

LOCAL GOVERNANCE:
AN ASSESSMENT OF THE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF TUMBLER RIDGE,
BRITISH COLUMBIA

By

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ABSTRACT

Tumbler Ridge, a resource town situated in northeastern British Columbia, is the first new community developed using the "local government" model. The context for the case study is provided by an examination of resource community development in British Columbia and Western Australia during the post-war period. In both jurisdictions a transition in resource community development methods is evident. The main stimulus for these changes has been the recognition of a variety of endogenous and exogenous problems associated with earlier methods of development. There has been a change away from the paternalistic company town with its out-dated mode of private governance to more "open" methods of development which enable a greater degree of self-governance.

The Tumbler Ridge project is assessed in some detail in order to identify its main attributes and drawbacks. Where circumstances such as workforce size, location and anticipated longevity of mining activity favour the establishment of a new town, the Tumbler Ridge case study shows that the "local government" method of development should be preferred over alternative methods of developing new resource communities. The "local government" model has a number of distinct benefits including: financial mechanisms that enable early provision of a high standard of facilities and services, commercial sector brokerage, proactive community development, participatory local government and a reduction in corporate influence. These have resulted in the diminution of social ailments and more rapid progress towards stability and maturity than in resource towns established by alternative methods. The most significant remaining

problem is the provision of service sector housing and the attainment of a sufficiently integrated housing market.

Changes in the approach to resource community development are primarily the outcome of changes in provincial policy. Whereas in the pre-war and early post-war period, economic development was the overriding factor, in recent decades, settlement policy, which is essentially concerned with social and livability aspects of development, and environmental policy, have introduced a range of other considerations and contributed to present trends in resource community development. The form that future resource community development takes will depend primarily on the disposition of the prevailing political party. To the extent that provincial settlement policy is influenced by the outcome of previous initiatives, Tumbler Ridge is likely to reinforce existing tendencies towards municipally-lead development. One of the most important contributions of the Tumbler Ridge project is that it has enabled the articulation of a set of theoretical relationships that exists between governance institutions, the tools and skills required to operationalize these.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to assess what has been learned in regard to resource community development, from the research process and development exercise embodied in Tumbler Ridge, in order to provide directions for future resource town development and to assist in the formulation of policy on resource communities.

The economy of the province of British Columbia has, since earliest settlement, been based on the utilization of renewable or non-renewable natural resources. The supply of labour to such projects, which frequently lie north of the populated belt along the Canadian-U.S. border, has necessitated the establishment of new townsites in isolated and previously unsettled areas. Throughout most of B.C.'s history these have been provided on an ad hoc basis by the resource company on land granted to it by the province. In the earliest instances, urban development was regarded merely as a secondary consequence of the activities of a single enterprise engaged in the extraction and/or processing of non-agricultural resources. Accommodation, frequently in the form of temporary bunkhouses, was put in place with little provision for anything but the most basic essentials. Later, more permanent communities were established and operated as company towns. The post-second world war period has seen substantial changes in the types of community established and the roles of various participants. These changes emerged largely in response to changes in the nature of the resource companies (e.g. increased size, more complex operations), growing awareness of the problems of resource communities and the needs of resource town residents.

During the late 1960's and 1970's, resource communities became a research focus of several branches of the social sciences. A substantial body of literature emerged documenting the problems and hardships experienced by resource town residents and in some instances, identifying causal factors. These studies heightened the awareness of both resource developers and the Province of the need to address such issues in future resource community undertakings.

Viewed in historical perspective, Canadian resource communities have been characterized by gradual changes in the roles and responsibilities of the resource companies, public sector, residents, and other participants. The "partnership model" (Walsh et al., 1983) used in Tumbler Ridge represents a substantial transition from earlier methods of development. The stages and nature of this evolution will be examined in Chapter 2 to establish the historical context within which the Tumbler Ridge project is set.

In response to a proposal in the mid 1970's to establish a major new coal project in the north-east of the province, the provincial Ministry of Municipal Affairs, as the agency responsible for urban development and local government in British Columbia, initiated an extensive program of research. A range of issues were examined, the intent of which was to assess alternative forms of provincial/corporate involvement in the resource community project and to address a range of potential social and economic problems. Tumbler Ridge, as the outcome of the development proposal and research process, represents a significant new era in the establishment of resource towns. The research process, project implementation and outcome comprise the focus of this thesis. The study will concentrate on the social dimension (housing, community facilities

and services), policy aspects, and in particular, the institutionalization of local government.

Two of the earliest studies in the field of resource communities (Queen's University, 1953 and Robinson, 1962) recognized the key role of administrative arrangements and governance in the establishment and growth of these towns. Subsequent studies focussed largely on the social characteristics of resource communities (see Chapter 2), and have tended to disregard the political dimension of these settlements. In a recent inventory of problems of resource communities, Robinson (1984) confirms the significance of governance issues. Although he selected instability, unbalanced demographic structure and the provision and financing of affordable housing as the most critical matters, I propose that governance is of prime importance. The form of governance adopted can influence a community either directly, for example, through the selection of, and power vested in, local administrative officials, or indirectly. A number of problems such as workforce instability are generated by international economic forces, however, the impact that these have on the local environment can frequently be mediated by actions of local organizations either alone, or in concert with senior level authorities.

Canada is not the only country confronted with the challenge of resolving resource community issues. Both Australia and the United States have been involved in a similar search for ways of dealing with the task of creating an appropriate living environment in single-industry resource-based settlements. A number of similarities between Australia and Canada make the consideration of resource community development in these two countries particularly pertinent. In response to strong Canadian-Australian parallels identified in a set of publications sponsored by

UNESCO, Himelfarb (1982) acknowledges the potential for international comparisons. However, he focusses on Canadian research only and refrains from embarking on a comparative study due to "...the paucity of cross-cultural research [which] makes national comparisons extremely hazardous [and] systematic comparisons...impossible" (p. 17). Even within Canada it is difficult to draw a general picture due to the diversity of resource community characteristics, fragmented research and popular/historical (as opposed to systematic or scientific) nature of the literature (Himelfarb, 1982).

It is correct that traits common to Australia and Canada create a high degree of mutual relevance in the experience of resource community development. These include: the heritage of British cultural, legal and political traditions and institutions; geographical vastness; climatic extremes; economic reliance on resource extraction, export of staples and international capital; isolated location of resources; and an uneven pattern of human settlement and labour supply. It is not true, however, that this topic denies comparison. Recently, more adventurous scholars have embarked upon the task of identifying and comparing the common threads of these experiences (see for example, Lea and Zenher, 1983). Lea and Zenher draw on literature from Australia, Canada and the United States as a preface to their examination of the Australian Northern Territory town, Jabiru. They reaffirm the central importance of governance issues and democracy in the formation of viable and livable resource communities. The value of comparative international studies was recognized by the Task Force on Mining Communities (1982). In both Australia and Canada, recent decades have seen a change in the role of resource companies vis-a-vis the public sector and other participants. The Canadian strategy of establishing

municipal government towards the outset of town development met with a number of problems and has subsequently been recast. Western Australia adopted a process whereby existing company towns gradually acquired municipal status through a procedure known as "normalisation." More recently in Western Australia, the task of installing democratic local government towards the outset of community building has been favoured.

The discussion of governance in this thesis introduces essential concepts in the theory and philosophy of local government. However it is not concerned with governance per se but with understanding its role in, and influence upon planning, development and the resulting human and physical environment of resource communities.¹

From an extensive survey of planning and social impact literature, Bowles (1981) has observed that

In academic research there has been a tendency for each community study to emphasize the case being examined and to under-emphasize the generalizations which might be extracted. An empirical bias rather than a theoretical bias has tended to produce somewhat idiosyncratic reports that are difficult to synthesize (p. 3).

The case study of Tumbler Ridge undertaken in this thesis is not intended as an end in itself. Rather, through comparison with resource communities elsewhere and generalization using development models, the case study is intended to yield new knowledge and understanding of the characteristics and processes of change at work in such communities.

Although Tumbler Ridge was the subject of extensive research prior to its construction, there has as yet, been no systematic attempt to assess the outcome of the project. Selected components have been considered² and it is the aim of this study to contribute to this process. Only through retrospective assessment can the outcome of the project be

identified and its innovations assessed. Given that the project originated in the relatively recent past, post-impact assessment has major advantages in identifying how the project produced community and social change. Further evaluative studies will be required at later stages to assess the nature of the community when indicators such as workforce turnover, marital breakup and juvenile delinquency are available over a longer period, and to determine progress towards the stage of maturity.

A comparative analysis increases the potential to augment existing theoretical knowledge and to contribute to current practice. In this regard it is necessary to ask: Is Canada's experience "portable"? If so, to what extent and under what conditions? In seeking answers to these questions we must not be concerned simply with what was done, but how and why particular strategies were chosen and what their outcome has been. Only then can we determine if equivalent situations exist elsewhere to which the experience can be transferred.

The rationale for this research project is threefold. Firstly, although Canada is a highly urbanized country, small, isolated communities built mainly around resource-based industries and transportation, are crucial to industrial development and economic growth. Lucas (1971) identified 636 "one-industry towns" in Canada. Himelfarb (1982) estimates that about one million Canadians live in these communities and many more have been raised there and later migrated to larger urban centres.³ Clearly, from the role performed in facilitating resource extraction, their number and cumulative size, resource towns are of key importance to the economic and social well-being of Canada and its people. The search for increased understanding of how to deal with the issues associated with such towns can be justified on this basis. Secondly, the prospect of

continued reliance of the British Columbian economy on the utilization of natural resources and the associated need to establish resource communities in the future perpetuates and augments the need to examine and assess alternative approaches to resource community development. This will apply regardless of whether advocates of increased domestic downstream processing of provincial resources (e.g. Marchak, 1983) are heeded or not. If they are, the requirement for such settlements is likely to increase. Lastly, there is a need to know what impact innovations in the governance and administration of Tumbler Ridge have had on the characteristics and problems which often typify resource frontier communities and the significance of these for future resource town development.

An underlying premise of this study is that Tumbler Ridge embodies significant changes in resource town development methods, particularly in relation to governance and administration. Further, that an improved understanding of the nature and outcome of these methods will contribute to an improved basis for the resolution of persisting problems and provide guidance for policy on resource communities.

In essence, the study addresses four main components, namely: the changes in governance introduced by the development of Tumbler Ridge, the impact of these changes, their relationship to provincial policy and their transferability to other jurisdictions. More specifically, the following research questions are posed for investigation.

1. Changes Introduced

- (a) What changes in governance and development methods have been associated with Tumbler Ridge?
- (b) How do these relate to earlier methods of resource community development?

(c) Why were these changes introduced?

(d) What alternatives were available?

2. Impact of Changes

(a) What impact have these changes had in facilitating the achievement of objectives established for Tumbler Ridge?

(b) What has been the outcome of these changes?

(c) Is the outcome of these changes better than the outcome of earlier approaches?

3. Relationship to Provincial Policy

(a) How do these changes relate to provincial policy on:

(i) resource communities

(ii) human settlements and

(iii) economic development?

(b) What are the implications of Tumbler Ridge for the future development of resource communities in B.C.?

4. Transferability to Other Jurisdictions

(a) What are the necessary conditions for transferability of resource community development methods between jurisdictions?

(b) To what extent can the methods used in Tumbler Ridge and British Columbia be applied in other jurisdictions?

A number of research methods were employed in the study. At the outset, research and planning reports relating to Tumbler Ridge were examined. Published literature and other documents regarding selected B.C. and Canadian resource towns were examined in order to identify alternative development methods and to understand the changes introduced in Tumbler Ridge and for comparison with resource community development practice in other countries. A major source of information was discussions and

interviews conducted with key informants involved in the planning, development and ongoing administration of Tumbler Ridge. This was an essential component of the early "fact finding" exercise. Later stages, including the assessment of impacts of development methods required the conduct of a set of interviews with staff and officers of municipal and provincial governments and a federal crown corporation, planning and marketing consultants, company representatives, company and non-company (service sector) residents and other significant community members (e.g. doctor). Informal interviews were preferred, following a free ranging format focussed around a number of key topics. In addition, two townsite inspections were conducted in August 1984 and June 1985. Specific items of information were obtained from personnel with access to municipal records. A decision was made not to undertake a systematic random resident survey. The research questions required the investigation of specific issues which were more appropriately examined in the above manner. However, the views of a number of residents were sought in order to provide a more balanced understanding of the research issues. Research sources for the international comparisons included published literature, consultant's reports and discussions with foreign scholars.

The main focus of research will be the Tumbler Ridge project and its outcome. The three related areas of inquiry - provincial policy, historical context and relationship to resource community development in other jurisdictions - provide the opportunity to broaden the experience derived from Tumbler Ridge to guide the planning of future resource communities in B.C. and elsewhere. Comparisons will be drawn between Canadian and Australian experiences in resource community development taken primarily from British Columbia and Western Australia. The selection of these two

countries is based on the economic, social and political parallels discussed above and the author's research experience relating to resource communities in both regions. The scope of the study is defined so as to address the issue of resource community development from the point where a decision to establish a new community has been made. The steps prior to this and indeed, the decision itself, are often a matter of politics rather than planning. Although the two are frequently inseparable, the emphasis here is upon what can rationally be accomplished to create a desirable residential environment given the constraints and potentials defined by the political and economic context.

In the present economic climate, the viability of many resource projects and associated dormitory centres has been brought into question. Issues associated with mine and town closure are of relevance and have been considered by others (e.g. Bradbury and St.-Martin, 1983; Dahlie, 1984; Hegadoren, 1979; St.-Martin, 1981; Task Force on Mining Communities, 1982) but are not central to the present study. Consideration will be given to the termination of activity insofar as it affects the roles and responsibilities of development participants.

Definitions of "community" abound.⁴ In the present context the term is regarded in a fairly broad sense. The focus of meaning is on residents within a locality, the relationships that emerge between them, and the forces that shape their lives (Bowles, 1982 p. 1). Inclusion of the term "resource", qualifies the phrase to refer specifically to those communities whose rationale is primarily that of accommodating workers (and their families) who provide labour for the extraction of natural resources - minerals, forests, fish or energy. The phrase does not include rural communities. "Resource community" is used interchangeably

with "resource town." However, the former is preferred since it has the stronger connotation of including the social dimension in addition to built form.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 2 will commence with a review of the relevant resource community literature. A substantial body of research exists and a number of different perspectives have emerged. The majority of readings are drawn from Canadian, Australian and United States sources. The discussion then moves to the theoretical principles of local government. A historical perspective on B.C. resource community development in the post war period is articulated. Three broad phases are identified and described. An illustrated theoretical discussion of resource community development methods ensues. On the basis of governance and development responsibilities, a continuum of development methods ranging from "completely private" to "completely public" is presented. Several "ideal type" models drawn from this spectrum are elaborated upon as examples. This provides the theoretical basis for a later discussion of alternative methods of developing and governing resource communities, for an assessment of the Tumbler Ridge project, and for comparison with the Australian experience.

Chapter 3 presents a descriptive analysis of the Tumbler Ridge project. The underlying principles and planning process by which Tumbler Ridge was established will be discussed. The main tools and mechanisms that enabled these plans to be operationalized are examined. Explicit objectives which the Tumbler Ridge project sought to achieve will be identified from research and planning reports.

Chapter 4 commences with a discussion of implementation assessment. Eleven areas for assessment are identified. An assessment will be made of the extent to which the techniques used to establish the community have been successful in solving problems which they were designed to address. The nature of persisting problems will be examined to determine what has disallowed their resolution and unanticipated policy-related consequences arising from the Tumbler Ridge project will be identified.

A discussion of recent provincial policy developments provides the opening to Chapter 5. The relationship of resource community development to economic development policy and settlement policy will be outlined. The implications of the changing public sector role and future development of resource communities in B.C. are considered. Drawing on both Canadian and Australian experience, the concept of "governance" is explored and its relationship to other components of resource community development outlined. Finally, areas for further research are identified.

NOTES

1. This is consistent with a shift in focus of political science research noted by Hegadoren (1979) from institutional structures and philosophical justification to explanations of cause and effects of government policies, programs and projects on the quality of life.
2. Teck Corporation Ltd. has conducted a review of the financial mechanisms, and Rattenberry (forthcoming) examines service sector housing and the role of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.
3. Lucas (1971: 4-11) does an excellent job of debunking the myth that Canada is an urban nation.
4. Hillary (1955) has identified 95 different definitions of community.

CHAPTER 2

RESOURCE COMMUNITIES - THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES, HISTORICAL CONTEXT
AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK2.1 Introduction

The literature on Canadian resource towns is vast, reporting research undertaken during several decades over a geographically extensive area. This stands in marked contrast to the situation observed by Robinson (1963) in the early 1960's which caused him to comment that "...there has been a dearth of serious research on the structure of [the resource] community and its problems and potentialities - even though such towns have been built in Canada since the early 1900's" (p. 3). Robinson was writing on the eve of an era (c. 1960-1975) that saw substantial expansion of the resource frontier and the creation of ten new resource towns in the province of British Columbia alone. The rapid pace at which resource extraction and community building proceeded in Canada during the 1960's disallowed adequate consideration and systematic resolution of associated problems. As a consequence, planning in the 1970's tried to address the legacy of issues left by the 1960's new towns (McLeod, 1984).

Whilst it is true that a substantial body of research has emerged in regard to resource communities, even brief perusal of the literature is sufficient to demonstrate the fragmented nature of these studies. Contributions have been made by the disciplinary fields of sociology, psychology, geography, planning, political economy and political science. This chapter will briefly examine the major perspectives that have emerged in the Canadian and Australian literature and review the nature of resource town planning and development in the post-war period. A conceptual frame-

work based on a set of resource community development models is presented. The models provide the foundation for a comparison of Australian and Canadian resource town development methods. Lastly, the chapter will outline the fundamental principles of local government and democratic participation which underlie the most recent phase of resource community development. These principles contribute to the subsequent evaluation of the local government model on which the latest era of resource town development is based.

Despite the trend of increasing urbanization in Canada that has prevailed throughout most of the post-war period,¹ small centres, including resource communities or "one-industry towns" as they are also known, are an important and pervasive feature of Canadian society. Lucas (1971) counted 636 such communities and Himelfarb (1976) estimates that about one million Canadians live in these communities whilst many more have been raised there and have later migrated to larger urban centres. Clearly these settlements are sufficiently significant to warrant the research attention that has recently been focused upon them. Himelfarb (1976) observed that the most serious problem with the existing body of research is its fragmentation. Most studies examine aspects of one or two communities with few comprehensive comparative studies having been undertaken. The literature contains analyses arising from differing perspectives and value positions, many of which appear incompatible or stand directly in contradiction to each other. In organizing the array of resource community studies Himelfarb (1982) identified five foci, viz:

1. Social characteristics of the immigrants.
2. Community perceptions regarding "quality of life".
3. Objective assessments of "quality of life".

4. Assessment of working conditions.

5. Community participation.

The above stem primarily from the fields of sociology and psychology and together constitute what has been referred to as the "internal perspective" (Bell, 1985) or "endogenous influences" (Neil et al. 1984). A second body of studies, undertaken from a different ideological standpoint and emanating from the fields of geography and political economy comprise the "external perspective" or "exogenous influences." A brief review of the major contributions and characteristics of these two viewpoints will provide the background regarding resource communities and outline the status of the research.

2.2 Theoretical Perspectives

2.2.1 The "Internal" Perspective - Social and Psychological Characteristics of Resource Communities

Although a number of community-specific studies had been completed earlier, Robinson's (1962) seminal work New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier and a study by the Institute of Local Government at Queen's University (1953) represent the first major systematic studies of resource communities in Canada. Prior to this, resource communities, established as "company towns," were often viewed by the companies as temporary settlements. When the resource was exhausted, the town would usually be abandoned. Frequently little more than male-only sleep camps were erected close to the minesite, making minimal provision for recreational needs or family accommodation.

In instances where a more permanent settlement was established, it was inevitably administered by the resource company and operated in a manner perceived by residents as highly paternalistic.

Although some of the British new towns served as models for the Canadian communities, Robinson (1962) notes that the latter were not created to serve the philanthropic or idealistic ends of the former. Rather, they were the "invention" of North American industrialists who acknowledged that the establishment of new towns, often in isolated areas, was a necessary prerequisite for the exploitation of Canada's natural resources. Robinson (1962) carried out an analysis of four new Canadian resource communities (Kitimat, British Columbia; Elliot Lake, Ontario; Drayton Valley, Alberta; and Schefferville, Quebec) established between the end of the second World War and 1960. Whilst he duly acknowledges the achievements of the planners and designers of these towns, Robinson is critical of their built environments, considering them both "mundane and disappointing" in that they merely transplant inappropriately, the physical form of metropolitan suburbs and fail to respond to the special physical and social conditions of the northern environment. The four towns studied were constructed prior to the era of "instant towns" and unlike the latter, each was established under legislation introduced specifically for that purpose. The "instant towns" and Tumbler Ridge differ from Robinson's case studies in that they were encompassed legally under the same piece of legislation (i.e. Section 9 of the Municipal Act) enabling provisions of a comprehensive statute.

Robinson notes the changing nature of company housing policy from rental to sale and the introduction of financing and subsidy programs allowing residents to purchase accommodation. This pattern has continued

and underlies the home purchase scheme and relatively small amount of rental accommodation that exist in Tumbler Ridge. The inability of resource town municipalities to obtain finance from normal sources for the establishment of townsite facilities was a severe handicap also reported by Robinson. The causes of this - economic uncertainty regarding the future of the industry and inadequate tax base due to the exclusion of the mine or industrial plant from the municipal area - were amenable to differing degrees of resolution. Innovative financial "tools" which, to the greatest extent possible, draw upon "normal" methods of financing, set Tumbler Ridge apart from earlier resource towns.

The Queen's University (1953) study presents a well-rounded appraisal of various dimensions of the early forms of resource community. In addition to noting the physical attributes of these settlements it discusses community institutions, administrative arrangements and social problems. The authors acknowledge abnormality in regard to planning:

Management spokesmen in some of these model company towns are apt to disparage ordinary communities on account of their lack of planning...What is frequently overlooked is that town planning is much less difficult when the decisions are made by a single authority only - the company. Planning for this type of townsite, therefore, is actually not community planning, because the community as such does not do the planning but, rather, the company plans for the community (p. 75).

The construction of a new town in most instances involves the complex interaction and coordination of a large range of elements and actors over an extensive period of time. This process is greatly simplified when many of these elements come under the jurisdiction and administration of the resource company. The earliest resource settlements in British Columbia were of this kind and were frequently unplanned. In the post-war period

most towns were established after the compilation of a town plan which usually dealt only with physical attributes and land development. Prior to the mid 1970's it was usual for the resource company to assume responsibility for the task of planning at least in the initial stages. It was rare for the community per se to undertake planning. Either there was a lack of citizen organization which disallowed direct community involvement or, in instances where local government existed, it was often sufficiently dominated by persons whose primary allegiance lay with the company that the company carried out planning on a de facto basis. More recently there has been a departure from this situation. No longer does the company assume direct responsibility for planning the community. Its planning role, though nowadays unofficial, is never the less important in determining the broad parameters and underlying economic, legal and social conditions for the town's development.

The Queen's University report recognizes the pervasive role of the company in regard to administrative and political functions:

If there is no local government, then even governmental functions will come under the [company] townsite department or its equivalent.... In reality, the company's administration may be so all pervasive as to resemble the domination of a feudal estate by the lord of the manor.... Where local self-government is lacking, company administration of the townsite must include governing in the political sense (p. 33).

This situation has more recently been referred to as one of "company" or "private" governance (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1983) and constitutes one end on a continuum of development and governance models articulated later in this chapter. It prevailed as the main form of governance in B.C. resource towns throughout the 'sixties and early 'seventies, and in the Pilbara region of Western Australia until the early 1980's.

Introduction of the "Instant Towns" amendment to the Municipal Act in 1965 facilitated the establishment of local government in resource towns and could have been expected to permit an increased degree of resident involvement.³ However, as shown later in this chapter, municipal incorporation in itself was unable to redress this problem effectively. A substantive change in the nature and function of local government was required to achieve increased citizen involvement and more genuine local self-government. These changes are embodied more fully in the "local government" model upon which the most recent phase of resource communities is based.

In the 1950's and 1960's, it is true that there was no great pressure for the establishment of local government in resource communities. However, in response to the legacy of problems arising from pre-1975 resource town development methods and the broader political economy of the mining industry, the 1970's and 1980's have seen a growing call from residents, mining companies and the provincial government for the creation of communities that are less prone to these persistent problems.

Throughout the 1970's studies focused on a search for the causes of, and solutions to, a number of problems which characterized resource communities. The major concerns were the industrial costs arising from high transience levels and rapid labour turnover, and the social and economic costs associated with "boom" and "bust" cycles. A major program of research was carried out by the Center for Settlement Studies at the University of Manitoba (e.g. Jackson and Poushinsky, 1971; Mathiasson, 1970; Riffel, 1975; and Siemens, 1973). Significant individual contributions were made by Lucas (1972), Porteous (1976) and Gill (1984). Instability was attributed to community stress, a symptom of physical and

social environments being divergent from psychological needs (Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, 1976). An equivalent body of Australian studies has been compiled by the Commonwealth Scientific Investigation and Research Organization (CSIRO), Division of Building Research.⁴

Stress symptoms vary between communities and between individuals but were found to have one major outcome: departure from the community. Such symptoms were especially prevalent during the "construction" and "recruitment" stages of development. Instability was assumed to arise from the underdevelopment of physical facilities and the lack of social integration. Motivation for migrating to a new resource town (primarily financial or career-related) and the lack of personal identification by workers with either their occupation or the region, yielded some insight into the causes of social stress and rapid labour turnover. Believing resource community problems to be curable through manipulation of a town's components, the response of resource companies and planners was to upgrade the quality of the built environment and to improve the availability of community services. Consequently, resource towns established in the 1970's are characterized generally by a well arranged physical relationship between their components, an attractive urban environment and appearance that strongly resembles southern metropolitan suburbs. As Marchak (1983) observes, "instability is viewed by many researchers and the companies as a problem to be cured by social amenities: making the town as attractive as possible" (p. 303). In the mid 1970's Pressman (1976) noted however, that "...in spite of a higher quality of physical environment, the residents of such communities are still suffering from acute degrees of tension, stress and unhappiness" (p. 170, emphasis added). Neil et al., 1982 observed a similar inability of such initiatives to

resolve stress symptoms in Australian resource communities. Clearly, resolution of these problems was more difficult than initially anticipated.

Lucas (1971) identified a series of stages through which, he hypothesized, resource communities passed sequentially i.e. construction, recruitment, transition and maturity. Bell (1985) observes that

the normative view of the "internal" literature has emphasized policy to speed up the maturation process and concentrates on community based solutions, the objective being to skip or decrease the intervening stages... "good" town planning [hastened] the town's maturation process by providing an environment which encouraged residents to become citizens.

Research and policy prescriptions in the 1980's have retained concerns of the previous decade regarding the achievement of community stability. However, the strategies favoured to attain this goal have changed in emphasis from the built form and service provision to the meaningful involvement of new residents in the building and formation of their community. Previous approaches failed to encourage self-help and initiative of residents, resulting in an attitude of dependence upon the company and/or governments. Recent policy recognizes the need for both adequate and appropriate facilities and services and the opportunity for genuine citizen involvement in governance of the community. Strategies used to achieve this will be examined and assessed in Chapters 3 and 4. Australian resource towns in the 1980's have become more stable, and in some respects, more balanced demographically, representing a movement into the "transition" stage of Lucas' (1971) model. A similar phenomenon can be observed in B.C. towns.

As indicated by Bell (1985), the internal literature "is cognizant of the external economic constraints on developing community stability in

resource towns". The frequently suggested response to this is the adoption of a regional approach to resource settlement planning and development (in B.C.: Clegg, 1958; Robinson, 1962; Parker, 1963; Riffel, 1975; Veit, 1978; in W.A.: Brealey and Newton, 1977, 1980; Newton and Brealey, 1979; Stockbridge et al. 1976; Taylor et al. 1981). There has been relatively little attempt to ascertain the nature of conditions necessary to implement a regional approach. An exception to this is a recent thesis by Bell (1985) who defines some of the characteristics and elements that would assist in operationalizing regional plans.

Generally speaking, literature originating with the "internal perspective" has focused on community issues. The influence of broader political and economic factors has been largely disregarded as being beyond the control of local or provincial authorities.

2.2.2 The "External" Perspective - Critical Literature of the Political Economists

Paralleling the foregoing, several scholars have adopted a neo-Marxian perspective in their search for understanding of the resource town phenomenon. Bradbury's (1977) doctoral dissertation was the first major Western Canadian contribution to this field of critical studies. He argued that "instant" towns established under a newly legislated amendment to the Municipal Act were simply modern versions of the company town. He contended that problems of resource towns could not be resolved by attempting to modify the internal environment of the town since the causes of these problems were seen to belong to the external milieu. In subsequent papers he developed this theme specifically in the context of "boom" and "bust" cycles in the mining sector (Bradbury 1978, 1982, 1984).

Gunder (1981), in considering the issue of community instability and external dependency of single resource mining communities, concluded that the traditional problems of these settlements (instability, distorted demographics and segmented housing markets) cannot be resolved in our present social decision-making system. Gunder perceives this to be an outcome of a corporate/government alliance which he claims is responsible for creating many such problems.

Marchak (1983) also considers the internal perspective to be inadequate in that it fails to acknowledge the instability created by dependence on markets over which a single resource company and community has no control. Markusen (1978, 1980) has assessed the western United States from a similar perspective, identifying the influence of international capital and state mediation on the class dynamics of local communities.

Much of the "internal" literature focuses on planning, life satisfaction and the positive elements of the growth of mining towns. Bradbury and St.-Martin (1982), in examining winding-down and town closure procedures in Schefferville provide a counterpoint to this by:

Demonstrat(ing) how company policies during the stages of transition and maturity benefit the company in the long run, more than the individual or the community. Company policies of withdrawing from the housing market, of withdrawing from public services and of withdrawing from municipal affairs should not be hailed simply as liberal gains for the individual, or as positive aspects of the decline of company paternalism (p. 135).

Thompson (1981) emphasizes that stability and survival of resource towns depends on the continued interest of large transnational corporation whose commitment is to the outflow of capital, not to regional development. Essentially, neo-Marxist scholars argue that, regardless of initiatives

taken to affect community processes, resource towns will never be stable so long as they are dependent on unstable foreign markets. Furthermore, they argue that local self-government represents a shifting of costs and risk from the company to residents.

A similar interpretation of Australian resource community development has been provided by a group of political economists. Harman and Harman (1982) believe that the present form of settlement in the Pilbara region of Western Australia can only be understood in light of state policies in the 1960's and the government's commitment to a developmentalist ideology (see Figure 2.1 for location). Resource development has long been an objective of all Western Australian governments (Bolton, 1981), the changing nature of which has been traced by Layman (1981). The 1960's saw a major shift in resource policy from piecemeal crisis assistance to one of substantial government involvement in the attraction and initial establishment of development projects (Fairbairn, 1966; Layman, 1981).

The "external" perspective provides a much needed balance to the "internal" literature and makes several valid contributions. However, as Bell (1985) notes, the radical critique of the "external" perspective is limited by its lack of policy relevance and its inability to provide pragmatic resolutions given the present reality of the provincial political economy and the broader capitalistic economy of which resource settlements are a part. The "external" perspective presumes the only solution is a high degree of public intervention in the provincial economy. Lea and Zenher (1983) also caution against the "structural trap of informed inactivity." That is, the tendency for changes, which may ameliorate local conditions, to be opposed by radical scholars because they may also serve to support the capitalist system.

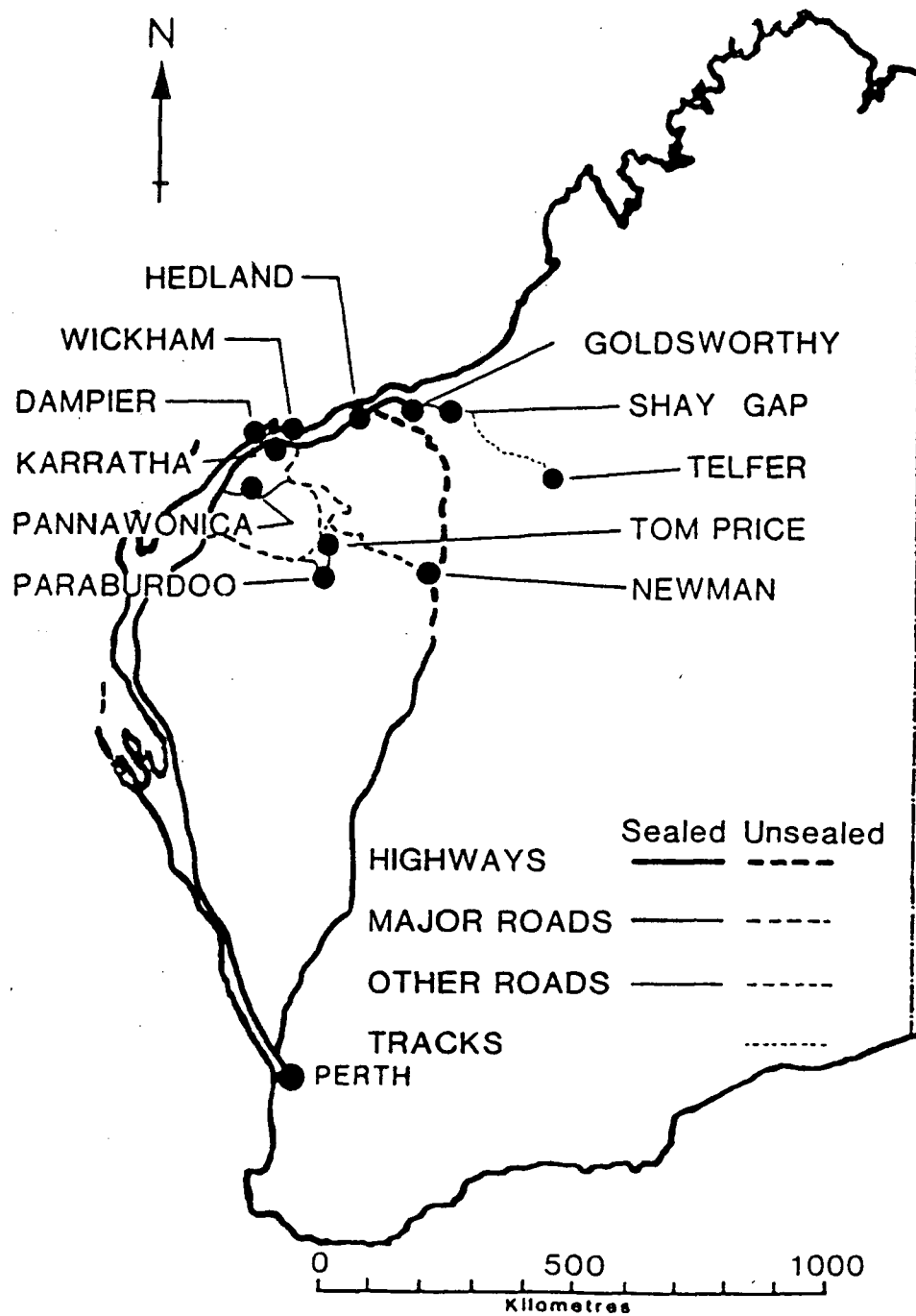


Figure 2.1 Western Australia Pilbara iron ore towns and major road links

2.2.3 The "Internal" and "External" Perspectives - A Synthesis

The coexistence of these two dichotomous bodies of research appears at first to be quite incongruous. There has been relatively little effort by scholars of one perspective to accommodate the alternative viewpoint, although Bradbury (1984) attempted a reconciliation of the two streams. Bell (1985), after identifying the limitations of both the "internal" and "external" perspectives, sets out to bridge the gap that exists between these alternative standpoints and public policy on resource development and mining towns. He approaches this task through a synthesis of the political economy analyses of the "external" literature and the community focus of the "internal" literature offering an alternative - a "territorial regional" perspective. Bell also draws upon regional settlement theory and planning theory in building a normative model for resource settlement planning. The goal of the "territorial regional" approach is "regional resiliency," three objectives of which are: the adoption of a territorial regional approach, bottom-up participation and a strategic process. Through an examination of a series of case studies in British Columbia, Bell concludes that provincial policy has made a slight move towards the territorial regional perspective. This is indicated by the planning process having become partly strategic, there being a move to encourage bottom-up participation and an acknowledgement of regional concerns.

