GOALS AND THEIR REALIZATION IN PLANNING AND BUILDING

AN INSTANT TOWN: GOLD RIVER

by

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ABSTRACT

The development of resources has always been one of the important factors of Canadian economy. As Canada's resource and industrial frontier extends further to the north, lasting and self-sufficient communities have become increasingly difficult to create.

The first settlements were not permanent and the inhabitants' needs and demands were limited. With time needs and demands evolved and became more complex in nature. The evolution of such settlements from camps, through company towns, to incorporated towns can be traced in terms of these demands and needs.

Instant resource towns, unlike, camps or company towns, are the result of a rather complicated planning process. The goal formulation of this process is much more complex, involving many external factors. Goal specification, especially where explicit goals are concerned, becomes not only a function of the criteria set, or the needs of the inhabitants, but also of the different needs and interests of each of the individual planning and policy making bodies.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the process involved in the creation of Gold River, an instant town. The planning and building processes will be examined in order to determine the discrepancies between the goals specified, both, explicit and implicit, in the planning process and the final product.

The aim of the study is, therefore, to analyse the different
circumstances and factors that lead to the creation of Gold River and the philosophy of the different people who contributed to it.

The planning process, concerned specifically with Gold River, is analysed. An attempt is made to differentiate between the different explicit and implicit goals of each of the individual planning bodies involved. Through the analysis of this process, both, positive and negative results are studied.

The method of study consists of a comparison of goals expressed in the planning process, by the different bodies interested, with the results achieved. Such comparison will allow the author to determine to what extent some of the goals have been achieved and will show how the performance of the physical environment relates to the expectations.

The study is based on the results of a questionnaire gathered on a field trip to the town. The goals of the different planning bodies were determined by interviewing the parties concerned and by analysing published pamphlets concerning Gold River development.

The study also describes Gold River in its different aspects as the author saw it from direct observation and from information obtained from other sources. Furthermore, an evaluation of the physical, economic and social aspects of the town in terms of user satisfaction or dissatisfaction was derived from the questionnaire.
The analysis and evaluation of achievements reveals some of the causes of user dissatisfaction, high population turnover and instability to be inherent in the planning process. Achievements are considered from the point of view of both: the different planning bodies and the inhabitants.

The conclusions support the hypotheses that:
- Discrepancies between the inhabitants' expectations of the town and the actual reality have profound social implications.
- Goal misinterpretation and partial realization is due to lack of communication between the different bodies involved in the planning process.
- In the planning process goals should be expressed explicitly and clearly.

The study has also shown that the problem of isolation, lack of diversity, population turnover and lack of growth, which plagued resource towns in the past, still are major problems in the incorporated, ultramodern, instant town of Gold River. This indicates that in the planning for such towns:
- The size and density of the community should be taken into consideration.
- Growth and diversification of industries, as factors necessary to make a place lasting and livable, should be kept in mind.
- It should be emphasized that the stability of a community is a function of the population turnover.
- It is necessary to provide for substantial recreational facilities.
The phenomenon of Instant towns is a recent innovation in this province and should be better understood and thus improved. This study is an attempt to contribute to a better understanding of the factors involved in the creation of such a town and therefore may be instrumental in the creation of other, better towns.
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CHAPTER I

RESOURCE COMMUNITIES

Dramatic population growth along with the accelerated demands for higher standards of living create a constant demand for new physical developments, extended frontiers, and increased supplies of raw material. In British Columbia resource development plays a very important economic role. The development of resources has always been one of the important factors of British Columbia's as well as Canada's economy. The by-product of this development has been the creation of completely new communities to populate and facilitate the exploitation of new resource industries.

A. Basic Problems of Resource Communities

New developments take place either in urban areas where they often become a burden to the existing city, or they are created in frontier areas at resource sites. Such settlements often grow at random without the backing of a definite governmental policy, and are thus dispersed all over the province with very little opportunity of interaction. They are designed to house and service the workers and administrators of the nearby resource.

One of the distinguishing features of these new towns is that they are 'planned' in marked contrast to earlier towns where communities were allowed to 'just grow'. Since these instant
towns are created primarily to satisfy the demands of trade and industry, the individual inhabitant and his needs are often overlooked.

As British Columbia's resource frontier extends further north and away from the densely populated areas, lasting and self-sufficient communities have become more and more difficult to create, for both, the planning and the building of such towns has met with many obstacles, several of which cannot be eliminated because they are inherent in the nature of the site, its remoteness, isolation, difficult terrain and lack of communication facilities.

Other factors, such as the dependence of new towns on a single industry which is highly vulnerable to economic fluctuations and above all the heterogeneous population contribute to the constant feelings of insecurity of the settlers and the temporary nature of such settlements. Such towns are composed of young families with children, young single men, and foreign elements of different social and national backgrounds, with nothing in common except the quest for money. Last, but not least, is the direct and indirect influence of the company and its administrators who are often unable to deal with the social and political, as well as economic life-problems of these towns.

Planners have tried their best in planning communities which would not only attract workers but also keep them. While planning for these new towns has been of a high quality and is
often undertaken by renown planners, it has been based upon principles and techniques which are meant to deal with conditions prevailing in densely built-up, highly urbanized areas, hardly appropriate to the special conditions of the isolated and remote resource-based towns.

In planning for these towns, the regional framework within which they are built - i.e. the initial stage of selection of the site as well as the physical design and plans prepared for it - have rarely been taken into consideration. In most cases no serious consideration has been given either to communication difficulties or to problems of an alien and completely heterogeneous population for which the towns are built.

Other factors such as the above mentioned fluctuation of the market, and changes and advances in technology often bring the industry to a stop. The very fact that these towns are based on one single enterprise determines their lack of permanence and the basic instability of the towns' community.

To remedy this situation attempts have been made to situate these new towns in strategic positions and to encourage a number of secondary industries to develop in order to turn the resource towns into permanent settlements and give their population more security in alternative future job-opportunities. Most of these remedies have failed, for some towns still remain single enterprise towns and the fear of becoming a 'ghost town' is ever present in the minds of its inhabitants.
So far the exploitation of the resources and the organization of new towns has not been very successful. One of the characteristic weaknesses of such towns is the constant turnover of the working personnel. Such a turnover not only brings economic losses to the investing company in terms of the training of new personnel each time, but also has far reaching effects, such as a general reluctance to invest in the exploitation of primary resources and especially in the development of secondary industries on the site.

The reason for the turnover is not only the very nature of the population itself, but also the total lack of identity and hopes for permanence or future security which the worker invariably experiences in such towns.

The creation of an instant community requires the involvement of private entities as well as public action. Such settlements are created in order to provide working power to the industry. The decision to develop the potential of certain human and natural resources may be economic or political, but in either case it has profound social implications. The inhabitants' reactions to such settlements become thus considerations of prime importance.

B. The Evolution of Settlements and Legislation

A brief survey of the historical evolution of resource towns shows that in the beginning the unskilled labour force
which was attracted to the resource was not very demanding of living facilities. The first settlements were based on single industry enterprises and were basically transient in nature.

Camps - The first such settlements were camps, established primarily for male workers where the buildings were owned by the operating company. The earliest camps were established by the forest industry.

One of the first camps was erected in 1858 at Mill Bay north of Victoria. By 1866, there were small logging camps on the British Columbia coast as well. In 1883, at the present site of Vancouver city, the forest seemed limitless and there was not even settlement enough to invite a landing. About 1900 the first few men reached as far as Knight Inlet around 200 miles from Vancouver.

Since these camps were regarded as temporary living and boarding facilities provided by the resource developer or the company, no attempt was made at any kind of planning. As far as the company was concerned, the camps were there to serve the company's need for an available labour force necessary for the extraction or exploitation of the natural resource. Whatever other needs the labourers may have had besides food and shelter, did not interest the company. Furthermore, the company's constant attempt to spend as little as possible on the living quarters led to cheap construction and as few facilities as possible.

These first camps were erected as close as possible to the
actual cutting site and moved to new locations when the standing
timber was liquidated. In those days such caravans were a rather
common sight:

The two team of oxen hitched to the wagon, which
was loaded with hay, grub, blankets, tents, because
they were going to camp on the job. Behind the wagon
they hooked on a stone boat with the cook stove,
buckets, dishes, and the chinese cook.

Often, also shacks or bunkhouses were built by the company.
There was little privacy there, for the early bunkhouses were
just barracks with no partitions separating the beds from each
other. They were primitively furnished with unfinished board
floors and plywood walls. The buildings were either haphazardly
scattered or arranged in rather dull geometrical patterns.
Later, when the railroad came into existence, entire camps were
built on railway bogeys and moved from one site to another.

In general, the bunkhouses were put up around the cook
house where the cook hired by the company prepared meals for
all the workers. To reduce the expenses for service, cafeteria
techniques were used.

In another building, completely separated from the bunk-
houses were the washroom facilities and often also those for
the laundry to minimize the expense of installing another set
of plumbing.

In very few camps could one find a recreation hall. People
were supposed to eat, sleep and work day after day. They had
neither the time nor the opportunity for any social activities besides that of drinking.

At this stage the governmental policies regarding camps were very flexible and practically non-existent. The government was mainly interested in establishing new camps and developing resources in order to attract new investment into the country. Regulations did not exist and often the living conditions in such camps could become rather unbearable:

but in all the big camps there were proper bunkhouses with beds, alive with bed-bugs.\(^5\)

The only women ever seen in these camps were the wives of the employees in the management position, and that only very rarely. The workers could never bring their wives since there was no accommodation to house families.

It is only natural that under such living conditions the turnover was high and discontent rampant. This led eventually to general strikes in 1934 and the formation of a union of lumberworkers with goals to humanize the living conditions in the camps.\(^6\)

Only in 1946 did the government pass "Regulations for the Sanitary Control of Industrial Camps" based on the "Health Act" of 1911. These regulations established norms and minimum standards for sanitary conditions such as a required minimum floor area per worker, drainage, construction, food, as well as other required basic facilities in a camp. These regulations were to be administered and controlled by the Medical Health
Officers of the areas where the camps were located. The whole principle of camps and camp life had now to be reconsidered. Improvements took place; more facilities were provided for the workers and wages were raised. With progress in technology and improved transportation techniques, such as the different types of motor vehicles adapted to the terrain, it became possible to operate within a larger radius from the camp as a center. Camps tended to stay for longer periods in one location and became also larger in size. The company was now willing to invest a little more in housing facilities.

In today's camps attempts are made to secure some privacy for the worker. Although rooms are shared by two people only, the union still asks for one man rooms to have more privacy. Each bunkhouse has its own washroom facilities and beds have spring-filled mattresses.

In erecting these camps, the company usually contacts a catering organization to organize the camp and take the responsibility for housing as well as boarding facilities. Since the company relieves itself of the burden and responsibility of organizing and running the camp, its relationship with the employees is maintained on a more acquiescent basis and is improved, for any bad feelings about housing or food can be vented on a third external party.

Today, with the possibility of trailer ownership, a larger
number of workers can bring their families along, and move around when necessary with their own trailer and the whole family. The remaining problems are moving costs and the availability of educational facilities.

Unincorporated communities — Along with the camps there exist the unincorporated communities. They grow in an unorganized area adjacent to a marginal sawmill where the housing facilities are erected on a Crown's leased land or on a Crown grant. Often they come into existence with no permission, just by the 'squatter's right'.

The living standards in such communities are very low and very little capital is invested in public services. Streets are unpaved, there are no sewages, water is supplied from a well and there is no fire protection. There is no local government and people in general regard all suggested improvement as unnecessary and unwanted. The only public service is the school which is provided by the local school district.

Such settlements depend on the market and the fluctuation of prices. When the prime industry for some reason or other closes down, these settlements die.

The government's position here is very vague and undefined: no strong resolutions are taken in order to encourage or support such communities. The question of their existence is left to free enterprise and the initiative of individuals. Whatever the consequences, they must be borne by the inhabitants.
Company towns -- Although most camps were intended to be temporary, some have grown into permanent towns. As workers established themselves in such towns, they made attempts to bring their families. This necessitated provisions for some housing of a better kind than that provided by the bunkhouses. It also necessitated some educational and recreational facilities.

These towns are essentially company towns where all the buildings, as in the camps, are owned by the company: for example Tahsis on Vancouver Island, close to Gold River, or Trail in British Columbia's mainland.

Nonetheless, they can be distinguished from the camps by the fact that they are intended to be permanent settlements housing not only the male elements but also families. Companies have invested in such towns mainly in the hope that when the worker is accompanied by his family and has some recreational facilities and schooling guaranteed for his children, there may be more of a chance in retaining him and reducing the turnover. The first such towns grew around 1909 at Swason Bay and Ocean Falls. 9

Although over 50% of the workers are males with no families, the towns have distinctive features which differentiate them from the camps. They are planned and to some extent landscaped. There are roads in the town between the different parts, as well as between the town and the outside world. Although bunkhouses are still the major feature of such towns, there are enough houses, a school, a public building for recreation and gatherings as well as shopping facilities to give the
settlement the aspect of a town rather than a camp.

These towns are well kept and on the average provide acceptable living conditions, nevertheless they have a major shortcoming - the landlords, the employer and the town's governing body are all one and the same body - the company. This fact creates much stress and discontent.

Notwithstanding the above shortcoming, it is evident that as far as living conditions and perhaps even where the social and psychological atmosphere is concerned, the company town is a step ahead of the camp.

"The Company Town Regulation Act" was established in 1919 in order to provide access of the general public to the company towns as well as ensure the right of the public to use the roads in company towns. Its major clauses deal with water supply, sewages, public health, roads, land subdivision, land registration and taxation.

An interesting feature about the British Columbia company towns Act is that its administration was given to the Department of Lands and Forests rather than to the Department of Municipal Affairs. This is, perhaps, symptomatic of the fact that first importance in Canada has been placed upon industrial development, the extraction and processing of raw materials, rather than upon the development of communities as living places. The mine, mill, or plant has priority and the community is a necessary though secondary venture that grows up in the vicinity of the works operation.

C. Instant Towns - A Step Ahead of Company Towns

The company towns thus answered basic needs, especially
during the pioneer times, by providing better housing and sanitary conditions. But with time and changes in people's outlook, the company towns even with their low rents and good houses could not satisfy the inhabitants who now felt dis-satisfied and frustrated because they did not and could not participate and have a say in the building of the town. They resented the omnipresence of the company and the absence of the possibility of private ownership.

The company, too, was not satisfied with such a situation, for it had to patronize, organize and invest in the town and try to satisfy people's needs and wishes. Furthermore, since only the company workers could live in such towns and only for the duration of their employment by the company, the turnover came to be rather high and the general atmosphere strained.

Such factors were instrumental in preventing the creation of any more new company towns and in turning many of them into incorporated municipalities. Such an arrangement is to the company's favour, since while ensuring a constant labour force, the company can now get back the money invested and does not have to manage the town. The burden of dealing with all sorts of problems concerning housing, education or recreation can now be carried by the community.

It is evident that in order to make a place livable real open towns would have to be created in conjunction with the development of a resource or an industry. Both, the government
and the companies, became aware of this fact and in 1965 through an Amendment of the Municipal Act permission was given to create Instant Municipalities. Gold River was one of the first of such Municipalities.

Such instant towns were to be developed in conjunction with the development of the natural resource with a municipality incorporated within an unorganized territory. Through legislation the company was supposed to build the town and provide for the basic needs of the future inhabitants. An interim government was to be appointed while the inhabitants would be arriving and settling.

At this stage the company, at least in principle, would have to withdraw from the town and act solely as the provider of jobs to the inhabitants. The inhabitants would have the opportunity to buy houses and fully structure and participate in the shaping of community life.

The provincial government in turn supplies borrowing powers to the municipality, provides police and fire protection for the first three years and when the community is mature enough and is self-sufficient it would become self-governing. This theoretical and almost ideal situation was designed in answer to the actual needs and requirements of the potential inhabitants in the present, but will perhaps be no more satisfactory for future needs. For, it is interesting to note, that while in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century workers got along reasonably well in the camps, they no more did so
later. They were then supplied with company towns which, in turn, acceptable only for a period, have now become unsatisfactory. To satisfy the needs and more sophisticated demands of today's highly skilled and specialized workers instant towns have been created.

