionally high incidences of alcohol abuse. The direct involvement of the Members in attempting to cope with an ever increasing number of alcohol related crimes and incidences of intoxication in a public place made it necessary at the first of this year to identify this problem as one of our major goals for the year. Your correspondence outlining your efforts to cope with this very serious problem is very timely as we obviously share common concerns.

On behalf of the Terrace Detachment, I would like to express our complete support for your efforts in establishing a program to offer help to those afflicted with an alcohol problem. The need in the Terrace area is great. If there is anything we can do to assist you in making a program of this nature a reality, we would be most happy to assist.

I have included some statistical material you may find helpful in gaining approval from the Ministry of Health.

Yours truly,

(R.G. LATTA) S/Sgt.
i/c Terrace Detachment
APPENDIX G

Alcohol Offences

Intoxicated in Public Place (does not include impaired drivers).

October 1979 to March 1980 (6 months)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>328</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Native)</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under 25 years   183
Between 25-45 years  141
Over 45 years  38

Repeaters
- 2 times  37 male
- 37 male
- 5 female
- 6 male
- 5 male
- 1 male

Impaired drivers (includes over .08)
October 1979 to March 1980

163 - Charged

Source: R.C.M.P. 1980
APPENDIX H

List of Respondents

Judge (Provincial Court)
Former provincial court judge
Crown prosector (a) - Terrace
Crown Prosecutor - Campbell River
Defense lawyers (2)
Native courtworker (2)
Probation officers (2)
Police officers, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (5 males)
Police officer, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (1 female)
Non-commissioned officer, Royal Canadian Mounted Police
Native counsellor - Canada Manpower
Counsellor - Alcohol and Drugs Commission
Regional Director, Ministry of Human Resources
Social worker, Ministry of Human Resources
Native Counsellor - School District (2)
Coordinator of Special Services, School Board
Teacher - Work/Employment Program for Juveniles
Councillor, former Mayor
Manager, Regional District of Kitimat-Stikine
Former Regional District Council representative
Native Friendship Centre, Director
Native Friendship Centre, Researcher
Planning officer, Regional District
Women's Centre, Director
4 Housewives of varying ages
2 retired men, long time residents of Terrace
3 juveniles
2 teachers - elementary school
2 teachers - junior secondary school
2 teachers - senior secondary school
President, International Woodworkers of America
Member, Legislative Assembly
Manager, B.C. Tel.
Worker B.C. Tel. (2)
Regional Director, Native Courtworkers Association
Foreman, Department of Highways
Foreman, Pohle Lumber
Appendix: List of Interviewees (cont'd)

Mother's Time Out, Director
Status of Women, Organizer
Women's Studies, Community College, Teacher
Northwest Community College, Economist
The Daily Herald, Editor
Former Newspaper Editor and Biographer of history of community
Northern Times, Editor
Pediatrician
General Practitioner
Urologist


1980 LaPrairie, Carol Pitcher. "Diversion: Some Theoretical Considerations". Canadian Criminology Forum, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto. Vol. 3(1), (Fall), 44-56.

1978. LePinevic, Cevol Pitcher
"The Development of Sanctions for Stock Market Manipulations in Ontario"
Journal of Criminology, July 1978.