This thesis recognizes the significance and pervading influence of exogenous factors; however given the focus is primarily on endogenous (internal) issues.

2.3 British Columbia Resource Community Development: A Conceptual Framework and Historical Perspective

The changing form and function of resource towns in British Columbia reflect the pattern of evolution through which these settlements have passed. Stelter and Artibise (1982) correctly observe that distinct forms and institutional arrangements appeared in each period of resource town building, paralleling broader changes in the Canadian approach to town planning. Bell (1985) identifies four trends which have characterized resource town development in British Columbia, viz.

- From strictly physical planning to physical, social and economic planning;
- From worker dependence to worker independence;
- From one company to multicompany towns; and
- From private to public governance.

The physical dimension of resource town planning received earliest systematic attention and is reviewed by McCann (1982). Governance issues, the primary focus of this thesis, have frequently been dealt with implicitly or been completely overlooked. Explicit consideration has occurred only in more recent years.

In the following section a conceptual framework of resource town development is presented. This is subsequently used as the basis for an analysis of the historical evolution of resource towns in British Columbia.

2.3.1 Conceptual Framework: Resource Town Development Models

The conceptual framework is comprised of a set of models of resource town development. These systematically depict the agents responsible for various components of development of a resource town. The models

represent selected points on a continuum of development methods. They are presented as "ideal types" which Bulmer (1975:84-5) defines thus:

An ideal type is not a description of social reality (past or present). It is a theoretical construct against which actual social structures and patterns of social relationships may be compared by empirical investigation. An ideal type is not a description of reality, neither is it an hypothesis seeking to explain that reality. It is not the average of all the phenomena empirically existing to which it refers. It is a one-sided accentuation of reality which emphasises the dominant characteristics in a logical manner in relation to each other.... If the ideal type is used as a conceptual tool, as a means of instituting comparative studies and making historical and sociological generalisations in the course of research, then the criticism [that its explanatory powers entail a logical trick] is not justified (original emphasis).

Quoting Weber, Bulmer continues:

the construction of abstract ideal types recommends itself not as an end but as a means...it is no hypothesis but it offers guidance to the construction of hypotheses. It is not a description of reality but it aims to give unambiguous means of expression to such a description.... The ideal-type is an attempt to analyse historically unique configurations or their individual components by means of generic concepts (p. 85) (original emphasis).

This is the sense in which the "ideal type" is used in this study.

It is relevant to recap some of the essential points from the foregoing extract in relation to the intended application of the "ideal type".

Firstly, the development models do not describe resource communities but rather identify the main actors and their roles. Whilst the models per se do not present a hypothesis, they assist in building hypotheses regarding the relationship of one kind of resource community to another and the factors which have influenced their development. They are indeed, not an average but instead select and highlight the critical features, some of

which are more important than others (e.g. responsibility for land allocation). Lastly, the models are to be used as a means and not an end. They provide a conceptual tool for temporal and inter-jurisdictional comparison and the basis for drawing generalizations. As Torgerson (1980:148-9) notes, "by focussing...on...ideal types, the point is not to deny diversity but to provide a perspective from which the diversity can be interpreted and understood."

Rabnett and Skaburskis in a paper prepared for the Ministry of Municipal Affairs (1977) define three development models: the Private, the Public and the Mixed Public-Private methods (see Table 2.1). Polar end-points of the development spectrum are represented by the purely private and purely public models. The mixed model is only one of a large variety of intermediate combinations of development responsibilities. One form of the mixed development method is represented by the "local government" model adopted in the 1980's and examined below. It is important to note that distinctions between the models are not clear-cut. The crucial difference is which body bears responsibility for different components of development and is thereby in control of these aspects. Particularly important is the body responsible for land allocation and development. The models facilitate the identification of major actors and the changes that have occurred in this regard over time.

The significance of the major actor becomes apparent when one examines the concept of "community governance." Community governance is the formal and informal structures of decision-making and control within communities (Paget and Walisser, 1983). Paget and Walisser (1983) identify three generic approaches to community governance - private governance, local governance and provincial governance. These are distinguished

Table 2.1 Definition of three methods of development

	Private		Mixed		Public	
	Co.	Prov.	Co.	Prov.	Co.	Prov.
Responsibility for:						
planning	X			X		X
land allocation	X			X		X
physical services	X		X	X		X
company housing	X		X		X	
service housing	X	(1)		(1)		(1)
commercial	X		(2)			X
recreation	X		(3)	(3)		X
health	X	X	X	X		X
education		X		X		X

- (1) The Province may provide service sector housing under each method of development. Through its housing policies, the Province may have housing provided to public and private service people regardless of the development method used to build and manage the townsite.
- (2) The business community, not the Company, provides the commercial facilities in the Mixed approach. The Province allocates the land and issues the regulations but it does not build or finance the facilities. In the Public method the Province may finance the start-up commercial facilities. In the Private method the Company may have to finance the shopping mall.
- (3) Joint decision-making and joint sharing of responsibility is not assumed under the Mixed method. One or the other parties takes the responsibility of providing these services. The respective responsibilities of the two parties is spelled out in a written contract made before the development starts.

In the case of physical services and health facilities the Company and the Province may be responsible for separate components of the systems. For example, in the Mixed method the Company may build the site services while the Province may be responsible for providing the central services.

Source: Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1977:76.

on the basis of their central actors, discerned in accordance with the models of development. Type of development and form of community governance have changed over time. It is fruitful to briefly consider these changes prior to examining the governance issue in greater depth.

2.3.2 The Historical Evolution of Resource Towns in British Columbia

Prior to World War II, resource towns in British Columbia primarily took the form of closed company towns. In the post war period, three main phases of resource town construction can be identified, corresponding to different methods of development. These are:

Phase 1: 1950's - Closed "Company" Town

Phase 2: 1960's and 1970's - "Instant" Town

Phase 3: 1980's - "Local Government" Town.

At the present time, a number of different types of community co-exist as legacies of earlier periods of development.

2.3.2.1 "Company" Towns

Robinson (1962) has described Canadian pre-war resource towns in some detail. The company owned the land, including the roads which gave it the power to limit access to town. It built and owned the houses, utilities and community facilities and in its most extreme form, required the workers to buy at company stores. There was no democratically-elected local government and to a large extent the company controlled political activity. In other towns of this period the public had free right of access and commercial facilities were privately owned and operated. Some private housing was permitted and in some cases, a municipal council was elected.

Post-war company towns are in many respects similar to the company town of the pre-war era. The resource enterprise assumed responsibility for planning, financing, building and management of the town (see Table 2.2). These were established prior to introduction of the "instant town" legislation of the Municipal Act.⁵

The Queen's University, Institute of Local Government (1953) study perceptively describes the nature of participation and governance in early resource communities.

The very limited amount of citizen participation in government observed in most single-enterprise communities...is in sharp contrast to the universal practice in other Canadian communities. This limitation was particularly evident in British Columbia [where in many cases]...there...was...no opportunity for the inhabitants to engage in the democratic process of electing local governments and influencing local policies (p. 41).

In many "company" towns local government has been subsequently introduced with the municipality adopting an increasing number of functions previously performed by the company. Those in which local government has not been established are situated in very remote locations, this being the main reason for their retained company status. Examples include Tasu (now closed), Ocean Falls, Cassiar (now closed). Port Alice and Powell River have become normal self-governing municipalities; however, these communities are still attempting to unburden themselves of the "company town" label.

Kitimat was established during this era, however, the nature of planning and administration which characterized this town did not represent the 'norm' for this period. Kitimat was a 'child before its time.' The town was incorporated as a fully-fledged district municipality by a special Act of the provincial legislature (Kitimat Incorporation Act,

Table 2.2 Post war resource towns - development responsibilities* (phases illustrated by typical example)

Responsibility for	Phase 1 - 1950's				Phase 2 - 1966-71				Phase 3 - 1980's			
	Company town e.g. Cassiar				"Instant" town e.g. Mackenzie				"Local government" town e.g. Tumbler Ridge			
	Major Actor:		Company		Major Actor:		Company ¹		Major Actor:		Local Government	
	Co	Prov	Priv	Local	Co	Prov	Priv	Local	Co	Prov	Priv ²	Local
Planning	x				x				x			X
Land Allocation ³	x				x				x			X
Physical Services	x				x							x
Company Housing	X				X		x		X		x	
Service Sector Housing	x		x				x				x	
Commercial	x		x		x		x ⁴				x	x
Recreation/Culture	x				x							x
Health	x				x	x		x ⁵	x			x ⁵
Education		x				x			x			
Light Industry			x				x		x ⁶		X	x
Social Services		x				X		x ⁷	X			x

* Where dual or multiple responsibility is shown by both "X" and "x", "X" indicates major responsibility and "x" indicates minor responsibility. Where a single type of "x" is shown, responsibilities are of similar magnitude or cannot be differentiated.

¹ The major actor during the early period of development was the company. Subsequently this was offset by an increasingly active local government.

² Private development on land serviced by the municipality.

³ In the "Local Government" model, responsibility for land development operates at two levels throughout the municipality. Excepting the townsite area, land allocation is a provincial responsibility. Within the townsite, the municipality allocates land.

⁴ Resource company sponsored private development.

⁵ Provided by Regional District.

⁶ British Columbia Development Corporation.

⁷ Financial only.

1953), the final section of which provides that all provisions of the Municipal Act and other statutes pertaining to municipal operations should apply to the Corporation of the District of Kitimat. Alcan, the company that created Kitimat, was keen to establish a democratic "free enterprise" community and to avoid the aspect of a company town as much as possible. The Company 'pursued a policy designed to untie the apron-strings and create an autonomous community, in which it [was] only one of the tax-payers, albeit the largest' (Robinson, 1962, p. 46).

Kitimat, in many respects, pre-empted towns established 10-15 years later, under the "instant towns" provisions. The extent of planning, concern not to create a "company" town, sale of housing and encouragement of home-ownership, and establishment of a municipal council from the outset are characteristic of the 1960's "instant" town, rather than Kitimat's contemporaries. Whilst these factors reduced the visibility of the company, a number of characteristics, similar to those of the 1960's "instant town" prevented Kitimat from becoming an independent entity distinct from the operation and influence of the company, at least during the early years of development.

Although typical mainly of the early post-war period, the closed company town does still have a role to play. This role is exemplified by Kitsault, a town constructed by Amax in conjunction with a molybdenum mining project in northwestern B.C. In terms of the function and responsibilities adopted by the company and province, Kitsault is more similar to the 1950's closed "company" town than either the 1960-70's "instant" town or the 1980's "local government" town discussed below. The reasons for the adoption of company governance in this town are its small

population size and uncertainty regarding economic viability of the mining project (Kerr, 1983). These characteristics created a degree of risk which made greater provincial involvement unacceptable. Kitsault illustrates the situation of where an otherwise outdated form of development is appropriate in an era in which a more sophisticated style of governance generally prevails.

2.3.2.2. "Instant" Town

The 1960's "instant" towns, established under legislation introduced in 1965, were largely a reaction to earlier company towns. This legislation and accompanying development activity introduced three main innovations to the method of resource town construction:

- (1) home ownership was facilitated;
- (2) the "shell" of local government was established; and
- (3) use of the Letters Patent by the Province ensured that the company had a (physical) community plan drawn up.

In comparing "instant" towns with later towns or Kitimat, it is necessary to consider the roles and responsibilities of the various parties at equivalent stages of the town's development. Although local government was established in the "instant" towns, it played a very circumscribed role and did not act as a fully independent, viable entity. As shown in Figure 2.2, the resource company adopted the primary role in town development and operation, Paget and Walisser (1983) observe that

the "instant" towns...were supposed to bring into practice the local government approach to community development. However, [they] initially did not differ in critical respects from the company towns they were designed to replace (p 6).

Specifically in regard to Quebec and Ontario, but applying more generally to other provinces, the Institute of Local Government (1953) remarked:

It is apparent...that the mere fact of municipal incorporation does not mean that the residents enjoy real local self-government. In [the] few instances [where local government exists] the town council is captured or dominated by the company. In two cases observed, the mayor was a Company supervisory employee who has held office at least 20 years, and was re-elected regularly by acclamation because no opposition was offered. The evidence seems to indicate that the form of self-government does not guarantee the substance (p. 41).

This situation was also noted by Robinson (1962:154) and Hilton (1968:68-9).

All the "instant" towns today have reasonably independent, viable local government retaining varying, but much reduced, degrees of a "company" town image. However, in their initial, formative years (the stage which presently characterizes Tumber Ridge), local government in the "instant" towns did not build, allocate land, develop land or provide recreation facilities. All these were undertaken by the resource company which, at a later point turned the facilities over to the municipality for a nominal sum of \$1. Local government simply passed by-laws to facilitate garbage collection and other essential municipal functions. It facilitated actions of the company and since council aldermen were company employees, they represented the interests of the company. Essentially these were "pseudo" local government towns. Although there are slight variations amongst "instant" towns with regard to development responsibilities, Mackenzie, a well documented resource town (see Alexandra Forest Industries, 1964; Citizens Committee of Mackenzie, 1974), is typical of this era and is illustrated in Table 2.1.

The "instant" town phase was an attempt to operationalize the critique of the internal and external perspectives. "Instant" towns were a great improvement over company towns but were not fully successful in achieving the goal of installing genuine local government or of creating social stability.

2.3.2.3 "Local Government" Town

Although established under the same legislation as the "instant" towns, the operation of the "local government" resource town was quite different. In contrast, local government was established as a fully functioning, independent entity which carried out land development, built recreation facilities and established an identity separate from that of the company (see Table 2.1). It is necessary to compare the 1980's local government model to the "instant" town as it existed in the first few years of establishment. The 1980's are distinguished from the "instant" town era not by the presence, but by the function of local government. Although the 1980's "local government" town depends on the resource company to the extent that the latter is the largest taxpayer, the company does not perform any "special" role with respect to development and administration.

The distinction between presence and function of local government has not always been acknowledged in resource town research. Bradbury (1977) assumes the introduction of the "instant" towns legislation and establishment of municipal government would result in an independent, autonomous community. He attributes the non-occurrence of this to the nature of state-capital-labour relations without recognizing the subtle but critical distinction between presence of local government and the function

performed by local government. The trend in the post-war period clearly favours increased responsibility and autonomy for resource town municipalities, and a reduction in the presence of the resource company in community matters. It is only where circumstances disallow the establishment of such a community that the modern form of the "company" town is to be preferred (see Phase 1 above).

The Institute of Local Government (1953) notes that

one of the most cogent arguments advanced [against incorporation] is that the company town atmosphere cannot be removed completely merely by incorporation, even if the company at the same time withdraws from townsite activities. The protagonists of this line of reasoning suggest that the only realistic type of local self-government is that which develops simultaneously as the economic base of the locality is broadened by the introduction into the community of other major enterprises or employers. It would appear, therefore, that real local self-government is likely to occur only after the single enterprise community has become a multiple-enterprise community (p. 46-7).

It is correct that municipal incorporation and simultaneous withdrawal of the company from townsite activities cannot guarantee the elimination of a "company" town atmosphere. This has been illustrated by British Columbia's "instant" towns (e.g. Mackenzie, Gold River, Logan Lake), many of which have never totally freed themselves from this bondage. Broadening of the economic and employment base as suggested in the Queen's study contributes considerably to reducing company paternalism and establishing bona fide local government. For example, as anticipated by Robinson (1962), the town of Kitimat has become less beholden to Alcan, its initial and largest taxpayer, since the establishment of two other major employers - Eurocan and Ocelot.

Based on the principle of regional resilience, plans for Tumbler Ridge make provision not only for two companies, but for long-term

economic diversification including forestry, tourism and other mining operations. Whilst the current situation in Tumbler Ridge represents a substantial improvement over the paternalism and insularity of the "instant towns" and earlier resource communities, it would appear that the town must await the development of a more diversified local economy if it is to realize the full potentials of genuinely democratic local self-government.

The most recent phase demonstrates both the potential and limitations of the "internal" and "external" perspectives. The local government approach draws on the internal perspective, prescribes local and community involvement and has attempted a broader focus, with respect to the context of existing settlements. The "external" perspective, highlights the need to adopt a broad regional approach.

2.3.3 An International Comparison - The Pilbara Region, Western Australia

It is appropriate to briefly consider the nature of recent trends in resource town evolution and development responsibilities in Western Australia. This broadens the relevance of the B.C. experience and provides a more comprehensive basis for the ensuing assessment of the most recent example of resource town construction in this province.

Like B.C., Western Australia has been characterized for several decades by a political ideology supportive of resource development. Until the 1960's, the isolated Pilbara area was a region⁶ of extensive pastoralism and extremely sparse human settlement. Lifting of a federal iron ore embargo in 1960 led to intensive exploration and recognition of

the region as one of the world's richest iron ore areas. Iron mining projects were established to feed Japanese steel mills.

The closed company town was the settlement form selected to accommodate the associated population. The 1960's and early 1970's saw the proliferation of nine company towns. In each town the company provided infrastructure for both the mine and the town. Development responsibilities were very similar to those in the company towns in British Columbia (see Tables 2.1 and 2.3). There are also direct parallels with respect to background and accountability of town administrators, perceptions by residents of the company as a paternalistic benefactor and the absence of active autonomous municipal government. Pilbara company towns strongly resemble the first phase of resource communities in B.C. and the de facto situation that persisted for some time after the introduction of the "Instant Towns" legislation.

A second phase in the development of Pilbara resource communities commenced in the late 1970's with the initiation of studies regarding the "normalisation" of company towns (Carly, 1977).⁷ Normalisation

is a proposal⁸ whereby a number of towns owned and controlled by transnational joint ventures in the Pilbara will be progressively and selectively transferred to local government authority (Thompson, 1981:301).

Newman has been normalised and negotiations are proceeding for this process to occur in Dampier, Tom Price, Paraburdoo and Wickham. Simply, "normalisation" is the conversion of governance and administrative responsibility from the Company to a formally constituted Local Authority. Other relevant government instrumentalities will eventually accept responsibility for the particular services they are bound to operate. The transfer of the elements of the town's infrastructure is accompanied by

Table 2.3 Pilbara region resource towns - development responsibilities (phases illustrated by typical example)

Responsibility for	Phase 1 - 1980's-mid 1970's				Phase 2 - late 1970's-mid 1980's				Phases 1 & 2 late 1960's →			
	Company town e.g. Newman				"Normalised" town e.g. Newman				"Open" town e.g. Karatha			
	Major Actor: Company				Major Actor: Local Government				Major Actor: State Government			
	Co	State	Priv	Local	Co	State	Priv	Local	Co	State	Priv	Local
Planning	x					x		x		x		
Land Allocation	x					x		x		x		
Physical Services	x							x		x		
Company Housing	x				x				x			
Service Sector Housing	x						x				x	
Commercial	x		x				x				x ¹	
Recreation/Culture	x							x	x			x
Health	x					x				x		
Education	x ²	x ³				x				x		
Light Industry			x				x				x	
Social Services		x				x				x		

¹ Until early 1980's severely restricted by monopoly agreement between major retailer and resource company.

² Capital development.

³ Staffing and operational costs.

the conversion of land ownership, to accommodate both public facilities and individual residential lots. The change in land proprietorship is an integral part of the process and necessarily involves many state government departments and their statutes.

The distribution of statutory powers and responsibilities changes with normalisation. In company towns, it means the adoption of procedures used elsewhere in the State. The role of town planning changes because normalisation involves a change in the status of land within township boundaries. Whereas it was previously held by the company under a town-site lease, some becomes freehold, owned by the company and/or individuals, and leasehold land vested in the Shire and other agencies. The balance reverts to Crown Land status to be disposed of under the normal provisions of the Land Act. The Town Planning Board automatically assumes its normal responsibilities for subdivision and development control. The local authority is required to prepare and administer a town planning scheme. The town plan is usually compiled by professional consultants, being substantially more detailed than the informal plans of the company.

Development responsibilities in normalised company towns are shown in Figure 2.3. It is premature to attempt an assessment of the outcome of normalisation in the Pilbara. At least three observers (Neil et al., 1982; Neil and Brealey, 1982; Taylor et al., 1981) are skeptical about whether this administrative change can substantially alter the nature of these towns. However, as will be shown in section 2.4 and Chapter 4, the nature of governance, which depends to a large extent on the distribution of development responsibilities, significantly influences many aspects of a community. Since normalisation involves a modification of these responsibilities, it is likely that with time, changes will become apparent.

The extent to which these changes render the towns "normal" cannot be determined at this point.

In addition to company towns, two "open" towns (Karratha and Port Hedland) were established in the Pilbara in the late 1960's - early 1970's. Port Hedland, a pre-existing seaport was augmented by Mt. Newman Mining Company's portside workforce. It has subsequently accommodated employees of a second iron ore company and a salt harvesting operation. Karratha was established to accommodate the expanded portside workforce of Hamersley Iron Pty. Ltd. Population associated with a recent offshore gas project has also contributed to the growth of Karratha. Both towns serve as regional administrative centres.

The "open" towns are hybrid in nature, displaying a mix of responsibilities between the first (closed company) phase and third (local government) phase (see Table 2.2). Land allocation and development were responsibilities of a line agency of the state government (Department of Lands and Surveys). As in Tumbler Ridge (phase 3), resource companies did not develop land but purchased developed lots upon which they constructed housing for company employees. Land was available to private developers other than the resource company. Theoretically this should have permitted commercial development to proceed in accordance with market requirements; however, in Karratha, a monopoly agreement greatly restricted retail development until the early 1980's. This rendered commercial development similar to that which characterized the restrictive situation in the closed company era (phase 1). Local government was present but performed a passive role, largely facilitating the actions of other development agencies. It did not act as land developer or community development catalyst as in Tumbler Ridge, though it has become more active in recent

years. In this respect it was not unlike local government in the early "instant" towns.

As yet, resource town development in which local government is the prime agent of change and which is preceded by the detailed analysis of regional development and settlement options has not occurred in Western Australia as it did in northeastern B.C. The adoption (in 1978) of legislation to ensure that the government can request environmental review documents prior to agreeing to new operations may, however, lead in this direction. Government approval required for signing ore contracts with overseas buyers is now partly dependent on the longer term rationality of the project. It is the State Government's hope that in future, one town will be shared by several ventures.

Strong similarities exist in regard to resource community development in B.C. and Western Australia. Both jurisdictions found it expedient at first to require resource companies to bear the responsibility and cost of resource community development. Subsequently however, the social and economic consequences of this have been recognized as unacceptable. Methods and mechanisms used to introduce change and install representative local government have differed. There is, however, a recognizable transition favouring local self-governance and the adoption of regional resource settlement planning. The following section elaborates upon the principles of governance and their relationship to resource community development.

2.4 Community Governance and Resource Town Development

2.4.1 Concept and Purpose of Governance

The concept of governance recognizes that the formal institutions of government are not the only focus for decisions and control in communities. The notion of community governance embraces formal government but also recognizes the undeniable effect on the nature of urban life and the contribution made to the urban community by the activities of public and private, statutory and voluntary organizations (Paget and Walisser, 1983:19). Resource communities and other totally new settlements are characterized at the outset by the absence of any form of governance. They consequently provide one of the rare opportunities for selection of a particular form of government and other institutions which facilitate the establishment and ongoing administration of the town. An understanding of the fundamental principles of local government is essential to the consideration of alternative strategies of community governance.

Cameron (1980) claims that the purpose of municipal government is twofold. First, municipal government serves to divide power to govern on a territorial basis. It realizes this goal largely through the achievement of a second purpose: the provision of services. Tindal (1977) refers to these purposes as authority and responsibility. In providing services local government has a dual role: to capture the advantages of decentralized administration (i.e. achieve increased efficiency) and to reflect local preferences (i.e. effectiveness in leadership and decision-making). A final dimension of local government is that referred to variously as democracy, representation, access or participation.⁹

In reviewing the structure of local government in Britain, the Redcliffe-Maud Commission (1969) acknowledged that ensuring a local system

of democracy is of at least equal importance to the other major objective - that of securing efficiency in the provision of services.

One of the most important functions of local self-government is the task of converting residents into citizen (Hanson, 1971, 1972). This can be achieved by affording residents the opportunity to acquire civic experience through participation in governing and through sharing responsibility for public decisions.

In British Columbia, Tennant (1980) notes that local government falls within the Canadian and American nonpartisan tradition with its emphasis upon economy and efficiency rather than popular participation and influence. It is

generally believed that local government is a matter of 'administration' rather than 'politics'.... It is...maintained that the elected councillor should...follow his own judgement and his own conscience rather than either the whims of public policy or the dictates of party policy (p. 189).

In a recent study of local government in this province, Bish (forthcoming) adopts the perspective that neither participation, the creation of community, nor production efficiency criteria alone provide an adequate basis for evaluating local government structure. Participation is seen to be a necessary component of efficiency.

Maass (1959) regards the division of power on a territorial or areal basis as essential to the realization of the basic objectives or values of a political community. He suggests three basic values which underlie the division of power: liberty, equality and welfare. Equality (provision of opportunities for citizen participation in the formation of public policy) and welfare (effective and efficient provision of services) are equated in other works with access and service respectively. Maass proposes that the

division of provinces into municipalities should be regarded in the same manner as the division of the federal state into provinces. Each is simply a variant of the many ways in which the power to govern can be divided on an areal basis. Seen in this light, the similarities, rather than the differences between the federal and municipal states are emphasized. In particular, the constitutionality of municipal government becomes apparent. Maass considers the areal division of power to be of equal importance to the capital division of powers (the division of power among bodies of governmental officials at the capital city of a defined political community) although the latter has been studied to a far greater extent.

It is fruitful to examine further the nature of these key principles, their function at the municipal level and to consider the similarities or differences between Australia and Canada that are relevant to the proposed comparison.

2.4.2 Democracy and Participation

The Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Governance of New Towns (1971) recommends that new towns should become laboratories for testing new forms and processes of local self-government. The Task Force observes, however, that there exists a tension between building a new town and fostering democracy in it.

The neglect of democratic participation in new town development stems in part from the fears of developers, whether public or private, that a plan subject to all the trials and openness of democratic processes may be impossible to implement, given the time-cost factors and the difficulties of achieving the necessary rationality and balance in land use. The developer may fear that too much democracy or too much control by local government during the development process will interfere with a

well-drawn and already approved plan, especially if the first residents should be opposed to some parts of it. Some new town developers therefore discourage early municipal incorporation that would give residents power to make planning and zoning decisions (p. 13).

Despite the potential for delays in construction schedules, citizen participation can play a positive role as noted by the Task Force.

The citizens of a new town have an evident economic and social stake in its development, and the outcome is likely to be better if they have some influence over it and some responsibility for it.... New towns...offer unusual opportunities for community participation (p. 13-14).

Gill (1982) notes that improving lines of communication between the planner and the resident is of paramount importance if northern resource communities are to succeed in meeting the specific needs of the northern inhabitant. She emphasizes the need for planners to move away from the egocentric approach, so frequently adopted in planning northern towns, and to incorporate input from residents into the planning process. In light of this, the Task Force recommends that:

New towns should experiment with different and novel means of broadening and strengthening participation by people in planning, developing and governing their urban environment (p. 12).

Hanson (1971) observes that

unfortunately governmental arrangements for new towns have to date been thought of almost exclusively in relation to problems of land acquisition, finance and organization of development agencies and the provision of service to new town residents (p. 36).

Public bodies actively engaged in planning new communities have viewed their task as the solution of engineering and fiscal problems, not as the fostering of democratic participation (p. 54).

Gill (1982) emphasizes that to plan appropriately, the planner must view the environment not through his own "filter system" not those of the resident. The research required to facilitate this necessitates extensive involvement of resource town residents. The Task Force on New Town Governance (1971) outlines the required nature of new town plans.

The plan for each new town should provide for development of the governmental, civic and social institutions necessary to enable it to operate as a democratic community. One of the most important contributions that new towns can make to the general improvement of local government is to devise ways of adjusting governmental institutions to population and other changes. Initial civic planning should not be rigid, but must provide rudimentary mechanisms and processes which can later be changed or modified to meet the desires and needs of its residents.... Each mechanism for planning and governing should be carefully thought out, tried and evaluated (p. 9).

General, as opposed to specialized, government is to be preferred, since the former teaches the values of compromise, coalition, accommodation and tolerance which are central to democratic development (Hanson, 1972). Thus, the objective of citizen representation and participation in new town planning should be:

To protect the public interest and to ensure that the interests and concerns of present and future residents are taken into consideration in initial planning and can influence each subsequent stage of development (p. 14).

Given that the developer of a new resource town acknowledges the vital need for public involvement, the issues of 'when' and 'how' participation should occur must be addressed. As to the question of 'when,' the Task Force advises that:

Citizen participation should begin with the planning phase, both to protect the public interest in new town development and to lay the groundwork for democratic processes. What is done

during the planning phase sets in motion forces that will greatly affect what can be done later. The injection of differing interests at this stage is more likely to result in a workable plan, however sketchy or chaotic at first, for development of social and political institutions than if it is left to chance or a single interest (p. 14).

This confirms the suggestion made by the Institute of Local Government of three decades ago when it undertook its study of resource communities. At that time it was found that

there is no universal desire on the part of the residents of Canadian single-enterprise communities to press for municipal incorporation. The reasons why company management decides for or against incorporation of the townsite are several, but it has been noted that there is some evidence of a trend in which reasons are advanced in favour of early incorporation. If the reasons are purely economic, rather than political or psychological, company spokesmen have not admitted them. The commonly expressed reason in favour of incorporation is partly an administrative one: that management can concentrate on production instead of being side-tracked by community matters (Institute of Local Government, 1953:41).

Contrary to the Queen's University report, it is no longer simply the "company management" who makes the decision favouring or rejecting townsite incorporation. Rather, in the case of Tumbler Ridge, it was a composite decision taken jointly by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, Ministry of Industry and Small Business Development, supported by the mining companies (Teck Corporation and Denison) and ratified by Cabinet. In addition to administrative expedience on the part of the company, the underlying motives for municipal incorporation included the desire to enhance community stability and to eliminate the paternalism of the "company town."

In the Queen's study, some company officials were reported as believing that the company

should render every assistance in getting the town into being, but just as soon as the citizens want to take over self-governing responsibilities the company should withdraw from the picture.... When most company representatives speak of incorporation today [i.e. 1953] they imply company withdrawal from most, if not all, community or townsite activities.... The companies generally realize that they must bear the main burden of responsibility in establishing adequate physical facilities in the period of early town development, but there is a desire gradually to relinquish ownership and operation of townsite facilities (p. 45-7).

Atkins (1976) also urges that whatever specific arrangements for local government are made, the framework should be set up very early.

The Task Force makes a variety of suggestions in regard to "how" citizen involvement should proceed.

The nature and the mechanisms for citizen participation in new town planning can take many forms. In some cases a system of public and official hearings and review of proposed plans might be adequate.... In others, a body of citizens, aided by professional planners, might be empanelled to participate in the planning process. In an in-town or add-on new town, it may be more appropriate to establish a new town district whose residents or governing board could elect official participants to the board of the development group. Alternatively, the board of the new town district could advise the developer on behalf of its constituency.

In the planning of satellite and free-standing new towns whose development sites are sparsely populated, the planning and development group might be required to include a number of "trustees for future residents" appointed by a mayor or governing body. These trustees could serve as proxies for the future population and could be replaced on a predetermined schedule as the community became populated. Or the parent jurisdiction might be represented on the board of the development corporation if it did not find indirect participation - through regular governmental processes - adequate.

A new town might conceivably employ several forms of participation that could progress, as the town develops, from simple devices such as hearings or advisory groups to formal government (p. 14-15).

Recognizing that "the role of local government is one of the most crucial factors affecting the life of the citizen in a single-enterprise community" Wichern et al. (1971:9) undertook to develop a model of political development in resource frontier communities. "It is...unfortunate" they consider, "that planning for political development has not been an integral part of the developmental plans for single-enterprise Northern Canadian Communities" (p. 9). This, and a subsequent project (Wichern et al., 1971) are the only Canadian studies to have focussed solely on the political dimension of such settlements and are virtually the only studies of resource communities by political scientists. This is indicative of a shift by political scientists from their traditional focus on institutional structure and philosophical justification of government to describing and explaining the causes and effects of government policies, programs and projects on the quality of life, social well-being and the equity of different groups (Hegadoren, 1979).