At each stage legislation just managed to catch up with the demands of the workers. The role of legislation concerning the single industry settlements was to regulate their functioning and to protect the workers from employer abuses as well as to protect the interests of the inhabitants in general.

Some of this legislation had roots in common law and tradition, while in other cases it was the result of the pressure of the public opinion or public concern about certain unacceptable conditions. The government enforced laws for new settlements and only in the case of instant towns it became the initiator of a new type of legislation which provided for such details as water supply, sewages as well as public health.

It is quite evident that the evolution of these basic settlements is a function of the need expressed by the people for better living conditions. It is also a function of the general improvement of the standard of living.

Legislation evolved from the Health Act, through the Company Town Legislation to the Instant Town Legislation.

With the growing of the demands of the workers, the evolution in understanding the needs of the workers also took place
and attempts were made to humanize the process of providing the basic requirements. Furthermore the government, previously completely withdrawn, became more and more involved.

With time people's needs and demands change, so do technology, industrial management and labour techniques. Nevertheless, the basic problems concerning resources development seem to have remained the same: the supply of a working force for the prime industry and the necessity to satisfy the workers so as to ensure some stability and reduce turnover.

To solve precisely these problems camps evolved through company towns into instant incorporated towns. Although the actual instant towns are supposed to be self-governing, they are still much like the company towns in that there is one employer and one resource. They are really 'modern company towns' rather than open towns.

The instant towns are at present the most recent attempts to solve the problem of settlement. Their creation has become a rather complex process since in their planning a number of different bodies are involved. This leads to a rather perplexing situation of defining the final goals regarding the general aspects of the town, details of layout, and facilities.

Perhaps, the most complex stage in the planning of a town is the goal specification stage where the explicit and implicit goals of the different bodies involved may sometimes reinforce each other and at other times be in conflict. It is this
process of goal formulation and the final results as applied to a specific case of the instant town of Gold River that will be dealt with in this study.
Footnotes


3 Ibid., p. 20.


6 Ibid., pp. 34-47.

7 See Appendix A - "The Health Act."

8 Information obtained from interview with loggers in Gold River.


10 See Appendix B - "The Company Town Act."

11 Institute of Local Government, Queen's University, *Single Enterprise Communities in Canada* (Kingston: Queen's University, 1953), p. 57.

12 See Appendix C - "Instant Towns Legislation."
CHAPTER II

THE DETERMINATION OF GOALS

The crucial difference between planning a structure for some exotic animal and planning one for the nonexotic human being is that an expert on animal behaviour has an essential voice in the animal project but no expert on human behaviour has anything to say about the human's habitat. As a result the animal gets a distinctly better deal.¹

When this 'exotic animal' does not perform to the limit of its capacity and sulks or seems unhappy, it gets expert attention. When the human being's habitat produces 'social trauma and psychological stress', he is left to himself with the problem.²

This is a curious state of affairs. Most of us spend most of our time in space planned for human occupancy. It is apt to be very well equipped so far as physical comfort is concerned but rarely, if ever, is it designed with conscious knowledge of the goals and values of the people who will use it. Since the quality of the social and psychological milieu is far more crucial to human performance than the quality of the plumbing, this seems idiotic.³

A. The Planning Process as the Expression of Different Priorities

Planning can be defined as a method or a way of rational decision-making where means and ends are analysed and evaluated in order to assess how they can best be brought together at minimum cost and maximum efficiency. Basically, the planning process passes through the following stages:

- goal specification
- decision-making
In the above definition of planning it is implicitly assumed that goals can be clearly defined and measured, but in reality the objectives of the planning process shift with questions of feasibility and the analysis of the means and ends becomes problematic. The above mentioned stages, according to S. Chapin, occur in cycles which proceed in a circular rather than a straight-line sequence, with one sequence of action moving into a second, and a second into a third and so on.

When this process is visualized as a function of time, the cycles are no more circular, but become helixes (see Diagram 1) for, the process advances with time and there is a continuous shift within the goal specification stage where no new goal is identical to an old one.

Goal specification changes become therefore a function of:
- The progressive modification of ends and means which in turn are a function of feasibility.
- Administrative circumstances where purpose and performance intervene.
- Political background noise.
- Technology and policies within the social structure.

Planning can thus become a rather difficult and often confusing process. Apart from the above mentioned objectives, all community planning is, or should be based upon considerations of a humane nature such as people's psychological and emotional
LEGEND:

- GOAL SPECIFICATION
- DECISION MAKING
- PLAN EXECUTION
- EVALUATION & REORIENTATION

THE PLANNING PROCESS

DIAGRAM - 1
needs, standards of living, and the opportunity for the individual to develop all his potentialities. Political and economic decisions as well as the geography or history of the place also intervene.

But planners, according to Herbert J. Gans are victimized by their fallacious belief that physical environment was a major determinant of society and culture and, in addition, they mistakenly believed that the good life would grow only in an environment based upon principles of professional planning.\(^5\)

In the conventional planning process, planners, therefore, seem to pursue their own professional goals rather than those of the people. They make decisions that affect other people's lives on the basis of their own values. The question that arises here is whether the purpose of planning is to plan for buildings and space, or to meet social goals and solve social problems.

Although personal biases have played havoc in many planning processes, the crucial problem in any planning has always been an economic one - i.e. where public and private expenditure is involved, or how to allocate money and resources.

From the above it is evident that...

... planning has parallels with other fields, but it also has distinctive features. Three of these features that differentiate planning from other fields are: (1) its multidisciplinary ties, (2) its innovational bias, and (3) its joint identification with the sciences and arts.\(^6\)

In its simplified form the planning process can be considered to be the expression of three major priorities:

- Physical - spacial form, physical layout and design.
- Economic - capital distribution and circulation, expenditure and investment return.
- Social - administrative activities, legislative acts, and community development programs.

Expressed in terms of the humane aspect these priorities can be summarized as:
- A decent home and suitable environment for every family.
- Jobs for all and a minimum family income.
- Adequacy and equality in public services and facilities.  

Physical planning is concerned with buildings, land, utility lines and other facilities which serve the dwellers in carrying out their activities. Its main objective is the allocation and prevision of space for the immediate needs as well as the future ones.

It is difficult to deny that people do react to their physical environment and especially to their immediate housing problems and those of their neighbourhood. The oldest type of building is the dwelling, which was perhaps man's first primitive solution to his most crucial problems - that of protection from the elements, beasts and human enemies. Later it became the answer to the need of privacy.

There is evidence that the physical environment affects the perception of oneself, it contributes to or relieves stress, and influences health and illness. People seem to have troubles in understanding their environment because of the
complex interrelations between its parts, and others attach symbolic meanings to the physical world. For effective physical planning it is important to know how people use their present physical environment and its symbolic components. It is also important to know the impact of the environment on them and their preferences concerning the environment.

What all the above findings may imply in practice is a matter of priorities. It seems that if the human factor is kept in mind then in physical planning a high priority will be placed on housing without necessarily giving up other physical development objectives. Whatever the case may be, the planner is necessarily faced with economic considerations. It is here that the economic priority intervenes.

Although the physical planning of a city has a major role to play in the realization of the goals for jobs and incomes, which is really an economic priority, it is itself a function of economic and financial factors such as the projected effective demand and availability of financing means.

Sensible economic planning contributes significantly to the stability and cohesion of a community. Studies made have shown, for example, that a large number of small businessmen in a community contributed to its stability for a large proportion of the money earned by the residents circulated within the community. Furthermore:

- Such interprises provided jobs, even though part-time in some cases.
The businessmen were active leadership forces mainly because they had invested in the community.\textsuperscript{9}

Naturally, the existence of such small businessmen is to a large extent a function of the design of the physical development of the community.

In economic planning, then, considerations are made regarding not only the process of production and distribution of goods and services, employment and income, but also those of laws, contracts, and established practices of economic activity.

Although economic objectives and physical form and arrangement of the urban environment are important priorities of the planning process, social objectives and aims have also to be taken into consideration. Public services and recreational facilities and their quality and quantity play an important role in a community. Through these services and facilities the available human resources in the community can be polarized and geared to the advancement of major community goals.

It is here that 'social planning' should be added to the traditional land-space-use program of the physical planning. Although traditional physical planning is still necessary for efficient housing, aesthetic considerations and the modernization programs of cities, more attention should be paid to its social and economic problems. Through social planning goals which are non-physical and which concern the entire society can be outlined.

Social planning is a problem-solving activity. Concerned with social problems and social objectives,
it involves a number of inter-related systems
leading to agreement upon values, goals and means.
These in turn lead to priority determination,
allocation of resources, the development of effective
strategies and ultimately to action programs.

B. **Goal Criteria**

Definition: A goal is in general the objective of an
effort or ambition born out of a need; it is a condition which
is desired and towards which the person will strive over a
period of time. A goal therefore, is an ideal response to
human needs or wants carried over time.

Where planning is concerned, goal-formulation is the first
step of the planning process. This first step of the planning
process should consist of a critical examination of goals and
goal-values stated as the objective of the process. It is at
this stage that the meaning of goals and goal-values as well as
the implications of their meaning are examined. Here two facts
have to be considered:
- The possibility and impossibility of attaining such goals.
- The cost of pursuing and reaching them.

Undesired effects are examined, especially in terms of the
sacrifice of other goals and values. Alternative possible goals,
their implication, consequences and risks are also considered.

Since in the planning process, several different people
are often involved, the critical examination of goals becomes
rather complex. For, planning the needs in terms of goal-
formulation as well as the decision-making process are both
psychological processes.

In making a decision about the priority of a need and in choosing the objective - the goal, the individual's performance is determined by the overall nature of the need or problem, and also by the individual's personal needs. The choice of a goal is thus affected by the general goals the individual has erected for himself, by the individual's place or relative standing to others concerned with the same goal, and by the place of the goal in the individual's own scheme of goals.

The individual's self enters thus into the process of goal formulation and specification. This is perhaps why planners have so often been accused of making decisions and choosing goals solely on the basis of their values.

Efforts are being made to render the identification of planning goals more objective and perhaps even measurable, through the use of direct questions to probe for responsiveness on physical features of goal forms that are associated with 'livability' in the city, and in a complementary line of questioning (it seeks) to get at past behaviour that might also shed light on goals. Nevertheless, the selection of goals and goal combinations in the planning process still remains a subjective matter and a function of value judgements.

Although the architect or the planner may base their perception of community or other goals upon the combination of their past experiences and observations, on questionnaires and contact with the public, they still bring into the process of
goal identification their own biases and cannot escape from their many misconceptions of people's values. As a result any planning and especially city planning has been an art plied by a profession dedicated to a set of narrow architectural goals and a land-use and design program for realizing them. As a result, city planning has not paid much attention to people's goals, effective means or ... the urgent problems of the cities.\(^\text{12}\)

One may of course ask here what constitutes a valid basis for the goal identification of the masses or the public in general? It is being more and more stressed that

The first step in planning anything - a new town or a pizza parlor - is to find out the particular yearnings, kinks and aberrations of the groups that make up the little world you are dealing with.\(^\text{13}\)

But how does one find the yearnings, kinks and aberrations of people? Goals come often in combinations, they involve a number of alternative goals, one goal may lead into another and still another. Very seldom does a goal remain static over a given span of time.

These goals are mostly implied and not plainly expressed. They are virtually contained in people's yearnings and needs and may even be involved in general belief such as group goals which are widely held and adhered to. Explicitly stated goals are seldom expressed. Few goals, whether public or private are expressed in detail, leaving nothing to mere implication. Almost no goals are definite.

From these interwoven and implicitly expressed goals the
planners have to select goal-combinations and give them substance in order to be able to specify the goals of the planned activity. Goal specification has thus become a rather thorny issue for it is complexly interwoven into the action sequence, sometimes varying according to the policy implications behind the goal, sometimes varying with the actors dominating a particular issue at a particular time, and sometimes varying with the political climate prevailing at that time.¹⁴

C. The Reality of Goal Formulation

Had man been dreamless would he have had his religions, his symbolism and his allegories, his poetry and much of his art? ... So we have to conclude that dreams are one of the most remarkable factors that have entered into the fabrication of civilization as we know it today.¹⁵

There is nothing new in the idea of creating a new town. Through man's history cities have been created either out of a need or just out of the whims of kings, politicians, generals, or reformers. There also has always been, and perhaps still is, a myth of the ideal city.

Ideal cities have only been visualized in utopian extremes for they are conceived far from reality, upon non-operational foundations. Nevertheless, the dreams of ideal cities, where imagination reaches out into reality, are the starting point of the conception of a town and the goal formulation process.

The conception of a new city is a rather complex process, for it is the result of many factors. One of these factors is a purely personal and individualistic one, such as the need to
create, to actualize one's dreams and, perhaps, even to ensure one's immortality through the erected stones. In some cases such a conception is the result of a thirst for power and ambition.

The goals formulated in this case would be purely implicit and often intangible, for the conceived city becomes a subjective representation of personal needs, dispositions or tendencies rendered objective in terms of images. These personal needs, dispositions and tendencies are often unconscious and the formulated goals are conditioned to a large extent by the affective and emotional life of the person.

But, although needs and especially frustrated and unsatisfied ones, are the impulse in the process of goal formulation, if left alone they remain sterile. Man's mind has organizing and regulating powers, but without imagination it can neither innovate nor create. When the human being, stimulated by a need constructs and invents new combinations and synthesis, he can only do it with the help of mental images - imagination.

In the first stage of goal formulation a combination of imagination and needs is represented implicitly in the form of images - inarticulate and undefined. With time this dream is exteriorized and actualized. In the process of externalization and realization several factors intervene.

The city is, or at least should be, planned for people, and their needs should be considered. In the mind of the
architect or the planner the conception of a city and its characteristics is close to the ideal of a dream. Out of this dream is thus born the utopia of an ideal city. At this stage the city is represented in terms of verbal descriptions accompanied, perhaps, with graphic representations. Goals are formulated and stated, and an attempt is made to express verbally explicit and well defined goals. But these goals are still very idealistic and unrealistic for they are the goals of utopia.

This utopia, if it ever were to be realized has to be adjusted to reality. It is here that the discrepancy between the original intention and the final action is introduced. In the process of adjustment, factors such as choice, priorities, restraints, and economic, practical, political, personal or public policies and general feasibility interfuse. Such a process is basically one of decision-making.

Decision making in the process of goal-formulation is different from the decision-making process per se, i.e. that of the planning process in general. In the planning process the decision-making stage takes place when the course of action for the fulfilment of goals is considered and evaluated. In the decision-making process in the goal formulation stage, certain implicit goals are selected in the light of the different factors mentioned above.

Here all implicit goals are:
- Examined within the framework of the prevailing practical conditions.
- Evaluated in terms of their feasibility and consequences.
- Modified, restricted or extended.

As the result of this process some implicit goals can be articulated explicitly (see Diagram 2).

It is necessary to mention here that the process of goal formulation becomes more and more intricate as the number of the involved bodies and their goals increases. Each body then separately forms its own goals and transforms these goals in the process of transfer from input to product. In the final goal formulation all the implicit goals, all the dreams and needs of the different individuals are thus involved and hopefully expressed. Only those goals which are in fact mutually exclusive, i.e. those which are directly opposed to each other and cannot interfuse, are eliminated from the final product.
Diagram 2

The Reality of Goal Formulation

TO IMAGINE

INPUT

INPUT

IMAGINATION

IMPLICATION

AMBITION

DREAM

Vaguely Felt Goals

TO REALIZE

OUTPUT

EXPLICIT GOALS

REALITY

END PRODUCT OUTPUT

IDEALIZED RESPONSES

INTENTIONS

UTOPIA

Vaguely Stated Goals

SELECTION OF CERTAIN IMPLICIT GOALS

REAJUSTMENT OF IDEALS TO REALITY

DECISION MAKING

- Choice
- Priorities
- Experience
- Restraints
- Feasibility

BACKGROUND NOISE

BACKGROUND NOISE
Footnotes


2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.