The purpose of the initial study by Wichern et al. (1971) was to discover why political development had occurred in some communities and not others. The authors proposed that meaningful citizen participation is a primary determinant of political development, that political development is an observable process of expanding local government form, role and scope which can be traced through three distinct stages and that each stage has associated with it particular social and demographic characteristics. Four community case studies demonstrated substantial supporting evidence for this. One exception was that after reaching a maximum level necessary to acquire appropriate formal structures and processes of local government, citizen participation declines somewhat and stabilizes at a lower level. It was also found that citizen participation is not the only

necessary input leading to political development, willingness or ability to bear the costs of maintaining or expanding existing services being the other main factor. Applying the results of this study in a later study, Wichern et al. (1972) identify the changing role of the town administrator concurrent with declining company influence and increasing provincial involvement. Their studies showed little contribution by company administrators to citizen participation and democratic local self-government, but very impressive contributions to the provision of services.

Fundamental to the achievement of effective citizen involvement is a concern with the nature of citizen participation. Arnstein (1969) has drawn attention to the gradation of participatory forms - from manipulation and therapy which are really nonparticipation, through degrees of tokenism to citizen power (see Figure 2.2). Early forms of resource towns involved essentially nonparticipation. The present phase of resource town building represents a movement up the "Ladder of Citizen Participation" towards more effective forms of involvement. Establishment of a "local government" town involves different forms of citizen participation at different stages as will be discussed in relation to Tumbler Ridge in subsequent chapters.

Hanson (1971, 1972) distinguishes between new town "citizenship" and "consumership." With consumership the government or town developer is viewed as a producer of services and it attempts to satisfy consumer demand. The resident has no responsibility, moral or political, for the initial construction or zoning. He has no previous stake in the community. The focus on consumership is congenial to the often - encountered "housekeeping" approach to local government. For some, the ideal system is a government without politics, a system administered by technicians

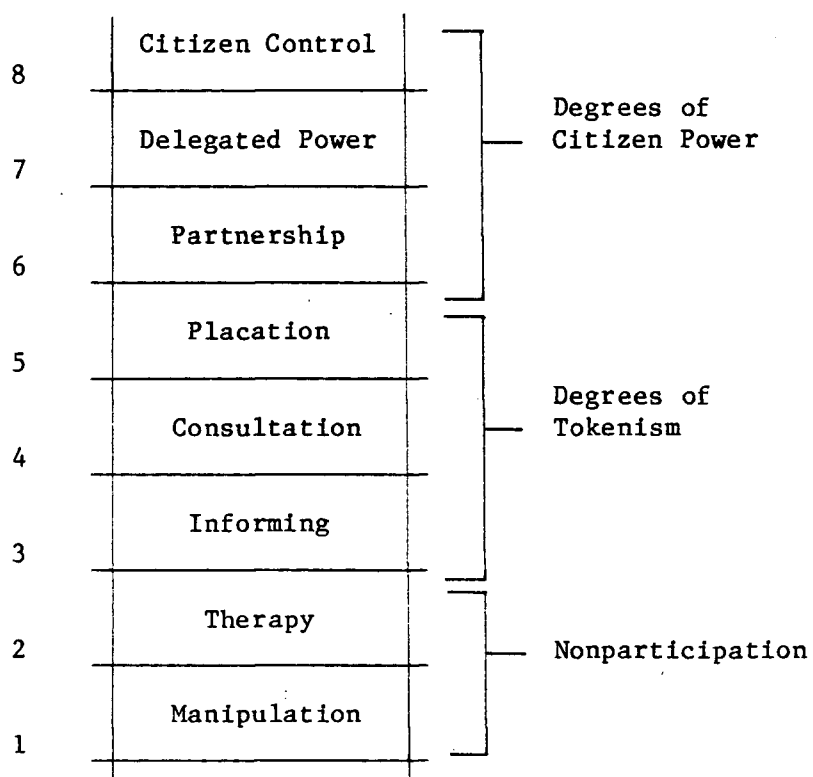


Figure 2.2. Ladder of citizen participation

Source: Arnstein, 169:217

that serves its customers what they want or are willing to pay for. In such an arrangement feedback in policy making can theoretically be handled by an effective complaint bureau. This was essentially the situation that prevailed in the form of private governance in closed company towns and early stages of the "instant town." As Paget and Walisser (1983) observe

Private and provincial governance are each, in a sense, technocratic in that they necessarily consist of technicians providing government on behalf of community residents (original emphasis) p. 27.

Citizenship involves shared responsibility for public acts. Loyalty and participation are derived, ethically and operationally, from this shared responsibility. Hanson contends that in urban and suburban government, citizenship has become devoid of meaning and although the rituals of participation survive, the substance is lacking. Unless the issue of effective citizenship is addressed in new town planning, this inadequate tradition seems destined to be continued in this context also. Development of an active and responsible citizenry will depend on the importance of the decisions in which individual citizens can participate. Democracy can be learned only through experience. This point is emphasized by Pateman (1970) who states that governing of the "great society" (a large state) requires that the qualities of participation be fostered at the local level. The theory of participatory democracy is essentially an educative one.

Atkins (1976) notes that the form of government, set of functions and source of financing for a new resource town are not, nor should be, universal. Hanson (1972) proposes that participation in all phases of new town development can be anticipated and provided for from the beginning

rather than being grafted onto a possibly hostile system as an after-thought or as a concession to pressures. In following chapters I will explore some examples and outcomes of attempts to establish local government and democratic participation from the outset. Attempts to "retrofit" local government in already established communities in B.C. and Western Australia were examined in Chapter 2.

2.4.3 Economic Efficiency

The provincial Ministry of Municipal Affairs (1983) states that the concept of economic efficiency

relates to the adequacy or appropriateness of the public service outputs produced at a particular locale.... Efficiency means the degree to which the actual desires or needs of individuals for local services are...met by the service-producing organization (p. 3).

This is a broader interpretation than the more commonly held notion of efficiency as the manner in which inputs of capital and labour are transformed into public service outputs. "Desires and needs" of the public is interpreted to include both tangible services (e.g. road maintenance, police and fire protection) and intangible ("soft") services such as: local self-determination, community leadership, community spirit, community social atmosphere, neighbourhood identity and attractive patterns of urban development (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1983).

An economist would support municipal incorporation if such an act would make the allocation of resources to and within the local public service more efficient. The basis for this assertion lies with the "decentralization theorem" proposed by Oates (1972). The decentralization theorem asserts in essence that local governments exist to be different

from one another. They exist so that the unique desires and needs of different groups of people can be met by different jurisdictions in unique ways. The differentiation between local governments allows aggregate welfare loss to be minimized and efficiency of service delivery to be maximized (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1983).

Potentially, incorporation could have several effects:

1. Replacement of the existing provincial systems for road maintenance and construction, police protection and tax administration with municipal production of these services.¹⁰
2. Transfer of responsibility for controlling physical development to the local council.
3. Increase in the provision of "soft services" (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1983).

2.5 Summary

At the outset, this chapter identified two perspectives ("internal" and "external") from which resource towns can be viewed. Whilst proponents of each regard resource settlements quite differently, understanding and explanation of resource town phenomena are maximized when these perspectives are viewed as complementary, rather than mutually exclusive. A review of the politico-economic setting and resource town development practice in B.C. and Western Australia to date revealed a number of similarities in regard to resource development ideology and trends in the evolution of resource town construction. In both jurisdictions there has been a move away from private governance of the company town to local governance of the "mixed" development method. Acknowledgement of the critical role of governance and participation has been a key factor in the

gradual emergence of less paternalistic forms of resource settlement in both Canada and Australia.

The following chapter will examine more closely the town of Tumbler Ridge and associated planning process to provide an understanding of the nature of the community and the factors that have contributed to its development as a "local government" town.

NOTES

1. In common with many industrialized countries, the twentieth century in Canada has been characterized by rapid urbanization and the emergence of several large metropolitan areas. Although metropolitan areas have continued to grow, small and intermediate sized settlements have shown remarkable persistence and relatively speaking they have consolidated their position in the national settlement system (Hodge and Quadeer, 1983).
2. Province of British Columbia, Municipal Act, RSBC 1979, Chapter 290 (Consolidated October 15, 1982) Queen's Printer, Victoria, B.C.
3. Municipal Act Amendment Act (1965), Kitimat is an exception to this situation, having been incorporated under a separate act: Kitimat Incorporation Act (1953).
4. See for example: Brealey, 1973, 1974, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1980, 1981; Brealey and Gribbin, 1980, 1981; Brealey and Newton, 1977, 1980; Gribbin, 1981; Gribbin and Brealey, 1981, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c; Gribbin and Thompson, 1980; Newton, 1979; Newton and Brealey, nd., 1979; Woodhead, 1972.
5. Municipal Act Amendment Act (1965). This was incorporated initially as S10A of the Municipal Act, and became S9 when the statutes were revised and renumbered in 1979.
6. The Pilbara region extends from the western coast, inland to the WA - Northern Territory border. Functionally, the region is comprised of only the western portion of this vast area.
7. Taylor and Burrell (n.d.) provide a more detailed background to normalisation and the Carly Report.
8. Although referred to as a "proposal" by Thompson, normalisation is more correctly a process.
9. Ostrom et al. (1964) refer to these characteristics as self determination, control, efficiency and political representation.
10. Police protection would become a municipal responsibility in jurisdiction exceeding 5000 population. Road maintenance and property tax administration are provincially-delivered services in non-municipal territory in British Columbia.

CHAPTER 3

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF TUMBLER RIDGE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the planning and development of Tumbler Ridge. In introducing the case study it aims to provide the necessary understanding of Tumbler Ridge to enable an assessment of the project to be carried out in Chapter 4 and an analysis of provincial resource community development policy in Chapter 5. To accomplish this task the chapter will initially sketch the broader context of which Tumbler Ridge is a part. It then presents a conceptual outline of the planning process and examines the main tools and mechanisms whereby these plans were operationalized. This leads finally to a discussion of the principles which guided the planning and establishment of the town.

3.2 The Context - North East Coal Development

The decision to establish Tumbler Ridge must be seen within the context of the provincial government's commitment to the North East Coal Development (NECD) project. Details of the NECD project are beyond the defined scope of this thesis and are available elsewhere (e.g. Malkinson and Wakabayashi, 1982; Ministry of Industry and Small Business Development, 1981; Province of British Columbia, 1981); however, a brief overview is appropriate. Recent exploration initiative in the Peace River area commenced with the private sector in the 1970's (see Figure 3.1 for location). The provincial government responded in 1976 by establishing a Cabinet Committee on Coal Development to oversee feasibility analyses. Six technical sub-committees were established including a sub-committee on

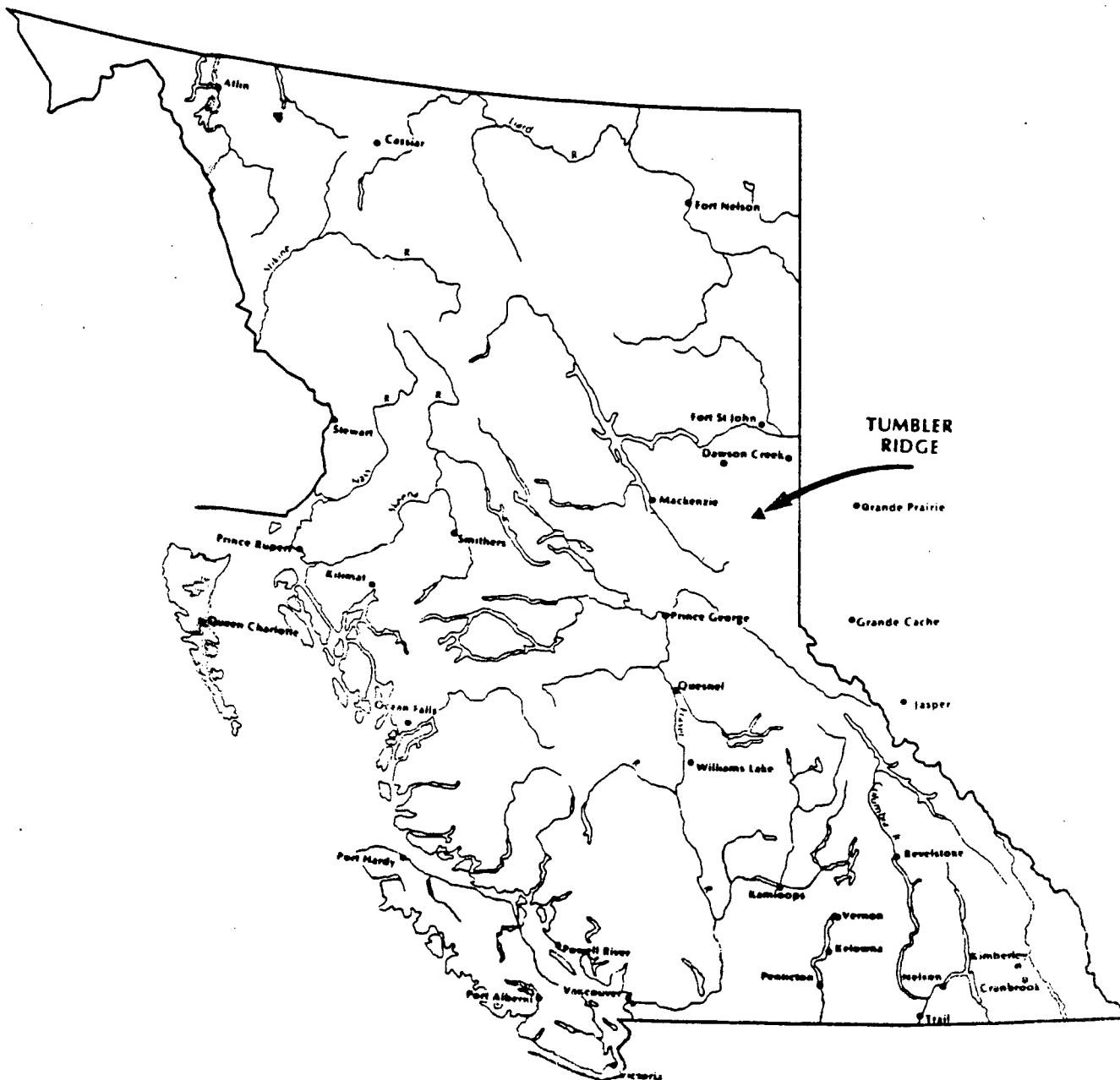


Figure 3.1 Location of the Northeast Coal Region

Source: Paget and Rabnett, 1983.

Townsite/Community Development formed in Spring 1976. The tasks of the Townsite Community Development Sub-Committee were twofold:

1. determine if a new community would be required to serve the proposed NECD; and
2. identify and evaluate potential sites that could accommodate a community of sufficient size to serve the proposed coal mine operations and other potential resource developments in the region (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1984).

Two companies, Teck-Bullmoose Coal Inc. and Quintette Ltd.,¹ after signing contracts of sale with Japanese steel mills, constructed mines with a present combined annual capacity of 8.8 million tonnes. This development was supported by substantial investment in regional infrastructure by the government of British Columbia with some assistance from the federal government. The project necessitated the upgrading of rail lines and purchase of rolling stock by British Columbia Rail and Canadian National Rail, construction of a coal loading terminal at Prince Rupert, construction of a paved road from Chetwynd to Tumbler Ridge, extension of power lines and establishment of townsite-related infrastructure (see below).

An official decision and commitment to proceed with the NECD project was made in February 1981 with the signing of coal contracts between the steel mills and coal companies (Paget, 1984). A substantial body of research had been completed prior to this point. Construction of the project proceeded rapidly in order to meet the agreed start-up date in the last quarter of 1983.² Though in no way diminishing the significance of innovations made in the development of Tumbler Ridge, it is important to bear in mind that construction of the town comprised only one relatively small component of a large and complex undertaking.

3.3 The Planning Process - A Conceptual Framework

The planning and development of Tumbler Ridge can be divided into three broad phases - planning phase, implementation phase and development phase (Paget and Rabnett, 1983). The phases are not distinct; they overlap in timing and interrelate in terms of their components. Associated with each is a different style or model of planning suited to the requirements of that particular phase. The models corresponding to each of the three phases, respectively are: socially sensitive planning, planning by invitation and community development (Paget and Rabnett, 1983) (see Figure 3.2). The nature and suitability of these models will be considered following an outline of the planning and development of the town.

In Tumbler Ridge the first phase, planning, can be disaggregated into four steps or stages. These are:

1. **develop** the range of settlement policy options,
2. **cost** each policy option (includes economic, fiscal and social cost),
3. **choose** the preferred policy option, and
4. **secure** the preferred settlement policy option by agreement, by regulation or by legislation.³

3.3 Components of the Tumbler Ridge Planning Process

Part of the first and second steps of the planning phase involved the commissioning and compilation of a research report which identified alternative organizational arrangements for establishing the townsite and the incidence and timing of associated financial costs (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1977). Completed after site visits to a number of resource towns in British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba, the report (Alternative Methods

		RESOURCE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PHASES		
		PLANNING PHASE	IMPLEMENTATION PHASE	DEVELOPMENT PHASE
MODELS OF PLANNING	COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT			●
	PLANNING BY INVITATION		●	
	SOCIALLY SENSITIVE PLANNING	●		

Figure 3.2 Inter-relationships between three models of planning

Source: Paget and Rabnett, 1983:5.

of Financing and Developing Resource-Based Communities) laid out a theoretical framework of resource town development discussed in section 2.3.1. After considering the material presented in this report and the Townsite Feasibility Report of the Townsite/Community Development Sub-Committee (1977), the Sub-Committee recommended that:

1. a new community would be required given the anticipated size of the workforce (2500), distances to Chetwynd and Dawson Creek, the costs of commuting, and the effects of commuting and/or camps on labour productivity;
2. one new community to be established given the financial and social costs of a number of smaller communities; and
3. that Tumbler Ridge be the chosen site due to
 - (a) shorter commuting distances to the minesites,
 - (b) proximity to the existing centres of Dawson Creek and Chetwynd,
 - (c) its regional transportation focus,
 - (d) potential for a diversified economic base, including coal, forestry, gas and recreation,
 - (e) superior sewage disposal and water supply possibilities, and
 - (f) environmental features being more conducive to an attractive and satisfying community environment.

(Paget, 1984a; Walsh et al. 1983)

Step 3, choice of preferred policy option, is essentially a political decision. This involved consideration by the Provincial Cabinet of the conclusions of the Townsite and Community Development Sub-Committee along with other matters of political significance. In March 1977 Cabinet confirmed the conclusions of the Sub-Committee and recommended a lead role for the Province in planning, financial management and negotiation between public agencies and other development participants.

During 1977 and 1978, additional research was carried out in regard to the first two steps with the commissioning of the Conceptual Plan: Tumbler Ridge Northeast Sector (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1978).

This consisted of five plans: Physical Plan, Social Plan, Financial Plan, Organizational Plan and Conceptual Plan which integrated the other four.

It concluded that:

1. sufficient land was available to accommodate the projected population of 10,500 people and yet retain environmental sensitivity through natural vegetation;
2. an opportunity existed to achieve a community that fostered a sense of well-being and provided innovative solutions to resource community problems;
3. development of the community would largely be self-financing, however, in order to maintain affordable housing, equitable tax levels and a suitable level of services a "front-end" financial contribution would be required.

From Spring 1978 to Spring 1980, the NECD project was largely held in abeyance due to uncertainty regarding coal markets. Throughout this period several planning-related documents were compiled. Of particular importance was a Framework for Choosing Settlement Options (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1979) which was intended to assist the Ministry of Municipal Affairs to make choices regarding various forms of resource-based settlement; new towns, expanded towns, commuting options. Further study was carried out in relation to economic implications, organizational requirements, financial policies, risk and compensation responsibilities, housing development and affordability, business sector development, and social development. Plans for the town were updated to take account of the period elapsed since their completion (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1981). As a consequence, when agreement between the Province, coal

companies and Japanese steel mills was reached early in 1981, the situation in regard to town development was one of preparedness.

Research and planning resources were mobilized at an early stage in spite of the absence of a firm commitment to specific production details. This is of critical importance and does not always characterize pending resource projects. Hilton (1968) for example, reports that although a three year period elapsed between initial proposals to extract iron ore from the Schefferville site and commencement of the project, little community planning or research was carried out. The resulting adversities of hasty, unplanned development which characterized this town's construction are still evident several decades later.

The research on Tumbler Ridge acknowledged and responded to problems associated with earlier resource communities (see Chapter 2). The planning for the town addressed many issues identified by the "internal" perspective (e.g. community instability, lack of economic diversity, rapid growth and possibilities of decline). Essentially, it did not address the critique of the "external" perspective. This was because control over the necessary macroeconomic phenomena was beyond the scope of community planning, and because the ideology of the prevailing Social Credit party favourably disposed the provincial government towards externally initiated resource development.

3.4.1 Goals and Objectives

The major goal of the Province in regard to the development of new resource communities was to create

"open communities" free of undue company or government influence and as much as possible creating normal, equitable

financial arrangements between the community, the Province and the company (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1981:3)."

Implicit in this was a commitment to planning directed at creating communities conducive to social stability and a low level of labour turnover. To achieve this goal, the Province defined nine resource community objectives which served to direct its planning efforts. These were:

1. Risk protection by the company ensuring costs of mine project failure do not accrue to the community or Province.
2. Equity between communities to ensure that services, land prices and taxes are reasonable in relation to other communities.
3. Compensation to the municipality, by the companies for the special costs incurred in providing services to accommodate the population of large scale resource projects.
4. Equity between companies.
5. Self-governing communities.
6. Integrated housing market.
7. Viable and competitive commercial services.
8. Level and timing of services commensurate with community needs.
9. Safe, economic and attractive physical environment (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1981).

Essentially the "company town" was rejected as unsuitable, a major aim being to replace it with a community that would achieve self-determination and local self-government.

3.4.2 Implementation Tools

Planning and research enabled identification of the kind of community that was desired to accommodate the coal project population. There is, however, a large gap between this point, at which the community "exists" only on paper and in the minds of the planners, and the actual construction

of the town and establishment of social relationships that constitute the community. The important step which connects these two parts are the mechanisms and "tools" that facilitate implementation of the proposed plans, concepts and ideals. In the case of Tumbler Ridge some of these "tools" were already in existence, simply requiring application to the proposed project (e.g. legislative provisions of the Municipal Act). In other instances the mechanisms or procedures were already established but the specific substance of them needed to be developed (e.g. issue of Letters Patent by the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council, drawing up of by-laws by the municipality). Other tools had to be devised anew to achieve the specific purposes of the Tumbler Ridge project. Included here, are the development agreements. It is only when plans are mobilized by means of such mechanisms that the second and third phases of the planning process (implementation and community development) can proceed. Before examining these latter stages, it is appropriate to consider in greater detail some of the mechanisms used to secure the preferred settlement plan.

3.4.2.1 Legislation - The Municipal Act

The Municipality of Tumbler Ridge was incorporated using existing provisions of the Municipal Act (Sections 9 and 13). These sections were introduced as amendments to the Act in 1965 to facilitate the establishment of local government in "instant towns." Although the nature of local governance in the "instant towns" and the "local government" resource town differs significantly, universality of the legislation permitted its application in both instances without modification. Differences between

the "instant towns" and the "local government" town derive from the content of the Letters Patent.

3.4.2.2 Letters Patent

The municipality was established as a legal entity on April 9th, 1981 with the issuing of the Letters Patent (Province of British Columbia, 1981). The Letters Patent, a quasi constitutional document authorised by the Minister of Municipal Affairs, made the following key provisions:

1. The municipal boundary was defined.
2. Provision was made for the appointment of a Commissioner to act as the interim Council.
3. Provision was made for the first election of six council members in 1987 or earlier.
4. Provision was made for the appointment of aldermen prior to the first election.
5. The interim Council was required to adopt a Community Plan to insure orderly development of the municipality.
6. The interim Council was to respect provincial resource management interests.

The boundaries of the municipality are extensive comprising 150,000 hectares. The size of the municipality is the result of both financial and physical development policy considerations. The municipal corporation and its legal geographic boundaries should be differentiated from the settlement of Tumbler Ridge which occupies a limited area of 1000 hectares, less than one percent of the total area. Financially it was deemed appropriate that the assets of the coal mines be included within the boundary to enable the municipality to raise sufficient revenues independent of special ongoing grants or subsidies from the companies or

the Province. From a physical development perspective, the extensive boundary was to provide the municipality with a certain degree of authority to plan and regulate land use within its corporate boundaries (Paget, 1984b).

The basic elements of a functioning local government were put in place from the very outset. This was achieved by means of the Commissioner.

3.4.2.3 The Commissioner

The Commissioner, in whom was vested powers of both Mayor and Council, performed a critical role in development of the community. The nature of the development process was shaped significantly by the individual characteristics of this key person. Implicit in the concept of the Commissioner was a number of other roles:

- (a) "custodian" or "trustee" for the future residents,
- (b) source of "political" values and objectives to balance concerns for efficiency,
- (c) means through which the community could become part of the regional district,
- (d) means by which program and financial commitments could be secured from the Province and the companies.

(Paget and Rabnett, 1981, Walsh et al. 1983)

The appointment as Commissioner by the Minister for Municipal Affairs was for a five year period from April 1981. Criteria used in making a selection included inter alia, possession of political and/or administrative expertise, capabilities in a high profile, public position and ability to facilitate integration of the new town into the North East region. The

person selected, Patrick Walsh, was experienced in municipal politics having been mayor of the City of Fort St. John and School Trustee for 20 years and had a close association with the region. For the first 18 months the Commissioner operated from an office in Vancouver, taking up location in Tumbler Ridge from mid 1983. A timetable for transition to full local self-government was established. Its implementation is discussed further in Chapter 4.

3.4.2.4 Development Agreements

One of the most significant innovations of the NECD project was the establishment of a partnership between the private resource sector and the public sector. This partnership was codified in a set of Comprehensive Development Agreements between the various partners which established their respective roles and responsibilities in implementing the project. These Agreements laid out the development and financial responsibilities of each of the local government, the resource companies, the Province and indirectly the private sector (see Figure 3.3). The underlying principle was fair sharing of costs and risks. The public/private partnership was unique in British Columbian resource development and resulted in a reversal of traditional roles. The corporate role shifted from the historic emphasis on direct responsibility for town development to a more indirect role as taxpayer, guarantor and extraordinary financial contributor of last resort. The public sector, in contrast to its historic practice in British Columbia, has assumed a more direct responsibility for development of the community, including the inducement of commercial services. The partnership model allows the resource companies to concentrate on what they do best - exploiting the resource - and places a major responsibility

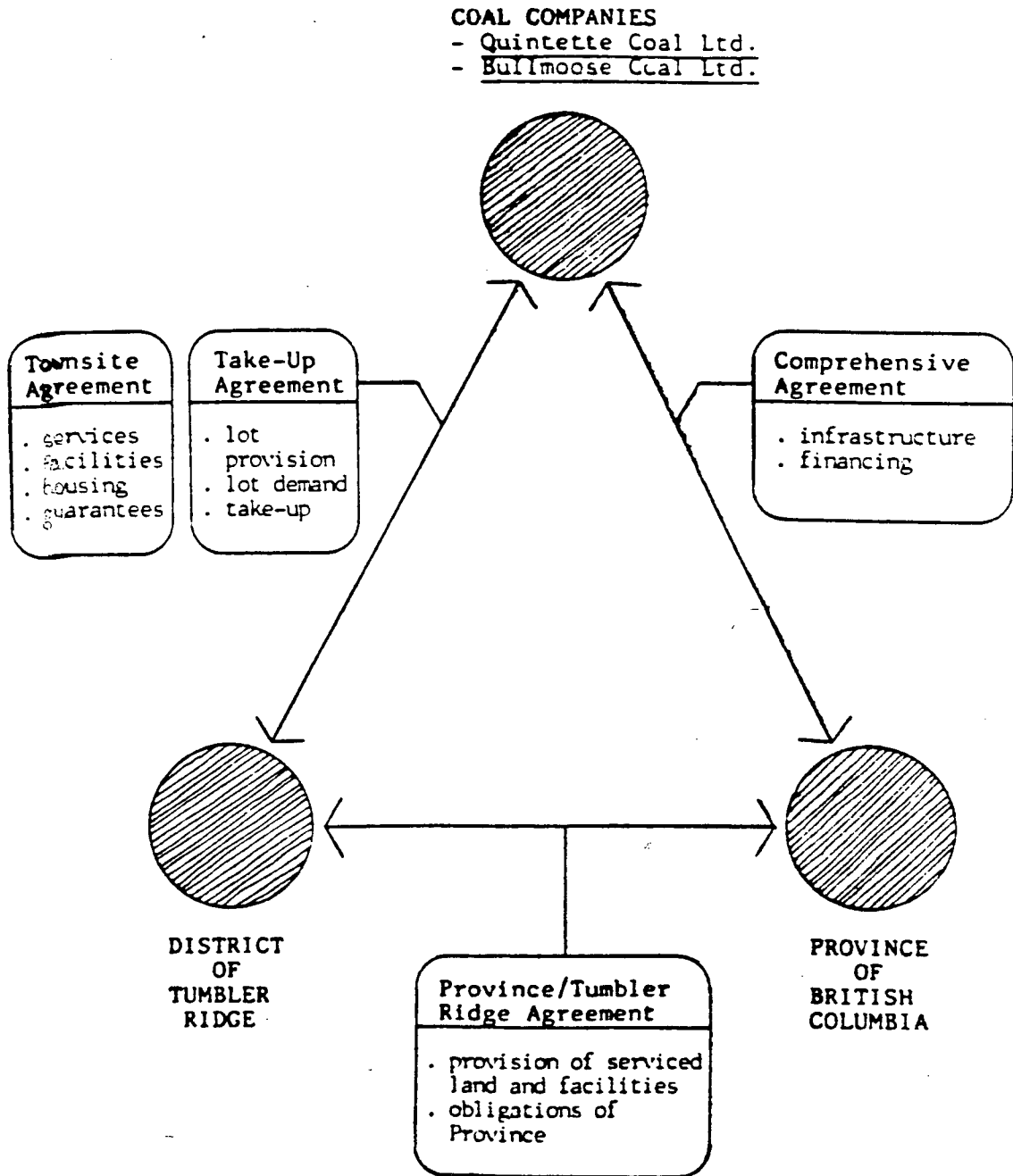


Figure 3.3 Tumbler Ridge Project: Contractual commitments

Source: Paget and Rabnett, 1983:12.

on the municipality to do what it is uniquely qualified to do - create a livable community. It was proposed that both parties would share and benefit from this approach (Centre for Human Settlements, 1985).

Development Agreements drawn up for Tumbler Ridge differ somewhat from the Development Agreements which provided the basis for mining in Western Australia. The latter are ad hoc or project-specific agreements which, by means of statutory endorsement, are made part of the enabling legislation for a resource project. (A separate statute must normally be passed for each major resource project.) The Development Agreements overrode existing legislation, placing the responsibility for planning with a different department to that normally in charge of this function.

Arguing from a neo-Marxist standpoint Harman and Harman (1982:21) note that these agreements

are not the participation agreements of the developing world.... [They are] not...a way to strengthen the government's control over development so much as an aid to industry and to a government concerned only with 'capturing' as many major projects as possible in the belief that the higher the level of investment the better. Equally the Development Agreements are not Acts guaranteeing returns to the public so much as highly flexible mechanisms for modifying and/or bypassing existing standard legislation.

They claim this is indicative of the rentier ideology that exists in major resource rich states in Australia which simply assumes that the benefits of any increase in investment and economic activity will trickle down locally.

Returning to British Columbia, the following is an outline of the major provisions of the Tumbler Ridge Development Agreements.

In the **Comprehensive Agreement** it was mutually agreed by the resource companies and the Province that the essential elements of the

NECD project would be established and means of financing and cost recovery were laid out. The comprehensive agreement provided a framework for a series of subsidiary agreements. Those of relevance to townsite and community development are outlined below.

The **Province/Tumbler Ridge Agreement** established the mandate for the municipality to develop the town within the context of company financial guarantees. The Province agreed to provide land, normal financing of some services and direct provision of others. The municipality agreed to adhere to the development schedule, the capital budget and monitoring by the Province.

The **Townsite Agreement** specified which participant was to be responsible for the provision of particular facilities, services and housing. It laid out necessary loan guarantees required of the resource companies and made provision for the establishment of the Advisory Planning Commission, an interim body comprised of development representatives intended to ensure liaison between the companies, other participants and the Commissioner. The Agreement also specified that the Tumbler Ridge municipality should maintain property tax levels comparable with other resource towns and apply its "best efforts" to encourage private investment in service sector housing and commercial facilities.

The **Lot Take-Up Agreement** set out the precise contractual arrangements between the parties for the guarantee of lot purchase by year, lot type and price. The municipality agreed to service lots in accordance with scheduled requirements of the coal companies plus an additional 20% to meet non-company requirements. The coal companies in turn agreed to purchase their specified 80%. This was to ensure that an excess of developed lots did not occur.

3.5 Institutional Arrangements

Regardless of how thoroughly researched and comprehensive a plan may be in its conceptual stage, it is only as valuable as its implementation. The previous section discussed some of the "tools" required to implement the project. In addition to these, appropriate institutional or organizational procedures were required to enable the "tools" to be devised, or if already in existence, to be operationalized. These procedures underlaid the "implementation" and "development" phases of the community's establishment. Unlike the planning phase, their outcome was not literary in nature but consists of the physical structures of the town's built form and the somewhat intangible set of interactions and social relationships which exist amongst the town's residents.

At the outset, planning for the development of North East Coal resources began in 1976 under the aegis of the Provincial Cabinet Committee on Coal Development. The Ministry of Municipal Affairs acted as the "lead agency" for the provincial settlement planning effort in the period 1976 to 1981, initially through its involvement in the Townsite/Community Development Sub-Committee. The role of the sub-committee receded in the late 1970's and the Ministry of Municipal Affairs assumed leadership.

The broad theoretical options for organizing resource community development were outlined in Alternative Methods (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1977). The Organizational Plan (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1978, Vol. 5) applied the concepts in Alternative Methods to the Tumbler Ridge situation and identified local government as the best approach to organizing the proposed development. This provided the broad context in

which particular institutional details and methods of implementation were to be arranged.