6 Chapin, *op. cit.*, p. 223.


13 Deasy, *op. cit.*, p. 54.


CHAPTER III

STATEMENT OF GOALS IN THE PLANNING OF GOLD RIVER

A. Implicit and Explicit Goals

"Goal specification is a logical point of entry into the circular sequence ... identified with the planning process."¹ But the term goal specification in itself is rather elusive in nature for it is linked with many different frames of action. Although the term goal has been defined simply as "design, purpose or object,"² one has to ask the questions, "by whom" and "for whom". Such questions do not always refer to one specific person or group with identifiable needs, aims or one explicit goal in mind. Thus the question as what constitutes a valid basis for goal identification, the selection of goal combinations and the establishment of standards to be used in determining which goals should be given preference becomes an important aspect of the whole process of goal specification.

The nebulousness of identifying goals that have one and the same meaning to both the average urbanite and the decision maker is difficult enough, but how are goals to be arrayed and given meaning in combinations that have never been articulated or viewed before by the general public or even the decision maker in any goal form of physical development.³

This precisely seems to have been the case in the planning and building of Gold River, mainly because of the number of different bodies involved in the decision making such as: the government, the company and the different professionals (the architect, the planner, etc.). As most approaches are value-laden, specific or explicit goals expressed overtly are only a
part of implicit goal combinations which are the result of the value judgements which decision makers form.

In the case of Gold River, a number of resolutions, statements and commitments were made, but goals were not explicitly stated and decisions and executions regarding the development of the town were left to the discretion of the different parties involved in the process of planning and building. Some of the implicit goals were in the form of a general understanding that:

- Plans and provisions should be made in order to provide accommodation, amenities and services initially for those employees of the Tahsis Company who would be working in the pulp mill.

- It was expected that not only employees of the Tahsis logging division may choose to live in Gold River but also the employees from other nearby logging and mining centers.

- Hopes were high that Gold River may become a tourist center since it could provide the prospective tourist with large quantities of high quality fish in the nearby rivers, lakes and the Muchalet Inlet. In addition, the magnificent mountains with their streams and forests are great camping and hiking sites and could provide the hunter with plentiful game.

- Some also hoped that Gold River, due to its geographical situation would become the major distribution point for the North-Western section of Vancouver Island and thus the nucleus for the development of the region.
The only goal explicitly stated in the final agreement was that of housing the Tahsis Company employees. Underlying and indirectly linked to this explicit goal was a number of unstructured implicit goals the aim of which was to turn Gold River into a diversified regional center.

As we have seen, the three parties involved in the planning of Gold River were the government, the Tahsis Company and the professional people (architect, planner, etc.). Although all agreed on the above mentioned goal, their implicit goals, value judgements and interests were completely different. This will be evident in the following analysis of the goals of the different parties involved.

The government - The creation of Gold River necessarily implied an investment of foreign capital in the province since the Tahsis Company is in part owned by foreign investors. It involved the immediate creation of some five hundred new job openings helpful in curbing unemployment. Furthermore, the creation of a new plant would have brought with it a considerable increase in tax revenue to the provincial treasury. Basically, the government had two goals in mind:
- Increased gain to the treasury.
- Well-being of the would-be inhabitants. (See Diagram 3)

The government's first preoccupation, then, was to examine whether the creation of a new town would in the long run, instead
- Promote resource development (55)
- Encourage new communities (56)
- Build the town adjacent to a settlement (29)
- Think in terms of regional center (5)
- Flexible policy (20)
- Wealth, health and happiness of citizens (7)

- Gain to provincial treasury (49)
  Political interest

- Well being of inhabitants (8)
  Peoples interest

- Laws insuring an acceptable place to live in (9)
- Laws insuring an acceptable place to raise children (10)
- School facilities (43)
- Good sanitary conditions (140)
- Impose building standards (19)

---LEGEND---
- Explicit goals are underlined
- Numbers in brackets correspond to reference numbers in Table II

Diagram 3 Government's Goal Specification
of becoming a burden to the taxpayer, bring an increased gain
to the treasury. Detailed studies showed that the treasury
would indeed gain in the long run.

In creating resource towns although it is important to
consider the material or capital gains benefit further consid­
erations such as the general well-being of the inhabitants must
be kept in mind. The government's second task, therefore, was
to determine whether the actual British Columbia laws and acts
concerning housing, sanitary and socio-economic conditions
would insure the creation of an acceptable place in which to
live and raise children.

In reality whenever there is a new development the govern­
ment is directly concerned with adequate sanitary conditions
and school facilities. Through the approval of different by-laws
the government can control the way the land is used and by
lending money for construction through the Central Mortgage and
Housing Corporation it can impose its own building standards.

Other things such as the fashioning of the physical
environment, road lay-outs, landscaping and the general lay-out
of the town and its buildings is left to the discretion of the
parties concerned, i.e. the company and its consultants.

For a long time there has been no explicit definition of
the goals or principles upon which the planning and building
of resource towns was based. The policy of laissez-faire and a
quick-return profit with large gains for a minority seem to have
been the motive force behind the building of resource towns in
the past.

This short-term vision inevitably predisposes
a populist government to short-run, spectacular
projects and diverts it from long-run, perhaps
initially disruptive policies, and leads to an
emphasis on material developments like roads and
bridges as opposed to immaterial (and also perhaps
long-run) policies like education.4

Presently public opinion has become more aware of resource
development problems and questions the validity of the short-run
planning and quick-return profit policies. With public awareness
and involvement in the planning process more stress is being put
on long-term planning.

Already the fact that an instant town's legislation has
been instituted by the government indicates positive support
for new development in virgin areas and an encouragement for
the creation of new communities. It shows that the government's
policy is to promote resource development.

Mr. Don South stated that there is in Victoria a trend
insisting on some basic features which constitute the Letters-
Patent5 for a new community. Some of these features are:
- To incorporate into a municipality, (purely for taxation
  reasons in order to become self-supporting), the land where
  the plant and the industrial development will be situated.
- To attempt to locate the town adjacent or related to an
  existing community or settlement.
- To encourage future developments of the community and think in
terms of regional centers rather than just settlements for
the purpose of industry and resource development.

One of Mr. South's general comments was that "a govern­
mental policy on new resource towns in British Columbia is
non-existent", this being due to the fact that the government
does not want to commit itself to any long-range policy. The
government's attitude is not to have any rigid statements but
on the contrary to be as flexible as possible in order to judge
every case by itself in its own context and thus be able to
modify and re-adjust its thinking and attitude to the people's
requirements and demands.

As far as the government is concerned its explicit goals
are vague and unspecified, whereas as far as the implicit goals
are concerned, there are a number stemming from the different
Governmental administrative bodies or departments involved
(Highways, B. C. Hydro, etc.).

To date, the government's attitude has been one of careful
study but no real or clear goal specification regarding long-
term planning. It seems that where the government is concerned,
there is no real need for long-term planning and rigid policies
and that such steps should be taken only if there is a crisis
in the country. The government's policy in such matters is
thus curative rather than preventive, i.e. instead of taking
action before a crisis occurs, it will try to remedy only a sick
situation.
Perhaps, the government is not really interested in long-term planning and we may then ask what is the objective of provincial economic policy?

Black and Perry suggest that the overriding objective of the government in power must be to remain in power, or to win at the polls. This view seems to give an unfortunate short-run policy bias to many policy decisions, and if the economists who lectured on economic policy are to be believed, as a result of this short-run policy bias, we are not achieving our economic potential.

Whatever the case may be there seems to be a general agreement regarding the purpose of resource development which can be simply stated as the wealth, health and happiness of mankind.

One may of course ask what is meant by happiness? How can one determine what makes others happy? Aristotle had defined happiness as a complex aggregate of different goods including external or bodily goods, such as health and wealth as well as bodily pleasures; social goods, such as love, friendship, honor and justice; and intellectual goods, such as knowledge, understanding and wisdom.

In the U. S. Declaration of Independence (1776) Thomas Jefferson wrote about men's right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". This was to be one of the basic rights that the government pledged to secure for the American citizen. It must be noted that Jefferson did not promise each man happiness but only the right to pursue it, for no government can guarantee that all its citizens will be happy, it can only furnish the
conditions which will enable the citizens to pursue happiness. The government may be able to provide adequate supply of wealth, such as subsistence, the comforts and conveniences of life as well as medical care and health protection, recreational and educational facilities, but it cannot provide man with happiness, for happiness is an inner personal and private state of the life of the individual.

According to Haig-Brown, the actual judge in Gold River, happiness may be only reached through self-realization, but

Any definition of self-realization is almost as elusive as a definition of happiness. ... It is more likely to be in things spiritual and mental than in things physical and material. The only rule for legislators and planners is that men must be left free to search for it, so long as their freedom does not impede the search of others. Beyond this the only aids they can be given are education and upbringing, and abundant scope for search when the time comes. If a society does not direct the use of its resources to these ends, it can not be using or serving the key resources, its people, as it should.

To define the purpose of resource development as wealth, health and especially happiness is a rather vague goal specification for the terms wealth, health and above all happiness not only mean different things to different people, but cannot even be defined.

"I want to be happy," goes the popular song, and it voices the universal desire of mankind; but if anyone were to say, "I want to be happy because ..." he couldn't complete the sentence except by saying, "because I want to be happy."
**The Tahsis Company** - This company is the basic promoter and initiator as well as the major investor in the development. Some of its goals in planning and building Gold River were clearly stated. Being comprised of business people mainly, the company's main concern was 'profit' and the rationale behind its actions was profit oriented. The company produces and sells pulp and for this it needs two things: the raw material i.e. a Farm Tree Licence to obtain it, and the labour force i.e. the people, to turn the trees into dollars.

The company obtained Farm Tree Licence No. 19 on the West coast of Vancouver Island and started to look for a pulp-mill site. Having found one on the Muchalet Inlet, it now had to think of providing the labour force with some basic commodities such as shelter. A site was chosen in the vicinity of the pulp-mill, for the proximity of work and residence was given the priority over other considerations.\(^\text{11}\)

The pulp-mill operation would be profitable only if an adequate and stable labour force could be ensured. But today, because of high competition the pulp-mill plants are becoming larger and more automated. Although this may demand less people to run the pulp-mill, it requires more specialized and skilled workers to do the work. Since the training of such workers takes time and involves investment, the company's main concern was to keep its trained workers happy and satisfied.
with their working conditions and their living conditions, avoiding thus a high turnover. The company hoped that by creating a brand new and modern town along the suburban lines, allowing the worker to bring his family, educate his children, and have some recreational facilities, it would be able to keep its workers and reduce considerably the necessary expenses incurred by constant change and retraining of workers.

In 1944 the company created the town of Tahsis which was both, a company town and a single industry town. Having experienced the problems and the financial cost involved in housing workers, the company decided that it would be easier, cheaper, and perhaps, more efficient just to supervise and direct the building of Gold River and then at its completion turn it over to the community which would manage and govern itself.

This would not only save the company the administrative complications involved in running a town but as the town will have its own municipality and thus become independent of the company, the stigma attached to the notion of a company town would be removed. The company's decision was further reinforced by, perhaps, another most important factor. The company in this case having a town site in the proximity of the plant, run and administered by the town's own inhabitants, would be able to concentrate more fully and efficiently its efforts on the management and the operation of the plant.
Mr. Frank Grab mentioned that in the beginning it was out of despair and necessity that they went into the building of the town, because no one else would build it for them. Later, after having reconsidered the problem, the company executives were glad they chose to do it themselves because they decided that it was in their interest to build the town and provide the best possible living conditions in order to attract and retain the best possible skilled and trained workers.

Thus the often mentioned statement that Gold River was built to provide Tahsis Company with a stable and available labour force is correct. To create a stable community was therefore the aim of the company's executives and the different factors contributing to the stability of the community had to be determined and taken into consideration while planning for the town.

Previous experience and studies made of company towns have shown that unmarried men are more likely to be mobile and are unstable elements in such towns. Families with children are a more stable element and would stay in one place more likely if provided with the necessary housing, shopping, health, recreational and educational facilities. The company therefore aimed at building a town which would attract families. In this case the two main factors considered were:
- Families with children are accustomed to live in single family detached houses.
- The income range of the potential head of family living in the town would be a function of position held in the pulp-mill.

Taking these factors into consideration, the company was able to decide that in the first building stage community facilities should be built for 550 employees of which 75% were considered to be the heads of a family with children. The community facilities were to have suburban characteristics; mostly single family dwellings worth 20 to 25 thousand dollars each, built on individual lots, with lawns and backyards, in the proximity of school, shopping and recreational facilities.

The company expressed the desire to improve and even subsidize certain community facilities but in rather vague terms with no definite limits to its budget. The company considered subsidies as necessary evils and as an investment without which it would have little chance to make a good profit on the operation as a whole. The human factors were simply considered as a means to achieve the final goal: the success of the operation and of the mill. The company also hoped to improve labour and management relationships by withdrawing from the administration of the town and, as mentioned before, to make people forget about the old company towns which were not very popular as is shown by the following quote:

Rent and taxes may be low in a company town but the people who live there frequently seem anxious to get out. 'It gets so monotonous,' one housewife says, 'when everything is company oriented.'
Diagram 4: Company's Goal Specification

Profit for the Company (2)

Success of the Operation (1)

Stable Labor Force (3)
Stable Community (4)

Improve Labor Management Relations (12)

Modern Town (15)
Municipality (37)
Suburban Type (16)
Single Family Detached Houses (19)
Attract Married People (38)
Workers and Families as Population (39)
Community Facilities (45)
Educational Facilities (41)
Recreational Facilities (48)

Legend:
- Explicit goals are underlined
- Numbers in brackets correspond to reference numbers in Table I & III
The company also hoped that the instant town will eventually provide

local self-government, intelligent neighbors, and a sense of community and progress, all in a natural setting that may be both extraordinarily healthful and incredibly beautiful.  

In other words the company's goals were all derivatives of actually one goal — that of making maximum profit. (See Diagram 4).

The planner - In 1959 Mr. D. K. Nauman, the selected planner for the development, was approached by East Asiatic Company, the co-owner with the Canadian International Paper Company of the Tahsis Company. At that time the company was thinking of choosing a town site in the proximity of the pulp-mill which was being built on the Muchalet Inlet.

The first thing that the planner questioned was the choice made by the company to have the pulp-mill on the west coast of Vancouver Island. When faced with the company's strong reluctance to change the site, he suggested to have the community in Campbell River and to commute workers to the pulp-mill and invest in the transportation system and the road network rather than in the town. His argument was that it is unwise to create small communities in the wilderness when one could increase the size of an already existing community. He was convinced that towns with less than 20,000 people cannot support themselves and provide enough variety and quality in services in order to create
a desirable environment and a happy community. In 1964 the planner was once more contacted and asked to study the best possible site in the proximity of the pulp-mill. He had to take for granted that the decision of the company concerning the site of the pulp-mill and the future town's proximity to it was irreversible. An aerial survey of the region situated around the pulp-mill site and covering a surface of a thirty mile radius was made. Although the object was to find a town site as close as possible to the plant, the town's possibilities of development in the future were also taken into consideration.

The first projected estimates of the town's size were those of 3,000 people with around 600 houses. Some close but rather small sites were found. These were 'pockets' of flat land scattered in the vicinity of the mill. The idea of building a town of high density on these 'pockets' was considered, but was rejected because of limited growth possibilities and the assumption that people do not like to raise families in high density areas. Since the company's aim was mainly to attract this class of people, (young families with children), the whole purpose behind the building of the town would have been defeated.

Finally, the option was made for a site situated at the junction of the Heber and Gold rivers, ten miles from the plant. The site comprised 820 acres of mostly marshy land and could provide housing facilities for 13,000 people. The planner thus
had no choice of the site and his work was reduced to the planning of the town itself. His task consisted of planning the town in such a way so as to permit the desirable growth and situate it in the proximity of the proposed highway so that it would not be too isolated from the future traffic and could eventually become a milestone, being only sixty miles from Campbell River.

The design of the ultimate town was based on a neighbourhood concept where each new development would be a stage in the growth of the town, with the town at each stage remaining a complete unit in itself. The street lay-out was based on the consideration of the topographical and geographical aspect of the site. Contours were followed and the projected roads were to remain in the lower part of the terrain so as to avoid dampness in the houses which were to be situated above the road level.

The main explicit goals set by the planner were thus:
- Planning for a town with growth potentialities.
- Providing communication facilities with the external world.
- Design in terms of a neighbourhood concept. (See Diagram 5).

Other, less explicit goals, were:
- To create as much as possible variety by a non-uniform street pattern.
- To economize the most on services by making the best use of them, (for example no back-lanes).
- To plan for choice.
- To create a large trailer camp which would allow newcomers to stay at low cost with the knowledge that they are free to,
Diagram 5

Planner's Goal Specification.
either move away, or have time to buy or build eventually a house of their own.

Although the planner tried by all means to encourage and maintain his suggestion all through the planning process, his demands were only partially satisfied. There is a trailer camp in Gold River but it is too small and has not been integrated within the town itself.

The architect -

It was decided that the town should provide the best facilities possible in an environment attractive to those who will be living in the town. The Tahsis company appointed a consortium of town planners, engineers, landscape architects and other consultants under the direction of McCarter, Nairne & Partners, Architects and Consulting Engineers, with the instructions to effect the latest thinking in town planning, municipal engineering and a coordinated design of buildings.16

The architects acted mainly as coordinators and designers for they were already presented with a chosen site and the single family dwelling requirement. They tried to give the town a suburban character and wanted by increasing the density of its center to recreate there a pseudo-urban situation. Taking into consideration the fact that in the future Gold River might become a regional center for the west coast of Vancouver Island, attempts were made:

- To create a strong central core of the town.
- Have small lots, a varied housing and good institutional buildings.
- To create a shopping area which would attract all the smaller communities in logging and mining companies to Gold River and thus increase the population of the town.

- To design the town center in such a way so as to provide facilities for any unexpected growth of the town and make it the focal point.

The architects wanted to create life in the center by building apartment buildings in its proximity. Such facilities would be cheaper than single family houses and would have the same function as the old houses in an urban area. They would be rented out and would be accessible to transient population and the less rich. On the other hand the architects wanted the single family houses to be as big as possible in order to satisfy that group of people who think that much space is important for growth.

The major explicit goals of the architects can be summarized as:
- The creation of an attractive and pleasant environment.
- Provision for community life. (See Diagram 6).

The coordination of works had as its goal the supervision and elimination of overlapping activities between the different consultants (the mechanical, electrical, structural engineers, the contractors and project architects). In carrying out their assigned task the architects had to take into consideration not
CORRESPONDENCE

ATTRACTIVE & PLEASANT ENVIRONMENT (14)
- INCREASE POPULATION (26)
- INCREASE DENSITY (27)
- TOWN CENTER FOCAL POINT (33)

PROFESSIONAL CHALLENGE (51)
COORDINATE FOR EFFICIENCY (53)
FAIR JUDGE BETWEEN CO. AND INHABITANTS INTERESTS (52)

PROVIDE TOWN WITH SUBURBAN ENVIRONMENT (17)
+ INCREASE THE DENSITY OF THE CENTER (32)
- PROVISION FOR GROWTH OF THE CENTER (25)
- PSEUDO URBAN SITUATION IN THE CENTER (34)
- APARTMENT BUILDINGS IN THE CENTER (35)
- ATTRACTIONS FOR OTHER COMMUNITIES (36)

PROVIDE FOR COMMUNITY LIFE (46)
- BUILDINGS FOR EDUCATION (42)
- INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES (44)
- PROVIDE FOR RECREATIONAL FACILITIES (47)

G.R. REGIONAL CENTER IN THE FUTURE (6)

LEGEND
- Explicit goals are underlined
- Numbers in brackets correspond to reference numbers in Table I & III

DIAGRAM - 6 ARCHITECT'S GOAL SPECIFICATION
only the financial feasibility aspect of the question but also try to think in terms of people living in the towns. They had to provide and allocate for recreational facilities and all the indispensable institutional, educational and commercial amenities which are necessary and which provide a town with community life. Their main goal was to create an attractive and pleasant environment to live in; in this they were restrained by the fact that Tahsis Company was not always ready to back them financially.

The architects' position was rather difficult for they were caught between contradictory aims:

- The company wanted to provide financially the bare minimum, just sufficient to make the place livable.
- The professional challenge in having the opportunity to create a unique situation.
- The assumed interests of the future inhabitants which in order to be satisfied demanded the maximum of facilities and expected the company to subsidize them.

The architects had to be the fair judges between the company and the assumed demands of the prospective inhabitants.

The contractor - The contractors proposed for every proposed project a design which had to be approved by the architect in order to be accepted. The contractor's goal was to win the tender and make a profit. In order to win the contractor usually made proposals based on assumptions as to what would
the client (company) and the architect accept. The contractor used his own judgment for decision-making on his previous experiences and on visits made to places already functioning in similar conditions. The explicit goal of any contractor would thus be:

- To provide the town or the future users with the adequate facilities.
- To respond as closely as possible to the requirements posed by the architect. But their ultimate explicit goal is always 'profit'.

As we have seen all the parties involved in the planning process as well as in building Gold River had different goals. These goals were mostly implicit and their specification was presented in a vague and elusive form. No one planning body wanted to commit itself by clearly stating specific goals.

B. Description of the Planning Process

Having passed through the goal specification stage, the planning of Gold River could move now into the stages of decision-making, plan-execution, evaluation and reorientation.

"The planning process has to do with a sequence of action which begins with establishing certain goals, involves certain decisions as to alternative ways of achieving these goals and eventually takes the form of steps for carrying out decisions, followed by evaluation and perhaps a new sequence of action."

The planning of Gold River aimed at fulfilling primarily social and economic objectives going far beyond the physical
### TABLE 1 — Tabulation of Implicit and Explicit Goals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOALS</th>
<th>planner</th>
<th>architect</th>
<th>OFS</th>
<th>community</th>
<th>government</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Success of the operation</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Profit for the company</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Stable labor force</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Stable community</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Think in terms of regional center</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Gold River regional center in the future</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Wealth, wealth and happiness of citizens</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Well-being of inhabitants</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Laws ensuring an acceptable standard of living</td>
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<td>Satisfy the inhabitants</td>
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<td>Improve labor-management relations</td>
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<td>Ensure external communication</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Attractive and pleasant environment</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Modern town</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Suburban type</td>
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<td>Provide town with suburban character</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Single family detached houses</td>
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<td>Imposing building standards</td>
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<td>Flexible zoning</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Variety in street pattern</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Trailer camp integration</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Planning for choice</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Provide for future development and growth</td>
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<td>Provisions for growth of the center</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Increase population</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Increase density</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Avoid creating a small town</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Build the town according to a master plan</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Ensure that town is a complete unit at an early stage</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Design according to neighboring concept</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Increase density of the center</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Town center focal point</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>Pseudo-urban situation in the center</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Apartment buildings in the center</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>An attraction for other communities</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Municipality</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Attract married people</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Workers and families as population</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Good sanitary conditions</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Educational facilities</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Buildings for education</td>
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<td>School facilities</td>
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<td>Institutional facilities</td>
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<td>Community facilities</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>Provide for community life</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>Provisions for recreation</td>
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<td>Recreational facilities</td>
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<td>Gain to the provincial treasury</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>Make a profit</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>Professional challenge</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>Be a fair judge between company/inhabitant inter.</td>
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<td>Coordinate for efficiency</td>
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<td>54</td>
<td>Economy on services</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>Promote resource development</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>Encourage new communities</td>
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</table>

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**Legend**
- Explicitly Stated Goals
- Implicit Goals

---
form and arrangement of buildings, streets, utilities, etc.
The planning of the town took effect largely through the
operations of the company. Since it required the application
of specialized techniques of analysis, forecasting, design and
survey, other bodies became involved. Thus in the planning of
Gold River different goals and objectives of the different
bodies involved were to fuse into an effort to shape and create
an environment within which the inhabitant could grow and thrive.
This at least seemed to be the objective of all the explicitly
stated goals.

Nevertheless, this was true only theoretically: the force
of implicit goals nourished by self-interest in different forms:
profit, prestige, fear of committing oneself to a decision,
professional pride, etc., seemed to be the major motivation
behind most of the decision-making process. This trend revealed
itself not only in the actual choice of the site of the pulp-
mill and the town, but also in all the other minor decisions
taken regarding roads, types of housing, recreation, community
services and others.

Although the decision-making process was mainly a function
of the different bodies involved in the planning of Gold River,
it would be difficult to deny the importance of the influence of
the physical environment, terrain, location, the very make-up
and perhaps even history of the area.

The historical background - Muchalat Inlet and the valley of
Gold River, which empties into it, were formerly inhabited by a number of independent local Indian tribes of the Nootka Clan. During the beginnings of the 19th century, these tribes engaged in constant skirmishes while competing for each other's rich fishing grounds, (Gold River was one of the few fishing grounds in the region in which sockeye run). This eventually reduced them to a handful of survivors who ultimately consolidated into a single tribe, the Muchalat. In the second half of the 19th century this tribe settled on a site in the northern mouth of the inlet, but as its members declined in number, they eventually decided to join the Moachat tribe and moved down to Friendly Cove, where they settled by late 1890's.  

Friendly Cove is on the southern tip of Nootka Island. Here the history of British Columbia and the Western Shores began, for it was here that the first white men brought by Captain James Cook in 1778 on HMS Resolution and HMS Discovery then anchored in Nootka Sound set foot on the western shores. Nootka Sound thus came to be known as the "Cradle of History" for Canada's western shores.  

Around 1780 Captain John Meares established a trading post and built the first ship, the North West America, on the north-western coast at Friendly Cove on Nootka Island. Captain Vancouver arrived at Nootka in 1792 to meet with Captain Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quedra of Spain to negotiate a treaty
for this territory. Later still, Roman Catholic missionaries referred to hunting trips to Tahsis and up the river through the years 1860 to 1943. In 1944, Olson Logging Company logged off the hillsides behind the present townsit which is near the Indian chief Maquinnas's winter village, where the chief entertained Captain Cook and Captain Quedra of Spain in 1792. W. F. Gibson took over shortly after and logged in the valley.

In the spring of 1945, Gibson Brothers began clearing land for a saw-mill site. Mill construction began in June of that year and the mill began cutting export lumber on September 20th. In 1952 the Tahsis Company Limited, a subsidiary of the East Asiatic Company, took over as operators.

The company's operations center on its Tree Farm Licence No. 19, which ranges from Tahsis in the north, to south and east of Gold River, 36 miles away. Tahsis Tree Farm covers 458,000 acres, half of which is productive forest land. The company is also the major quota holder in the Nootka Public Sustained Yield Unit, lying to the west of the Tree Farm Licence No. 19.

The company's major logging operations are located at Fair Harbour and at Gold River. A number of independent logging companies also log under contract with the Tahsis Company, both in the Tree Farm Licence and the Public Sustained Yield Unit. The company obtains its logs about equally from
its own operations and from contractors. Although the company's operations were at first limited to logging, there had always been some thought about using the timber for pulp-mill purposes.

Even though a pulp-mill was built and is now in operation, the large, modern saw-mill still is, as it has been for the past twenty years, the heart of the company's operations. The saw-mill cuts about 140,000,000 fbm a year; 74% of which is hemlock and 27% Douglas fir. Cedar logs and peelers are sold on the Vancouver log market. Pulp logs and chips from the saw-mill are used in the Gold River pulp-mill. To cater to the needs of the employees of the saw-mill the company built a town. This town was essentially a company town.

When on April 1, 1965 the East Asiatic Company (Canada) Ltd., was joined as equal partner in the ownership of the Tahsis Company by Canadian International Paper Company, a new era opened for the Tahsis Company. Work began immediately on a 750 ton per day bleached kraft pulp-mill at the mouth of the Gold River on the Muchalat Inlet.\(^{22}\)

**Site selection for the pulp-mill** - The decision to build the pulp-mill at the mouth of Gold River was inevitable because this is the only sizable flat area on the west side of Vancouver Island adjacent to the tree farming rights of the company. The delta land, which formerly had been occupied only by the company's Gold River Logging Division, had to be filled to
create a 175 acre site for the pulp-mill. About 1,250,000 cubic yards of fill were dredged from the inlet, creating a harbour of up to 35 feet minimum depth.\textsuperscript{23}

Although it would have been advisable to situate the pulp-mill near an existing community, in this case the possible choice being either Tahsis or Campbell River, neither possibility seemed operational. There is no space for the location of a pulp-mill plant in Tahsis, and the town does not have a possibility for the expansion of housing facilities for some 600 additional families.

Campbell River was eliminated mainly because of the condition of the roads at that time: the access road was not only a private one and was in poor shape for an efficient transportation of logs, but the trucks would have had to pass through the MacMillan-Blodel territory which would have led to unnecessary complications. Railway transportation, unfortunately, was never considered.

Furthermore, in order to satisfy the requirements for an adequate and functional pulp-mill site, it was necessary to have:
- The site easily supplied with the raw material (lumber).
- Access to the means of exporting the pulp.
- Water supply of some 40 million gallons per day.
- A flat, dry and hard land for the foundations of the mill.
- A sizable acreage of land for extension purposes.
- Links with some water frontage for the stocking of logs.
- The possibility of power (electricity and/or gas) supply.
- A good road connecting the pulp-mill with an established adjacent community.

The selected site satisfied all the above mentioned requirements with the exception of the last one. The site was neither in the vicinity of an established community, nor had a good road leading to one. On the site of the future pulp-mill there were only some logging camps and an Indian settlement.

Thus, as far as the decision regarding the choice of the site was concerned the company alone carried out the decision without consulting any other eligible body. Its choice seems to have been motivated first and foremost by the pride in being the initiator of a nucleus of civilization in wilderness. Although the company could foresee all the difficulties and problems involved in commencing a new development, it could not resist the temptation of prestige and the satisfaction of having ventured and completed such a task - an ultra-modern pulp-mill and a new concept of a town.

This prestige and satisfaction would have been substantially reduced if the pulp-mill and the labour force would have been plugged into an already existing community. There also seemed to have been the attitude that it is preferable to start with a new town rather than become involved with some existing town's facilities and its problems. The company thus opted for an 'instant' town with its 'instant' problems.
**Site selection of the town** - Once it was decided to build the pulp-mill on the delta at the mouth of Gold River, the problem of providing a satisfactory accommodation for the employees of the mill and the Gold River Logging Division had to be considered.

The company was faced with the following alternatives:
- Erecting a camp adjacent to the mill.
- Driving the workers back and forth to Campbell River.
- Building a new town.

Since the efficient operation of the pulp-mill necessarily required reliable and skilled workers, who would not likely be lured to live in a camp where ordinarily only rather transient characters live, the idea of erecting a camp was eliminated. The idea of bringing workers regularly from Campbell River was rejected because of the ensuing complications such as the overtime payment which would have had to be allocated for the time spent by the workers on the road, or delays which could occur during transportation. Such an arrangement not only would have raised the company's expenditure but also would have been rather inconvenient, especially in winter, when roads get blocked by snow and may become hazardous. Also, since a pulp-mill operates 24 hours a day with workers working in three shifts, any arrest of production due to the absence or the inability of workers to take over their shifts on time would necessarily incur a financial loss.

Furthermore, the road had to be repaired and even partially rebuilt and the alternative of providing another means of
transportation (rapid trains, gondolas, helicopters, etc.), was considered out of question mainly because of the large financial investment involved.

It was thus that the decision to build a town in the proximity of the plant was made. At this stage consultants were hired to study the situation and make suggestions to the company. While the consultants worked on the cost-benefit studies and different planning problems, the company contacted high level government officials. When the government's attitude was discovered to be favourable, the company decided to venture further with the study of the town.

If at the time the government's attitude to the new development had been unfavourable, and, perhaps, if the government had promised some subsidies, the company would have been 'convinced' to build the pulp-mill in Campbell River. But the government hoped, by promoting the new development, that Gold River would become a regional center. The final decision-making was thus left to the company which planned as it saw fit.

Having decided to build the town near the pulp-mill, decision had to be made regarding the choice of the site. The choice of the site was made after taking into consideration the following factors:
- climatic conditions
- size of possible extension
- soil conditions
- access to main roads
- water
- sewage

The best possible site was found to be at the junction of the Gold and Heber rivers, nine miles from the pulp-mill site where the Gold River canyon suddenly opens up into a broad and spacious valley that is both beautiful and large enough to allow for the town's growth in the future.