The intent of the Organizational Plan was to establish a means of organization and coordination which would enable the community to respond in a desired and efficient manner. This required the identification of necessary legislative authority, and the principles necessary for negotiation and action. Essentially, the Organizational Plan was a vehicle for achieving development of a community in an efficient and effective manner.

In 1978, the Ministry conducted a workshop (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1978a) with the purpose of informing officers from the Lead Agency and other Ministries of the nature of the task at hand and to gain input relevant to potential problems that may arise. A further report was compiled by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs (1980) outlining the elements required to mobilize the plan, and the responsibilities and characteristics that would be required of them. The outcome of these organizational arrangements will be assessed in Chapter 4.

3.6 Nature and Principles of Planning in Tumbler Ridge

At the outset, a "top down" approach prevailed in the planning of Tumbler Ridge. This was inevitable given the initial absence of residents. It required that informed judgement of professional planners be substituted for the political will and participation of residents. Paget and Rabnett, two key figures in the planning of the community, acknowledge the technocratic nature of this stage of planning (Paget and Rabnett, 1983:9). Such an approach requires that quality research, a prelude to problem resolution, be undertaken and that the interests of future residents be acknowledged in a socially ethical manner. In order

to counter the essentially undemocratic nature of this approach, opportunities were created for the involvement of residents in the later phases of the community's formation. In addition, surrogates for citizen participation were used (e.g. survey of residents in similar communities and discussions with key informants in other communities).

Adoption of a "top down" approach in the initial planning phase made it essential that resident participation be fostered in subsequent phases. The implementation phase introduced a new style of planning ("planning by invitation") which was more considerate of the involvement of those who would ultimately be in charge of the community and be responsible for resolving its problems. Participation and coordination were two amongst a variety of methods adopted in this phase. "Planning by invitation" deliberately rejected an alternative notion of planning, that is, "planning by compulsion" (Paget and Rabnett, 1983). The former style of planning is founded on the principles of stewardship and governance; its focus is less on the creation of a definable product than the creation of the means by which a community will be developed. In "planning by invitation" there is a concern with both the end product of planning and the means by which this end is achieved. The prevailing guide post is conscience: equity and livability. The vehicle adopted for implementation is local government and the orientation of the process is essentially political. Finally, "planning by invitation" is accepting of complexity and uncertainty and involves essentially a search for goals and means of achieving these.

"Planning by compulsion" has traditionally been the style of planning used in relation to resource town development in British Columbia. In contrast to "planning by invitation" it focuses upon constructing a town,

the emphasis being the process of building a community in the physical, rather than social sense. Ends justify means and the nature of the process is one of "control" rather than guidance and governance. The perspective is short term, and the keystones are: "on-time," "on-budget."

"Planning by compulsion" is technical in orientation, is accomplished through narrowly defined project management as opposed to project direction, is intolerant of complexity and uncertainty, and is concerned with the achievement of pre-determined goals (Paget and Rabnett, 1983).

The greatest need and opportunity for resident participation occurred in the "community development phase." At this point, attention shifted from planning and institutional development to building a new community.

The emphasis was upon a process controlled by the community in which issues were locally identified; resources and actions came from the community. This required an emphasis on broad popular participation, the development of leadership and the enhancement of local problem solving capabilities (Paget and Rabnett, 1983:21). Democratic self-government is central to community development. In contrast to socially sensitive planning, community development is "bottom up" in orientation. Specific methods of community development will be examined and assessed in Chapter 4.

The nature of citizen participation differs with each phase. The necessarily technocratic "planning phase" is characterized by nonparticipation, at least insofar as the town's as yet absent residents are concerned. During the "implementation phase," participation is again minimal, this being focussed primarily on the development of institutions. In the latter part of the implementation phase, when residents have begun to arrive, citizen participation may reach the third rung on Arnstein's

(1969) ladder i.e. "informing", one type of tokenism. Informing citizens of their rights, responsibilities and options can be the most important first step toward legitimate citizen participation. However, the latter is only achieved if the one-way flow of information is followed with the establishment of feedback channels and the provision of power for negotiation. Due to the newness of community institutions in the implementation phase, residents have not as yet taken up positions which allow them access to influence or power, although provisions for this may have been made. During the third phase, participation rises to the rung of "partnership", a low degree of citizen power. At this rung, power is redistributed through negotiation between incoming citizens and power-holders (Commissioner/Mayor, provincial planners, officers in charge of service agencies). They agree to share planning and decision making responsibilities through such structures as joint policy boards and mechanisms for resolving impasses. In Tumbler Ridge examples include the appointment and election of aldermen, and establishment of the Recreation Board. In some instances (e.g. Health and Social Services Committee), citizen participation tends to be heightened even further. These will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

3.7 Summary

The inability of earlier planning and development techniques to overcome problems involved in the establishment of resource towns generated the need to adopt new approaches. Planning methods used in Tumbler Ridge represent a move away from prevailing convention towards a strategy which is more sensitive and humane. Development of the town under the auspices of the local government, appointment of a Commissioner/mayor, negotiation

and compilation of development agreements involving various development participants and provision for extensive citizen participation are but a few of the innovations introduced by Tumbler Ridge into the realm of resource town development. Planning methods used in Tumbler Ridge represent a significant turning point in the history of planning in this province and in the construction of resource-based communities in Canada. An innovation of this kind calls for a sensitive and critical assessment in order that it bear full fruits. This task will be addressed in the following chapter.

NOTES

1. The operating/managing companies are Bullmoose Operating Corp. and Denison Mines Ltd. respectively.
2. Throughout planning and construction of the project there was substantial debate regarding the wisdom of the enormous public investment and viability of proposed markets (see for example, various reports in the Vancouver Sun and Halvorson (1980, 1983).
3. These steps were articulated in regard to a subsequent project (Rabnett, 1984) but are also inherent in the planning process for Tumbler Ridge.

CHAPTER 4

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE TUMBLER RIDGE PROJECT

4.1 Introduction

Embodied in the planning and development of a new town, such as Tumbler Ridge, is a learning process which relates to the specific nature of the project, to the broader conceptual dimensions of the planning process and to the democratic process in Canadian society. Research and experience have shown that the majority of problems faced in rapidly expanding communities concern implementation (Paget and Rabnett, 1981). Whilst much knowledge is gained throughout the planning and development process per se, a substantial amount can only be revealed after subsequent appraisal of the outcome and consequences of these innovations. Post project assessment is therefore essential in order to yield the fullest possible understanding.

The field of policy assessment and evaluation is complex and is characterized by a lack of terminological agreement. This chapter commences by attempting to clarify the nature and purpose of retrospective implementation assessment. It then proceeds to a detailed analysis of the Tumbler Ridge project. This assessment forms the basis for an overall appreciation of the process and product of establishing the town, presented in the final part of the chapter.

4.2 The Nature and Purpose of Implementation Assessment

4.2.1 Definition

In an examination of the role of implementation analysis in urban and regional planning, Alterman (1982: 227-8) observes that:

until recently, the implementation process was regarded as a black-box where something is supposed to occur to make reality out of policy.... Today, implementation analysis seeks to open this box in order to gain understanding of the processes occurring within it and the factors affecting them, so that the prospects of more effective implementation would be enhanced.

Alterman presents what she regards as a partial definition of the implementation process, viz:

The process by which decisions taken by various actors enhance or weaken the chances that intervention will be undertaken in accordance with the policy-of-reference (Alterman, 1982:228).

This definition sees the implementation process first and foremost as a process of decision-making leading to intervention in the system planned, and not solely as the actual intervention or delivery. However, the latter is also important as indicated by the emphasis in definitions by Pressman and Wildavsky (1984:xiv):

implementation may be viewed as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieving them,

and Alexander (1979:38):

"implementation [is] the assurance that policies or plans will actually be realized, while ensuring the quality of their effectuation."

In this chapter, implementation will be used to refer to both the process of action and interaction taken to achieve the realization of policy and plans, and the set of decisions required to enable this. Consideration of only one or other of these two key dimensions unnecessarily restricts the depth of understanding to be gained from the proposed assessment. In this study, "implementation" is interpreted fairly broadly. It refers not only to the implementation phase (phase two) of the

planning and development process outlined in section 3.3 but includes all three phases (planning, implementation and community development), since implementation of the project implies the implementation also of the plans of the preceding phase. The phrase "implementation assessment" is used in preference to adopting Alterman's (1982) "implementation analysis" because the former has the more obvious implication of providing a value judgement about what the study reveals and de-emphasizes the objective and technocratic dimensions upon which Alterman places greater emphasis.

There is a lack of clarity in the literature regarding the meaning and interrelationship of a number of expressions used to describe evaluative activities in relation to public actions. They include: project evaluation, implementation analysis, policy analysis, impact assessment, impact analysis, evaluation research and program planning. Subtleties in definition and application frequently stem from the particular disciplinary background and perspective of the researcher. In Alterman's (1982) view, the new field of implementation analysis and the mature field of evaluation research have been drawing closer together and could well benefit from an integrated approach. Because of this overlap, the characteristics of one field are frequently applicable to others and it is therefore relevant to briefly consider their major attributes and definitions.

In planning, the term "evaluation" is often used loosely to refer to descriptions of planning proposals and statements of their merits.

Lichfield et al. (1975) used the term more formally to denote

the process of analysing a number of plans or projects with a view to searching out their comparative advantages and disadvantages and the act of setting down the findings of such analyses in a logical framework (p. 4).

Lichfield et al. are concerned with the role of evaluation in the plan-making process, and not with the role of evaluation in the decisions subsequent to plan-making which they place under the heading of "implementation." Nor are they concerned with evaluation where it is used to assess the performance of a plan during implementation. Essentially their study of evaluation is confined to the pre-project period. In the broader context of social policy, Rossi and Freeman (1982) define evaluation research¹ as

the systematic application of social research procedures in assessing the conceptualization and design, implementation, and utility of social intervention programs (p. 20).

Elements of the foregoing are relevant to the Tumbler Ridge study. The desire to identify advantages and disadvantages of strategies adopted resembles the pursuit of similar characteristics by Lichfield et al. (1975), the difference being that the proposed assessment focuses on the post-project period. Rossi and Freeman's notion of evaluation research is relevant in that it encompasses the implementation period as well as the prior stages of planning and conceptualizing. In addition, an array of specific components of the Tumbler Ridge project could comprise part of more broadly-based evaluation studies by other agencies.

Paget and Rabnett (1979, 1981) have explored the relationship between planning and social impact assessment and challenge planners to adopt socially responsive community planning. Social impact assessment - the assessment of the effects of projects and policies on people and communities emphasizes a process of analysis, prediction and, to a lesser extent, control. Planning, the application of knowledge and purpose to human

actions, emphasizes design - the development of creative and constructive solutions to problems. Socially responsive planning requires policy makers to go beyond assessment of alternatives to actually build social criteria into policies and projects so as to reflect a concern with social equity (Paget and Rabnett, 1979). Whilst differences exist between these fields, there are two key features upon which a synthesis can be based:

- a concern with "better" decisions - more informed, rational and sensitive decisions; and
- a concern with the "effects" of proposed actions, the linkages between problems and the after effects of decisions (Paget and Rabnett, 1979:5).

In essence, both social impact assessment and planning share a common purpose and direction.

In a discerning study of social impact assessment, Bowles (1981) distinguishes between pre-impact assessments and post-impact assessments. Teitz (1978) also makes this distinction, using the terms anticipatory evaluation and retrospective evaluation, respectively. Pre-impact studies attempt to forecast the consequences of a particular project, usually to enable the social costs and benefits of the proposal to be considered in decisions concerning whether a project should be constructed and how it should be designed. Defined thus, pre-impact assessments bear a strong resemblance to Lichfield et al's (1975) version of evaluation. Many scholars restrict social impact assessment solely to the predictive, pre-impact form of assessment. Bowles (1981) rejects this notion. Post-impact studies provide analyses of what changes previous projects have produced and how they have produced them. He claims they are an important source of generalizations which can guide predictions about the

impacts of future projects. The importance of post-impact studies is further revealed when it is recognized that pre-impact studies, at their initiation, depend on concepts and hypotheses derived from previous work (Bowles, 1981). Such knowledge stems largely from an appreciation of the outcome of projects as revealed by post-impact assessment studies.

Bowles' (1981) "post-impact assessment" studies strongly resemble the "implementation assessment" study of this chapter. Bowles' "impact" is synonymous with the "implementation" of the Tumbler Ridge project and the ex post facto disposition of the former concurs with the retrospective stance of the ensuing assessment of British Columbia's newest resource town.

Given that a project originated in the relatively recent past, as in the case of Tumbler Ridge, post-impact assessment has major advantages in the attempt to identify how the project produced social changes in the community. Bowles (1981) itemizes these as follows:

1. It is possible to examine the actual project in operation.
2. The activities which were associated with the construction of the project and the associated changes can be reconstructed i.e. development of a chronological "action analysis."
3. It permits the researcher to concretely examine the specific effects which the project has on individuals, selected to be representative of different categories of community members.

4.2.2 Purpose and Nature

Post-impact studies are less common and possibly less rigorous than pre-impact studies. The author acknowledges the validity of the latter characteristic in regard to the Tumbler Ridge assessment, the primary data

source being a series of wide-ranging interviews and discussions. Bowles (1981) asserts that if major developments are to be planned to protect communities both pre- and post-impact studies are required and must be coordinated and focused on developments at the local level. Since Tumbler Ridge is a new town, pre-impact studies concerned either the nature of the existing physical environment or communities in the surrounding area, particularly Chetwynd and Dawson Creek (e.g. Taylor, 1978; Ministry of Industry and Small Business Development, 1981a). These provide a comparative basis for the results of post-impact analyses.

For evaluation studies to be effective they must be aimed at generating data used to improve implementation. Evaluators must allow future implementation processes to benefit from errors of past projects. Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) observe in their landmark book on implementation, "evaluation [is] a generic activity aimed at enlightenment" (p. 187). It is in this context that the assessment of the Tumbler Ridge project is undertaken. Teitz (1978) believes that the recent upsurge in evaluation studies has arisen because we are being forced toward new and more comprehensive forms of accountability. He identifies four types of accountability, viz:

1. Achievement of stated objectives, i.e. effectiveness
2. Efficient resource use, i.e., cost, time, efficiency
3. External or side effects
4. Accountability to specific population groups affected by policies or actions.

The assessment in this chapter focusses primarily on the first two forms of accountability, but also considers, in less detail, the remaining two. Essentially the question posed is: What can be learned from the

experience and outcome of the local government method of resource town development? The analysis seeks to identify both positive aspects and problems in order to contribute to the growing body of knowledge regarding the nature and requirements of the resource town development process.

Torgerson (1980) distinguishes two divergent trends in regard to the nature of impact (and implementation) assessment. The predominant tendency, which Torgerson labels "technocratic," adheres to a scientific, technocratic orientation with a narrow focus on problems. The opposing ("participatory") tendency acknowledges the fundamental role played by values in the research process. Torgerson (1980:148) explains that

Here impact assessment is viewed as a social and political process of which the researcher is a part. There is a clear admission that experts lack the knowledge to render final conclusions with certitude.... There may even be...an ambiguity which no amount of research or rigor can ultimately overcome. The researcher admits the necessity of relying upon intuitive judgement at all stages of his work. Active public participation is seen as an essential dimension of impact assessment and is encouraged as a way to promote a more participatory mode of formulating public policy.

This does not mean that the researcher should sacrifice all objectivity but must continually assert his interest in the truth. Nash et al. (1975) likewise recognize the importance of values in regard to project evaluation and propose the use of "value sensitivity analysis," akin to the long accepted technique of sensitivity analysis as applied to discount rates.²

The assessment of Tumbler Ridge presented in section 4.3 is not proffered as a definitive and final judgement of the project. Rather, it should be regarded as one of the first in a set of evaluative studies which will no doubt be conducted throughout the period during which the town evolves toward maturity. It is acknowledged that the author's values form an inherent part of the assessment study and are essentially

responsible for setting the boundaries of the analysis which lie within the purview of the "internal perspective." In assessing the Tumbler Ridge project it is important to view the total planning and development process as each phase (planning, implementation and community development) is characterized by a very different style. As discussed in Chapter 3, the planning phase is recognized as being technocratic (Paget and Rabnett, 1983) due to the absence of residents and the need to adopt surrogates. The subsequent two phases however are representative of the "participatory" approach. In drawing an overall assessment of the project it is necessary to call upon intuitive judgement to a large extent, since a mechanical "averaging" of the assessment of each phase would be misleading. The same also applies to each specific dimension of the project. Social and political trends that prevailed before, during and after the project are of immense importance in determining the nature and outcome of the project, and demand consideration in conjunction with the more specific details examined.

In adopting a participatory stance, the planner/researcher is seen to have a greater degree of responsibility for the results of implemented plans than if he stands back and conducts his business from behind a facade of objectivity. How planning is done affects its success.³ This applies equally to assessment studies.

4.2.3 Level of Resolution

Social programs and policies can be assessed at various levels. Hudson (1975) refers to these as "domains of evaluation." Each domain successively takes up the unresolved issues of the one before and progressively transcends the social science tradition of policy analysis. A

small scale or level of resolution has purposely been adopted in this study of Tumbler Ridge because it enables an overall assessment of the project to be made. At a different level of resolution, each area of assessment considered in section 4.3 would be sufficient for a whole study. Likewise, at a smaller scale, an assessment (for example, of the NECD) could be conducted in which the entire Tumbler Ridge project was just one component. As one changes scale the admixture of influences alters. Though elements of both the "internal" and "external" perspectives can be found at all levels, the former tend to dominate at smaller scales when specifics of a particular community are of concern. The latter tend to predominate at larger scales such as when the focus is set at the level of the provincial or world economy. Questions which cannot be fully resolved at one level provide material for subsequent assessment studies at a different level.

4.2.4 Approaches in Implementation Analysis

Alterman (1982) has classified the wide array of existing implementation analyses into six different types. The Tumbler Ridge study falls within the descriptive-narrative category. In narrating the course of events, these studies usually attempt to bring out the salient political and social factors, dimensions of which the Tumbler Ridge study is cognizant. Alterman (1982) believes that the value of case studies can be maximized only when theoretical foundations for implementation analysis in various contexts are more advanced. Recognition of this does not however, deny the current worth of conducting descriptive-narrative assessment studies. Each mode of planning identified by Alterman implies a different picture of implementation and a different criterion for assessing success

or failure. The mode relevant to Tumbler Ridge is "initiatory (project) planning." Here planning is undertaken by a public or private agency that has the resources, for implementing its plan. This mode calls for the creation of a new project (e.g. a resource town). It is in this mode of planning that implementation is most readily understood. In the case of Tumbler Ridge the agency in question (the Ministry of Municipal Affairs initially and later via its prodigy, the District of Tumbler Ridge) initiates the process, allocates the resources, and has considerable control over timing. The agency may, as was the case in Tumbler Ridge, be dependent on other agencies and plans for licensing and other clearances, but it has more direct control over the implementation process than in other modes of planning. Alterman warns that, despite the relative clarity of the initiatory mode of planning, this does not necessarily imply an easier implementation process. Although there is a more direct relationship between policy inputs and visible outputs there remains substantial opportunity for implementation efforts to "slip between the cracks," to be dissipated or aborted. Each type of implementation analysis is suited to planning tasks with different characteristics. The descriptive-narrative approach is highly suitable when there is a multiplicity of agencies, system interdependence, public sensitivity and complexity of policies. These features were present in the Tumbler Ridge project.

4.3 The Tumbler Ridge Project

4.3.1 Areas for Assessment

Essentially there are four dimensions of the planning and development of Tumbler Ridge that require assessment. These are: organizational

structure and implementation, quality of the town, risk and equity and town stability. Eleven questions are posed in Table 4.1, each of which serves to focus the analysis more specifically. There is a substantial degree of inter-relatedness between the questions and assessment of one issue often contributes to the assessment of others. The questions relate closely to the provincial resource community development objectives as shown in column 3. The assessment will consider the extent to which the local government model, as exemplified by its application in Tumbler Ridge, has been able to resolve this set of key issues, which have been problematic in at least one other resource town.

The assessment will examine three aspects of each issue, viz:

- background - why the issue has come to be of concern,
- strategies - how the issue has been dealt with in Tumbler Ridge, throughout the planning, implementation and development phases, and
- outcome - the results to date, including the extent to which the strategy has successfully resolved the issue. Continuing problems, their implications and further action required will be considered.

Implementation of the project frequently necessitated trade-offs between efficiency and quality requiring that objectives be prioritized and pursued accordingly. The standards "reasonable," "appropriate," "effective" and "adequate" in Table 4.1 are all indicative of the value judgements inherent in the assessment. Whilst likely to be unacceptable in those adopting a technocratic stance, this subjectivity does not invalidate the assessment and will be somewhat more amenable to those of a participatory predisposition.

Table 4.1 Dimensions of the local government model posed for assessment

1	2	3
Key-Word Summary of Assessment Issue	Research Question	Related Resource Community Development Objective*
I. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND IMPLEMENTATION		
1. Land Allocation & Development	How have the methods of <u>land allocation and development</u> contributed to the establishment of the community?	2,6,7
2. Organizational Arrangements	Were the <u>organizational arrangements</u> used in establishing the town appropriate?	Indirectly 5,6,7,8,9
3. Local self-government	Has <u>local self-governance</u> been effectively established?	5
II. QUALITY OF THE TOWN		
4. Integrated Housing Market	Has the local government model facilitated the establishment of an <u>integrated housing market</u> and the <u>provision of service sector housing</u> ?	6
5. Commercial services	Has a <u>viable</u> and competitive <u>commercial sector</u> been established?	7
6. Environment	Have <u>environmental concerns</u> been adequately addressed and an <u>aesthetically pleasing built environment</u> been established?	9
III. RISK AND EQUITY		
7. Financial Responsibility	Who bears <u>financial responsibility</u> for the town and are these arrangements <u>viable</u> ?	3
8. Risk Protection & Mine Failure	Are provisions for ensuring <u>risk protection</u> against <u>mine failure</u> adequate?	1
9. Equity Between Companies	Has town development ensured <u>equity between</u> existing <u>resource companies</u> and the potential for equitable arrangements with future resource developers?	4
10. Equity Between Communities	Is the standard of services (recreational, health and social), level of taxation and local government practice <u>equitable with</u> those in <u>other communities</u> ?	5
IV. TOWN STABILITY		
11. Community Maturity/Stability	Have <u>community development</u> initiatives hastened the progression of the community towards <u>maturity</u> and fostered <u>stability</u> ?	5,6,7,8

* See page 69.

4.3.2 Tumbler Ridge Assessment

4.3.2.1 Land Allocation and Development

How have the methods of land allocation and development contributed to the establishment of the community?

Background. As discussed in Chapter 2, responsibility for land allocation and development is of prime importance in distinguishing between the alternative methods of development and in determining the nature of resource community development. The body in control of land has the authority to determine who has access to the land, the conditions under which access is granted and, frequently, the use to which the land is put. Limited access to land in both the "company" and "instant" town accounted for the often restricted and/or belated development of commercial facilities, unavailability of service sector housing and the all-permeating influence of the paternalistic corporation, especially in the former.

Strategies. A significant innovation of the local government approach was the local control of land allocation and development. Almost all land (99%) in the vicinity of Tumbler Ridge is owned by the Province. A five year supply of developable Crown land was turned over to the municipality at cost. The municipal corporation which owns all current developable land in the community, services it and then markets it to private sector commercial and housing developers. Land not required after five years is to be turned over to the Ministry of Lands, Parks & Housing. Municipal land sales are carried out through "lot draws" for single family lots, and development proposal calls for multiple family and commercial lots. Land is sold at a fair price to recover all costs and to retain

affordability of housing and attractiveness for commercial development. Conditions attached to land sale ensure conformity to plans and protect against speculation. To deal with the potential problem of producing an inappropriate supply of lots, the municipality agreed to provide sufficient serviced lots to meet the companies' needs and additional lots for the service sector. In turn, the resource companies guaranteed purchase of at least 80% of unsold lots.

Outcome. It was postulated that the local control of land would facilitate the provision of affordable housing, access to housing by service sector employees and development of viable and competitive commercial facilities (Centre for Human Settlements, 1985). An active and diversified town centre has been established (see section 4.3.2.5). The availability of small town centre lots on a fee simple basis has enabled private developers to construct retail and commercial premises, either for occupation by themselves or for rent to other tenants. Allocation and development of residential land by the municipality has allowed flexibility, enabling lot size and production to be tailored to the demands of the market. Provision of housing for coal company employees was largely undertaken by the resource companies. However, the availability of land on conventional terms created the mechanism whereby individuals or small contractors could construct housing. This contrasts markedly to the situation in earlier resource towns where land and housing availability was controlled by the company and a frequent prerequisite for housing occupancy was employment with the company. It should be noted that the ultimate provision of affordable housing both to company and service sector employees does not depend solely on land access. Availability of mortgage finance and the pressure of real estate developers willing to

enter the market are other crucial components. Municipal control of land has been effective in resolving problems of access associated with earlier forms of land tenure and has been instrumental in separating labour and domestic issues. It has not necessarily been capable of overcoming other impediments, some of which will be examined in subsequent sections.

4.3.2.2 Organizational Structure and Implementation Process

Were the organizational arrangements used in establishing the town appropriate?

Governmental programs [and projects] are normally implemented by organizations, so it may be useful to conceptualize implementation as an organizational problem (Montjoy and O'Toole, 1979:465).

Background. Unlike established communities, there is no mechanism inherent in a new town to facilitate the realization of planning and community development objectives. In the construction of earlier resource communities, the procedure adopted was "to allow relevant activities to proceed along individual paths designed to achieve specific objectives" (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1978, Vol. 5:1). The absence of a concerted organizational effort was a major cause of problems encountered in achieving the appropriate program or facility at the right time, within the jurisdictional and financial constraints of the communities.

Strategies. In developing an organizational process whereby the plan for Tumbler Ridge could be implemented, it was not intended to develop a master plan to specify exactly the process amongst all participants. Rather, the Organizational Plan was regarded as "providing a coordinating/facilitating role through an identifiable structure" (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1978, Vol. 5:1). It was recognized that each community reacts

differently to a particular phenomenon and that consequently there can be no single correct response. Detailed changes and alterations were not specified at that point since each was to be subject to a specific set of negotiations. The method of implementation and associated institutional structure are a subset of the method of development.

A mainline governmental agency, the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, was designated as the "lead" agency with the responsibility to initiate and coordinate implementation of the project. This required cutting across many different agencies. Table 4.2 provides an indication of the complexity of this task. This crossways approach runs contrary to the conventional method of operation of line departments, and in some instances met with resistance (Rabnett, 1985). Inter-agency coordination was achieved through a number of mechanisms:

1. development agreements which established contractual obligations between the different development parties,
2. "lead agency" pushing (Ministry of Municipal Affairs - towns, Ministry of Industry & Small Business Development - overall project),
3. Northeast Coal Development office,
4. invitational planning workshops for technical level officers from various ministries,
5. inter-agency brokerage at various levels,
6. Treasury Board exhortation on budget allocation and monitoring, and
7. Deputy Minister's Committees.

Table 4.2 Tumbler Ridge project: Involvement and role of governmental agencies

Agency	Role ¹	Phase ^{2,3}		
		P	I	D
Ministry of Municipal Affairs	pl,r,s	2	2	1
South Peace School District	p	0	2	2
Ministry of Education	f, r, s	1	2	2
Peace River Liard Hospital District	p	0	2	2
Ministry of Health	p,f,r,s	1	2	2
Ministry of Human Resources	p,s	1	1	1
RCMP	p	0	2	2
B.C.D.C. (industrial park & service commercial)	p, f	0	2	2
B.C. Hydro	p	0	2	1
B.C. Telephone	P	0	2	1
Ministry of Transportation & Highways	p, r, s	2	2	1
Ministry of Industry & Small Business Development	pl	2	2	1
North East Coal Development	pl	0	2	0
Ministry of Finance	r,f	0	2	2
Ministry of Lands & Housing	p,r	0	2	2
Ministry of Environment	r, pl	2	1	1
Ministry of Tourism	s	0	1	0
Northern Lights College	p	0	0	1
CRTC (television)	r	0	1	0
B.C. Utilities Commission (natural gas)	r	0	2	0
Ministry of Energy Mines Petroleum Resources	pl	1	1	0
B.C. Building Corporation (construction of police station)	f,p	0	1	0
Forests	r	0	2	0
Labour Relations Board	r	0	2	0
Municipal Finance Authority	f	0	0	2
Attorney General (negotiation)	r	0	2	0
Peace River Liard Regional District	r, f, pl	1	2	2

¹ Roles: r = regulate; p = provision; f = finance; s = subsidize; pl = plan.

² Phases of Development: P = Planning; I = Implementation; D = Development.

³ Level of Involvement: 0 = no involvement; 1 = minor role; 2 = major role

Source: G. Paget, Ministry of Municipal Affairs.

No single mechanism was adequate; all were required, working in concert. Informal brokerage and a committed "development team" were found to be more effective than formal coordination (Paget, 1985).

The structure of the interim municipality (appointed officers and staff) and its relationship with contracted specialists was important in determining the degree of success in the implementation and development phases. Equally critical was the access of senior municipal administrators, particularly the Commissioner, to the necessary sources of power and influence within the provincial bureaucracy and senior political circles. The high profile nature of the project ensured that such access was readily forthcoming (Walsh, 1985).

Selection of persons to fill the necessary roles is a critical and complex task (Paget, 1985). To a large extent, the roles themselves (which were defined with substantial leeway), were determined by the professional and personal characteristics of selected personnel. The basic organizational structure as it evolved over the project are shown in Figures 4.1 to 4.4. Conceptually, the project can be sub-divided into "services to land" and "services to people" (Figure 4.1). Organizationally, a "construction" versus "operations" dichotomy is more accurate. The most significant changes over the four periods were:

- the decline in the role of the development manager,
- the increasing predominance of the municipal administrator, and
- the replacement of consultants by staff.

Flexibility is an essential attribute of the structure. There must be scope to include new components and to allow redundant ones to be eliminated in accordance with the varying requirements throughout the implementation process. Initial clarification of roles, task definition and

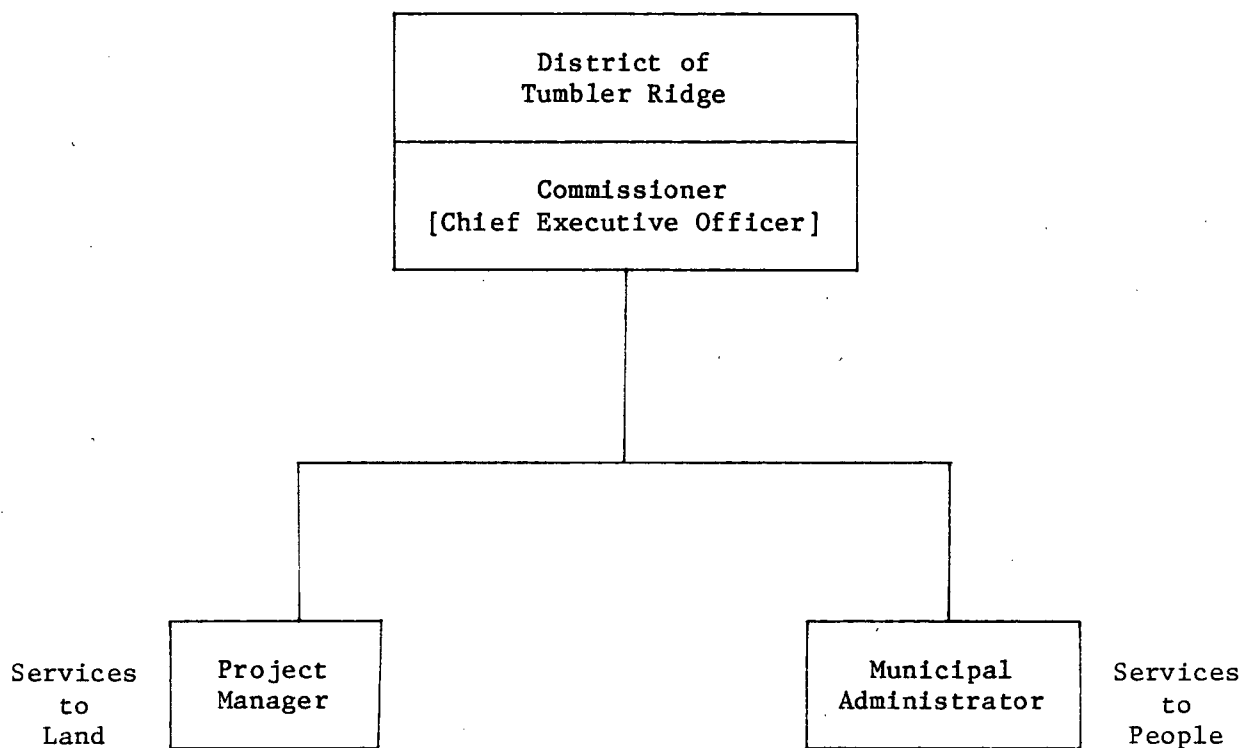


Figure 4.1. Conceptual organizational structure:
Conceptual plan early 1981

Source: Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1981:11.