The site is about 60 miles by road from Campbell River, a community of 9,000 on the Island Highway that runs down the east coast of Vancouver Island, connecting Nanaimo with fast frequent ferries to Vancouver.

The company was now faced by a basic choice to be made:
- Either build a company town.
- Or incorporate a municipality.

The company had already built one town - Tahsis. Tahsis had never proved to be satisfactory either to the employer or the employees. The experience with Tahsis prompted the company to abandon the idea of building a company town and to try to initiate an independent town incorporated as a municipality.

The concept of a municipality attracted the company mainly because of the fact that in such a case both, the land and the development, could be sold to the inhabitants and the company after an initial investment could eventually repossess
the invested capital. Where company towns are concerned the company owns such towns and the capital invested in such towns becomes eventually 'frozen' for an indefinite period.

What makes the instant town structurally different from a straight old company town is an element of sponsorship from the government. Originally, says Don South of British Columbia's Department of Municipal Affairs, the idea was merely 'a gleam in the eye of Dan Campbell, when he was a backbencher.' Then Campbell became minister for municipal affairs and companies that were planning resource development fired that gleam.

If the companies bought up land in a proposed area and if they could satisfy the government that a new community could expect to last there for a reasonable time the government would issue Letters Patent for the incorporation of a self-governing municipality. The government would then appoint an interim council and, if necessary, grant the new town special borrowing powers. For both residents and local businessmen, the role of the government dispels the fly-by-night atmosphere that infects some company towns. For the company's part, it services the land and builds houses and apartments for its own employees. It sells the houses at cost (with a buy-back clause, in case an owner decides to leave).  

The incorporation of Gold River - Although Gold River was not to be a 'company town' in any sense of the term, it was conceived and fostered by the Tahsis Company Ltd., following the company's decision to build a pulp-mill in connection with its extensive timber holdings in the area. To have thus the town incorporated as a municipality of the District of Gold River, changes in legislation had to be made.

Legislation enacted in 1965 pursuant to the Provincial Municipal Act permits the incorporation of a Municipality, in
conjunction with the development of a natural resource, upon petition of five landowners within the defined area. Negotiations between the Provincial Government and Tahsis Company resulted in a contractual agreement covering the division of responsibilities for the development of the proposed townsite.

The Tahsis Company was said to be responsible towards the Provincial Government for surveying and clearing the land, planning and subdividing streets and lots, paving streets, constructing a complete storm sewer system, installing street lighting and underground cables for electricity, telephone and television. In the agreement it was stipulated that no profit in real estate will accrue to the developer. The prices of serviced lots were set at purchase price plus the cost of servicing.

Following submission of the necessary petition, Letters Patent incorporating the District of Gold River was issued on August 26, 1965. 26

Size determination and population prevision - Consideration was being made for a town of 11,000 people, but no one really believed in this figure which was too optimistic and extremely unrealistic. While selecting the site previsions were made in order to have space for eventual growth. Although the estimate of the town's population was determined empirically it came to be very accurate. Having decided upon the size of the pulp-mill the company knew the exact number of employees needed to operate it.
The following estimates were made:

Number of workers needed in the mill --------- 350
Number of workers needed in the logging division ------ 200
Total number of workers needed ----------------- 550

For every four workers an allocation of one serviceman was made:

Number of servicemen needed --------------- 550/4 = 137
Total number of persons ---------------------- 687

Furthermore, to insure a more stable personnel and attract people who would eventually settle, a ration of 3/4 of the population was assumed to be men with families. From previous experience, from other pulp-mill personnel studies, the ratio of 4.5 persons per family was adopted (a slightly higher one than the number adopted for the average Canadian family).  

The final estimate of the town's population thus came to be:

Number of single men = 1/4 of the total population
= 687/4 = 172

Number of married men = 3/4 of the total population
= 687/4 x 3 = 516

Number of dependents = 3/4 of the total population x (4.5-1)
= 1,806

Total number of persons ------------------------- 2,495

In the outline for the development of Gold River in March 1966 the architects wrote:

It is expected that the population of the town when the pulp-mill commences operation in June 1967, will
be 2,500 people, increasing to 3,000 people in the following year.\textsuperscript{28}

All those previsions were very realistic and the initial building phase proposed by the architects was to include 350 homes, 220 apartment units, a hotel, some bunkhouses and a trailer camp. At this stage the company required a layout for the houses and was rather skeptical regarding the idea of apartments but being faced with the eventual 172 single men it decided to go on with the construction of those apartments. The architect's point was to create flexibility and to give the opportunity to the new-comers to eventually rent an apartment for a certain time before having to buy a house. Being faced with an unexpected rise in prices and with a high bid the company decided finally to reduce the number of detached houses to 218 and to build as advised by the architect 36 town houses and 64 garden apartments.

By this decision the range in price was more flexible and the inhabitants had some choice and some variety was introduced in the overall appearance of the town.

At this stage therefore:

1. The size of the town was determined by
   - Taking into consideration the number of potential workers for the Tahsis Company.
   - Making empirical calculations concerning the total number of population rather accurately, satisfying thus the company's requirements.
2. The possibility for the growth of the town was insured by:
   - Allocating the necessary suitable land.
   - Outlining the development as a whole in its projected final stage (gross center) and in the context of the region satisfying thus the government's hopes of creating a possible regional center.

3. The goal of the company, the architect and the planner to create a livable and acceptable place for the workers to live in was attained by:
   - Creating some variety in the type of housing.
   - Providing adequate facilities such as a school, a shopping center, public buildings and the like.

4. An attempt was made to insure a stable labour force and create a stable community by:
   - Creating a suburban environment in which people would feel at home.
   - Making it possible for the people to own their own houses and thus satisfy the needs of the potential workers.

The planning process per se - Having analysed goal specification procedures of the different bodies, the decision-making and plan-execution at the different stages of the project can be best represented schematically. (See Diagrams of stages 1, 2, and 3).

Stage 1 (Diagram 7) represents the different kinds and stages of negotiation carried between the parties interested. Open negotiation was carried at a low level between the
Higher level of negotiations resulting in goal specification and major decision making.

Government:
- Cabinet
- Department of Highways
- Education
- Land & Forestry
- BC Hydro

Company:
- Board of Directors
  - Management
  - Project Responsible
    - Coordinator Architect

Negotiations with each department separately:
- Policy making
- Plan execution

Architects
Planners
Engineers
Technicians
Contractors

Diagram 7: The planning process - Stage 1
government on the one hand and the architects--company representatives on the other. Here the negotiation took place between the architects--company representatives block and each governmental department separately. This process was slow, impractical, and inefficient because of lack of coordination between the different governmental departments primarily because:

- Each department had its own internal regulations, policies, standards and requirements.
- Each was ignorant of the others' policies.

The result was not only an overlapping of the different functions but also delays, contradictions, frustrations, and finally uncommitted attitudes.

As negotiation at the lower level went on, at the higher governmental level negotiation concerning important issues and problems were carried between the highly placed civil servants and the company administrators. It was here that the basic decisions were made. Most of this decision-making was secret and was not revealed to the lower hierarchy. The policy statement was thus at the cabinet level and remained unrevealed since all negotiation at that level was carried behind closed doors.

A similar situation, but on a smaller scale, concerning less "important" issues, occurred in each department of the different governmental bodies involved in the planning process. Such procedures resulted from a lack of communication between the concerned members and led to shortcomings and discrepancies in the transfer of policy information.
The government, seemingly co-operative in dealing with the company's developer, was not only un-coordinated within, but also had no clearly stated policy regarding developments in general. The high degree of informal communication and interaction within the government's administration, thus led to a certain informality and flexibility, which the government seemed to cherish for the latter could be used as a guise of its implicit intention to refrain from leadership activities in town developments.

Although the company could have been faced with and was expecting serious delays because of the lack of departmental coordination, it was helped by the personal intervention and concern as well as enthusiasm of highly placed civil servants. In this way the necessary amendments in the existing legislation and other important procedures were made.

Lack of administrative coordination and integration combined with personal interest, concern and enthusiasm, drove the project to a speedy completion giving it little time to mature. The execution of Gold River is represented best by the following remark:

Take a big chunk of virgin British Columbia land. Lace it with wide, curbed, paved roads, burrow it with sewers, prick it with ornamental lighting, furnish it with mint-new houses. Do all this in months, not years. Add people. Mix. Result: a geographic alchemy called an Instant Town.

The lack of coordination revealed itself most clearly
in the road problem. Although the government agreed to the building of Gold River and had the inhabitant's welfare in mind, the construction of a public road, which was of primary importance for commuting to Campbell River, took more than two years, creating along a series of problems for the inhabitants as well as the company.

Without a proper road, Gold River, for the first year effectively kept the residents virtual prisoners. Then the 50-mile road to Campbell River was completed and the sense of liberation it gave Gold Riverites has them vocally capitalizing The Road whenever they refer to it.

During the first stages of decision-making and plan-execution the potential inhabitants of Gold River were not only excluded from participation but also little concern for individuals' specific needs and interests was shown. When all the major decisions were taken at the high level between the government and the company, and after the Municipal Act was amended permitting the incorporation of the town, an interim council was appointed. Here the stage 2 (Diagram 8) in the planning process commenced.

The council was composed of the following individuals:
- the superintendent of the pulp-mill
- a logger
- a housewife
- a pulp-mill worker
- the manager of the saw-mill
In the meantime the municipal clerk who was hired in conjunction with the architects and the planner worked on the municipal by-laws. In their final form the by-laws duplicated almost integrally those of a highly urbanized area. They are of specific and restrictive nature. Here again the inhabitants of the town were excluded from participation, for both, the by-laws as well as the council, came into existence before the town was settled.

Diagram 8 shows clearly that at this stage decision-making was mainly geared towards the organization and the maintainance of the established order. The appointed interim council's function was to enforce the by-laws which in turn were to support the company's main interest - the establishment and the maintainance of a stable community as a whole by limiting the rights of the individual. The by-laws are thus of preventive rather than a curative nature. The restrictive and inflexible nature of these laws soon became frustrating and the individual felt the municipality trespassssing on the limits of his freedom.

The individual who decides to leave the well organized suburban life with all its restrictive laws, for the new town in the wilderness, expects to have more freedom in return. He may want to paint his house a special colour, or fence his garden the way he wants, or have a couple of dogs running loose in his backyard. He can do neither, for there are restrictive laws regarding practically every aspect of his life and property.
**DIAGRAM - 8**  THE PLANNING PROCESS - STAGE 2
Stage 3 (Diagram 9) thus reflects the attempts made by the frustrated individuals to reshape the environment in their own fashion and readjust the restrictive by-laws to their own needs and views. This stage is the implementation and the re-orientation of the former planning process. Here the goals, policies, plan-executions are re-evaluated in the light of and as a function of the people who now had the mandate to elect a representative council and set new goals, policies, and move through the whole planning process again. This stage is basically different from the previous stages in that the democratic principle of representation is introduced into the process involving 'user participation'.

- The elected council now prepares the policies and legislation amending the established by-laws.
- The new goal specifications are suggested by the residents and implemented through their intervention.
- Decision-making is carried out by referendum.
- The plan-execution is the application of the decisions and laws.
- Evaluation is carried out through observation whereby comments and complaints are collected and studied.
- This stage leads to further re-orientation and goal specification.

Here as well as in the other process the same remark can be made, i.e. unfortunately the council is composed of non-professional politicians whose views of the ultimate goals are
Town's Physical Framework + People (elections/suggestions) → Elected Representatives

- Re-evaluation
- Re-orientation
- Goal specification
- Policy-making
- Decision-making
- Plan-execution

Consultation → Approval

Affects the established order

Diagram 9  The planning process - Stage 3
stated with great difficulty. There are commonly accepted implicit goals but no clearly stated explicit ones. When the goals are implicit, they are the reflection of one's personality and differ from individual to individual especially in the manner they are ultimately realized. This leads again to shortcomings and discrepancies. The main problem remains – a lack of co-ordination and a know-how of expressing oneself – hence non-communication.

Vaguely stated goals lead, therefore, to lack of co-ordination and communication. Since, in the planning process many different variables and goals are involved, this shortcoming becomes a major problem. The success of any planning process then depends to a large extent on the degree of communication between the different bodies involved. The ability to communicate successfully is basically a function of the ability to state clearly and succinctly, hence explicitly, one's ideas, opinions, aims and goals.
Footnotes


3 Chapin, op. cit., p. 226.


5 For further detail see Appendix D.

6 Interview with Mr. Donald South of British Columbia's Department of Municipal Affairs, October 8, 1969.

7 Shearer, op. cit., p. 151.


11 Mr. Frank Grabb at the Architectural Institute of British Columbia Seminar, Vancouver: March 28, 1969.

12 Interview with Mr. Frank Grabb, Division Manager, Talsmis Company, Vancouver: October 1, 1969.


14 Ibid., p. 22.

15 Interview with Mr. D. F. Nauman, planner, Vancouver: January 15, 1969.


17 Interview with Mr. Gibson, the architect in charge of the Gold River projects on behalf of the McCarter, Nairne, and Partners office, Vancouver: February 18, 1969.
18 Chapin, *op. cit.*, p. 224.


21 Information supplied by Tahsis Company Ltd., Tahsis Sawmill Division.

22 "The Story of Tahsis Company Ltd.," (Pamphlet.)


27 Mr. Frank Grabb at the Architectural Institute of British Columbia Seminar, Vancouver: March 28, 1969.


31 It is said that everything in Gold River is 'electric' even the Dog-pound - a fact which constantly upsets the inhabitants.
CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF GOLD RIVER

The author made several trips to Gold River and gathered information and data through interviews and observation concerning the inhabitants' attitudes towards the physical, social, and economic aspects of the town. In this way he was able to acquire a relative overall view of the actual situation. With the help of students from the Schools of Social Work, Planning and Architecture, he was able to interview key resource persons from the community and those who were involved in the planning and building of the town.

A questionnaire administered to 10% of the occupants of each of the different dwellings was aimed at an attitude survey of the population of Gold River. The information concerning the different income groups being unavailable at the time of the study, a choice of the individual's dwelling seemed to be the only other appropriate and available way of determining his income and to some extent his social status within the community. Assuming that the allocation of one's expenditure to housing is directly proportional to one's income the above mentioned sample was made. The questionnaire was evenly distributed in order to cover the available range of the different comments and advice supplied by the different groups comprising the town's population.

The different types of the existing housing facilities identified and considered at the time were:
Number of detached single family houses -------------- 22
" " town houses ---------------------------------- 4
" " condominium ----------------------------- 1
" " trailers ----------------------------- 6
" " walk-up apartments --------------------- 7
" " garden apartments ---------------------- 5
" " Heber-Lodge (bunkhouses) ------------- 1
" " logging camp inhabitants --------------- 2
" " Indian reserve houses ----------------- 2

In each case one occupant, the owner or a tenant were interviewed. In addition to the above a Forest service employee (ranger) was also interviewed.

By interviewing people from the different types of housing and electing an evenly distributed random sample of 10% of the population, it was possible to get to a certain extent a feeling of the community atmosphere and a broader view on the most important issues. Interaction between the town's inhabitants, the attitude of the inhabitants towards each other and the company, feelings of belongingness, involvement in community life or estrangement, maladjustment, feelings of inadequacy and inadaptation were studied.

The questionnaire was divided into twelve topics with a total of 66 questions. Most of the questions were purposely left open-ended in order to gather more of the implicit information they might have drawn from the interviewees and thus possibly
discover some of the less evident and less explicit problems.

It must be admitted that such a method may not be very scientific and that the interviewer may get in the process of the evaluation of the questionnaire involved with his own emotions or attitudes and hence be unable to render an unbiased analysis of the questionnaire and the situation. Nevertheless, only such a method, unscientific as it may be, would allow one to get a "feeling" of the community and bring into the open issues and secondary problems which otherwise would remain below the surface of open expression. The questionnaire, thus, was more specifically a framework and tool permitting the author to register the average citizen's response to some issue and let him talk freely on the subject without restricting him to specific questions. This method naturally opened a wider scope of action for gossip and mal-intention, and often irrelevant accusations supplied by the overactive imagination of certain individuals. Such answers were within reasonable doubt eliminated.