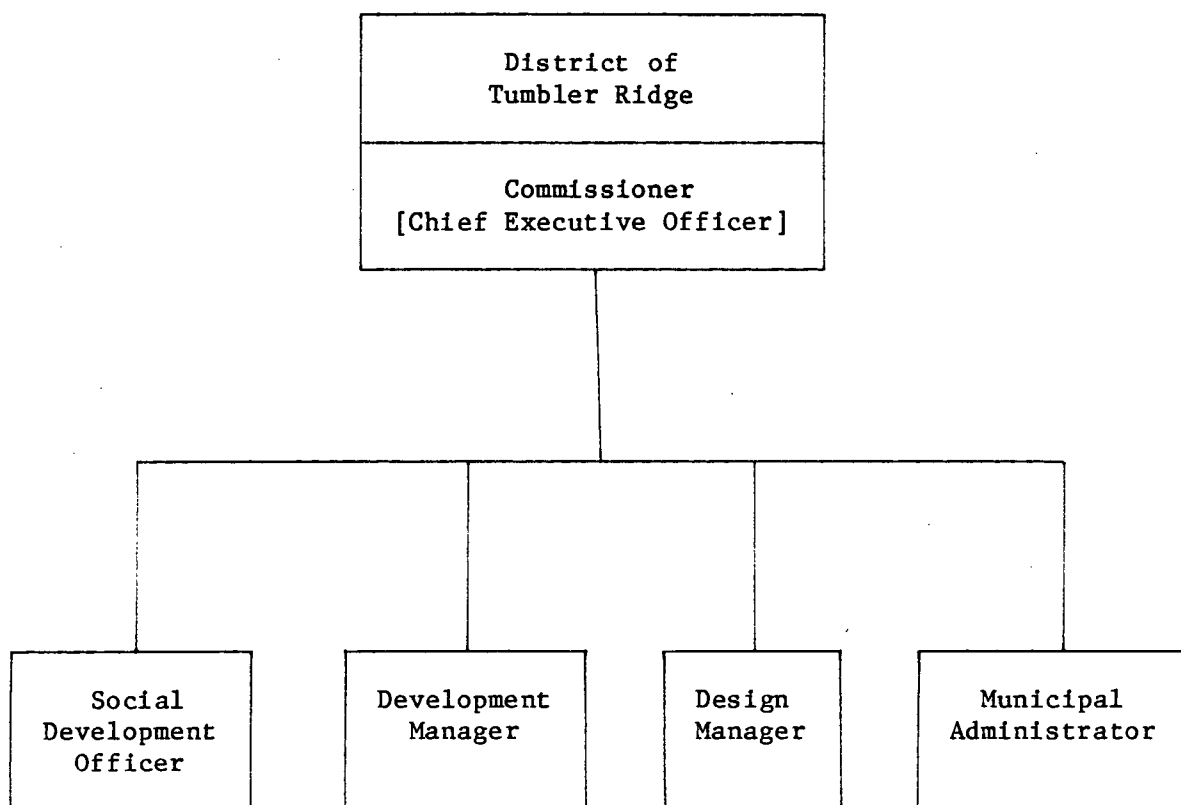


Figure 4.2. Organizational structure late 1981-1982

Source: Paget and Rabnett, 1981:13.

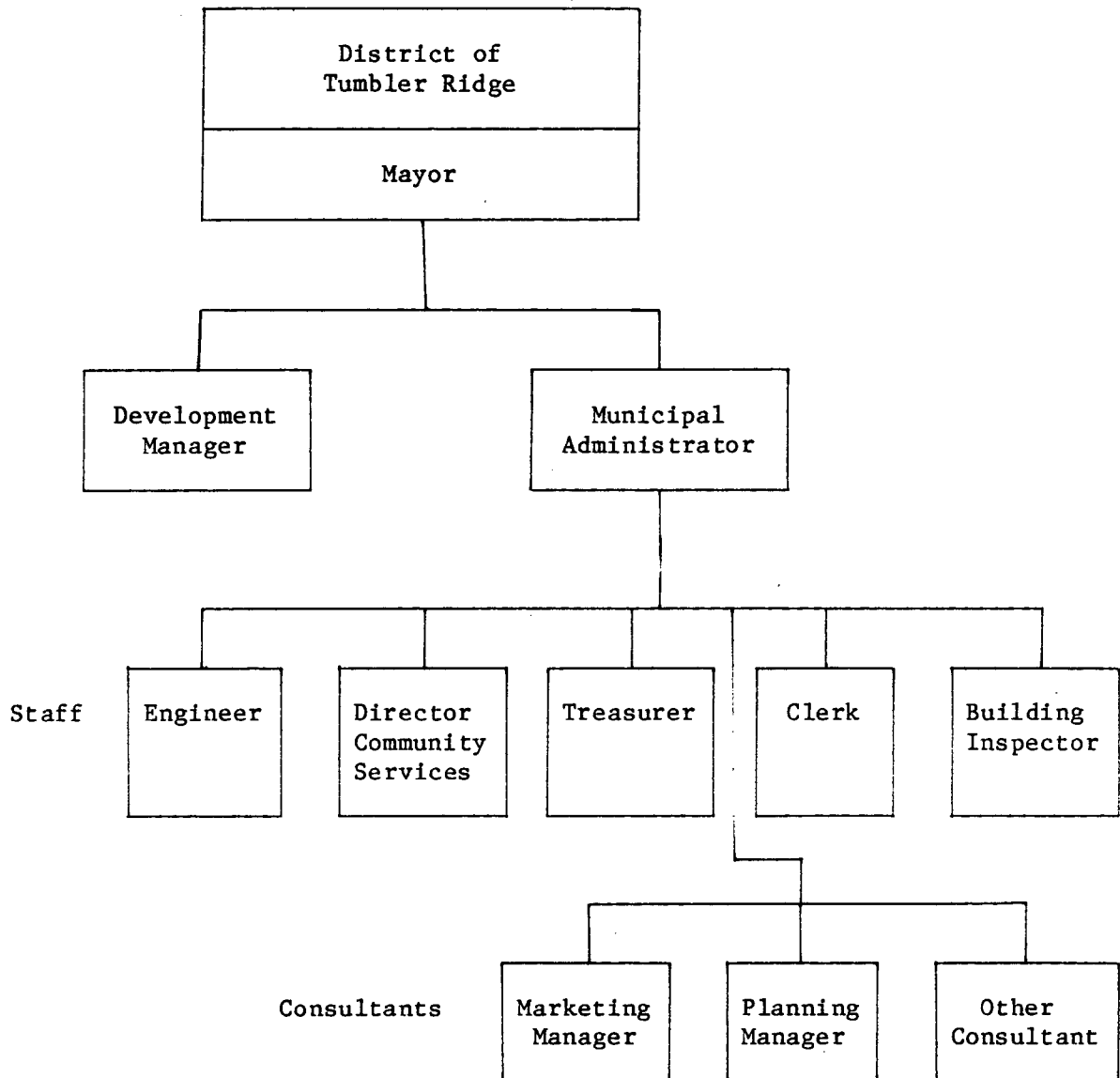


Figure 4.3. Organizational structure: 1982-1983

Source: Paget, 1985.

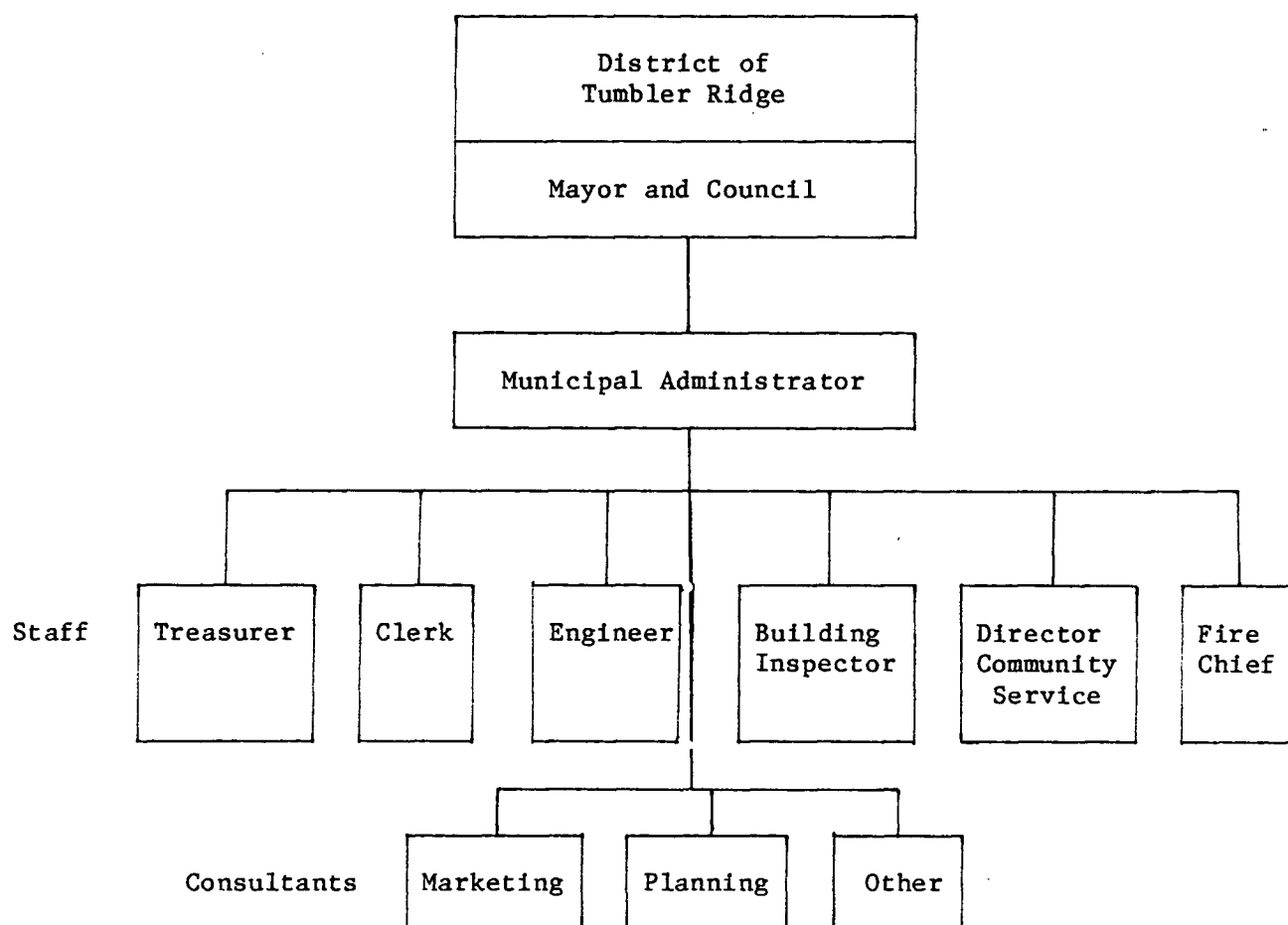


Figure 4.4. Organizational structure fall 1983 onwards

Source: Paget, 1985.

identification of strategies was aided by a simulation exercise carried out in conjunction with management consultants (EM Sciences, Vancouver). Detailed construction schedules were compiled using a group process involving members of the "development team" (those persons who comprised Figure 4.2). An important outcome of this process was organizational development. Coordination responsibility shifted from the Ministry of Municipal Affairs to Tumbler Ridge as implementation unfolded. The Commissioner, whose required professional attributes were outlined in Chapter 3, was subject to scrutiny from three sources: under the relevant provisions of the Municipal Act, through his professional services contract with the Minister of Municipal Affairs, and through channels specific to the NECD. Though not a part of the official "implementation team," the perspectives of the two mine managers, involved via the Advisory Planning Committee, were also influential. Both came from company town backgrounds and initially conceived of a mining town as operating in a company town manner (Talbot, 1985). Fortunately, this did not have any adverse effects since both were amenable to the local government method of development.

The main organizational difficulty encountered during implementation of the project arose from the diversity of people involved in the development team. The strongly technocratic approach of some members of the team, the fact that social aspects of the development tend to be the least well (or easily) understood, and the need for the project to proceed apace meant that, on occasion, physical and social goals were not pursued with equal vigour. The Director of Community Services played a vital role as "social advocate" within the development team. The guiding principle throughout the process was that of "minimize mistakes." This recognizes

the inevitability of some error in a project as complex as the construction of a new town but at the same time acknowledges that this can be reduced to a level that is acceptable.

The Commissioner/Mayor is the pivotal person and had to be capable of achieving the appropriate blend and coordination of influences arising from each participant in the development process. It is unusual to find in a single person adequate understanding and sensitivity to both physical and social development in addition to the administrative capability which is required to draw these together.

Of the alternative methods of development, the mixed (local government) method is the most complicated approach with the greatest potential for administrative inefficiency. It requires most actors and consequently has the greatest scope for problems to arise. Conversely, the flexibility afforded by the local government approach provides the greatest potential for resource town development. Pursuit of the mixed method required deliberate provision for the avoidance of substantial administrative errors.

Outcome. In spite of the above, the implementation of the project can be deemed successful. Features of the development process that led to this success can be summarized as follows:

1. Strong support at the political and senior administrative levels.⁴
2. Direct access by the Commissioner to policy makers at the municipal and provincial levels of government.
3. A realistic approach to development of a timetable.
4. Concurrent rather than sequential solutions to problems and acceptance of the inherent risks.

5. Adequate authority delegated by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs to the Commissioner.

In assessing another major British Columbia development (the City of Vancouver's False Creek project), Hulchanski (1984) made the following observation.

A major difference between implementation of Phase 1 and 2 is that in Phase 2 implementation proceeded much more smoothly, largely due to experience gained from Phase 1.... Great care had to be exercised to ensure that Phase 1 was developed as a successful and attractive inner-city neighbourhood. Once this was achieved, and the precedent set, the implementation process and the supervisory activities of the [development agency] became somewhat more relaxed. In addition, as the development proceeded, the participants became more familiar with the process and institutions involved and with their respective responsibilities" (pp. 180-1).

In regard to resource town development in this province, Tumbler Ridge is, in effect, equivalent to Phase 1 of the above project. Much care and caution was exercised in the implementation and development of Tumbler Ridge in order to ensure a successful outcome of an unfamiliar task. Benefits of familiarity with process and institutions that stem from the Tumbler Ridge project will become manifest if and when the second municipally-developed new resource town is established.

In view of the complex nature of the Tumbler Ridge project and initial inexperience with this method of development, the implementation process can only be judged as having been a very successful one. It met the conventional objectives of "on time, on budget" and more. Implementation has been expeditious and the host of unforeseen problems associated with such a development have been dealt with in an efficient and effective manner.

4.3.2.3 Local Self-Government

Has local self-governance been effectively established?

Background. The principles of local self-government and participation were expounded in Chapter 2. This assessment will address two related issues. Firstly, it will consider to what extent the philosophical principles of local government have been applied in Tumbler Ridge. Secondly, it will examine a selection of the mechanisms used to operationalize these principles. In Canada, Australia and the United States the merits of local self-governance are not questioned; it is a fundamental constitutional principle in the order of equity, equality and justice (Paget, 1985b). Local governance is of a very different kind to the (utilitarian) criteria of resident satisfaction, level of service, level of taxation or the extent of labour/management conflict, other dimensions which could be posited as rationales for or against the establishment of local government in resource towns (Zenher, 1985).

Responses to three sequential questions determine the ultimate form of governance:

1. Whether some form of "normal" elected local government is desirable eventually;
2. When the changeover should take place if the answer to (1) is affirmative, and
3. What form and functions the body which is finally chosen should assume (Atkins, 1976).

An affirmative stance with regard to local government for the new town of Tumbler Ridge was adopted at an early point. It was specified that the changeover would be completed no later than 1987 with the

necessary prerequisites being established from day one (Province of British Columbia, 1981, 1982). The form of government chosen was a fully-functioning, independent, elected municipal council.

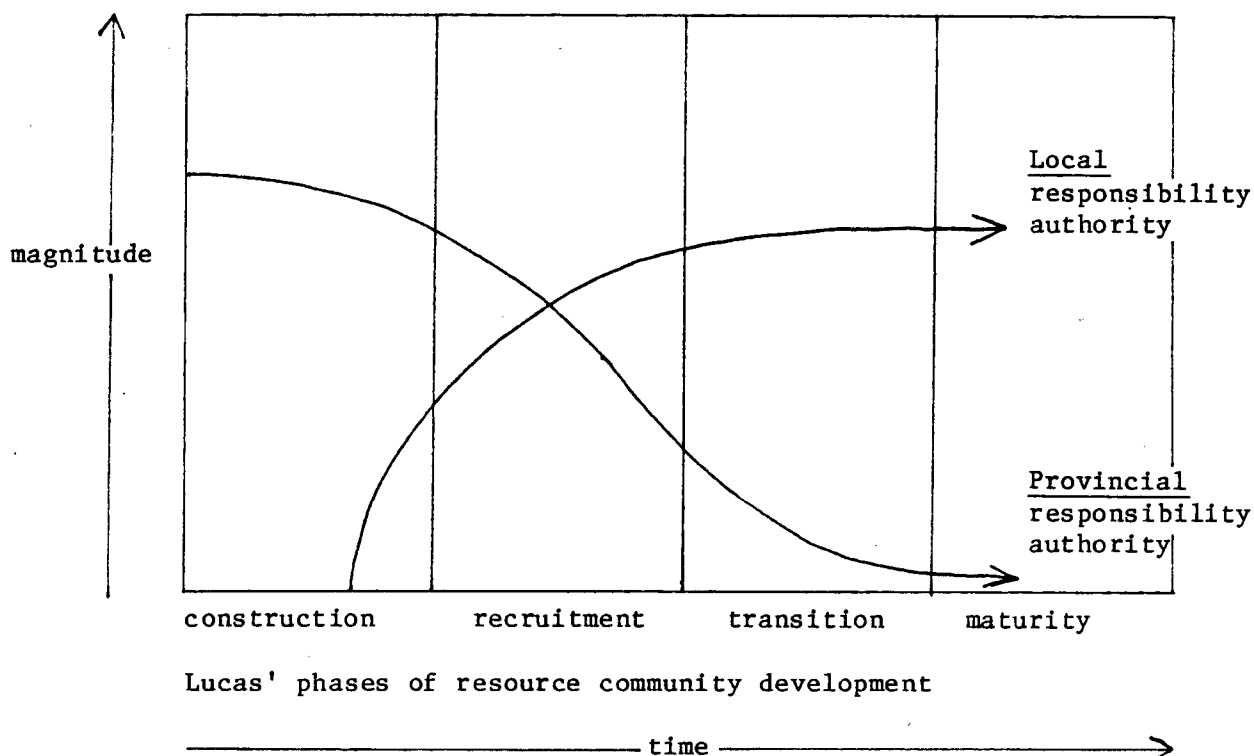
The establishment of local government was to proceed under the guidance of the provincial Ministry of Municipal Affairs to enable financial management, service provision and site development to proceed in an appropriate manner. The Province's role as overseer was to progressively diminish in accordance with the municipality's increasing capabilities and growing independence.

There are four key criteria for defining an institutional structure outlined as follows:

- (a) representation - the degree to which all development participants have a stake in the community;
- (b) authority - the degree to which the power exists to make clear decisions and to enforce these decisions;
- (c) responsibility - the degree to which management has the means to implement decisions and the degree to which management is responsible for those decisions;
- (d) tenure - the degree to which the structure is able to adapt to different needs and problems.

(Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1979)

There is constant tension between these four elements. The priority attached to each criterion varies with the stage of development of the community (see Figure 4.5) At the outset all four were vested in the province. As the community matures these were progressively shifted to the municipality. In particular, there is a conflict between authority - responsibility and representation - tenure. In the construction phase, the prime emphasis is on efficiency. Representative bodies are generally



- Provincial authority and responsibility recedes over time.
- Local government authority and responsibility increases over time.
- Provincial representation decreases and local representation increases.

Figure 4.5: Response of the local government model to phases in development of a resource community

Source: Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1979, p. 29.

not necessary or desirable since there are no permanent residents present. It is for this reason that a municipal structure consisting of a sole officer - the commissioner was acceptable. In the recruitment phase authority/responsibility is still a high priority, but since residents take up occupancy, social objectives, local government and other representative bodies must be established. In the transitional phase the community is at its most critical phase. Problems are of a different order to those which prevailed in the earlier stages. The need for authority/responsibility still exists, but must be balanced with democratic representativeness. Appointed bodies must be replaced by representative bodies. The organizational and institutional structure suitable for one stage of community development may be quite unsuitable for others. This creates a dilemma between the need for effectiveness and a need for flexibility. The potentially most difficult problem is unwarranted over extension of an authoritative structure into the transitional stage. In the mature stage authority and representation are evenly balanced (see Figure 4.5). Transition from the interim appointed Mayor/Commissioner and Council is nearing completion. Three aldermen were appointed by the Minister for Municipal Affairs in November 1983. The remaining three were elected in November 1984. In Fall 1985, an election will be held to replace the appointed Mayor and three appointed aldermen. The present mayor and one alderman do not intend standing for office again. The existing council is comprised as follows:

Appointed aldermen (two year term ending November 1985)

- middle-level, managerial, Quintette employee;
- housewife, former employee of Edma Holdings (Quintette's housing agency) and member of Chamber of Commerce;

- housewife and community activist.⁵

Elected aldermen (two year term ending November 1986)

- financial analyst, Quintette;
- purchasing technician, Teck;
- high school principal.

Employees of both mining companies as well as the non-company sector are represented. At least two aldermen have previous local government experience. Now that the community has been established, the "trustee" function of appointed office-bearers is no longer required. In August 1984 there was a resident movement to oust the mayor and replace him with an elected leader. The move arose from dissatisfaction with the appointed status of the mayor and his maintenance of a non-local (Fort St. John) residence. This culminated in a petition forwarded to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs where it was quashed. A variety of opinions regarding this issue were received. The author concurs with the view that dismissal of the appointed mayor in 1984 would have been premature, given the relative inexperience of the council in civic affairs and development stage of the town. It fails to acknowledge the numerous advantages to the community of having a person with extensive local political experience and a first-hand grasp of initial development issues leading the community. However, the movement was positive in the sense that it indicated the extent of interest by residents in taking charge of their community and their desire to accept the associated responsibility.

The appointed mayor will relinquish his post one year early and a fully elected council will be established two years in advance of the required date. The transition to a fully-functioning council has been accompanied by a progressive reduction in the role and presence of

professional experts involved in the planning, implementation and development of the community. The project director (in charge of physical development and construction) and the provincial/municipal planning consultant have withdrawn substantially, providing only intermittent advice as required in regard to ongoing planning and development matters. The original Director of Community Services and Municipal Administrator relinquished their posts in early 1985 and have been replaced by officers newly recruited for these positions. The Marketing and Commercial Development Consultant remains somewhat more actively involved, providing necessary advice to council and town centre operators in regard to commercial development. His role will progressively diminish as the town centre becomes more established and expertise of the local Chamber of Commerce grows. The normal administrative and clerical functions of local government are in operation, and building inspection, engineering, fire-fighting and other services are provided. The municipality's responsibilities for fire protection and building inspection are alleviated in respect to the mines by private provision of these services by the coal companies. This is required due to the highly specialized nature of mining installations and the excessive risk that assumption of these responsibilities would make on the municipality (Walsh, 1984); District of Tumbler Ridge, 1982; Harman, Wilson & Co., n.d.).

There is abundant evidence that local government in Tumbler Ridge is operating efficiently and effectively. A number of indicators can be used to assess the nature of local democracy and participation of local residents in municipal and civic affairs. It is important these be considered in conjunction with each other, as one or two alone may yield an inaccurate impression.

1. Attendance at Council Meetings

General public attendance at council meetings was reported to be poor (Caisley, 1985; Walsh, 1985). This is fairly typical of municipal meetings and does not necessarily indicate apathy and disinterest on the part of residents. Residents are usually activated by issues that are of concern to them and about which they can make some specific input or require information. This does not apply to the majority of residents in regard to most items of council business and is better reflected by citizen delegations.

2. Citizen Delegations Regarding Specific Issues

A number of delegations have presented themselves before council. Two recent issues - teenage activities and a proposed mobile home park subdivision - merit consideration. With the former, the council meeting essentially became a forum for discussion between residents, the project proponent and aldermen regarding the nature of provisions for teenage entertainment in the community. The second issue resulted in a public information meeting being conducted, though this was not a statutory requirement. Delegations have also been received from the Chamber of Commerce regarding tourism development. The Chamber is working closely with council and a marketing consultant to develop the town centre. Other major issues which have arisen concern the provision of health care services and facilities and the second elementary school.

3. Role of Special Purpose Committees

A Recreation Board has been established upon recommendation by council, to deal with recreation/community centre policy. This enables council to devote a greater part of its time to other items of business (Ozog, 1985).

4. Informal Contact with Aldermen

Aldermen indicated that informal contact was a method used very frequently by residents to deal with concerns or to obtain information. It was agreed that this was an important means of dealing with issues which consequently did not come before council formally. Aldermen reported that residents were encouraged to approach them formally and informally because of the evidence of resulting action.

5. Attendance at Elections

The first municipal election, on November 17, 1983 was not especially well attended. Of a total of 925 registered voters 407 or 44% voted. This compares with a mean of 56% and a median of 42% for all municipalities in the province. Underenumeration of eligible voters was understood to be quite high.⁶ The number of people who cast a ballot was negatively affected by the prevailing shiftwork schedule of mine employees who were unable to attend the polling place. Special provisions are to be made at the next election to overcome this problem (Rose, 1985).

6. Support of Municipally-Related Social Activities (not specifically associated with the Community Centre)

The official town opening in June 1984 and the inaugural Fireman's Picnic received enthusiastic attendance and keen voluntary support. Although more in the vein of social than civic activities, these kinds of occasions also increase residents' awareness, understanding of, and involvement with their local government.

Discussions with residents demonstrated a fairly keen awareness of the presence and role of the municipality. Two main factors account for this. In a positive sense, it can be attributed to the nature of local

government activities, a sample of which were examined above. In a negative sense, an awareness of municipal government is created through the imposition of municipal taxes on residential property owners and commercial proprietors. For many Tumbler Ridge residents who have previously resided in company towns, payment of municipal taxes is a first-time ever, or long-forgotten experience. Residents with a previous background of company town or "instant" town residence were identified and interviewed during the second site visit. A variety of comments were received that support findings by others (e.g. Wilson, cited in Paget 1985a) that company paternalism can lead to the development of a group of people who are well adapted to dependency and actively seek it out. Reports that some residents would "return to Kitsault tomorrow if the mine reopened" are an indication that there are a number of previous company town residents who are finding the adjustment to "open" town living difficult. Others have settled in well and expressed a preference for local governance over company governance. These findings are similar to those in Western Australia, where the normalization of mining towns led to the introduction of property taxes, payable by resident homeowners. Previously, property was not subject to municipal taxes.

In Tumbler Ridge the coal companies have remained uninvolved in on-going affairs of the municipality. Although, in accordance with payment of municipal taxes, the companies have the right to a voice in local government matters, to date, they have not exercised this right. The Development Agreements establish a basis for on-going company/community relationships through:

- consultation committee,
- Advisory Planning Commission,

- Lot take-up, and
- debenture guarantees.

The relationship is, in effect, codified.

Generally favourable reports were received in regard to the integration of Tumbler Ridge into the region. This has been facilitated by the following:

1. Tumbler Ridge Commissioner sat on Regional District Board from the outset,
2. Mayor and Aldermen sit on Regional Board,
3. Tumbler Ridge borrows all long term loans through Regional District,
4. Tumbler Ridge is a member of the North Central Municipal Association,
5. Tumbler Ridge sits on Regional Hospital District Board which developed Tumbler Ridge Health & Social Services Centre
6. Tumbler Ridge is represented on South Peace School Board District (No. 59) which includes Chetwynd and Dawson Creek and which developed schools in Tumbler Ridge,
7. Tumbler Ridge is part of the service area of Northern Lights College.
8. Tumbler Ridge participates in the following regional district functions:
 - crowd control
 - library
 - recreation programme
 - regional parks
 - economic development commission

Regional interaction has also been fostered by community activities. One point of contention arose in regard to a Chetwynd "benefitting area" which encompassed a large proportion of land subsequently included within the Tumbler Ridge municipal boundary. The matter has been settled after negotiation between the mayors of Chetwynd and Tumbler Ridge, the representative of the appropriate electoral area and the Minister of Municipal Affairs. Other inter-community conflicts included animosity regarding the high degree of provincial involvement and level of services (see section 4.3.2.10), a dispute over Tumbler Ridge representation on the School Board, employment opportunities for regional residents and business opportunities for regional residents.

The mechanics of local government in Tumbler Ridge have been successfully established and the transition process smoothly accomplished. Residents of Tumbler Ridge now have at their disposal the opportunity to become active participants in the affairs of their community and to reap the benefits that this experience can yield.

4.3.2.4 Integrated Housing Market and Service Sector Housing

To what extent have land allocation and development methods of the local government model facilitated the establishment of an integrated housing market and the provision of service sector housing?

Background. Traditionally, resource communities have been characterized by the presence of highly segmented housing markets with two main sectors - company and non-company (service sector). Access to housing by non-company residents has usually been severely restricted. Housing has long been used by resource companies as an incentive to attract labour. Benefits have included subsidized rent and company payment of housing-

related expenses (heat, light, property taxes) in company towns, or attractive "mortgage packages". A more fully integrated housing market than existed in "company" and "instant" towns was sought in order to provide affordable housing choices to all residents (company employees and service sector workers). An integrated housing market was considered as a necessity in the achievement of other objectives e.g. the development of viable and competitive commercial services.

The establishment of an integrated housing market in Tumbler Ridge should be viewed as an ideal. An integrated housing market provides for relatively free trading of housing stock and access by all sectors of the community to affordable housing (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1978). Characteristics of the housing market in a resource community are such that a fully integrated housing market, as exists in a major metropolitan area, is an unrealistic pursuit. However, a more integrated housing market than existed in earlier resource towns is a potentially attainable objective. The significance of the housing issue was recognized in the planning of Tumbler Ridge and subjected to extensive research (see Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1977, 1978, 1978a). Home ownership, facilitated by an integrated housing market, can reinforce local democracy, facilitate responsible decision-making, offset resource company domination of community life and ensure strength and independence for local institutions. Despite acknowledgement of its importance, housing remains somewhat problematical. The local government model has successfully resolved some traditionally encountered obstacles, but has been only partially effective in enabling sufficient influence to be exerted on factors beyond its immediate control which lie at the root of current

difficulties. For clarity, the company and service sectors will be assessed separately.

Company Housing

Strategies. Consistent with the trend throughout the 1970's, a policy of encouraging home ownership and minimal corporate involvement in the housing market was advocated for Tumbler Ridge (see Pinfield and Etherington, 1985).

Land development procedures were outlined in section 4.3.2.1. Tables 4.3 and 4.4 summarize details of lot and dwelling prices and mortgage arrangements.

Quintette Coal Ltd. real estate is handled by a separate housing agency, Edma Holdings Ltd. Teck accommodation is processed by the coal company. All company employees are eligible for mortgage benefits outlined. These can be applied either to a house constructed under contract to the coal companies or to a privately constructed house. Table 4.5 presents an inventory of developed lots and dwellings. A total of 1123 single and detached dwellings have been constructed (see Table 4.5). Ninety mobile homes are situated within the second phase of residential development. The remainder comprise the Steeprock Mobile Home Park (Phase 4(b)) which forms an integral part of the residential area of the town (see Figure 4.6). Demand for mobile homes which currently comprise approximately 17% of total housing stock, has been very similar to the 16% anticipated (Rabnett, 1985). All Steeprock lot titles are held by the municipality and lots are rented at \$250-325 per month. Monthly mortgage repayments on mobile homes are in the order of \$250-550/month (see Table 4.4). In August, 1985, the municipality was considering the construction

Table 4.3 Tumbler Ridge: Summary of apartment rentals,
housing and lot prices

1. COMPANY APARTMENT RENTALS (per month)

Bachelor	\$400
One bedroom	\$450
Two bedroom	\$500

2. RANGE OF LOT PRICES

Low	\$13,200
High	\$34,000
Most (mode)	\$18,000 - \$24,000

3. RANGE OF COMPANY HOUSE PRICES

Low	\$70,000 - \$75,000
High	\$150,000 - \$160,000*
Most (mode)	\$80,000 - \$85,000

* Excludes mine manager's houses

Source: Bigalow (1985), Moser (1984), Quintette Coal Ltd. (1984).

Table 4.4 Coal Companies Housing Package

Applied to a Single Family Dwelling

- **Guarantee of first mortgage** obtained from a private investment source and insured by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC).
- **Provision of a second mortgage:** Teck: 22% of purchase price to a maximum of \$22,000 with a downpayment of 3%; Quintette: 7% of purchase price with a downpayment of 3%.
- **Housing allowance:** Reduction of monthly mortgage payments by 2 or 3 percentage points of interest or the amount necessary to reduce interest to 10%.
- **Interest foregiveness:** Teck: Loan interest free for years 1-5; 5% p.a. thereafter; Quintette: 7% p.a.
- **Buy-back:** Company option to repurchase the house at purchase price plus improvements during the first five years from time of purchase. Subsequently company has first of first refusal.

Applied to a Used Mobile House and Lot or Mobile Home Lot Only*

- **Interest free loan** equal to 22% of purchase price.
- **Housing allowance** to reduce interest on the first mortgage by 2%

Average Mortgage Repayments (with 3% downpayment)

- **Single family house** costing \$75-80 thousand with 3% downpayment: \$750-850/month.
- **Mobile home and lot.** Home costing \$45-50 thousand: \$500-550/month
- **Mobile home only.** Costing \$45-50 thousand: \$250-350/month.**

* Mobile home lot only was not available from October 1984.

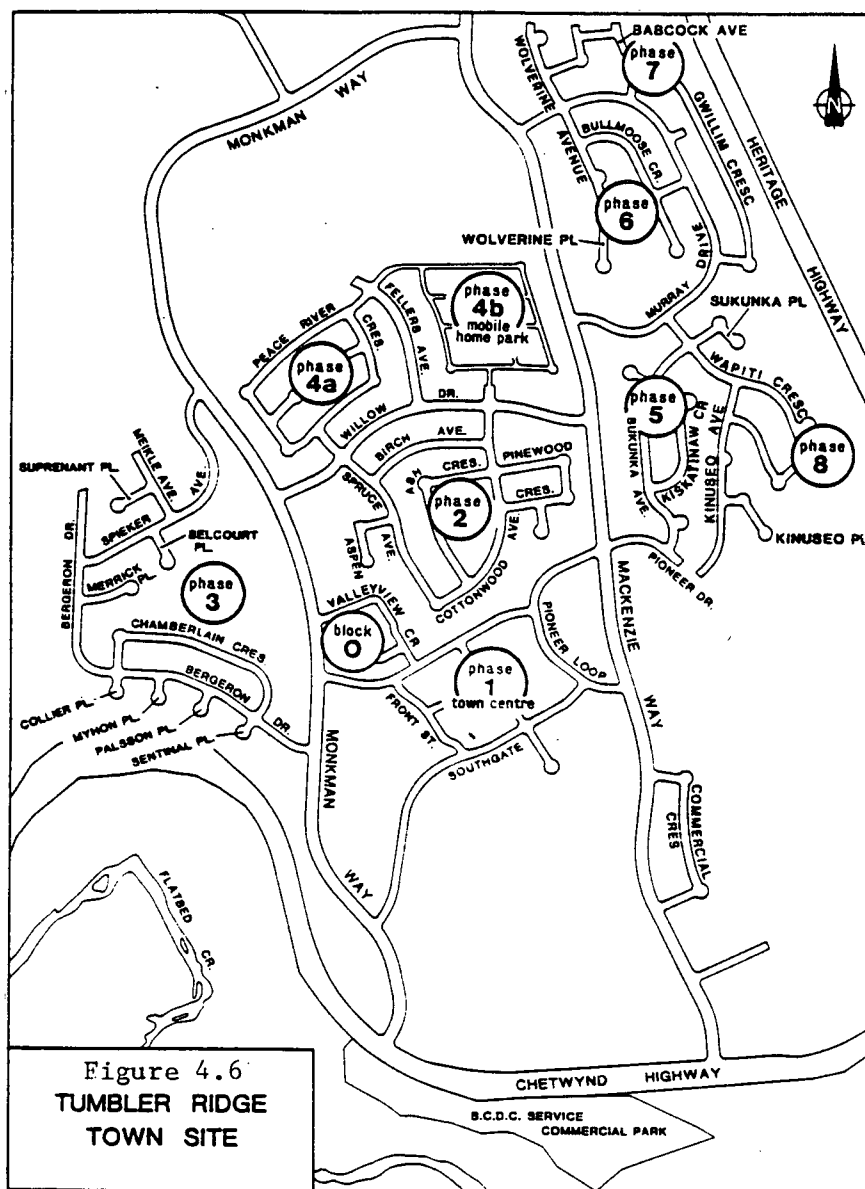
** Owners of mobile homes only must also pay rental on house pad at \$250-325/month.

Source: Moser (1984), Quintette Coal Ltd. (1984), Royal Bank of Canada, (1985).

Table 4.5 Tumbler Ridge - Housing Inventory August 31, 1985
(No. of Lots)

Type of Lot	No.	% of Total
Single Family Dwelling	1123	60
Mobile Houses	311	17
Town Houses	19	1
Apartments	416	22
TOTAL	1869	100

Source: R.A. Rabnett & Assoc.



Source: Quintette Coal Ltd., 1984.

of another 22 mobile home lots to meet the continuing steady demand for this form of accommodation.

In addition, company employees who purchase a house or mobile home must meet the usual housing-related expenses of property taxation (see section 4.3.2.7) heating and lighting. There are no single family houses available on a rental basis to either company or non-company residents.

The timing of housing construction by the coal companies appears to have coincided with demand, there having been no reports of excessive waiting periods for house occupancy. The current surplus of 200 completed houses held by Quintette does represent a significant inefficiency of development capital and has been caused by the same factors as have produced the surplus of lots. The surplus is due to a higher incidence of commuting than anticipated (discussed below), slower growth of Quintette's workforce than forecast and a higher preference for alternative forms of accommodation (apartments).

Accommodation for construction workers was provided mainly in the form of temporary bunkhouses. These have subsequently been removed and the town is characterized by the absence of any dwellings used solely for accommodating single employees which frequently typify resource towns in their early stages of development. Unmarried employees are mostly accommodated in apartments.

Outcome. Accommodation is readily available to company employees. Prices are generally in line with real estate costs in other resource communities (e.g. Elkford, Sparwood, Fernie), however, they are higher than in communities within the immediate region (e.g. Chetwynd, Dawson Creek) due to the generally older age of housing stock in the latter towns. The latter, exemplified in the north-east region by Chetwynd,

usually display a lower range of housing prices for equivalent-standard accommodation. Chetwynd accommodation is cheaper because an oversupply of housing was constructed in this town prior to the commencement of Tumbler Ridge.

A substantial amount of long-distance commuting by company employees exists. At least 20% of coal mine employees are estimated to commute from other centres (Walsh, 1985), a somewhat higher proportion than was anticipated in planning studies. Numerous Teck employees commute daily from Chetwynd to the Bullmoose minesite. Long distance commuting is facilitated by the structure of shift work schedules whereby employees work four twelve-hour shifts followed by four days off. This enables workers who so desire, to maintain a house in another centre, commute to Tumbler Ridge, stay overnight for three nights, usually in a shared rental apartment and return to their permanent residence. Commuters on this basis originate from Chetwynd and a variety of more distant centres.

Overall, the local government model has adequately facilitated the provision of housing for company employees. Provincial/municipal control of land, in conjunction with company-sponsored finance arrangements have enabled most employees who are prepared to make a commitment to purchasing accommodation to do so, on what can be regarded as reasonable terms. The incidence of long-distance commuting is more a consequence of the structure of company shiftwork and relatively high development costs which arise from the somewhat isolated location and adoption of high development standards, rather than the nature of the local government model.

Service Sector Housing

Background. Adequate service sector housing was identified as a key factor in attaining the goal of "early maturity" in Tumbler Ridge. By enabling diversification of community services, non-company housing fosters resident satisfaction and stability, and has a moderating effect on economic vulnerability. Though thoroughly researched in the planning phase, provision of service sector housing in Tumbler Ridge has been somewhat more problematical than accommodating company personnel.

Strategy. The strategy adopted was to encourage customary housing market actors (e.g. financial institutions, mortgage insurance companies, private developers) to participate in the housing market in a conventional manner under normal terms and conditions. The key to accomplishing this rests with the perception of risk by housing market actors. The Province selected the approach of creating an atmosphere of investor confidence, primarily through its own adoption of a risk-sharing position and willingness to become an active participant in the Northeast Coal project. The Province was ideologically opposed to direct involvement in the housing market.

Strategies. Essentially there are three related dimensions to the successful provision of service sector accommodation in a resource town such as Tumbler Ridge i.e. accessibility, finance and affordability. Provincial-municipal control of land allocation and development, one of the distinguishing features of the local government model, has enabled universal access to land. In so doing it has removed one major obstacle which has traditionally inhibited the establishment of service sector housing in resource communities. However, the problems of finance and

affordability have been less effectively resolved and account for ongoing difficulties.

Financing service sector accommodation is problematical in that Canadian banks, the major source of mortgage finance, are reluctant to make loans to prospective homeowners or developers outside major urban areas without them securing mortgage insurance. Generally, in non-metropolitan areas it is only available from CMHC. Administrative guidelines of CMHC for resource towns, ensure that CMHC will provide insurance only when a guarantee from the resource company, province or other secure source can be obtained. Whilst the coal companies were prepared to guarantee first mortgages of their employees, they rejected proposals to act as guarantor for service sector residents, largely because this would establish a precedent whereby the companies could be expected to become guarantors for the town's entire housing market. The Province refused to guarantee loans for their employees and rejected the notion of providing social housing. Instead, the Province has opted to purchase mobile homes to accommodate its personnel.

CMHC's policy regarding mortgage insurance in resource towns stems from its recent experience of heavy losses in both resource communities and larger urban centres in recent years and competition from private mortgage insurer in lucrative metropolitan areas (Mulvihill, 1984). The recent economic depression caused extensive mortgage foreclosure where mine closure or shutdown was experienced. The resulting depletion of insurance funds has made CMHC substantially more risk averse, particularly in regard to what is perceived as high risk centres.

Even if the problem of financing service sector housing is resolved, there remains the issue of affordability. Land development and

construction costs are typically high due to local shortage or unavailability of construction and building materials and sufficient, appropriately-skilled labour. (This was less of a problem in Tumbler Ridge due to the prevailing economic depression, high unemployment levels, and success of lower priced non-union labour. Affordability is particularly problematic in regard to residents who require financing to establish commercial facilities in addition to housing. The service sector housing problem in Tumbler Ridge, as in all new resource communities, stems in large part from the absence of "starter" homes and other forms of down market accommodation. With time, cheaper accommodation is likely to become available as what are currently new houses filter down through the housing market at cheaper prices. This however, is no solution during the very crucial period that prevails in the first few years of the town's establishment. Recognizing that land accessibility alone could not resolve the housing dilemma, further research was carried out in regard to remaining aspects of the problem. Available options and the stance of the municipality, which adopted a proactive role, are outlined below.

- **Spec. housing:** Initially in response to Tumbler Ridge pressure to resolve the financing problem, CMHC made available high ratio loans to the private sector without requiring guarantees. A maximum of 20 loans at one time and a limit of five per builder was established. However, risk aversity of private developers led to a poor response, there having been only about 25 non-company single-family houses constructed by mid 1985. Further, the magnitude of down payments and repayments are generally beyond the means of most service sector residents. Recently, CMHC has withdrawn approval for these loans, (except where a house is pre-sold

on a homeowner basis) due to the prevailing excess of company housing (McLarty, 1985). However, the coal companies are prevented from selling housing to private residents due to an agreed restriction with CMHC in regard to mortgage insurance and guarantees.

- **Duplex lots:** To facilitate service sector housing the municipality subdivided and serviced approximately 40 duplex-sized (8000 square ft) lots. The intent was that service sector residents would construct and occupy one half and rent the other half, ideally to another service sector resident. This met with limited response (three duplexes have been constructed) and the lots have been re-subdivided as single family lots.
- **Cooperative housing:** Twenty coop housing units (row and semi-detached, ground floor entrance with basements) are under construction in phase 3. CMHC finances the difference between the market rate of interest and 2%, vets and approves design, budget, proposed rent and eligibility of the client group. The municipality partook actively in the formation of the coop society, through liaison with CMHC and in providing serviced land. The coop includes both company and non-company residents. Proposals for a second (15 unit) coop are less likely to be approved due to the above-mentioned stance of CMHC regarding excess company housing.
- **Basement suites:** The municipality has exercised discretion in applying its by-law which prohibits basement suites (Walsh, 1985). This moderates the housing situation but can be regarded only as an interim measure, not a long term solution.

- **Mobile homes:** The municipality was responsive to the higher than expected demand for serviced mobile home lots. The municipality developed the Steep Rock mobile home park as an inexpensive, short-term housing option. Whilst it successfully provided a bridge for the initial rapid growth period, it may, in the longer-term have resulted in a lower take-up of single residential lots.

Outcome. The brokerage role adopted by the municipality has significantly ameliorated the problem of housing service sector residents. Articulation of roles and active involvement of the municipality at an earlier date would have assisted further in overcoming the typically sluggish supply of service sector housing. The self-help approach to housing which a coop development represents not only reduces the cost of the housing unit but yields a number of other advantages. Participation of coop members in design of their housing is important, especially since the absence of preexisting housing stock disallows expression of resident choice in the usual manner. In addition, the organization of a housing cooperative creates an excellent vehicle for the development of both social organization and sense of community amongst newcomers. The establishment of a cooperative in Tumbler Ridge represents the first successful attempt to do so in any new resource community in North America.⁷ Another possibility involves the provision by private developers of partially completed houses on a "sweat equity" basis. This would require a smaller investment by the resident at the outset when perception of risk is high and enable upgrading of houses as confidence in the town grows and residents' means improve. This strategy could also be adopted by the coal companies in providing housing for their workforce. It would involve a

trade-off of some objectives (e.g. establishment of high standards) with that of achieving "early maturity."

The above initiatives are incremental measures and will be unable to completely resolve the service sector housing problem. Complete resolution of the issue, particularly in the high growth period would require a more comprehensive approach such as the provision of a "comfort package" (e.g. guarantees, mortgage insurance, incentives for rental housing) to either individual residents or a private developer(s). The source of this package essentially depends on the position adopted with regard to who should bear the risk of housing development and involves the notion of "equity bondage." Detomasi (1984) considers that it is a public sector responsibility to provide rental and ownership housing either directly or by providing programs which limit private sector risk. Paget and Walisser (1983) argue that the objective is not to eliminate equity bondage as Bradbury and St.-Martin (1982) would have, but rather, to ensure that vulnerability of residents of resource communities stemming from equity bondage is not substantially different from the vulnerability of residents elsewhere. Paget and Walisser (1983) also contend that the additional benefits realized by the pursuit of local community governance must be given due consideration.

The local government method of development has resulted in some very positive advances in regard to the provision of housing. The municipality accomplished the tasks it was set. That is, it has provided serviced land at reasonable prices, facilitated access to land generally and in this way contributed to the establishment of a diversified local economy. The area in which the local government model could be deemed to have fallen short

is in the successful resolution of the service sector housing problem. The major reason for this is that substantially more is involved in achieving this than is within the gambit of the local government model. Problems of financing and affordability extend beyond the direct control of the municipality involving a number of other actors and institutions. The situation in Tumbler Ridge reflects a more general reluctance of CMHC, commercial banks, private developers and construction firms to speculate in small scale housing development which they perceive a high risk (Pinfield and Etherington, 1985). One of the most critical is the provision of mortgage insurance which has formed the basis of an entire thesis (see Rattenbury, 1985). The role that local government can and has performed in this regard is as broker or "go between" liaising between the necessary parties.

Essentially, significant progress has been made. The situation at Tumbler Ridge, though not ideal, is superior to that in earlier resource towns at an equivalent age and stage of development.

4.3.2.5 Commercial Services and Town Centre

Has a viable and competitive commercial sector been established?

Background. Inadequate commercial facilities and a poorly planned or non-existent "downtown" core typify many resource communities. Potential problems for business proprietors⁸ (unavailability of housing, perceived instability of the town, lower incomes than company employees) were recognized during the research and planning for the town (see Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1978 Vol. 3; 1978a).

A viable town centre is crucial to resident satisfaction; it promotes stability and builds business confidence in a self-reinforcing manner. A vital commercial sector contributes to social objectives in a number of ways: provision of employment opportunities particularly for women, increases resident satisfaction, reduces income flows out of the community,⁹ reinforces and diversifies the fiscal base of the community and adds to the strength and diversity of the local community's leadership (Nemtin et al., 1983).

In company towns many problems in the provision of commercial facilities stemmed from land tenure. Since land was privately leased or owned by the resource company, private entrepreneurs were prevented from purchasing land and establishing the necessary premises. This obstacle was removed in the "instant" town since separate land parcels could be subdivided and sold. However, expected benefits were often not realized because in many such towns special agreements were drawn up between the resource company and a major retailer which prevented competing firms from becoming established,¹⁰ or monopoly advantages afforded to a few developers at the outset made it very difficult for new enterprises to be established at a later date (see for example, Trade Union Research Bureau, 1974).

Strategies. In Tumbler Ridge the town centre was based on the principle of fostering a sense of "community" and completeness, even at an early stage of development (Rabnett, 1985). Incremental growth was made feasible by the availability of separate small lots which can be developed progressively in accordance with retail requirements of the town. Shared car parking areas maintained by the municipality were preferred to separate parking space attached to each parcel of land. Design was based on the notion of "Main Street" and adopted the concept of a symbiotic

relationship between cars and people (Rabnett, 1985). The Town Hall, Community Centre and Health/Social Services Centre function as focal points and poles of attraction at the eastern and western ends of Main Street. In Tumbler Ridge these "anchors" are public rather than private as in most shopping centres. Main Street replaces the concept of the pedestrian mall. The town centre integrates a variety of uses: commercial, recreational, educational and social services. Design of the centre was undertaken by a team of professional experts from a wide range of disciplines (see Nemtin et al., 1983). The alternative of a single fully-enclosed shopping mall was rejected on the basis of the following: capital costs of construction; limited suitability for incremental expansion; dependence on success of a single developer; and desire to create a varied and attractive shopping environment. Social implications were also considered. Experience with the one-building mall at Leaf Rapids, Manitoba, indicated a propensity for teenagers to congregate at inappropriate locations increasing anxiety of shoppers and tenants (see Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1978, Vol. 3). Finally, a mall was not considered essential for climatic reasons.¹¹

Construction of the town centre, in particular the community centre complex, trailed initial occupancy of the town by permanent residents by about one year (Moser, 1984; Bigalow, 1985). This is reported to have produced some hardship for initial residents. However, the level of planning and design prevented earlier construction of the centre. Temporary facilities bridged the gap. A temporary community centre (subsequently relocated and converted into a church) was in place in Spring 1983 and programs commenced shortly thereafter. Included were: fitness classes, portable swimming pool, daycare facilities and softball

league. A bank, foodstore, automotive repairs and post office were operated from temporary premises in the service commercial/industrial park north of the town. These were progressively relocated to the town centre. Of the temporary services (liquor store, super-valu, dentist, public health nurse, human resource office) were available in trailers in the town centre.

Early plans for Tumbler Ridge designated land to the south-east of the town centre as residential. Detailed soil and slope analysis undertaken subsequently, indicated that costs of developing this land was too high for the initial phases. Residential development consequently occurred to the north, north-east and north-west of the town centre, placing commercial and business facilities on the outer (southern) perimeter of the town (see Figure 4.6). This has reduced accessibility to the town centre from residential areas. Land to the south will ultimately be developed when there is adequate demand for more expensive lots improving the centrality of the town centre. This reflects the strategy of building both the physical structures of the town and social network of the community concurrently. This creates substantially greater potential for some inaccuracy in timing, as compared to the situation, such as in Leaf Rapids, Manitoba, where physical development and construction entirely preceded community development (Paget, 1985).

In developing the town centre it was recognized that there were significant benefits to be derived from adopting a collaborative approach involving the two crucial actors: the private sector (developers, builder, financier, operator) and local government (facilitator). It was recognized that successful development of the town centre would require special skills in addition to usual local government expertise to bridge

the private and public sectors. A brokerage strategy was adopted whereby a development consultant was engaged to carry out commercial demand and supply studies, to canvass investment interest and to evaluate development proposals. Constraints of both the local government and private sectors were acknowledged, potentials identified and drawn upon. The greatest challenge was to create investor confidence, especially in the financial community (i.e. banks) to overcome the traditional problem of private sector reluctance to lend without resource company guarantees. A call for proposals was made and a series of meetings conducted with senior banking executives involving the Commissioner and subsequently coal company executives. Banking services were required for the municipality for day-to-day operations and interim financing, for the community and for the private development of commercial facilities. Attractions to the bank included a monopoly on banking in the town for the first few years, the prestige of involvement in a major project, and opportunity to profit from the District's need for a \$25 million loan to enable interim financing of municipal services. Once facilities were constructed, interim financing was converted to long-term debt with the MFA). By requiring substantial commitments from the bank and offering the above attractions, the District made it a "partner" in development (Nemtin et al., 1983). "Partner" is not used in the sense of an official joint venture, but indicates that there was a stronger relationship than with a conventional bank branch. There was an agreement in principle that the bank would foster development in Tumbler Ridge. The bank has provided substantial loan finance for retail and other commercial development at metropolitan rates.

It was recognized that social objectives must be kept to the fore but be balanced with a concern for commercial imperatives. The municipality

utilized its normal financial tools (land sales, development cost charges, debenture debt and ability to designate specified area status)¹² to encourage business investment. Care was exercised to ensure fair sharing of development costs between early- and latecomers, and commercial and non-commercial taxpayers. Development proposals were secured through a contract of sale which established conditions of purchase including: adherence to development schedules, construction according to architectural proposals, adherence to the building space program and compatibility with design guidelines. Seven private developers have constructed premises in the town centre. Several are self-occupied; others are leased or rented to multiple tenants. Tumbler Ridge has established a significant precedent in that it is the only new resource town to have commercial services provided without its debt being secured by a resource company guarantee (Centre for Human Settlements, 1985).

Tumbler Ridge is intended to provide for day-to-day commercial needs. It is not expected to function as a regional service centre, at least not until well into the future (Nemtin, 1985). A variety of higher level goods and services which cannot be provided in Tumbler Ridge at this stage are available from surrounding centres (Chetwynd and Dawson Creek, B.C.; and Grande Prairie, Alberta). Whilst it is inevitable that some business custom will flow to these centres, it is essential that maximum usage of local Tumbler Ridge facilities is fostered. Competitive pricing, an adequate range of products and services, and an attractive shopping environment are necessary to ensure this. These depended upon the adoption of thoroughly researched and well founded development policies achieved by the methods outlined above.

Outcome. In assessing the provision of commercial services and the town centre, the following dimensions will be considered: range/diversity of services, timing, viability, design and location. Together, these dimensions (also referred to elsewhere as stability, array and resident patterns) determine the "balance" of the business sector. A balanced business sector is one with the most appropriate array of stable commercial facilities (Sussex Consultants Ltd., 1979).

Range/Diversity: Table 4.6 provides an inventory of services and facilities in Tumbler Ridge by length of establishment as at June 1985 when the population was approximately 4,200. In comparison with other resource towns at an equivalent stage of development and population size, the variety evident at Tumbler Ridge can be judged very favourably.

Timing: Given a normal course of events, commercial development follows residential development. This may be acceptable in established centres where the result is usually a period of higher intensity use prior to the expansion of the necessary services and facilities. At the outset of a new town such a process is unacceptable. The most essential services (bank, post office, gas station, liquor store, motel) were provided in temporary facilities mainly at the Light Industrial area north of the town and were progressively relocated to the town centre. The community centre and initial permanent commercial buildings were completed in the first half of 1983, within six months of occupation by permanent residents. During the author's first site visit (August 1984), residents reported some inconvenience due to the absence of a drug store and hardware shop. These were established during the subsequent year along with a number of other specialty stores, clothes boutiques, permanent post office, informal restaurant and bar. During the first year of operation, a dining lounge

Table 4.6 Tumbler Ridge: Inventory of facilities and services in town centre and service commercial and industrial areas by length of establishment showing floorspace in square feet as at June 1985

TOWN CENTRE

Three Years

Royal Bank (4,488)
Edma Holdings Rental Office (739)
Quintette (Tumbler Ridge) Office
Tumbler Ridge Restaurant (1,500)
Super Valu Food Store (17,500)
Tumbler Ridge Inn (hotel)
Shell Gas Station (2,600)
Community Centre Facilities
- Curling
- Skating/Hockey
- Pool
- Aerobics
- Library
- Day Care
- Licensed Bar
- Catering Service
Town Hall (District of Tumbler Ridge)
RCMP
Fire Brigade
Health & Social Services Centre
- Doctor
- Ministry of Human Relations¹
- Dentist (450)
- Optometrist (250)
High School
Post Office²

Two Years

Stylish Waves (hair salon) (634)
Dixie Dee Chicken (798)
B.C. Liquor Branch (5,366)
Women's Sportswear
Marlin Travel (650)
Lawyers
Jewelry Shop³
Black Gold Restaurant (Community Centre)
Tumbler Ridge Chronicle (456)
Ridge House Restaurant (2,000)

One Year

Tumbler Ridge Accounting (456)
People's Drug Store (3,983)
Video and Games Arcade
Hobbies & Crafts
Tumbler Ridge House Centre (600)
Insurance (475)
Clothes in Motion (730)
Sears Catalogue and Flower Shop (964)
Stargate Video Arcade (1,385)

Six Months

Hardware Department Store⁴ (2,700)
Digger's Cabaret (bar) (3,731)
Union Offices
Tumbler Ridge Inn
- Additional motel rooms
- Bar (4,814)
- The Inn Place (coffee shop/cafeteria) (1,900)
Tags Convenience & Gas Station (3,000)
Fabric Shop (500)

SERVICE COMMERCIAL AREA

Three Years

Tumbler Ridge Building Supplies
Northland Utilities (1,000)
Acklands (Tools, Equipment) (4,800)
Tumbler Brake & Drum (2,000)
Gulf Canada
Northern Metallic (7,500)
A.C. Operations (1,000)
T.R. Automotive Supply (300)

One-and-a Half Years

Tumbler Ridge Collision (2,000)
Heritage Glass (2,000)
Irly Bird (Lumber/Hardware) (5,500)

INDUSTRIAL PARK (Located out of Town Area)

Two Years

Arrow Transportation (10,000)
Rivquip (10,000)
Cummins Diesel (3,000)
B.C. Bearings (3,500)
Dept. of Highways Maintenance Yard
Wajax (9,600)
Columbia Chrome
Tumbler Ridge Machine Shop (3,000)
La Prairie Leasing
Mustang Construction (9,000)

PENDING DEVELOPMENTS

Pizza & Restaurant (single building)	
Travel Agent	
Home Decor	
B.C. Hydro	
Accounting/Bookkeeping] single building
Restaurant	
Delicatessen	
Gift Shop	

NOTES:

¹ Discontinued in early 1985. Services now operated from Chetwynd.

² Located in temporary facilities north of township until 1985.

³ Has subsequently reduced operating scale to one-third original size.

⁴ Originally commenced as sporting goods store.

One store, Bits-n-Spurs (1,584 sq.ft.) went bankrupt due to lack of managerial experience.

Source: Nemtin, 1985; Field Trips, August 1984 and June 1985; Bigalow, 1985.

and small licenced bar within the community centre complemented privately developed food and liquor services. The bar was the only licensed drinking facility in town and helped to meet demand until private dining and drinking facilities could be established. Bar services at the community centre have been reduced accordingly (Goode, 1985).

Viability: Only one complete bankruptcy has occurred. Two other businesses have undergone some modification (e.g. range of merchandise, floorspace) to improve their operation (Nemtin, 1985). Most commercial services appear to be carrying out a good volume of trade.

Design and Location: Design of the town centre has successfully integrated a variety of different facilities. Most activity presently occurs at the western end of Main Street. Stores and community service facilities have been developed to form a contiguous block, eliminating gaps and ensuring that shopper interest is maintained and shop-to-shop access is maximized. Provision has been made for orderly retail expansion eastward to the town hall and then beyond (see Figure 4.7). Service stations are separated from other retail facilities by the southerly access arterial, Southgate, an appropriate location which remains accessible to the main retail precinct. Other service commercial activities requiring less accessible sites are located in the service commercial park (see Figure 4.6). Industrial activities are situated several miles from the townsite adjacent to Chetwynd Highway.

The peripheral location of the town centre in relation to existing residential development was discussed in section 4.3.2.4. Centrality will increase when residential development occurs to the south-east. This is not considered a major problem because design has ensured that the town centre forms a strong focal point despite its off-centre location.

TOWN CENTRE FACILITIES

- 1 RECREATION and COMMUNITY CENTRE
- 2 LIBRARY
- 3 SECONDARY SCHOOL
- 4 FUTURE COMMUNITY COLLEGE
- 5 HEALTH and SOCIAL SERVICES
- 6 FOOD STORE (Supervalu)
- 7 BANK (Golden Arrow Investments)
- 8 2-STOREY RETAIL/COMMERCIAL (Rescan)
- 9 1-STOREY RETAIL/COMMERCIAL (Central Homes)
- 10 FUTURE RETAIL/COMMERCIAL
- 11 HOTEL (Webb & Knapp)
- 12 TOWN HALL
- 13 FIRE HALL
- 14 RCMP
- 15 COMMUNITY PARK
- 16 FUTURE TOWN EXPANSION
- 17 MUNICIPAL PARKING
- 18 SERVICE COMMERCIAL
- 19 MOTEL (Central Homes)
- 20 FUTURE HOSPITAL
- 21 CIVIC PLAZA 22 COMMUNITY PLAZA

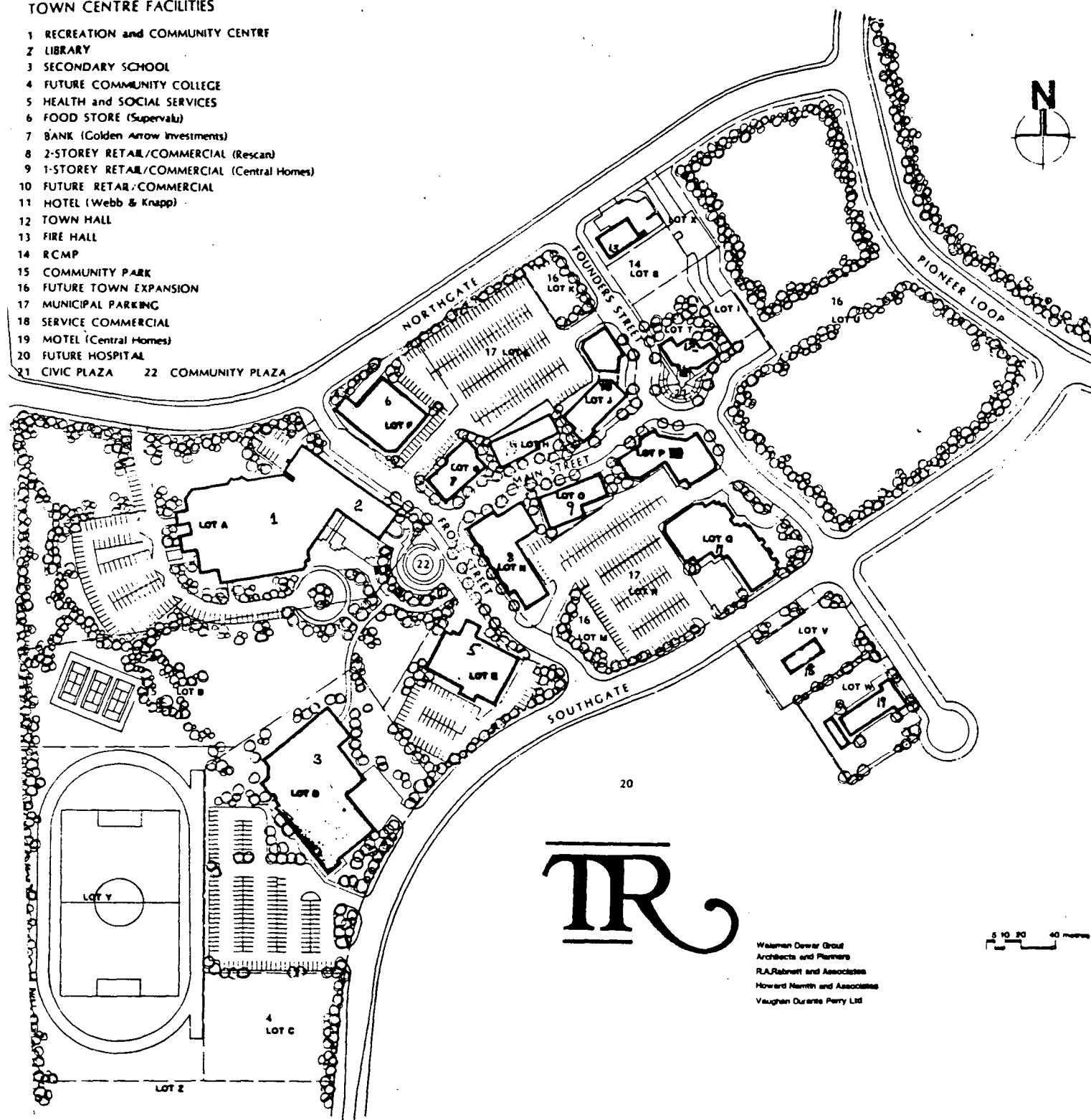


Figure 4.7 Town centre master plan

Source: Nemtin et al., 1983.

4.3.2.6 Environment

Have environmental concerns been adequately addressed and an aesthetically pleasing built environment been established?

Background. There are several different perspectives from which environmental concerns can be assessed: the townsite before development, the site subsequent to development, and the larger sub-regional environment. Prior to site selection fifteen different sites were examined and a detailed evaluation of two (Tumbler Ridge and Bullmoose) carried out (see Townsite/Community Development Sub-Committee, 1977). A range of criteria were considered in the evaluation. The Tumbler Ridge area displayed a number of features that would be sensitive to human habitation - valley bottoms used for moose calving, south-west facing slopes used for wildlife browsing due to favourable aspect, and fish populations in waterways. These factors were considered; however, major determinants in site selection were the nature of the terrain, water supply and waste water disposal capabilities. Bounded by a river, a creek and a high ridge, the site is characterized by varied topography, diverse vegetation and natural hazards including flooding, forest fires, landslides and avalanches. The environment includes ecologically sensitive lands and outstanding visual resources (Lang and Armour, 1980, 1982).

Strategies. The strategy adopted was consequently one of mitigating the effects of urban development. This included inter alia disallowing development of infrastructure on valley bottoms and set backs on terraces due to geotechnical slope sensitivity and wildlife. The impact of the railway, roads and other infrastructure on the environment were given extensive consideration (see Lang and Armour, 1980). An Interim Resource

Management Policy (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1981a) was prepared to provide the Omineca-Peace Resource Management Committee with a tool to enable cooperative agreement to deal with settlement and resource management in the townsite and surrounding area. In addition, the municipality adopted a dog-control by-law to ensure adequate surveillance of animals. "Energy-efficient utilization" planning was adopted in the conceptual plan and extensive research was carried out by CMHC (see Diamond and Martin, n.d.).

The municipality does not have exclusive jurisdiction to plan and regulate development within its boundaries, since a large part of the land remains crown land which is under Provincial control. The Province controls the disposition and use of natural resources including coal, other minerals, forests and wildlife. A cooperative approach emerged whereby the municipality's Official Community Plan (District of Tumbler Ridge, 1982) incorporates both local and provincial concerns and is approved by the Province. Similarly, provincial resource management agencies have attempted to optimize both the needs of settlement and the need to protect critical environmental resources (see Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1979a to 1981a).

In regard to the townsite itself, some vegetation was retained during the development process, however, streets would have benefited from the retention of additional tree cover. Landscaping of the town, in particular the town centre, is commendable. Street lighting, the community park, and the shopping area developed to date creates an attractive and interesting small-scale urban environment. There is some lack of variety in housing styles and architecture. This was due to the relatively small number of construction companies that carried out house building. Teck

housing was constructed by three B.C. firms using ten different designs. Quintette, whose housing predominates the urban scene, used a single contractor and three housing styles. Added variety stems from the inclusion of apartment blocks.

Environmental influences including wind direction and snow accumulation were taken into account in the design of town centre and residential dwellings. As is the case also in most recent West Australian mining towns, design and layout of residential buildings is based on similar principles to those in southern metropolitan areas. As Sharma (1983) notes, visually, resource towns of the north closely resemble the suburbia of southern cities.

An innovative attempt to design for crime prevention has involved the incorporation of the CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design) program. Birenbaum (1983), Budgen (1983), LaBonte (1983) and Wachtel (1982) have favourably reviewed the CPTED program in Tumbler Ridge.

Outcome. There has not been an official evaluation of the impacts of the townsite on the environment.

4.3.2.7 Financial Responsibility and Viability

Who bears financial responsibility for the town and are these arrangements viable?