Interviews were also made of those who were the members of a profession or represented some organization in the town. A representative sample of the attitudes, ways of thinking, problems and reactions of the different groups comprising the community was obtained in this way.

The following group-representatives were interviewed:
Members of the local government (council members).
" " " " schools (teachers, students, school-board).
Members of the local church (pastors).

" " " " mill (administrators and workers).

" " " " social clubs (Rod and Gun Club, Kinsmen Club).

" " " " Chamber of Commerce (service people).

" " " " police (RCMP).

Having tried to tackle the residents of the town first as individuals with a specific self-identity, then as members of a social organization with a group-identity, an attempt was made to see how people perceive the town as individuals and as the representatives of an organization, trade and profession. The basic problems in their priorities and degree of importance at each level could thus be studied. In this way it was hoped to find:

- A correlation between the individual's functioning as a member of the community and the physical layout of the town.
- The functioning of the community as a whole within the framework of the physical layout of the town.

A. The Physical Layout of the Town

Gold River, as shown in Chapter III, is located at the junction of the Gold and Heber rivers about nine miles from Muchalat Inlet on the West coast of Vancouver Island sixty miles from Campbell River. It is connected with Campbell River by a partially paved road and with the pulp-mill by a recently paved road. There is a project, whereby, in the near future the road
between Gold River and Campbell River, which is now a public road, will be extended from Gold River to Woss Lake and Port Hardy.

Gold River is situated on a plateau between the two rivers and is surrounded by high mountains covered with forests. One has to drive for two whole hours through forests and a rather savage countryside from Campbell River to get to Gold River. The sight of a town in these almost virgin surroundings is quite unexpected. The contrast of the town, which is brand new and modern, with its surroundings which are so savage, is rather striking. The hand of man and his will is felt very strongly.

The roads are all paved and follow the curves of the contours of the site. The houses are scattered all over the site, but one soon realizes that the distribution is rather uniform. The town has well defined boundaries with large empty pockets in some areas. Contrasting with the scattered individual houses which are nevertheless evenly distributed, is the brown compact mass of the blocks forming the walk-up apartments in the center of the town.

In the geographical center of the town, next to the walk-up apartments, is a huge empty space. On the south-west, this area is hemmed with the commercial-center buildings, the adjacent parking area and the empty space being reserved for future utilization.

Further observation reveals, on a hill adjacent to the
commercial center, the very symbol of community activity - the hotel with its beer-parlor and restaurant. A little further, a very neat building - the public safety building, and at the entrance of the town, just like two watchmen, two gas stations with their colorful signs. One must search for quite a long time to be able to situate the church which is a rather small, wooden structure resembling a barn.

The elementary school with an interesting shape (four hexagons), but a brownish-grey color, too similar to the ground, does not detach itself sufficiently to attract one's attention. The secondary school cannot even be seen from the entrance of the town.

In general, the impression that one gets is that this is a planned community, a new one where everything is too much in its place and where important previsions were made for the future development of the community. One has the feeling that no allowance was made for organic or natural growth. In other words, we can say that Gold River seems not to be a complete unit yet and that it is not in any way in harmony with itself. Will it ever be? We are here very far from the concept of the medieval towns which at any moment of history, though in a process of growth, were still a complete unit in themselves.

Today these towns, although centuries old, are still very much alive, for theirs was an organic growth. Gold River like
other new towns has been artificially conceived, planned and zoned.

The area identified as section A (see attached map) was cleared in February, 1965, and the first completed and occupied houses were the 45 detached single-family units which front on Dogwood Crescent. The logging personnel and their families were moved into these houses. They were the first residents of the town, since they were being relocated from the pulp-mill site. Most of the loggers' families live there still today.

Construction continued on Section B and thereafter on Section C. In the meantime the town center and other public buildings were being built.

The second labour force to be called into Gold River were the technicians and the management personnel of the pulp-mill. They occupied the second stage housing available in section B. Last to arrive were the operational personnel housed in section C.

The town-site was divided into zones based on the idea of having the "center commercial", the "public institutional" and the "fringe commercial" situated in the center and along the road going to the pulp-mill. The "multiple family residential" is situated on both sides of the road.

There is a trailer park situated in the south of the town which seems to be a unit by itself, isolated from the town. The logging camp is also isolated from the town. It is situated four miles from the town on a logging road. There seems to be
PLATE IV  PLAN - PRESENT BUILDINGS IN GOLDRIVER
very little communication between these people and the town itself. The single men working in the pulp-mill live for the moment in the old construction camp which still stands on the site allocated for the community play-ground. These people have more opportunity to feel that they belong to the community due to their proximity to the town center.

The town center comprises actually the hotel, the shopping complex, the bowling and billiard building, the B. C. Telephone building, the church, the municipal office and the community center each in a trailer, the public security building, two service stations and the elementary and secondary school.

There is a park area on the west side of the town and there are three tod parks under construction. Land that was not suitable for the present housing is to be used for parks and playgrounds because of the slope and bad foundation soil.

**Housing** - The housing stock of Gold River at present is composed of:

- 218 detached family houses
- 108 walk-up apartments
- 36 row-houses
- 64 garden apartments
- 22 condominium
- 64 trailers
- 6 houses for Indians near the pulp-mill.
There are also fifty rooms in the hotel where a certain number of single, working-men from the pulp-mill live.

The detached single family houses are on lots of approximately 800 square feet and are derived from five basic designs. They vary in the number of bedrooms, in the external finish, in their position with regard to the road and their orientation. It is easily noticeable that all these houses have something in common - a uniformity which is rather annoying. But, on the other hand, they seem to be properly built, neat and well kept.

These houses can only be bought. The price varies between 19,000 and 23,000 dollars. People think that it is too high a price for such a house. Nevertheless, one should consider that it was built in a remote area where labour is expensive. The Tahsis Company employees get a second mortgage of 5,000 dollars free of interest. This makes it possible for them to buy a house with a down payment of 1,300 dollars. But it excludes those who do not work for Tahsis Company, specifically service-men, because they have to invest 6,300 dollars to start with - a rather large sum for them.

Some of the residents felt that they have been able to realize the dream of their life "to become a home-owner". Out of twenty-two interviews there were some complaints about the electricity bill being too high, about leakage in the basement, about cheap construction, inadequate parking space and a small lot. But there was no radical criticism of the overall housing
PLATE V

HOUSING 1 - (single family detached houses)
PLATE VI

HOUSING 2 - (Row houses; Garden apartments; camp)
concept and people seemed to like the unfinished basement the most.

The walk-up apartments are built close to the commercial center and are grouped around an internal open space with a private pool, especially reserved for its occupants. Each block is a three floor building with a corridor of distribution on each floor. The ground floor has a sun-deck very much appreciated by the occupants. These units are for rent. A two bedroom apartment is rented for $141.50 per month, while a three bedroom one is rented for $175 per month. One should add $15 for electricity and heat.

All of the seven families interviewed thought that the price was too high. The people who rent these apartments are service people who cannot afford to own a house or teachers who come to Gold River for a contract of one or more years, but who do not want to tie themselves down to the place. These apartments are also rented by people who have no children. Out of the seven families interviewed four had no children.

People seemed to appreciate such a place while the children were small, but they thought that it was very difficult with children above the three age level. There were complaints about noise, about no privacy from the neighbours and about the kitchen being too small. On the other hand people seemed to like the pool, even those who did not swim, because it made the residential unit different and perhaps 'better' than the rest
of the community. There was a large turnover in the residents of these apartments.

The row-houses situated in the eastern part of the town are inhabited by home-owners with a twenty-five year mortgage. Some people are forced to buy these houses because they are cheaper than the detached houses. There too, are complaints about noise and lack of privacy, the absence of a back entrance, and cheap building. But on the other hand, people like the location, the view and the space allocated to them. It seems that people are bothered by the fact that there are other people who live too close and that they are forced to meet their neighbours outside, in front of the door at times when they do not feel like meeting anyone. This lack of privacy could have been avoided by a different design.

The garden-apartments are grouped in blocks of four where each apartment has its own entrance which pleases everyone. These apartments are rented on a monthly basis. A three bedroom suite costs $165, which is rather expensive because one should add the cost of electricity ($40), telephone ($6) and television ($7); this brings the total payment to $218 per month.

Most people in the garden apartments have children, contrary to what happens in the walk-up apartments. Here, people again complained about noise and the fact that they do not have a piece of land or a garden of their own, although
there is more privacy here than in the row-housing.

The condominium is built on the same principle as the walk-up apartments, except that the apartments here are for sale. There is a central entrance which leads to a staircase leading to the different floors. A two bedroom suite costs $15,000. People think that this is a fair price but claim that the absence of a private entrance gives them a feeling of a loss of identity and that they do not feel the house belongs to them. They have no out-door privacy, no yard and think of the owner as a third person - "Dawson". They regret very much the fact that there is no "pride of ownership" and that they were forced into buying these apartments rather than a single family detached house because of financial considerations. Out of twenty-two available apartments only three are sold.

The trailer camp is run by a private enterprise. It is very compact with little space between individual trailers. There is absolutely no outside privacy and no space for children to play outdoors. There is a project to take out each second trailer, so that there would be more space between them.

The people living there like the compactness of the trailer, but not of the camp and consider that they have an economical way of living. Because they can leave whenever they like, they feel free. They have a pride of ownership because the trailer is their own, but they claim that the trailer court in Gold River is bad and needs improvement.²

In the logging camp loggers live in bunkhouses. Each two share a room and pay a rent of $2.50 per day including full
board. The logging camp is like an army camp where everything is scheduled. The loggers' community is the logging camp and the town of Gold River is considered by them to be outside their community. People in this camp are very unstable and think of the place as the lowest of its kind. They resent the loggers who have families and live in Gold River. This resentment and isolation lead to many hard feelings and contributes to the general instability of the camp residents. There is a tremendous turnover of 230% per year in this camp.

The Heber-Lodge camp is composed of bunkhouses where 67 single men live. These residential quarters were going to be demolished in June 1969 and the single men will have the choice of either leaving the community, renting a room in the hotel, sharing an apartment with some friends, or renting a room in a family detached house.

In a community of young families the position of single men is a very difficult one. They feel that it is hard to make friends with married people because their way of life is different. There is almost no social life or entertainment apart from the pub and it is difficult to get introduced to girls.

There are six Indian families living near the pulp-mill on an Indian Reserve land. They seem happy, work as loggers and do not mind the fact that they are isolated from the town. They even regret that one Indian family moved from the reserve into the town.
The town center - Gold River's town center is comprised of a commercial center, a hotel and a church, which are all grouped in the physical center of the town layout. These buildings have been designed to fulfil and, in fact, are fulfilling basic functions in the community, such as providing certain services and providing the meeting place on neutral grounds for the different members of the community. As there is an evident lack of recreation facilities because of the size of the community, this center becomes also the place which provides different members of the community with their basic recreation.

The location of the site for the town center was chosen with the idea to provide the town with an area where the eventual commercial, social, as well as administrative activities would take place, there unlike the residential area, continuous activity would be going on. It could be used for shopping, business, as well as to satisfy the need for being in the company of other people.

As the growth of the town could not be predicted, the planners and the architects reserved a large central lot of 22 acres for the commercial and civic center. To date there are only the following buildings: bowling and billiards, Super-valu, and the plaza around which are disposed the liquor store, drug store, pharmacy, hardware store, beauty parlor, barber, a small restaurant, laundromat, etc., as well as certain offices (doctors, bank, the Chamber of Commerce, etc.).
TOWN CENTER
DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY OF
GOLD RIVER

PLATE-VIII  PLAN-TOWN CENTER (present)
All these buildings are joined by a covered passway and are scattered into an organic pattern, the idea being to give the impression of a crowded shopping center. The shopping center is surrounded by a huge, paved parking lot.

The large amount of empty land situated in the center of the town is to be used for the future expansion of commercial and civic centers with the eventual growth of the town. This precaution was taken in order to have such facilities always in the center and to avoid land speculation in the future. But, the serious disadvantage of the present situation is that this center which should have been the heart of the town, is just an isolated island separated from the rest of the town by a belt of empty land.

The assumption was made that the center of the town would attract people to go walking, since it is within ten minutes from the most remote spot of the housing development (except for the trailer park), nevertheless, most people, even for a minor shopping trip take their car. Only at lunch-time and in the evenings teenagers go for walks there, just for the change, or to meet other teenagers.

Provisions are made to build a civic center between the road and the shopping center. It would be separated from the main street by a fore-court plaza considered as the "welcome mat" for the center. There would also be a town gate, a clock tower, a civic building comprising the municipal hall, a
public library, and office units. Unfortunately, this is still
at the project stage and will not be built in the near future
because of financial difficulties. Now, instead of the civic
building there stands a ten-foot cross, put there by the legion.

The public library and community center are in a trailer
owned by Tahsis Company and formerly used as a school. The
municipal offices are also in a trailer. To the east, on the
opposite side of the road, is the public safety building with
quarters reserved for the RCMP, the offices of the magistrate,
the Court, the Fire Department and the Department of Motor
Vehicles. This building is brand new, of concrete construction,
and at first glance one tends to think of it, in comparison
with the other buildings, as the civic center.

The hotel is situated to the south of the town center area.
It is a modern fifty-room building, "Gold River Inn". It was
developed by the Delta Hotels Limited. There is a restaurant,
considered to be the fancy place in Gold River, a snack bar,
and a beer parlor. In the evenings the hotel and the bowling
alley, open after the closing hours of the shopping center,
become the town center.

In order to attract different firms and protect their
interests, a policy of leasing shops in such a way that there
will be only one of each kind, was adopted by the MacKenzie
Management Limited, in charge of the leasing. This necessarily
leads to the absence of competition - a fact which makes certain
people think that the cost of living in Gold River is higher than it should be.

The lack of variety, especially in clothes shops, or specialized articles, induces most people to go to Campbell River for their monthly shopping trip. Groceries and everyday necessity are still bought in Gold River.

The schools - There are two brand new schools in Gold River. They are a part of the newly formed school district, "Vancouver Island West, District #84". The schools are financed by the taxes from the municipality of Gold River, the Tahsis saw-mill, as well as by the iron mine and concentrator at Zeballos.

In the early stages of Gold River, two trailers were used as classrooms for the children of the first settlers. Later a decision was made to build first, a $750,000 elementary school, then, a $1,000,000 secondary school. These schools were to become the basic permanent public buildings of the area and in the future provide education for the entire region.

The elementary school is situated in the north part of the town near the first housing development. The secondary school seems to be rather isolated and is south of the town. These two schools are a part of a complex reserved for community life (civic and commercial center, hotel, community recreation). The location of the two schools is such that they are at the opposite ends of the area which comprises the above mentioned
complex. Presently, the two schools are out of proportion in relation to the actual needs of the population. The elementary school was designed for 450 students, while the secondary school can accommodate 400 students. There are now 350 students in the elementary school and 120 in the secondary school.\(^3\)

These two large and modern schools could eventually become symbols of a growing community with which its members could identify. Also, newcomers may be attracted to the community because it can provide up-to-date education for their children.

The elementary school is composed of five hexagons, comprising eighteen classrooms, one administrative block and one gymnasium. The classrooms are grouped into six units around a central core. Each unit can be used by a separate class. All the hexagons are connected by covered passways which protect the students from rain, snow and sun. From the highway one can have an overall view of the complex since the school is much lower than the road.

The materials used in construction are primarily wood of gray-brown color. The gymnasium has a linoleum floor and has been designed to be used for different community meetings and activities. Since the partitions between classes are mobile, it is possible to change the dimensions of the classes. Thus, two or three classes can be joined together if needed. The principle of the design is that of flexibility which provides much opportunity to experiment and utilize the latest methods
of teaching. The school is equipped with excellent audiovisual and art equipment.

In the school, teachers are trying progressive methods of teaching and an attempt is being made to abolish the regular classroom principle. Every student follows the trend and speed in which he is interested and of which he is capable. The application of these new methods of teaching (team teaching, joined classes, use of teaching aids and individual programming) is being implemented. All this puts a great strain on the instructors, for such methods demand continuous work and updating.

Complaints have been made about the location of the school because it is built on a filled-in dump and the deficiency of good foundations has led to the gradual sinking of the peripheral covered passway. Complaints have also been made about the location of washrooms which have only external access.

Nevertheless, the students as well as the parents and the teachers seem to be very happy with the school, its design and functioning. So does the administrative body. This school is considered to be one of the most up-to-date schools in British Columbia and the population of Gold River appreciates this fact.

The secondary school - in May 1967, construction began on the secondary school; in 1968 it started functioning and finally on June 1, 1968 it was officially inaugurated.

The school is composed of two blocks. One of the blocks
is a one-floor building with a spine circulation. The classrooms are arranged in the traditional fashion except for a large supply of facilities and provisions made for audiovisual education. There are excellent laboratory facilities, an auditorium, and some classes are fully equipped for courses in home economics (sewing, cooking, washing, housekeeping). There are also classes equipped to teach clerical and business courses (typing, shorthand, calculating machines) and a large workshop (welding, mechanics, carpentry). The library has booths with audiovisual equipment for personal use of the students.

The second block is the gymnasium. It has a stage and corresponding facilities. The two blocks are joined by a covered passage and a paved court. The school is artificially lit and ventilated. This is why one is struck by the marked lack of windows when approaching the school from the road.

The secondary school is also situated below the road level and seems to be isolated from the actual town. It is for the moment too large for the needs of the town. Here as well as where the elementary school is concerned, the planner and the School Board had to conceive an instant school, pre-built before the actual demands of the community were known.

The teaching methods are based upon the philosophy that every student should be capable of completing the twelfth grade of the secondary school so as not to be discriminated against in the future as a drop-out. Although the school still requires
the completion of a distinct number of years for graduation, individual attention is given to each student. Competition between students in terms of grades or ranking is eliminated and each student is graded relative to his own capacity and diligence as well as his disposition to work and learn. Students work on different projects and are individually directed by the teacher. This, of course, is possible because of the small number of students in each class.

On the other hand, the small number of students makes it difficult for the school system to provide them with a large variety of courses, especially technical and vocational ones. This problem will be solved as the number of the students increases. One way of increasing the enrolment is by attracting students from outside the community. For this purpose, plans have been made to build sleeping and boarding quarters.

In the near future, a playground which will be used by all the community as well as the school, will be built on the location of the present Heber Logging Camp.

What makes the secondary school isolated from the community is that very few communal activities take place within the school. The library is too small and the community has no access to it. The floor of the gymnasium is wooden and permission to enter is given only to those who remove their shoes or wear slippers. Smoking in the gymnasium is forbidden. Such rules make it almost impossible for social activities or large parties to take place.
The pulp-mill - The 60 million dollar mill includes a number of design innovations. The operating floor has been built on a single level. And the concept of a central corridor, with nearly all operators within each other's view, has been fully developed.

Air and water pollution have been combated at every step of the design. Extensive precautions are being taken to recover chemicals (and their smell) at each stage of the operation, rather than waiting to collect them all at the end and then attempting to scrub them out.4

Special care is being taken to recover fibre from the affluent, so that the mill will meet the most stringent requirements of the Federal Fisheries Department. Because Gold River is a famous fishing stream, and there is a highly prized type salmon pool near its mouth, special dye tests were conducted to determine the flow of the river and tidal currents.

A 1,700 foot tunnel was drilled through solid rock to carry the mill's effluent away from the rivermouth and out into the main stream of Muchalat Inlet, where it discharges far below the surface for the best possible diffusion.

B. An Analysis of the Community and Its Different Aspects

A sense of security is one of the basic needs of the individual. It reveals itself not only as the demand to satisfy his immediate material needs, such as shelter and food, but
projects itself into the future through man's hopes and expectations. In this form it is especially important to the individual who has a family. Under the present conditions, in new settlements, this sense of security is frustrated since the individual has very little guarantee of the settlement's life-span, its future and his as well.

Along with the need for security there is also a need to participate, contribute and satisfy the sense of fulfilment. These too, are frustrated in new settlements for they are a function of growth - which is often absent in such communities. Growth takes place only if there is stability, because only then will investment, hence development come in.

Although material conditions are important for the well-being of the individual, they are not sufficient by themselves. The question arises how to satisfy the psychological needs of the individual in such communities. In other words, what factors should be taken into consideration when planning for new communities, in order to satisfy the basic personal needs of the individual. These factors are implicitly expressed through the values people hold and their expectations.

People and their expectations - An assumption, that the people who would be attracted to Gold River could be classified into four categories according to profession and occupation, was made early in the planning stage. These four categories were:
- the pulp-mill workers,
- the loggers,
- the service people,
- and eventually the secondary industry employees.

Furthermore the planners took for granted the fact that unmarried men were more mobile than married ones and they assumed that if enough married men were attracted to the town and brought their families with them it would, perhaps, be possible to create a stable community and reduce the turnover.

Families, in other words, can lead full and active lives in the outposts, but single men don't. Most of the turnover in mining and pulp and paper labor forces are single men. And they probably contribute to the higher-than-elsewhere beer and liquor consumption.

Since this category of married working-men live usually in a suburban environment, plans were made to create such an environment with all its related facilities, such as a school and shopping facilities.

The company's made a serious attempt to create a living place corresponding as closely as possible to the stereotype characteristics presented in the different advertisements concerning new towns where the descriptions given are those of: a fully planned and zoned townsite. The houses are modern homes with lawns, sidewalks and paved streets. Three schools. Church services. Modern shopping center, medical and dental care and a modern fully equipped 70 bed hospital. Boating and fishing are peerless during summer months. A large part of the surrounding area is covered with lakes and rivers.
Stress through the advertisement is put on the existence of a planned town, modern housing with all the characteristics of the 'better' part of the urban centers (lawns and sidewalks). Children are taken care of in the Three Schools: so is community life (Church services). Commercial facilities are up-to-date (Modern shopping center) and no one has to worry about his health (Modern hospital). In addition to all the above modernized suburban facilities one can enjoy outdoor life practically in his backyard without having to travel miles to some lake or river.

The man who reads such an advertisement is thus lured to these towns which seem to combine suburban facilities with outdoor advantages. The stress, evidently, is on all the attractive aspects of such towns. Little is said about monotony and normalization, or about the lack or rather the absence of choice regarding jobs or friends where "often the only way to change a job or friends, is to move away".7

Nothing is said about the single employer and the dependance of the town and its inhabitants on this employer for any continued existence.

Let us now examine an advertisement describing Gold River and the impact of the motivational forces of this advertisement on the worker and his decision-making regarding employment with the company and moving with his family into the town. The advertisement claims that
To ensure modern, attractive housing for these people, the new town of Gold River is being carved out of the forest - an 'open' town where anyone can live and work. Carefully planned to be a fine place to live, Gold River will have a population in just two years of about 3,000, with paved, curbed streets, underground wiring, cable television, a modern shopping centre and a complete public school complex. It is located in a setting of great beauty, close to the cradle of B. C. history, where Capt. Cook met Chief Maquinna, and Capt. Vancouver protected British rights in long bargaining with the Spaniard Quadra.

It is primarily young men and younger families with children who are lured by the description of the town and especially by the promise of different subsidies available to the company's employees such as:

- Second mortgage for housing and free transportation of belongings to Gold River at the company's expense for married men.
- Reduced hotel rates for single men.
- Possible promotion suggesting higher wages and better social status.

Most northern towns are young people's towns. Birth rates are high and the average age low. Young people are often the only one's who'll go north.

In Gold River for example:

both school principals are 32, the doctor is 29, and the mayor is an old man of 44.

These young families have at the start very little money and cannot afford to buy a house of their own in the city or even in its suburbs or other towns. Here is an opportunity of
being able to own a home of their own and furthermore of making fast money without having to forego all the facilities and advantages of suburban life. It is not so much the wages that attract them, these are syndicate rates, but rather the opportunity of making extra overtime money.

Furthermore, the constant stress on modern and attractive housing, modern shopping center, and public schools seems to be mainly geared to the wives, for "a contented woman helps to provide a stable and steady employee"\(^{11}\) and supports the claim that:

> Pulp and paper and mining companies are always concerned with a wife's happiness. "No man will stay long if he's got a wife who wants to go home," a mine manager has explained.\(^{12}\)

Also the fact that Gold River is a new town and unique in its political setting (instant municipality), seems to offer an opportunity to people who are interested in leadership, and who, because of their social status or competition from more competent and older men are left out of leadership positions in the city. The advertisement stresses the fact that Gold River is an 'open' town where anyone can live and work.

The expectations, expressed in interviews, of the different men and their families who come to Gold River could be summarized as:

- Maximum income and minimum expenditure.
- Ownership of a house.
- Improved social status.
- Possible leadership in the community.
- More freedom in terms of space, i.e. larger lots and lawns.
- More freedom in terms of fewer restrictions on personal freedom (pets, housing arrangements, landscaping, etc.).
- Easier access to recreational facilities.

The type of people attracted to the community are therefore mostly young, recently married couples with children and ambition to climb up the social scale. Most of them do not have much education but have a certain skill and trade. When they come to a new town the man goes to see the job and the boss, the wife looks at the houses and inquires about schools. They accept to live in such a remote place if the pay is good and the school is good and there is an opportunity for promotion. If one of these factors does not satisfy them, they go to another resource town. But even if they are at the beginning satisfied, after having settled, other priorities and needs appear.

Although many of the people's expectations have been fulfilled, there still remains an evident lack of recreational facilities. This has become a major issue in the town. The inhabitants have asked for a theatre, skating, pools, golf, etc., but the municipality does not have enough money and the inhabitants do not want to finance these facilities by themselves.

Because the people are primarily profit oriented and not interested in building a community, they are always ready to take up jobs elsewhere for higher wages. This fact necessarily
leads to a high turnover and gives the town a transient character.

This lack of community spirit is accentuated even more by the shift work in the pulp-mill, the result of which is that eventually two neighbours can never meet because of their time tables, or never feel privacy in the apartments, because when one sleeps the other makes noise because he does not sleep and vice-versa. On the other hand, women always see the same neighbours and finally get annoyed with the monotony of their life.

The loggers seem to be more stable because of their type of work. Since they usually come from a logging camp and not from an urban area, a community like Gold River is a big town according to their standards. They seem to be happy and satisfied.

The pulp-mill workers, being highly skilled mechanics are ambitious and nervous, anxious for promotion and in general much more demanding. About one third of the workers are single men. They basically come because of wages and opportunities. These people are the most transient category of the community. They have no ties with the community and are not accepted by it. They are left with drinking as a hobby and wait for the weekend to get out of the town.

The lack of interesting activities in the evenings, after working hours, does not make things any easier. Although there are club activities, night classes, bowling and billiards, the
beer parlor seems to be the most visited place where gossip and drinking become the main occupations of the town's populace.

Although the problem here appears to be manifold, it derives basically from the fact that there is a marked discrepancy between the image of Gold River and life in it as the inhabitants had conjured up, and the reality. This discrepancy leads to basic dissatisfaction and eventually adds to the causes of high turnover. The question arises here whether the company can be totally blamed for having through advertising and different pamphlets given a false picture of Gold River and the available opportunities. To what extent is the inhabitant to be blamed? Does he read between the lines and has projected his own hopes and desires into the image of Gold River - an image which is really his own creation and not the company's?

It is here that intervene the different realities:
- Those as envisaged by the potential inhabitant, who reads the description of the town
- The representation of the town as seen by the company and finally,
- The town itself as actually perceived by the inhabitant when he goes to live there.

What happens is, that when the potential inhabitant arrives in town, he evaluates it in terms of the image of the town he has formed from advertisements. What he perceives does not correspond to the company's representation. (See Diagram 10)
DIAGRAM - 10  ROLE OF INFORMATION & INTERPRETATION - INITIAL STAGE
Here a conflict often arises. Disappointment combines with resentment and feelings of being cheated. Most people in such cases become aggressive and critical, partly because of the discrepancies between their dreams and the reality, partly because they come to a ready made environment to which they did not contribute and for which they did not sweat. They expect to take more and more but not to give. To be able to build meaningful relationships

there must not be the feeling on the part of the citizens that everything is ready-made, cut and dried, and that they have nothing to do with it. The people must feel that the facilities give them the opportunity for their own contribution as individuals, as families, and as co-citizens of a community.14

The general apathy of the inhabitants concerning any active contribution to the improvement of the town is best represented by their attitude to the political organization of the town. People are unaware of the political structure of the town and are not interested to know. Many still think that it is a company town owned and run by the Tahsis Company.15 Others are transient people, who come to take— to make fast money and leave. Others still come because they are dissatisfied with their former employment and are looking for promotion, if they do not find it, they become bitter and at the first opportunity they leave.

Nevertheless, there are people who come to the town with no illusions, with a pioneer spirit, ready to work hard and
found a home for themselves and their children. These people want to contribute in the shaping of the community based on some common values and principles. They are fully aware of the necessary long-term investment of patience and energy. It is these people who contribute to the social life of the community through various clubs and social organizations.¹⁶

The Economic aspect - Since Gold River was built in order to supply the Pulp-mill with necessary labour force, it is only natural that most of the town's inhabitants are the employees of the Tahsis Company. The major and often only source of their income are the wages they receive for work in the mill or in logging operations.

The existing stores, where the individual spends his money, have a monopoly of five years and are not local institutions but have their head offices outside the community. The products sold in these shops are all manufactured or grown also outside the community. Thus the money spent on everyday necessities, groceries or any other accessories bought in the town does not stay there but is immediately channeled to some external investor. This involves, both the initial cost of the goods and the profit made. (See Diagram 11). It could be argued that the only money which remains in the town is that which the inhabitants pay to the locally investing servicemen,
Diagram - II  CAPITAL REDISTRIBUTION MODEL
but these too have to live and buy from the same shops and eventually this money, at least in part goes outside the community.

Where housing is concerned, the money spent on rent by the inhabitants covers the investment and profit made on borrowed money which again is external to the community (developers, contractors, CHMC, mortgage companies, etc.).

From Diagram 11 it is clear that most of the money constantly is on the way out of the community. It does neither circulate, nor is it invested in the community. This makes the town and its inhabitants almost totally dependent on the external world. Anything that affects the pulp-mill production, such as fluctuating prices of the pulp or diminished demand, could make the very existence of the town problematic. Even such things as fluctuation in the price of food and other everyday necessities brings about an immediate disequilibrium. Due to the absence of any agricultural, secondary industry, or some diversified sources of income, the town is far from being self-sufficient and its continued existence is rather precarious.

Furthermore, a rather unhealthy situation is created by a monopoly policy applied to new stores in the shopping center. This policy ensures the investing company of not having any competition by forbidding anyone else to sell the same goods. This policy extends over five years and allows the investor to
be the sole provider of the given goods. This practice may ensure the investor with a stable clientelle but on the other hand frustrates the customer who would like to have the choice and the opportunity to compare prices. In this way, no matter what the potential customer is told and how reasonable the prices of goods are, he always tends to feel cheated since he cannot compare and see for himself.

In the mill the wages are payed according to union agreements and regulations. Nevertheless, the employees receive higher incomes by working overtime and taking advantage of the subsidiary policies of the company. This makes their average yearly income between $8,200 and $8,300. The employees of the school board also receive different subsidies. The only people who do not receive subsidies and feel cheated are different service people who are employees of the companies with head offices outside the community.

Of the interviewed people, 66% thought that wages in Gold River were fair and 82% claimed that the cost of living was high. The latter claim leads to the fact that many things, even groceries, are bought outside the community. This in turn affects the shops which, lacking customers, cannot provide much variety and are often obliged to raise their prices in order to cover overhead and transportation expenses.

Suggestions to have some small 'corner stores' were made. These could be run by some of the homeowners or eventually their
wives. The profit would probably be insufficient to support a family but it could become a secondary income and above all the money would remain in the community. It would also provide some variety and an opportunity to escape from feelings of being monopolized by large business companies running the present shopping center.

But such marginal business is strictly forbidden by the by-laws of the town and no mixing of 'residential' and 'commercial' activities is permissible. Since such 'corner stores' would be functional only when they would be located in the residential zone, not only because of their proximity to the potential customer, but also because of economic reasons - (the shop could be located in the house of the owner and hence incur no extra investment), the actual by-laws make their existence impossible.