Background. Previously the approach to resource community development in British Columbia has been to adopt the financial objective of requiring the company to pay, thus ensuring that the public sector avoided the risks of mine and/or town failure. The resource company was responsible for planning, financing and building the town. Whilst expeditious for

the Provincial government, the downside of this arrangement was that the results of this style of development were often socially unacceptable (see chapter 2). In contrast, the Tumbler Ridge approach sought to resolve this issue through a fair sharing of responsibility between the Province and the resource developer, determined through negotiation.

Strategies. Detailed financial planning for Tumbler Ridge was carried out; four of the nine community development objectives were of particular relevance to financing procedures: risk protection, compensation, equity between communities and equity between companies. A variety of financial "tools" were used. The Development Agreements included clauses relating to guarantee of municipal debts, land development requirements, taxation of mine assets and protection against revenue shortfalls.

Alternative Methods (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1977) provided the foundation for subsequent financial analyses. The Financial Plan (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1978, Vol. 4) provided further detail on costs and financial responsibilities in the light of social and physical planning proposals. A subsequent updating of this Plan in the Conceptual Plan Update (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1981) formed the basis for the town's capital budget and the schedule of facilities subject to debt guarantees.

Direct provincial contribution to financing the town's development is relatively minor. Special financial assistance was provided only to enable the municipality to initiate operations. A \$2 million "start up" grant was made to the municipality by the Province commencing in the Spring of 1981, to enable town construction to begin. This was necessitated by the municipality's lack of financial resources (Municipal Finance

Authority funds had not yet been obtained), and the urgency of commencing development, given climatic conditions and the contracted coal-shipment schedule. The Start-Up Grant was made on a non-recoverable basis. It is unclear whether the Province will attempt to recoup this, possibly from the Townsite Contingency Fund (TCF) (Paget, 1984d). The TCF is a \$5 million fund¹⁴ created by the province to provide additional funds for town development. Funds are available on a demonstrated needs basis should revenues from the coal companies not be sufficient to cover expenditures. They are recoverable from the municipality when coal prices exceed a specified level. By mid 1985 no grants had been made from the TCF. The Comprehensive Agreement stipulates that claims from this fund must be made by the end of 1985. (Comprehensive Agreement (1981) Schedule K: Townsite Contingency Payments).

Apart from the TCF, townsite facilities were financed in the customary manner for a municipality i.e. by borrowing from the Municipal Finance Authority and the issue of debentures with a twenty year term. Debt finance, amounting to \$37 million dollars (1984 prices) has been obtained or will be obtained in the customary manner through the Municipal Finance Authority (Krug, 1984). Municipal taxpayers, including the coal companies, repay these loans over a twenty year period. Debentured development costs amount to a little over half of estimated total development costs, a breakdown of which is shown in Table 4.7. The single main source of revenue is the property tax, approximately 70% of which is paid by the mining companies. Inclusion of the mining properties within the municipal boundary yields substantial tax revenues and is in accordance with B.C. practice of approximately the last ten years. The District of Tumbler Ridge is also eligible for ordinary provincial grants through the

Table 4.7 Estimated capital costs of development in 1984 dollars

Item	Estimated development cost (\$'000)	
	Total	Per capita
PROVINCIAL SERVICES		
Schools - Elementary and Secondary		
Health and Social Services Centre	14,000	2,330
MUNICIPAL SERVICES		
Municipal Hall	994	
Fire hall	598	
Public Works	587	
Outdoor Recreation	667	
Community Centre	10,179	
Landfill	453	
Roads	5,431	
Water	8,112	
Sanitary	4,093	
Storm	<u>1,584</u>	
SUBTOTAL	32,699	
TOWN CENTRE SERVICES ¹	3,970	
MUNICIPAL LAND DEVELOPMENT ²	33,345	
HOUSING, COMMERCIAL, LIGHT INDUSTRIAL AND OTHER PRIVATE ³ DEVELOPMENT	<u>190,000</u>	
TOTAL	274,014	45,700

¹ Costs to be recovered through land sales and debentured debt.

² Costs to be recovered through land sales.

³ Estimated cost only; provided by Ministry of Industry and Small Business Development.

Sources: Ministry of Municipal Affairs, Budget Status Report; Centre for Human Settlements, 1985:82.

Revenue Sharing Program, including the Municipal Roads Grant, Planning Grant, Municipal Basic Grant, Basic Unconditional Grant, Per Capita Grant, and Sewer and Water Grant. These grants entail revenue sharing based on the relative size and fiscal capacity of the municipality.

Outcome. The financial mechanisms operationalized in Tumbler Ridge have enabled the establishment of a financially autonomous local government from the outset. Unlike the "company" or "instant" version of resource communities, Tumbler Ridge is not dependent directly on benevolent access to company coffers. This is not to deny that the viability of local government is a function of mining operations. Recognizing this, the development agreements, particularly the Townsite Agreement and Lot Take-Up Agreement, were instrumental in ensuring that local government is not placed totally at the whim of the mining companies.

The District of Tumbler Ridge has the largest per capita industrial tax base of any comparable municipality in the province (see Table 4.8). This has enabled the provision of a high standard of services and facilities without the imposition of excessively high taxes on residential property owners (see section 4.3.2.10)

4.3.2.8 Risk Protection

Are provisions for ensuring risk protection against mine failure adequate?

Background. The issue of who should be responsible for bearing the risk involved in establishing and operating a new town is complex and has received considerable discussion (see Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1977; Paget and Walisser, 1984; Task Force on Mining Communities, 1982). Two

Table 4.8 Tumbler Ridge and selected resource communities
municipal tax base 1985

Community	1985 Net Municipal Tax Base Per Capita	
	Total	Non-residential
TUMBLER RIDGE	\$73,100	\$52,300
Elkford	44,400	28,100
Sparwood	40,600	26,000
Mackenzie	24,700	13,100
Chetwynd	27,000	10,900
Port Hardy	24,100	8,800
Houston	18,600	6,400

Source: District of Tumbler Ridge (1985:27).

levels or degrees of risk were considered in negotiations and agreements in Tumbler Ridge. Firstly, there was the risk arising from the failure of the town to grow as planned. Secondly, the risk of failure of the coal project and consequently the town.

Strategies. Concern regarding the first issue arose from a prior experience of excess lot development and associated wastage of public funds in Grande Cache, Alberta (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1977). In Tumbler Ridge it was dealt with through the Townsite and Lot Take-Up Agreements between the companies and the municipality. These agreements ensured that the municipality would provide municipal services to accommodate the companies' workforces. In addition, it would service lots in accordance with a schedule of company requirements plus 20% to allow for non-company requirements. The companies in turn agreed to purchase their indicated 80% of serviced lots. This mechanism has been successful in achieving its dual aims. For example, the municipality was able to adjust its development program to produce additional mobile home lots when it became apparent that demand for these was greater than initially anticipated. All lots serviced for the companies have indeed been purchased by them. At the completion of the last group of lots (Fall 1984), Quintette hiring had fallen behind schedule. It was obvious that lot purchase by the company would create an unwanted excess. Quintette has a surplus inventory of approximately 80 lots (August, 1985). In the view of the District Mayor, it was only the need to concur with the Lot Take-Up agreement that caused the company to purchase the lots (Walsh, 1985). The municipality has borne some of the resulting costs in that there is also an excess of approximately 40 unpurchased service sector lots. However, in the main, the company, the agent of change, bore the

risk of its error. The surplus of lots has been caused by the same factors as have produced the surplus of completed houses - higher commuting rates, slower workforce growth and preference for cheaper forms of housing.

In regard to mortgages for housing purchased by company employees, CMHS adopted a policy requiring a dual system of risk protection. In addition to mortgage insurance payable by the mortgagee, the resource companies were required to provide mortgage guarantees and accept liability in the event of mortgage default. It is understood that these guarantees would be called upon prior to the insurance fund. The Province refused to provide guarantees for non-company personnel.

Information costs money. Expenditures on research must consider the benefits of better information (less uncertainty) and the costs (risk of not proceeding). Some inefficiency occurred in regard to the construction of the water supply system. Inadequate geological analysis of an aquifer necessitated the supplementation of the initial groundwater system with a surface water pump. Avoidance of this inefficiency would have required:

1. commitment to more extensive drilling of the groundwater aquifer in 1977,
2. commitment to undertake low level aerial photography in 1977 or Fall 1980, and
3. commitment to undertake topographic mapping in Fall 1980

In both 1977 and 1980, there was pressure to minimize costs due to uncertainty regarding coal markets and negotiations. This inefficiency resulted from the timing of development schedules, geared to the specified mine start-up date, in relation to the availability of funds for the necessary detailed analyses. Funds required for detailed mapping, hydro-

logical and topographical studies were large enough to require a firm commitment to the NECD before being made available (Rabnett, 1985). Although conceptual planning and analysis could be financed well in advance of final agreement between Japanese steel mills and the coal companies, the nature and cost of detailed physical analyses prevented their completion at an earlier date. These inefficiencies argue for more up-front finance for planning which necessarily involves a higher level of risk. The construction of two parallel arterial roads (Mackenzie Way and Monkman Way) is regarded by some observers as inefficient (Bigalow, 1985), but was considered necessary on the basis of anticipated long-term growth to a population of 10,500 (Rabnett, 1985; Walsh, 1985).

In the main these inefficiencies can be attributed to intermittent uncertainty about coal contracts with the resulting need to minimize research costs and the relatively short construction period and haste with which development needed to proceed.

The second area, complete project failure, leads into the complex field of resource town demise, defined as being beyond the scope of this thesis. However, a brief outline of the pertinent points and strategies is appropriate. It is difficult to adequately assess the effectiveness of these tools as they have not been put to the test as yet.

A resource community, due to its reliance almost solely on the operations of a single, identifiable company which is typically highly volatile, is a particularly risky site for public investment. The question of who should bear this risk is paramount. In the company town the solution is readily forthcoming - the resource company bears the risk. In the local government town, the issue is more complex. The underlying notion of risk sharing is that risk exposure ought to be commensurate with

(potential) benefits received (Paget and Walisser, 1983). As the prime beneficiary of risk, it can be argued that the resource company should bear a large share of risk. Some scholars (e.g. Bradbury and St.-Martin, 1982) oppose altogether, the involvement of any party other than the resource company. However, in the local government town, not only the company, but the province also, benefits through the realization of its goals (e.g. economic development, a more fully employed economy).

Risk sharing is clearer when considered according to the differing types of goods involved: merit goods (health, education, welfare), municipal goods (e.g. road maintenance, fire protection), and private goods (e.g. housing, retailing: produced and consumed by the private sector). The approach adopted in regard to Tumbler Ridge was that of sharing risks, particularly those related to municipal and private goods, via negotiated contracts.

In B.C. the province accepts the investment risk associated with the provision of merit goods and has done so in Tumbler Ridge. In regard to municipally provided goods, the approach was to place the companies on the municipal tax roll. This technique is based on the principle that whilst the company should bear its share of the costs and risks of operating the community, it is not necessary that the resource company operate the town to achieve this, as Bradbury and St. Martin (1982) argue should happen. In addition to taxation of the mine properties, provision has been made whereby the coal companies would cover, by extraordinary payment, the gap between what is "required" and what is "available." Risk associated with capital expenditures financed by long term debentures, was handled by establishing agreements between the town and companies. If mine cutback or closure leads to a decrease in the companies property tax payments, a

special levy comes into operation to meet required annual payments (Paget and Walisser, 1984). It has not yet been possible to see whether these provisions will withstand the test of trial. Informed opinion of some observers (e.g. Reid, 1985) is skeptical. Clauses in the agreement states that they are subject to all other liens and charges. In the event of mine failure, it is likely that other debtors, owed far greater sums in regard to minesite investments, would have priority over the municipality. In this event, it is likely that the province would regard it as necessary to provide assistance to the municipality.

The third class of property, private goods, is difficult to deal with. The private market approach to housing and business provision has been criticized as representing a shifting of current costs and long-term risks from the resource company to the worker who owns a home (Bradbury and St.-Martin, 1982). Adherents of this point suggest that renting or leasing from the company would be a more appropriate solution. Alternatives for risk shifting which at the same time enable private ownership include sinking funds, a housing buy-back fund, equity insurance (Task Force on Mining Communities, 1982) or reduction of risk by creating "resilient communities" (Paget and Walisser, 1984). All have their merits as methods of releasing private property owners from excessive "equity bondage." In Tumbler Ridge housing buy-back and community resilience have been adopted. The latter calls for heavy involvement by local government. The fragile nature of small businesses in mining communities is added to by the fact that local entrepreneurs and service sector workers may not have an understanding of the uncertain and cyclical nature of the mining industry to which they have tied their livelihood.

Outcome. Given the substantial involvement of the provincial government in the financing other elements of the NECD (e.g. railway, port), the liability and associated risk of provincial involvement in development of the town is quite small.

4.3.2.9 Equity Between Resource Companies

Has town development ensured equity between existing resource companies and the potential for equitable arrangements with future resource developers?

Background. In resource communities which accommodate (either upon construction or at a later date) residents associated with more than one resource project, there is a need to ensure the establishment of equitable arrangements in regard to payment for shared facilities and services. Potential for inequitable arrangements exist in particular, where resource projects are established and companies' residents enter a community at different points in time. In such instances, initial capital costs of development will have been borne by the original company or companies.

Unless provisions for sharing of these costs with subsequent resource developers are established, the latter will benefit at the expense of the original company.

Strategies. Several proposals were presented by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs (1977) for dealing with equity issues under the mixed (local government) method of development. These included:

1. Imposition of municipal taxes via inclusion of resource companies on the municipal tax roll.
2. Imposition of a "charge" for the right of entry by subsequent companies into the town.

In Tumbler Ridge, the first method was adopted and both Quintette and Teck pay taxes to the local government, amounting to approximately 80% of total municipal revenues. Establishment of the town in a manner that ensured equitable arrangements between the two companies was assisted by the timing, whereby both projects were developed and brought onstream simultaneously.

The most likely additional company is Petro-Canada. If the Monkman Coal deposit situated east of Tumbler Ridge is developed the workforce from this mine would reside in Tumbler Ridge. The local government model, supported by the necessary development agreements provides the tools to ensure equitable treatment of Petro-Canada and existing companies (Teck and Denison). These arrangements include:

- extension of municipal boundary,
- taxation of Petro-Canada assets on the same basis as existing companies,
- Petro-Canada guarantee of debts for municipal services expanded to serve its workforce,
- take-up agreements for Petro-Canada lots.

Equity between companies demands that Petro-Canada be treated in the same way as Teck and Quintette.

Outcome. It is not possible to be conclusive with regard to the potential outcome of these arrangements, since the case has not been tested as yet. Since Monkman is not situated within the boundaries of the District of Tumbler Ridge, it would be necessary to extend the municipal boundary if Petro-Canada was to be included on the municipal tax roll. Such moves are likely to be resisted by Petro-Canada, however, a strong argument in favour of extension can be made, based on the principle of

equity between companies. Teck and Quintette would strongly support such moves. The decision will be a political one and will have to consider a number of other factors besides equity. Nonetheless, the local government approach facilitates resolution of the "third man in" issue.

4.3.2.10 Equity Between Communities

Is the standard of services (recreational, health, social) and the level of taxes equitable with those of other communities?

Background. The "equity between communities" objective was intended to provide against unfair treatment of resource communities. Equity was sought in terms of tax levels, the level of existing services and the availability and affordability of land for housing and other community development purposes. Equity between the resource community and other local communities was also desired. The compensation objective was to ensure that financial requirements, in excess of those which could be met through normal financing programs, were to be paid to the municipality by the resource company.

From the outset, it was deemed that Tumbler Ridge should be treated as "normal" in regard to the standard of facilities and services provided, and the provision of funds for this purpose. That is, if the standard of services in Tumbler Ridge was to be higher than what the town was due, based on the standard in other towns, then the coal companies should be responsible for meeting the cost difference. (See Comprehensive Agreement (1982), Schedule J: Townsite Agreement). The need for equity between communities was regarded as a strong reason for the adoption of local government; the establishment of normal local government institutions and

financial regimes were seen as essential. In the early generic document, Alternative Methods, (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1977) it was considered that the "horizontal equity" issue necessitated the adoption of a resource town policy by which comparable levels of risk protection and compensation would be assured to other communities.

Strategies. Studies were conducted which considered different levels of services and provision and tax levels in other comparable resource towns (see Sussex Consultants Ltd., 1982). A "base case community" was defined and the concept of "early maturity" deemed desirable for the attainment of certain social goals was adopted. In accordance with the above, a decision was made to bring forward the schedule for provision of some services and facilities and to increase the level of service (Rabnett, 1985). A list of "Basic Municipal Services" was compiled which specified characteristics of the services and facilities, maximum amounts to be expended by the municipality on construction, and development schedules.¹⁶

Four types of "enhancement" can be identified, listed from most tangible to least tangible. The corresponding items provided in Tumbler Ridge are identified in column 2 of Table 4.9.

Outcome. In assessing the standard of facilities provided in Tumbler Ridge, it is incorrect simply to compare capital and operating expenses of that municipality with those of other municipalities. A high level of services and a high standard of construction was adopted, manifested most obviously in the visual appearance and design of the Town Hall and Community Centre. In addition, certain costs were incurred in order to speed up the process of maturity. It cannot be denied that construction costs were substantial. The visibility of these apparently opulent facilities is the main reason for false assumptions frequently made by

Table 4.9 Tumbler Ridge - Enhanced Facilities and Services

Type of Enhancement	Items in Tumbler Ridge
1. Additional capital expenditures	Non-standard components of community centre: Library* Meeting Rooms Daycare** Social Area Restaurant Bar
2. Additional operational/administrative expenditures	As for (1) plus: Social/sporting programs, higher cost of architecture urban design and planning. TV society.
3. Enhanced quality of facilities	Community centre Town Centre Streetscape Town Hall School Fire Hall
4. Enhanced organization of facilities	Health & Social Services Centre Community Centre

* Advanced with respect to timing.

** Advanced with respect to timing and method of provision (municipality instead of community based).

visitors, members of public generally, opposition politicians and even some members of the government, regarding the extent of provincial financial involvement in the town. However, per capita operating costs in Tumbler Ridge are of similar magnitude (\$487) to those in comparable towns (\$511) (1984 data), once allowance is made for initial start-up costs, which are a feature of any new community, and will decline to zero within approximately five years.

The District of Tumbler Ridge has the largest per capita industrial tax base of any comparable municipality in the province (see section 4.3.2.7). When property tax rates are compared, the rate for residential property in Tumbler Ridge ranks as moderate to low (see Table 4.10). The framework for deciding what is reasonable in Tumbler Ridge differs substantially from that in other municipalities.¹⁷ In a local government system, "[it] cannot [be said] that there is a definitive normative level of service; residents should be free to choose the type of services and the level of service they want, but within the context of their willingness to pay" (Paget, 1985a:5). Whilst the "equity between communities" objective requires that standards adopted in Tumbler Ridge not be totally out of line with standards in other resource towns, it is unrealistic and, given the revenue-raising capacity of the municipality, unnecessary, that direct comparability should be the sole criterion for determining what is "normal" with regard to the provision of services and facilities. However, reasonable treatment of the coal companies and an appropriate level of resident fiscal responsibility would suggest that there be some minimal local fiscal effort and a limit on taxing the companies.

Equity between Tumbler Ridge and other communities in the surrounding region was assured by the establishment of local government and regional

Table 4.10 B.C. Resource Towns: Property charges¹ per average house²

Town	1984 Population ³	Property charge
Gold River	2,239	\$441
Elkford	4,050	457
Sparwood	4,922	510
Logan Lake ⁴	2,819	537
Chetwynd ⁴	2,893	541
Houston	4,042	566
Mackenzie	5,837	580
Port Hardy	5,845	612
Stewart	1,567	742
Fernie	5,559	747
Tahsis	1,732	781
Kimberley	7,360	796
Column Average	4,072	\$609
Tumbler Ridge	4,200	\$529

¹ Includes total annual user charges (water, sewer, garbage) and municipal taxes.

² Average house value is net single family house as per B.C. Assessment Authority data.

³ Tumbler Ridge population based on occupied dwellings; other populations from Ministry of Industry and Small Business Development.

⁴ Logan Lake and Chetwynd tax rates include regional district specified area assessment levies.

Source: Sussex Consultants Ltd.

relations from the outset. The mayor of Tumbler Ridge was a member of the Regional District, Regional Hospital Board and School Board.

In essence, differences between standards in Tumbler Ridge and other communities simply illustrate Oates' (1972) decentralization theorem: that local governments exist to be different from one another.

4.3.2.11 Community Maturity/Stability

Have efforts to hasten the progression of the community towards the "mature" stage of development been effective?

Background. Studies discussed in Chapter 2 demonstrated the vital role played by community services in the real and perceived well-being of resource town residents. The importance of community facilities and services has recently been reconfirmed in a comprehensive study of five western Canadian resource communities¹⁸ (Roberts and Fisher, 1984).

Roberts and Fisher observe that:

It can be seen that the [resource] communities are stabilizing.... The unique situation seems to be that the new, growth communities are stabilizing more quickly than has previously been the situation (p. 154).

This trend can, to a large extent, be attributed to the nature of planning; deliberately adopted community development strategies have encouraged rapid maturation of the community and truncation of the earlier stages through which the community passes.

The purpose of this section is to consider the approach to community development in Tumbler Ridge and to assess, to the extent that it is possible at this point, what the outcome has been. An in-depth evaluation of community development in Tumbler Ridge is proposed (see Shera, n.d.).

Roberts and Fisher (1984) found a consensus of resident opinion that, for initial development of a town, high quality health and education services were essential. A second level of priority included commercial, public, recreation and justice services. A third level indicated the need for entertainment, human resources and other services. Residents emphasized that a broad range of community services are essential to a town's success; equally critical are the timing and quality of the services.

Strategies. Population and workforce stability is a key concern for all parties involved in resource town development and an important indicator of community maturity.

Municipal and provincial government intervention, the early establishment of local autonomous government, greater participation in community activities, and the growing awareness that small town lifestyles can be preferable to those of the big city; these all have resulted in increasing stability in the communities (Roberts and Fisher, 1984:154).

In August 1984, within two years of the commencement of mining operations at Tumbler Ridge, Teck and Quintette reported remarkably low workforce turnover rates of 12% and 30% per annum, respectively.¹⁹ These compare with annual turnover rates in excess of 100% for earlier Pilbara and B.C. towns at an equivalent age (Taylor et al., 1981). Generally, 25-30% p.a. turnover in a fairly mature community is regarded as acceptable by resource companies since it allows a sufficient degree of "new input" into the community and enables workforce promotion. In large part, the explanation for the low turnover in Tumbler Ridge lies with the depressed economic conditions that prevailed at the time when the NECD was established and for some time thereafter. Due to the "resources boom" that existed in the late 1970's when initial planning for the NECD took

place, it had been assumed that strong incentives (e.g. high standard of community facilities, size of housing subsidies) would be required to attract and retain appropriately skilled labour in a competitive market. By the time recruitment commenced in March 1983 labour was readily available due to the slow-down and closure of a number of mines in British Columbia (Granisle, Kitsault, Fraser Lake), the Yukon (Faro) and eastern provinces. Recruitment took place substantially within British Columbia.²⁰ Undoubtedly population stability has been aided substantially by programs designed for this purpose, however it is not possible to discern precisely the effects of these relative to "external" factors: the provincial and world economy. Both coal companies anticipate an increase in workforce turnover when economic conditions improve and worker mobility increases.

A core of experienced mine workers was required at first to enable the operational phase to commence on time and to facilitate training of inexperienced employees. This influenced the demographic structure of the town, which was comprised initially of more mature families with adolescent children. This has subsequently been counter-balanced and younger families, still in the process of formation and/or with elementary age children, currently predominate. A community official reported a workforce marital structure of two-thirds married and one-third unmarried (Moser, 1984), similar to that of somewhat longer-established Pilbara towns. Where prospective employees were equal on all other counts, at least one company's recruitment policy gave preference to married over single applicants. The absence of accommodation designed specifically for single employees (e.g. barracks-style single men's quarters) as exists in Pilbara towns and other B.C. resource communities is likely to have discouraged single people from remaining beyond the construction period

when bunkhouse and mess facilities were provided. The consequence has been the establishment of a less abnormal demographic structure at an earlier date. Tumbler Ridge is notable for its physical integration of single accommodation and will undoubtedly benefit from a reduced incidence of resultant social problems (e.g. social stigma and ghettoization) (see Gribbin, 1981; Gribbin and Brealey, 1981). There is an intermix of Teck, Quintette and private housing on a streetside-by-streetside basis. This helps overcome physical and social segregation. However, the sheer size of the Quintette workforce²¹ inevitably leads to a predominance by this company. Apartments currently comprise less than 30% of total housing stock, a relatively low proportion which is usually indicative of a mature community (Rabnett, 1985)

The absence of single family houses for rent has acted as a strong disincentive to uncommitted, short-term applicants and/or employees. Discussions with residents indicated that most are planning a five year stay, though up to ten years is not uncommon. When economic conditions become more favourable, it is likely that people who are resident in Tumbler Ridge primarily through lack of alternative employment options will depart, leaving a residue of more committed, potentially longer term residents. The influence of house ownership can be expected to have a positive effect on resident's propensity to remain in the community.²²

More difficult to assess is the extent to which a "sense of community" has developed, and whether residents, as yet, regard Tumbler Ridge as their "home." Community identity is dependent inter alia on resident involvement in social and community activities. Recognizing this during the planning phase, provision was made to actively facilitate integration of new residents into the community and to encourage partici-

pation in the formation of social, cultural, and recreational associations. This was based on the principle that those who were to live in the community (i.e. the operational phase residents) should take a major role in determining its nature. The Director of Community Services (DCS),²³ appointed by the municipality,²⁴ adopted a proactive community development role as catalyst, coordinator and key liaison person. This greatly expedited and enhanced the establishment of formal and informal social networks. Community development efforts in Tumbler Ridge focussed on:

1. the provision of information on the community to new residents and the identification of needs, resources and requirements of new residents;
2. the development of community leadership and community problem solving capability, and
3. encouraging the involvement of residents in their community through various mechanisms.

A plethora of interest-groups and organizations were quickly established.²⁵ Recognizing the special difficulties typically faced by certain sub-groups within a resource community, particular efforts were devoted to developing programs for mothers, small children and teenagers. Whilst enabling community development, the DCS refrained from doing too much which can stifle community initiative; the emphasis remained on a participatory approach. In carrying out the task of community formation, the DCS adopted the strategy of using the region as a "surrogate parent" (Talbot, 1985). Organizations were formed in conjunction with existing organizations within the region. Infant Tumbler Ridge associations were "nurtured" in this manner until they were capable of functioning indepen-

dently. Similar to experiences elsewhere (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984), early promotional information issued by the coal companies was reported to have created unrealistic expectations on the part of some new residents in regard to the town (Talbot, 1985). Involvement of such people in community activities was the primary means used to bring such expectations into line with reality. A Community Services Committee was established to coordinate and integrate the variety of community development initiatives that were occurring. The Committee which met monthly, was chaired by the DCS and included the heads of all social agencies in the town and the two mine managers.

Early in 1985, a new DCS was appointed. There has been an associated change in philosophy underlying recreation and social development from proactive to reactive. The present recreation director views his role and that of the community centre as facilitating or accommodating the initiatives of community members, rather than actively fostering resident participation as was previously the case. This approach may be appropriate in a community where social networks are well-established but seems somewhat premature in a still nascent community.

Development of an active and involved community was greatly facilitated by the provision of an extensive community centre that functions as the physical focal point for community activities situated at the western end of the town centre, it acts as a pole of attraction, counterbalancing the civic pole (the town hall) at the eastern end of "Main Street." The community centre is comprised of a curling rink, skating/hockey arena, dining lounge food preparation area, interaction area, liquor lounge,²⁶ meeting rooms, day-care centre, library and offices. The centre somewhat surpasses the standard of facilities available in towns of equivalent

size. This is the outcome of the substantial financial capacity of the municipality (see section 4.3.2.10), a deliberate decision by company managerial personnel to supplement the "basic" facilities that could be provided by the municipality and the need for incentives to attract workers (discussed above). The role and nature of other town centre facilities were discussed in section 4.3.3.5. These complement the function and facilities of the community centre and assist in providing a range of facilities that Roberts and Fisher (1984) identify as being important to community development and satisfaction.

Citizen enfranchisement through the early establishment of local self-government has also contributed greatly to fostering sense of identity within the community. Local government was discussed in section 4.3.2.3.

Health provisions in Tumbler Ridge are provided from the diagnostic and treatment centre. This facility was designed to integrate health and social services in one building. It combines the primary health facilities (doctor, dentist, public health nurse) and secondary facilities (emergency services (ambulance)) and limited-treatment facilities. This method is consistent with the approach adopted in small communities throughout the province. Medical services are operated by a community-based administration. An administrator who has the authority to recruit health centre staff is responsible to a Board of Directors. Members of the Board, at first appointed, are now selected from the community in the manner of a health society. The town does not have a hospital. Patients requiring hospital treatment travel to either Chetwynd (93 km over paved road) or Dawson Creek (124 km over unpaved road). Resident dissatisfaction has been expressed regarding this situation. This will be alleviated

to some extent by the provision of an air ambulance service when an airport is established in the near future. A branch of the Ministry of Human Resources was established operating from the diagnostic and treatment centre, but closed in early 1985. It is unclear whether this closure was caused by provincial expenditure restraint or lack of caseload in the town. Tumbler Ridge is now serviced from Chetwynd.

Education facilities include a high school and elementary school. A second elementary school is under construction. When opened in December 1985 it will overcome crowding problems at the existing elementary school which have been the cause of some resident anxiety. The high school is situated in the "downtown" area adjacent to the community centre to enable joint school-community use of facilities.²⁷ A proposed branch of the Northern Lights College has not yet been established, although provision for this has been made in town centre plans.

Outcome. From the foregoing it is apparent that Tumbler Ridge is characterized by a more stable community than could be expected on the basis of earlier resource community experience. The relatively high level of stability in relation to the age of the community can be attributed, to a certain extent to exogenous economic factors which have discouraged workforce turnover. However, the positive influence of socially sensitive planning and the manner in which these plans were implemented have contributed significantly to community maturity. It is the responsibility of local politicians, their staff and professional advisors to ensure that soundly-based initiatives continue to guide development of the community. In this respect, it is important to acknowledge that priorities change over time, depending on the age and lifestyle of the residents and on the age and maturity of the community (Roberts and Fisher, 1984; Gill, 1984).

Only an awareness of these changing needs, obtained through ongoing evaluation and assessment, will enable appropriate, responsive action to be taken.

4.4 Assessment Summary

To create a socially cohesive, financially viable, self-governing community conducive to attracting and retaining a stable workforce.

On many counts, it has been shown that the local government method of resource town development has functioned very favourably. An organizational structure which permitted a substantial degree of flexibility enabled implementation of the project to proceed in a fairly efficient manner, a necessity given the externally-imposed deadlines. The selection of a highly committed, appropriately skilled development team was critical to the successful implementation of the project. An area in which particular success is apparent is that of community development. This has been facilitated by the provision of above-average physical facilities, made possible by innovative financial arrangements. The success of community development is due in large part to recognition of the need for active intervention designed to encourage participation from the outset. Together these factors have enabled a degree of stability and progress towards the stage of maturity well in advance of what would normally be possible. The relative ease with which the transition to full local government has occurred is a particularly favourable feature of this development method. Local self governance has been received with enthusiasm and even impatience by local residents, a further indicator of community involvement.

The provision of service sector housing remains however, problematic. In the absence of guarantees for service sector loans, a piecemeal approach has been necessary. Within these constraints, local government has made significant contributions through its role as negotiator and facilitator. It is essential for further research to be undertaken and that an earlier start in negotiation and brokerage be made when the local government development model is next applied. Whilst in no way diminishing the achievements of the Tumbler Ridge project, it is important to recognize the influence of broader political and economic factors and the subtle difference between "early maturity" and "forced growth."

It is significant that both senior government officials (Harkness, 1985) and corporate executives (Hallbauer, 1985) have expressed their satisfaction with the outcome of the municipally-lead resource town development in Tumbler Ridge. Given appropriate circumstances (e.g. adequate workforce size, location) both sectors have indicated their support for this development method in establishing future resource-based settlements.

NOTES

1. Rossi and Freeman use "evaluation" and "evaluation research" interchangeably.
2. Due to the interrelatedness of impact assessment, project evaluation and implementation assessment discussed above the observations made by Torgerson (1980) and Nash et al. (1975) apply also to the Tumbler Ridge assessment.
3. In a recent study of Seattle's executive planning agency, Dalton (1985) examines how, in an urban setting the organization of planning affects its performance.
4. CMHC is an exception here. See section 4.3.2.1.
5. Instrumental in having permanent post office facilities established and person nominated by council to direct Kinuseo housing coop group.
6. An unofficial estimate by a municipal administrator indicated between 1500 and 2000 residents were eligible (population at November 1984 approximately 3500). Eligibility criteria are: over age 19; resident in Canada for 12 months, in B.C. for 6 months and Tumbler Ridge for 3 months. Ownership of real property is not a prerequisite.
7. Detomasi (1984) reported that no cooperative housing existed in resource towns in North America; however, there was an unsuccessful coop development in Mackenzie, B.C, and one developed in Tumbler Ridge subsequent to that publication.
8. Includes town centre operators, service commercial and industrial (excluding coal companies) businesses.
9. In Newman, a Pilbara mining town separated from other towns by several hundred kilometres, commercial development has been severely restricted by land tenure and monopoly agreements. Alternative forms of access to services were evident on a large scale. Together mail ordering, direct bulk buying and major vacation shopping excursions accounted for 35%-40% of total expenditure by the 6,200 residents. Almost 100 home-based industries, many of a commercial scale had become established to cater for the inadequacy of town centre facilities (Taylor and Burrell, 1981). This phenomenon existed in most of the other Pilbara towns on a similar scale (McGrath, 1982).
10. One of the major purposes of normalization of the Pilbara towns was to enable the establishment of a more competitive and diverse retail sector. Even in Karratha, an "open" town, agreements between the main grocery retailer, gasoline company and bank, and the iron ore company provided exclusive monopoly trading rights to those retailers for fifteen years. The policy to normalize Pilbara towns has now rendered these void (Lawn, 1985).

11. Tumbler Ridge has a foothills climate, benign by northern standards (Lang & Armour, 1982). Although the enclosed mall was rejected, pedestrian comfort was well recognized in town centre. Design criteria took account of wind tunnel effects, insolation, roof slope and shelter requirements.
12. Specified area lots are subject to a special tax for the maintenance of parking areas.
13. A comprehensive listing of studies relating to biophysical characteristics and landform classification of Tumbler Ridge is given in Ministry of Municipal Affairs (1979a).
14. 1980 price subject to escalation in accordance with the Vancouver Consumer Price Index.
15. Tax payments by the coal companies are secured by guarantees. See section 4.3.2.8.
16. Basic Municipal Services (1981 prices): Municipal Hall - \$758,000; Fire Hall - \$531,000; Public Works Building - \$398,000; Outdoor Recreation (playing fields and related improvements) - \$450,000; Landfill - \$280,000; Community Centre - \$10,841,000; Town Centre (landscaping, community plaza and grassed area); Roads (two N-S arterial roads, three roads defining commercial core, streets and parking area of commercial core) - \$6,878,000; Water - \$5,276,000; Sanitary Sewer - \$3,691,000; Storm Drainage - \$2,603,000. (Townsite Agreement (1982), Appendix A).
17. In 1985 the coal companies lodged an appeal for reassessment of the industrial property tax base which they considered excessive. At July 1985, the decision on this was still pending.
18. The towns were Fort McMurray (Alberta), Leaf Rapids (Manitoba), Kitimat, Sparwood and Elkford (British Columbia). The study was undertaken in 1982 by Praxis, a Social Planning Company for Canstar Oil Sands Limited. It was to assist Canstar in developing housing and other corporate community policies in regard to proposed oil sands development in the Athabasca oil sands region in northeastern Alberta. Due to economic depression in the early 1980s, the development has not proceeded.
19. In June 1985, Quintette turnover had declined to 22% p.a. These figures relate to the operational workforce. Turnover data during the construction phase are not available.
20. Seventy percent of the Teck workforce originated from B.C. (mostly Kitsault, Granisle, Fraser Lake and Kamloops) and 30% from the Yukon and Alberta. Ex-Newfoundland miners were recruited but not on-site, most workers having taken jobs in the Yukon or Granisle in the interim. Quintette Coal Ltd., also placed emphasis on B.C. recruitment but was required to draw qualified employees from a wider field.

21. When the present phase of development is completed the Teck workforce will be 450 and the Quintette workforce approximately 1600.
22. Housing equity is discussed further in section 4.2.3.9.
23. Initially known as the Director of Social Development.
24. The DCS was initially a contract position and subsequently became a municipal employee. The present DCS is a municipal employee.
25. Between 20 and 30 groups and associations were formed in the first 6-8 months of occupance (Talbot, 1985). Bowles (1981) identifies spontaneous resident interaction as a central dimension of community social vitality.
26. Until mid 1985 the community centre liquor lounge provided the only bar service in Tumbler Ridge. Liquor services have recently been reduced in recognition of the newly established commercial bar.
27. In June 1985 it was reported (Goode, 1985) that present joint use arrangements had not been adequately established. Joint use agreements were to be negotiated between the regional district and Tumbler Ridge schools to enable this to occur.

CHAPTER 5

RESOURCE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: IMPLICATIONS AND TRANSFERABILITY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter steps back from the close-up examination of the Tumbler Ridge project presented in the last two chapters. Drawing on the understanding of the local government model and its associated strengths and weaknesses revealed by the assessment, this chapter will consider two related dimensions of resource community development. Firstly it will examine the implications of the Tumbler Ridge project for future resource community development in British Columbia. Part of this involves a consideration of the relationships between provincial settlement policy (of which resource communities are a subset), to other policy areas - economic and environmental. Secondly, it will examine whether, and under what circumstances, the local government model and the concept of self governance are relevant to resource community development in other jurisdictions. This entails the identification and theoretical discussion of a "governance system."

5.2 Future Resource Community Development in British Columbia

In Chapter 2 three phases of resource community development were identified. The most recent of these was characterized as the "local government" era. It is important to reconsider briefly whether, in fact, the establishment of Tumbler Ridge by the municipality, and the prior expansion of Elkford using a similar method, constitute a distinct and separate era. Is it, like previous phases, also transitory; part of an ongoing process of evolution? Or alternatively, is this change just a

temporary aberration to be followed by a return to one of the former methods of resource town development? The critical test is really what method(s) of developing resource towns are adopted in the future. If future resource settlements are also established by municipal corporations then it is fair to assert that the local government model does constitute a new and distinct era. If Elkford and Tumbler Ridge are the only towns built using the local government approach, with subsequent resource-based settlements being established as company towns in which company governance prevails entirely or for a substantial period prior to local governance, then it would seem that these two centres represent merely a passing flirtation of the provincial government with the "partnership" approach. If the successor of the local government town is another type of resource settlement, dissimilar to both the local government town and earlier methods of resource town development (company or "instant" town) then the local government town can appropriately be regarded as a distinct phase but transitional in nature, forming a bridge between a past and future era.

During the 1970's and 1980's, there emerged a consensus that earlier forms of resource town development were unsatisfactory for the reasons discussed in Chapter 2. The local government town is the product of a search for a "better" method of developing resource towns. Given the favourable disposition of both resource developers and the provincial ministry in charge of settlement towards the local government development method, the issue of what form future resource community development will take, is essentially political: will the government of the day acknowledge the benefits that were achieved by having the town "build itself"? This

question cannot be answered conclusively until there is cause once again for cabinet to decide upon the issue. However, a reading of the waters can be obtained through a consideration of the evolving nature of provincial settlement policy and societal concepts of governance. This tentative theoretical discussion is based on the foregoing analysis and exploration of the literature, an examination of policy documents and discussions with senior bureaucrats and planners who advise government on such matters.

5.2.1 Policy context

The overall goal of the Province in regard to resource community development is prosperity, or the improvement of the economic and social well-being of British Columbians.¹ Urban policy, of which settlement policy² is an element, is one of a number of provincial "policy sectors." This overall goal is comprised of three "policy fields" - economic development, environmental land use, and social services - each of which contributes to the achievement of economic and social well-being. Well-being is maximized when there is a balanced mix of objectives from the three policy fields (see Figure 5.1).

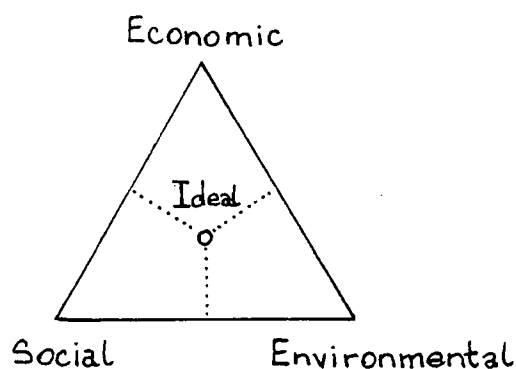


Figure 5.1 Policy Ideal.
Equal balance between three policy fields.

Source: Original.

Well designed urban policy contributes to economic development in many ways. In British Columbia, urban policy is guided by four principles:

- (1) efficiency in the allocation and use of local government resources;
- (2) equity in service delivery between and within urban areas,
- (3) mobility of the labour force; and
- (4) livability through safe, attractive, viable, self-governing communities.

Urban policy consists of a number of different "policy elements" each of which contributes to the achievement of the above principles. One "policy element" is that relating to resource towns (see Figure 5.2). Resource town policy is instrumental in attaining the mobility and livability goals of urban policy.

5.2.2 Provincial Policy and Involvement in Resource Town Development

Recognition of the three components of increased prosperity has been a gradual, evolving process. In the pre-war and early post-war period, the achievement of this goal was conceived by the province, solely in terms of economic development. The social and environmental components were unrecognized (see Figure 5.3). Consequently resource extraction proceeded without adequate provision for the social needs of workers or protection of the environment. The "sleep camp" and "company town" were manifestations of the predominance of economic goals and policy and the neglect of settlement and environmental policies.

During the 1960's the social component of growth began to be recognized. This underlay the legislative and administrative changes which

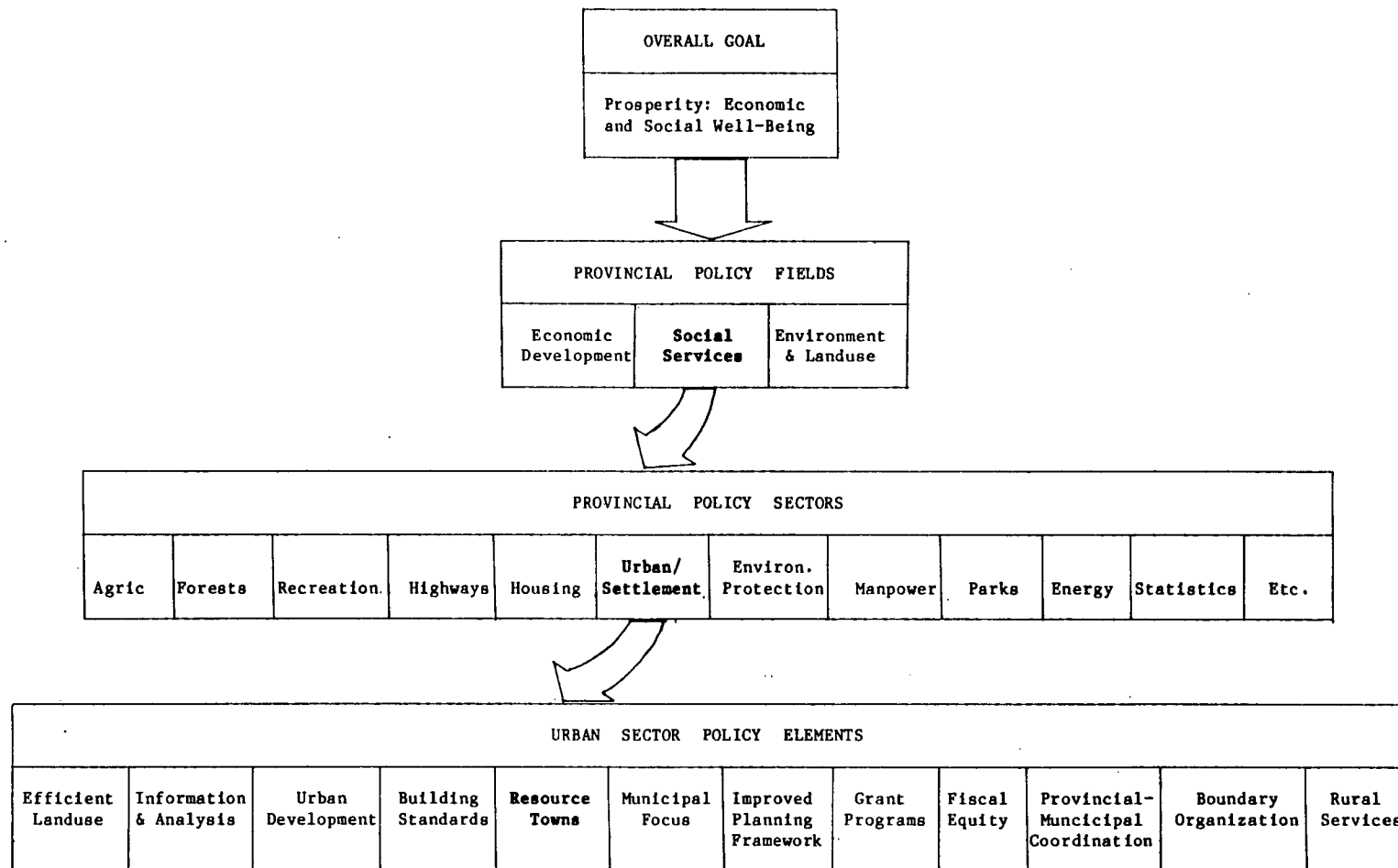


Figure 5.2 Resource town policy: Context and related policy areas

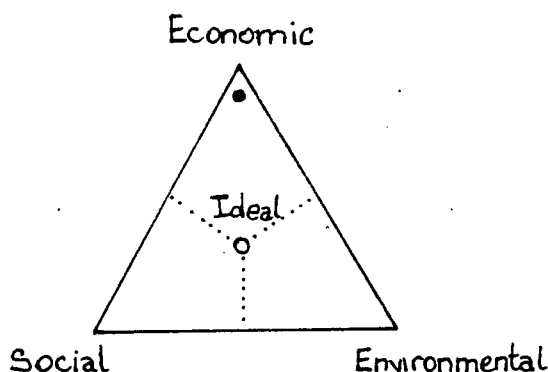


Figure 5.3 Policy in the pre-world war II and early post-war period. Economic policy predominates; social and environmental policies neglected.

Source: Original.

introduced the "instant town." However, these modifications were ineffective in achieving desired social change. This is demonstrated by the continuation of problems discussed in Chapter 2. The failure to articulate a resource settlement policy or to adequately define social goals facilitated the continued subservience of social needs to the achievement of economic development policy.

During the early post-war period, environmental policy also remained unrecognized and unarticulated. Concern regarding man's impact on the environment led, in the late 1960's and early 1970's, to an awareness of environmental issues and the establishment of environmental policy relating to resource development (see Figure 5.4).

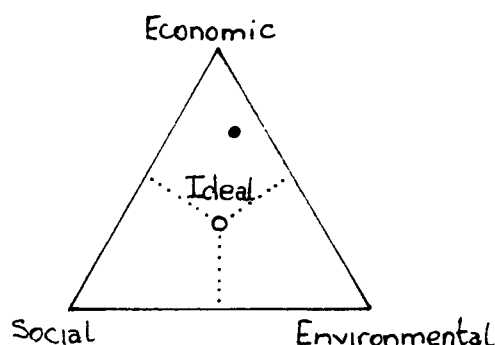


Figure 5.4 Policy in the 1960's and 1970's. Increased recognition of environmental policy; slight recognition of social policy on ad hoc basis; overall, economic policy predominates.

Source: Original.

During the late 1970's and early 1980's, research and policy analysis relating to Tumbler Ridge led to elaboration of the aim of resource town policy, the identification of resource community development objectives (see section 3.3.1) and the articulation of a policy framework for identifying and choosing settlement options. Resource town policy is concerned with the creation of

"open communities" free of undue company or government influence and as much as possible creating normal, equitable financial arrangements between the community, the Province and the Company (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1981:3).

The settlement policy framework is a procedure or sequence of steps intended to structure Provincial and Ministry responses to resource and settlement proposals (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1979). It is a

normative, process-oriented, analytical approach to decision-making. The...framework yields results through the aggregation of discrete decisions which, by means of the framework, are shaped into a cohesive, intelligible whole (Paget and Walisser, 1983:16).

It is based on the notion of "disciplined incrementalism."

The resource community planning framework is a cohesive edifice of policy preferences and instruments and a storehouse of analytical tools.... It aims to make settlement decisions resilient³ [in] the long term (Paget and Walisser, 1983:18).

Tumbler Ridge was the first resource-based community in British Columbia, the conception and establishment of which was based on recognition of all three components - economic, social and environmental. Not all three components received equal recognition, nor were they defined with equal clarity. The economic goal, namely, increased export revenue through the extraction and sale of coal, was clearly the main priority and

most easily articulated. Given a commitment to the achievement of this goal, social and environmental goals were acknowledged and attainment of them sought also.

Settlement policy was articulated by means of the above-mentioned framework. Environmental policy goals in relation to the town were defined prior to the commencement of town construction and procedures for their realization were identified (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1981a). Figure 5.5 illustrates the relationship between the three policy fields in regard to Tumbler Ridge. Social and environmental policy assumed greater prominence but were led by economic initiatives. The Tumbler Ridge project represents a notable move towards, but remains short of, the ideal of a balanced relationship between economic, social and environmental concerns. Future resource community projects should seek to achieve this ideal.

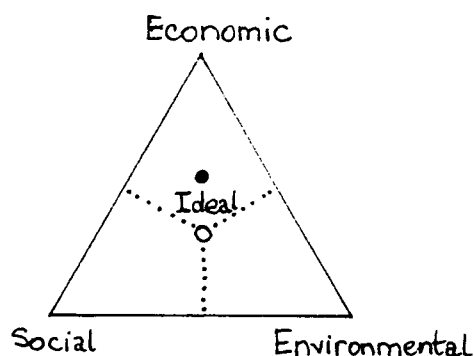


Figure 5.5 Policy in the 1980's.
Increased recognition of social and environmental policy; economic policy still predominates but to lesser extent than previously.

Source: Original.

5.2.3 Relationship of Settlement Policy and Economic Development Policy

Settlement policy and planning responds to economic development planning and is not an end in itself. Economic policy must lead because it is not feasible to have settlement without the economic basis for settlement. However, economic policy and decisions must recognize social and environmental components. Policy relating to the latter areas should be articulated as clearly as that relating to economic development.

In the past some settlement problems have resulted from the early, preemptive approvals granted to resource developers. The right to develop the resource was not sufficiently linked to the financial and social responsibility for community development. Recognition of this has produced a change in the relationship between economic policy and settlement policy. The importance of sound, farsighted policy cannot be over-emphasized. Siemens (1976:283) makes explicit the reasons for this.

Since planners are limited in their design specifications and budgets, much of the responsibility falls on the policymakers [and their advisers] who write the specifications. It is at this point in the chain of command that an enlightened social consciousness must begin.

In identifying policy priorities and relationships a hierarchy of decisions and government commitments is desirable. The decision to proceed with a resource project is primarily an economic matter and a provincial (cabinet) responsibility. The decision regarding selection of alternative settlement options is also a provincial matter. At a more detailed level, decisions regarding settlement form and structure are the responsibility of an appropriate ministry. Which ministry should take charge, depends on the mechanism or process adopted. Alternative settlement options can be defined on the basis of three generic factors:

- (1) Establishment of a new town or expansion of an existing town.
- (2) Location of the resource - project settlement within or outside the resource region.
- (3) (If commuting of workers is required) sponsorship of this journey by the company or requirement of an unsponsored trip.

It should not be presumed that establishment of a new town is the most appropriate course of action. There is a growing number of cases in both Canada and Australia where alternative options have been preferred. For example, in the Kimberley region of Western Australia, a new diamond mining project is to be staffed with labour conveyed by long-distance air transport from Perth, the state's capital city. In Queensland's Bowen Basin, a well-established agricultural region, there have been several instances of coal mining workforces attaching to existing centres in preference to the establishment of new communities for each coal project (Sharma, 1983). Oil rigs off the coast of W.A. and Newfoundland are also manned by commuter labour.

If the settlement option to build a new town or to expand an existing town is selected, the concept of governance becomes central to the decision regarding alternative development methods.

5.3 Development, Governance and Transferability

The notion of transferability is embodied in the following question: What dimensions of community governance evident in the local government resource town in B.C. can be applied to other jurisdictions, and what modifications or adjustments to existing tools or institutions would be required to enable this? The same question can be posed in regard to other models of resource community development and governance also.

Alternative resource town development methods have a significance which extends far beyond simply who carries out the tasks of collecting garbage and building roads. Lea and Zehner (1983) emphasize the

necessity of adopting administrative arrangements in resource developments which match the changing nature of the political and social environment (p. 24).

The nature of resource town development methods and associated forms of community governance are essentially a manifestation of the prevailing socio-political and economic milieu. The relationship is reciprocal: development and governance in turn influence both the local and broader society.

In light of this, it is essential that consideration be given to the political ideology or "external" environment of a particular jurisdiction, especially when the transferability of governance/development models is being considered. Harman (1981, 1984) emphasizes the importance of different political ideologies that prevail at different times and are characteristic of different political parties. She distinguishes two types of ideology that have emerged amongst frontier states in Canada and Australia. Harman notes that, associated with each, is a different form of state intervention. Political ideologies underlie not only such things as methods of collecting resource rents but also attitudes towards the acceptance of risk and willingness to become financially involved in resource projects. The importance of this in regard to the transferability of resource community development and governance methods is readily apparent. For example, in a jurisdiction characterized by a similar ideological aversion to social housing as that of the B.C. Social Credit party, it would be reasonable to expect a similar (inadequate) outcome in

respect to service sector housing, if the local government model was applied. However, if a government more amenable to involvement in housing provision prevailed, it is likely that the local government model could be transferred without these difficulties.

Table 5.1 compares the main tools and techniques used in the establishment of Tumbler Ridge and its normalised counterparts in the Pilbara region of Western Australia. The table demonstrates that generally, the "tools" currently being used for resource town development in Western Australia are less sophisticated than in British Columbia. Fairly extensive changes would be required to enable transfer of the local government development model intact or even in modified form. The less sophisticated mechanisms present in Western Australia can be attributed to the less developed notion of governance which has prevailed, especially in remote northern areas where recent mineral resource development has been concentrated. The need for financial, administrative and organizational procedures such as are evident in Tumbler Ridge has not been recognized until quite recently. Even now, those in Tumbler Ridge are somewhat more complex than in normalised Pilbara towns. Paternalistic governance emanating from corporate headquarters located in distant cities has been possible with a minimum of responsibility and involvement on the part of the local community. Although Table 5.1 gives an indication of the kinds of changes that would be required, it is not possible at this point to specify in detail the particular modifications to existing tools and institutions that would be required to enable the transfer of the local government model to another jurisdiction. This would require detailed research of specific mechanisms and their potential for modification and/or adaptation. The main prerequisite for application of the model

Table 5.1 Comparison of mechanisms used to establish Tumbler Ridge and resource towns in Pilbara Region, Western Australia

Tool or mechanism	Tumbler Ridge	Western Australia
Legislation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Letters Patent (constitutional document) issued containing specific provisions for: municipal incorporation, municipal boundary, appointment of Commissioner and transition to representative, local government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Separate Act containing broad requirements for resource and town development for each project. Development agreements invoked by statutory endorsement. • Amendments to project-specific Acts required to enable normalisation.
Municipal Incorporation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipality incorporated using letters patent under existing section of Municipal Act for each major urban settlement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Larger (Shire) municipality, of which resource town is a part, is incorporated prior to establishment of resource project (see also Municipal/Planning Area (Boundary)).
Land Allocation and Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipal corporation owns, develops and markets townsite land. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-normalisation: Company obtains Townsite Lease and develops land. Land cannot be sold. Post-normalisation: Townsite Lease surrendered; land made available for sale.
Municipal/Planning Area Boundary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of boundary to facilitate municipal revenue raising and planning controls. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipal boundaries determined independently of local economic activity. Municipalities include extensive area, multiple urban centres. • Seat of municipal administration not necessarily present in mining town causing reduced identity with local government. • Planning area boundaries established separately from municipal area boundary. Former concurs more with township than latter.
Planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sophisticated financial, social, physical and organizational planning undertaken in-house by provincial ministry with assistance from consultants. • Provincial planning legislation carries less weight than in WA. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited capability of relevant state agency (Town Planning Department) to prepare plans. Plans conceived primarily in physical and social terms. • With normalisation, municipality assumes major responsibility for planning. • State planning legislation bears significant pre-eminence over range of other statutes.
Implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Undertaken by diversified specialist team. Flexibility to adapt to evolving requirements of development process. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsibility of resource company. With normalisation, local government and state agencies assume increasing role.
Municipal Finance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of mine property within municipal boundaries which is subject to full municipal taxation. • Debenture of MFA loans over 20 year period. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restricted ratability due to amendment to Local Government Act (S533B) which imposes reduced value on mining to enable increased municipal commitments after normalisation. • No equivalent to MFA.

Table 5.1 (Cont'd)

Tool or mechanism	Tumbler Ridge	Western Australia
Risk/Guarantees (Development Agreements)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Guarantee of municipal property tax payment regardless of mine slowdown or closure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No attempt to establish mine closure agreements. Acceptance that demise of settlement is inevitable when mineral deposit is exhausted (e.g. Goldsworthy, Shay Gap, Pannawonica). ● Restriction of normalisation program to towns with longer-term prospects. No provision for ultimate closure of normalized towns.
Additional Resource Projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Municipal ability to raise revenue from increased property value on mine property lying within municipal area. Enables subsequent resource developers to share capital costs of town development. ● Mechanisms established to enable corporation and taxation of mines situated outside municipal boundary which use Tumbler Ridge as dormitory settlement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No specific provisions for subsequent developers to share capital cost of existing facilities. ● Negotiated on ad hoc basis.
Commercial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Active brokerage to gain confidence of private businesses. ● Calls for competitive proposals from major operators to establish diversified range of services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● At outset, agreement establishing monopoly rights with main retailer. Severely restricted range of services due to land tenure. ● Diversification upon normalisation.
Housing - Company Employees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Resource companies provide mortgage package but attempt to maintain low profile in residential development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● At outset, company controls housing market. Accommodation supplied on rental basis. Upon normalisation, housing package facilitates ownership.
- Service Sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Problematical. Municipal brokerage. Cooperative housing. Treatment dependent on ideological stance of government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● At outset, limited availability supplied on rental basis by resource company. Land tenure prevents private development. ● Upon normalisation, service sector residents required to provide own accommodation. Private development facilitated by changed land status. No equivalent to cooperative housing. ● Government Employees Housing Authority provides accommodation for public sector residents.
Municipal Personnel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Highly skilled municipal personnel facilitate operation of sophisticated municipal mechanisms. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● At outset, remote, unsophisticated municipal operations little affected by mining development. ● Upon normalisation upgrading of expertise of municipal personnel and increased sophistication of municipal procedures.

elsewhere is a predisposition on the part of the corporate sector, senior level governments and citizens to the adoption of genuine local self-governance. Amenability of a particular government to the local government model will be dependent largely on political ideology.

In British Columbia, the last decade and a half has been characterized by growing social consciousness and a concern to transfer the locus of governance to resource communities themselves. This is not usually a single-step process but involves a series of ongoing changes that endow the local community with progressively greater control. "Instant" towns in British Columbia were an initial, rather unfruitful attempt to move one step away from paternalistic governance, towards community self governance. The normalisation program in Western Australia is the outcome of a more recent realization of a similar kind. There is evidence of moves towards local self-governance of resource communities in other Australian jurisdictions. The new uranium town of Jabiru in the Alligator Rivers Region of the Northern Territory illustrates this change. Here, the initial development authority (Jabiru Town Development Authority) has been replaced by representative local government. This has occurred in the face of competing concerns regarding nature conservation, native Aboriginal lifestyles and the extraction of uranium (Lea and Zehner, 1983a).

At each point along the path towards bona fide self governance, there is a certain set of tools which are appropriate for the required task. These tools reflect the ability, capacity and resources available for self governance within a particular community. Differences in governance capability are exemplified by the contrast in municipal revenue raising techniques in Tumbler Ridge and normalised Pilbara towns. The former,

which are associated with a more advanced form of self-governance, are designed to

- enable deferral of payments for social and physical infrastructure over a twenty year period, thus allowing a high standard of facilities to be provided initially and the attainment of early maturity;
- have mechanisms which ensure that municipal tax requirements are met in spite of fluctuations in the state of the resource industry, and
- are designed to facilitate sharing of capital costs of development with resource companies establishing new mines within the municipality.

In contrast, development agreements tied to individual statutes in Western Australia mean that financial arrangements must be renegotiated on a case-by-case basis and generally tend to be less versatile (see for example, Shire of East Pilbara, 1981).

Experience in the Pilbara region indicates that the concept of having a town "build itself," as was the case in Tumbler Ridge, is somewhat alien to resource settlement there. Even in the "open" towns - Karratha and Port Hedland - physical development was undertaken largely by state level authorities with the Local Government Authorities generally playing a low-key role, essentially just approving state initiatives. As in British Columbia's "instant" towns, the municipalities assumed greater involvement once the towns were established and had been operating for some time. Their "open" status and public control of land allocation has enabled greater economic diversity and facilitated the establishment of a more integrated housing market than in towns initially established as closed company towns. Despite this, local government remains somewhat less sophisticated than in Tumbler Ridge.

Inherent in any community is a three-way relationship between institutions, persons and tools as shown in Figure 5.6. These relationships are reciprocal and interdependent. "Institutions" embraces the formal and

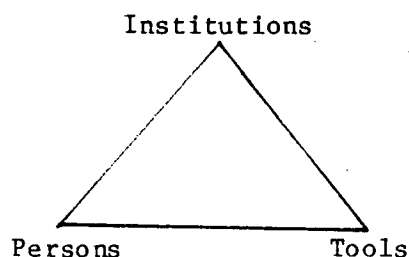


Figure 5.6 Governance system: Three key elements

Source: Original.

informal institutions and processes that enable decisions and control within a community. Examples are Council meeting and meeting of the Social Services Committee, respectively. "Tools" includes specific mechanisms that exist or can be created to facilitate decision-making and operationalization of particular institutions (e.g. Letters Patent creating the District of Tumbler Ridge, development agreements, municipal by-laws). "Persons" refers to the skills and expertise of personnel required to operate the tools and administer governance institutions (administrative effectiveness). These can require the allocation of substantial financial resources, both in recruitment, and training within a particular governance system. "Persons" can also refer to community capacity and competence, or the desire and willingness of residents to make local democracy work (political maturity). There must be a balance or equality in the relationships between the three components. For example, it is futile to have highly sophisticated tools (e.g. financial arrangements) if the nature of governance does not require this and/or the skills of persons who "operate" these tools do not enable the tools to be

used. Similarly, a high degree of human capability (i.e. "persons") is not required, and the resources necessary to develop this are wasted, if neither governance or tools necessitates this more sophisticated level of performance. When any one or more of these relationships is in tension, it predisposes the system, or part of it, to change. Change can also be stimulated from outside the system. In the Pilbara, changes in state, corporate and societal notions of the most appropriate form of resource community governance for small remote mining towns has lead to the modification of tools (e.g. municipal by-laws, state legislation, location of municipal offices) and upgrading of human resources (e.g. recruitment of municipal building inspector, engineer and additional secretarial staff). Change can also be initiated from within the governance system. For example, the desire of Tumbler Ridge residents to hasten self-governance expressed through their efforts to remove the commissioner who perceived by some residents as not being truly local. Change within a governance system will continue until a new equilibrium is established. Usually this results in a more sophisticated kind of governance than the one replaced.

A variety of issues arise in regard to the governance model as it applies to both resource communities and their broader societal context. These include:

- Is there an optimal state for the system?
- Are the components of the governance system of equal or differential importance?
- Is it possible to predict a future state of the system or its individual components given its current state?
- What relationship exists between public policy on settlement, economic development and environment and the state of the governance system?

The search for solutions to these largely theoretical questions extends beyond the scope of the present work and provides the starting point for further research and study.

5.4 Summary and Conclusions

From the foregoing study it has been possible to discern a three-phase pattern of change in the post-war approach to resource community development in British Columbia. These changes are part of a broader process of ongoing evolution in the nature of Canadian society and economy. Modifications to resource community development techniques have occurred, largely in response to problems associated with earlier development methods. These have arisen from both exogenous and endogenous sources. The three phases are largely an outcome of changes in provincial policy on resource settlement and changing relationships between settlement policy, economic policy and environmental policy. Previously economic policy took precedence. Nowadays there is a greater balance between these three fields, however economic initiatives still lead settlement activity. A similar pattern of change in resource community development methods is evident in Western Australia, though lagging the Canadian experience by about a decade.

The significance of different development methods lies in their effect on community governance. The pattern of resource community change embodies a series of steps towards increased self-governance and a reduction in the degree of paternalism.

The retrospective case study assessment of Tumbler Ridge, British Columbia, indicated that, on the whole, the local government model has been capable of achieving the objectives established for it. The main inadequacies of the model include:

- (1) the provision of service sector housing;
- (2) risk protection - uncertainty as to whether provisions will prove watertight; and

- (3) equity between companies - provisions have been made to achieve equity however, it is unclear whether these will be fully effective.

Both (1) and (3) can be attributed, in part, to factors other than the capabilities of the local government model i.e. political ideology and policies of institutions outside the immediate influence of the local government model. Resolution of these issues in future municipally-developed resource towns will require facilitative measures on the part of several actors which were not forthcoming in regard to Tumbler Ridge.

Particular strengths of the model include:

- (1) the relative ease of installing genuine local self-government;
- (2) extent of resident participation in civic affairs;
- (3) flexibility of the implementation process and ability to accommodate the need for an evolving institutional structure;
- (4) extent and speed of community development and maturity;
- (5) relative speed, ease and efficiency of physical development; and
- (6) establishment of mechanisms for financing of development without requiring major funding from senior governments.

The study has shown that it is easier and more effective to install local self-governance from the outset of town development, as in Tumbler Ridge, rather than attempt to graft it retrospectively, onto an existing system. To achieve the latter requires extensive modification and upgrading of previously established institutions, tools and personnel. Experience with "instant" towns and normalisation indicate that this is highly problematical and not assured of success. The reason for this is that elements of existing governance systems in these towns were designed

and intended for very different purposes to that of genuine self-governance. Also, there is a strong inertia factor. Once residents are acculturated to a lack of local democracy, it is difficult to get them to change.

The local government model has significant potential for application in other jurisdictions. The major prerequisite for transferability is a predisposition of the recipient society and its government to a more sophisticated form of community governance. Given this, technicalities with regard to tools, skills and governance institutions can be ascertained once the resources and capacity of a particular jurisdiction are known in detail. Acceptability and success of the local government model is largely a function of the disposition of the existing society. To have attempted to establish a resource community in B.C. two or three decades ago, in which was installed a 1980's version of community governance would almost inevitably have led to failure. Similarly, except in certain instances (e.g. where an unacceptable degree of risk to public bodies prevails or where there is a particularly limited community life expectancy due to mineral reserves) there is a general consensus that forms of corporate governance which prevailed in the 1950's and 1960's are no longer acceptable in British Columbia. Undoubtedly in the long term there will be further changes in the governance and development of resource communities about which, at this stage, one can only speculate.

NOTES

1. Definition of policy goals is based on illustrated discussions with G. Paget, Senior Policy Analyst, Ministry of Municipal Affairs, Province of British Columbia.
2. There is no clear-cut distinction between urban policy and settlement policy. Settlement policy can be regarded as a subset of urban policy and is a more appropriate phrase in relation to resource frontier towns as it lacks the connotation of large-scale metropolitanisation frequently associated with urban policy in the North American context. However, a large portion of literature and research on urban policy relates to resource town development and vice versa.
3. Resilient decisions provide viable options even if events turn out not as expected.

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