At present the registered licenced businesses in Gold River are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Local investor</th>
<th>Head office</th>
<th>outside community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tahsis Company</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Super-Value</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>TV and Cable Vision</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Man's Wear</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Painter contracts</td>
<td>X (part time)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bowling</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumber</td>
<td>X (part time)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trailer park</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taxi Co.</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music shop</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Janitor service</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
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<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>Local investor</td>
<td>Head office outside community</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propane gas</td>
<td>X (part time)</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Two electric contractors</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drug store</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beauty parlour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>X (part time)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Laundromat</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Delta Hotel</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawson Developers</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cafe</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Insurance &amp; Real Estate</td>
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<td>X</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust Service</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Caters</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Service Stations</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. C. Liquor store</td>
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The local investors can thus be subdivided into two groups. The first group has an insured income from a stable source (the mill) and their activities do not require headquarters. They can easily manage without any investment just by selling their skill and knowledge. (part time contractors). The second group is in a more difficult position because of the fact that their prime investment must be the headquarters and that the price of rent must be included in the profit made.

For example a square foot in the shopping center is rented at $4 per month which is a very high price for an individual local investor to pay at the start, if in addition to the rent he has to pay the electricity, heat and telephone bills. The local physician paid $400 in rent and an additional $200 for electricity, telephone, heat, etc. per month. Marginal businesses like the laundromat have evidently financial problems. Others,
such as a shoe repair shop or second-hand furniture store cannot afford even a start.

Although 43% of the total businesses in Gold River are local, the gross taxation rate shows that 95% is paid by the businesses which have their head offices outside the community and only 5% is paid by the local investors. The mill site being included in the boundary of the municipality, the mill becomes an important contributor in taxation. Out of an annual sale of approximately $28,000,000, the Tahsis company paid $750,000 in gross taxation. The redistribution of gross taxation is self-explanatory:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mill</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartments</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved lots</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trailer Court</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, it can be said that theoretically, at least, the company planned to satisfy the workers' expectations. In practice things were different. The explicit goal of the company was to make money and hence to invest the bare minimum into the town, whereas the workers' goal was to get out of the company the maximum possible, either in the form of wages or facilities. This could only lead to conflict. (See Diagram 12).

The social aspect - Towns are social facts of many dimensions; they are unique forms of social organizations or social systems.
Diagram 12: Discrepancy between theory & practice at the economic level.
The different aspects of a social organization are sub-systems of social stratification, normative integration, kind and degree of social cohesion among its residents, the nature of social control and the institutional arrangements and their operation.

A town, therefore, generates forms of social relationships. These relationships are developed in daily living and through daily contacts with neighbours, co-workers, servicemen and others. One can think of a town as a

form of human community in which there are particular ecological forces of integration, in which human beings acquire certain behaviour patterns as a result of association with one another, and in which institutions and forms of social organization give to human life a characteristic aspect called urban.20

A human community may be defined as an organized political, municipal and social body of men, women and children living in the same locality. Can a community be built for people? A town may be built, it may be occupied by people but a community has to grow, it is built up by people, for

a community is a reflection of the aspirations of its people, it is not a sterile thing that has come off a drafting board.21

Above all, it must be remembered, that a community structure manifests itself in a spacial and temporal pattern, it is the result of growth, integration and socialization. It is precisely this temporal aspect which is absent in instant towns such as Gold River.

Gold River was planned and built without the participation
of its inhabitants. Once the town was completed the inhabitants moved in, all practically at the same time. They took over a town with no tradition or history. They had no common heritage and a diversity of values. They had come primarily to make money as much and as fast as they possibly could.

Thus, in this new society, like in any other modern society, wealth and power became an end in themselves. The goals of most of the people at the start were the universalistic goals in monetary and bureaucratic terms as prescribed by any industrial society. They had only one set of values - those involving individual success. There was no feeling of being socially integrated. The sense of being involved in meaningful means-ends relationships was totally absent. This "absence of an established harmony," according to Durkheim, "far from producing freedom, produces resentment and apathy - the war of each against all."22

This seems to have been the situation at the beginning in Gold River. The fact that most of the people were employees of the mill and hence were in a position to compete with each other, often for the same job and promotion, made them regard each other as potential enemies. They were also all strangers to each other, all equally ignorant about the whereabouts of facilities and the general town lay-out.

Furthermore, the cross-sectional image of the inhabitants, practically of utmost uniformity, contributes to a great extent
to the already unhealthy atmosphere. Old people, who are a stabilizing element in any community, were and still are absent. The uniform age composition of the town leads to many stresses and strains necessitating emotional adjustment, for Gold River inhabitant's average age differs greatly from the national average and that of the communities from which the newcomers arrive.

It has also been shown that the social structure of a community depends on the balance of occupation.\(^{23}\) In a well balanced community people's occupations are complimentary; each provides a certain service for the others, leading to interdependency and cohesion. This is not the case in Gold River. All are status seekers within the same company. They are not satisfied and do not achieve a sense of self-respect within their own group.

At the beginning, in Gold River, the only stable elements in the town were the governing institutions. They were at the time little known to the people, misunderstood and rather feared. There was also an RCMP supplied by the Federal Government to ensure order and protection of the inhabitants. The local government was appointed by the provincial government and was supposed to look after people's interests. There were other less important bodies at this stage such as the fire brigade, the town clerk and his helpers, and the school board.
The adjustment to the new environment involved
- Getting acquainted with the physical aspect of the town and its facilities.
- Discovering the neighbourhood and the people living there.
- A process of acculturalization whereby an exchange of opinions and values as well as the study of ways of participation in certain activities took place.

This led slowly to an eventual understanding and a partial recovery of the sense of 'belonging'.

There is ample evidence in new communities both of the need to recover the sense of 'belonging' which was lost by migration and of the capacity of the newcomers to form social groups in their new setting.24

There is also the need that drives people to associate with one another and/or seek membership in groups. The degree of the cohesion of a group, or the magnitude of the desire to affiliate with others is a function of the nature of the needs that the individual can satisfy in the company of others. People associate with other people or belong to particular groups in order to attain individual goals or to gain approval, support or prestige. They may also be in search for an evaluation of their own opinions, feelings and abilities.

In new communities, 'defensive' associations in terms of the socio-economic needs are formed first. In Gold River they were the unions (mill and logging) and the Chamber of Commerce
(service people). The aim of these unions was to protect the immediate interests and rights of the workers and secure wage redistribution.

These organizations acted as a stepping stone leading to the formation of other social groups. Having secured needs of prime importance (survival), other socializations took place at different levels, starting first by service clubs and church activities, later by women's associations, fire brigade, children's associations, tenants' association and others.

A by-product of this socialization process was the breakdown of the inhabitants although into different classes, yet not really social classes as such. These classes could be distinguished as:

- white collar (employees of the mill),
- blue collar (employees of the mill),
- service people (independent).

Still another social distinction can be made according to the type of housing owned or leased:

- home-owner (prestige)
- apartment (no prestige),
- trailer camp (discriminated).

Some single men try to integrate within the community by renting rooms from the home-owners, yet they form a class by themselves. Whether they live in the hotel, the Heber Lodge,
or the camp, they are generally discriminated against and left out of the major community activities.

In Gold River, social status is reflected therefore by income, position held in the mill, previous place of work, as well as the position held in different social organizations. People are thus grouping themselves into more or less restricted circles.

Since members of smaller communities like that of Gold River have a much greater personal association with all their neighbours than do people who live in larger communities, there is very little privacy. Although such closeness breeds community spirit, it also can act as a barrier, for people have to live the role required of them and their position, the way the society expects of them.

You can't put on airs... It's too close-knit a society for a phony.

The growth of social life and the growth of a sense of community require adequate and appropriate meeting-places.

In planning, opportunities must be provided for the development of recreational and other social facilities but these should not all be developed instantly. Rather they must, if they are to be effective, be an outgrowth of the wishes of the people living in the community.

One of the aspects of healthy social life is thus the need for recreational activities and leisure time occupation. There must also be a place for major cultural forces or products to
develop, for a social order is often a function of its cultural aspect.

In Gold River these activities are limited to outdoor sports. The company was at the start unwilling to invest money into recreational facilities and the community has neither enough capital nor enough people interested in one specific activity to cooperate in building some facilities such as a golf terrain. As far as children are concerned, the available recreational facilities are at the school. They become therefore regulated, and lack the necessary casual characteristics. The playground planned for the secondary school has not yet been built. Besides bowling children cannot do much, except walk the streets or loiter around the hotel contemplating its beer parlour.

Although the inhabitants of the town seem to have the psychological need for the knowledge that different recreational facilities are available, they do not seem to have the urge to use them when provided with such facilities.

In summary it may be claimed that

There are two different, though closely related, aspects of the problem of social development. First, in view of the close dependence of social groupings and relationships on physical environments in the old communities, which has been established..., it is clearly of the first importance that those who build for new communities should have this in mind, and should plan in such ways as experience shows to favour the growth of a sense of community. This has, indeed, been the sin of those who envisaged the new towns as
the home of communities which would be 'balanced and self-contained', linking employment with housing and providing leisure.²⁷

Although good planning provides the basis for a healthy community, it does not ensure such a community. In order to achieve such a community there must be a common effort made by the citizens who choose and struggle for common goals. The sense of achievement and common effort are basic. They are reflected in a stabilization of values, the creation of commonly accepted unwritten laws and in a tightening of internal community ties.

A sign of a healthy community is the creation of organizations by some dynamic leaders and the formation of a nucleus deeply involved in community voluntary planning. For, the fact of having struggled together to improve health or recreational facilities gives a sense of achievement and solidarity.

Theoretically, in a society in which individuals were socialized to accept attainable positions as the proper and necessary fulfillment of their role in life, men would feel "free" and satisfied. The sense of freedom, of being one's own master and of achieving what one thinks one wants to achieve, exists only where the means-ends relationship defined by society is stable - that is where men do in fact get what they have been taught to want.²⁸
Diagram 13  Community Needs

Physical Needs
- Shelter
- Territorial right
- Security
- Access to facilities

Social Needs
- Recreation
- Cultural events
- Meetings
- Socialization
- Organizations

Economic Needs
- Wages level
- Promotion possibility
- Choice of work
- Choice of shopping facilities

Results Expected
Security + Freedom

But - Freedom for one = insecurity to others >> Security

Socialization = equilibrium → Freedom = Security

Because then we learn to want what we can get without infringing upon the rights of others.
Footnotes

1 See Appendix D.

2 Presently the trailer court is 'rezoned' by the owner.

3 The numbers given are for the school year 1968-69.


6 "A Mining Town Just Ain't What It Used To Be," (Advertisement), Campus (January 1970), p. 5.


8 Tahsis Co. Ltd., Gold River, (Pamphlet.)

9 Frederick, op. cit., p. 15.


12 Frederick, loc. cit., p. 15.

13 For turnover rates in Gold River see Appendix F.


15 See Questionnaire - Part 5, in Appendix D.

16 There is a positive correlation between each individual's answer to parts 5a and 10i of the questionnaire.

17 Information supplied by the local bank manager.

18 See Questionnaire - section 4a, in Appendix D.

19 Food costs are approximately 2% higher; which is presumably the cost of transportation. (Information obtained from the Super-Valu store manager.)


25. Frederick, *op. cit.*, p. 15.


CHAPTER V

EVALUATION OF RESULTS

Instant towns have often been referred to as being "born already grown up". Such towns are expected to provide, almost instantly, the physical, social and even economic environment necessary for the growth of a healthy and balanced community. But growth and maturity are slow and deliberate processes and instant towns rather than being "born grown up" seem to be "born prematurely", unformed and unstructured, often struggling for their very existence.

One of the characteristic weaknesses of such towns has been the constant turnover of the working personnel. Different environmental factors contribute to this turnover in resource towns. These factors can be broken down into three main categories: the physical, social and economic. A town's stability and its continued existence depends on these factors, and on the inhabitants' satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

As we have seen from the preceding chapter, the physical, economic and especially the social aspects of Gold River are far from being "grown up". The town actually seems to be still suffering from "growing pains" and many of the basic problems have not yet been resolved. Dissatisfaction is strong and the turnover comparatively high.¹

The existing problems in Gold River not only originate in the physical, social and economic environments, but many of them are inherent in the nature and the psychological make-up of the
people who come to the town.

These problems can be outlined under five main headings:
- isolation,
- turnover,
- absence of growth,
- size of the community and its density,
- absence of adequate recreational facilities.

Isolation - The town is situated at an almost two-hour drive from any other community. This gives its inhabitants the feeling of being lost in the wilderness. Feelings of insecurity are created by the knowledge that the town's existence depends on the outside world (food supply, investment, decisions concerning the town's future, etc.). This physical, and somewhat economic isolation, combines with a psychological as well as a social isolation of the individual within the community. The move to a new place involves the breaking of old ties based on kinship and neighbourhood and adjustment must be made to new standards of conduct. A break is made with the old customary ways of doing things. All this gives a sense of deprivation and an uneasiness.

Men of working age are least affected, provided that the move does not involve a disturbance of employment or a long journey to work. Women and especially wives with young children often suffer a degree of isolation which gives rise to anxiety, or even neurosis. The older children of primary school age, whose physical health seems to have improved,
often resort to damage which may well be a reaction to the disturbance of the way of living to which they were accustomed, and especially the pattern of their play.  

**Turnover** - Although isolation is to a large extent responsible for the fact that people leave the town, there are other factors too. One of the major reasons for people leaving the town is some disagreement with the employer or dissatisfaction with the kind of employment, wages or working hours. The absence of any other employer forces the people who quit their jobs with the company to leave town. These people are promptly replaced and the resulting situation is that of a "hotel community" where no one knows who is going to leave or who the newcomer will be.

**Absence of growth** - Being mainly a single industry town, growth in Gold River can take place either if the company decides to expand the mill and increase the number of workers, or if the industry could be diversified and attract some secondary industries. In the former case company does not seem to want to expand; in the latter, investors are very cautious and do not want to risk their capital in an unsettled place. As far as the government is concerned, it does not seem to be taking any initiative whatsoever.

Any signs of growth would mean new hope for the future and more security to the inhabitants. This in its turn could reduce the turnover and help to create a stable community with some future perspective.
**Size and density of the community** - The town was planned to cater to the needs of a suburban community of 3,200 individuals. The meaningful existence of a suburb is determined primarily by the existence of an urban center in its proximity. Such an urban center near Gold River does not exist and the town's suburban physical characteristics are not only absurd but result in a rather dense and uniform pattern of buildings. The resulting environment which is in fact the product of a drafting board lacks the spontaneity of suburban areas. It is, in addition, regulated by a set of rules and by-laws to which the inhabitants must conform and try to lead a life similar to the standard suburban way. It is evident that such a situation can only lead to frustration due to lack of personal freedom.

Economic considerations and a profit oriented approach lead to the high density policy. This high density of the town's population is another reason for more stress and anxiety. Combined with other factors, the small size of the community and the relative high density contribute to a large extent to the already unstable atmosphere in the town.

**Recreational facilities** - are of prime importance in isolated communities. In Gold River such activities are reduced to the minimum. If properly organized such activities could serve as energy outlets and many a dissatisfaction and frustration could be compensated and sublimated through the different recreational
activities. Such activities could also serve as the meeting grounds and contribute to the moulding of a community spirit in the town.

Unfortunately, this is not so. There are a few facilities and there is no community organizer who could help the inhabitants to organize and help community life to evolve.

A. The Questionnaire and Its Interpretation

The questionnaire was submitted to 51 people from the community chosen in such a way as to get the attitudes of different persons towards certain basic problems and issues of the town. Since the questionnaire was administered when either the whole or at least a part of the family was present, the answers to the questions reflect the attitude of a family on the whole rather than of an individual.

In Table II - "Tabulation of Responses to the Questionnaire", an attempt is made to classify the answers to the different questions in the questionnaire. Positive answers denote the success of the specific item, negative answers denote their failure. Certain questions left unanswered were considered as neutral or 'no opinion' answers. With the help of the table juxta-opposed answers can be compared and a final score can be calculated.

No meaningful comparison can be made unless there is a significant difference between the totals of positive and the total of negative scores. Furthermore the differences are
proportional to the satisfaction or the dissatisfaction felt by the inhabitants concerning a facility, service, or a problem. It should also be kept in mind that only 10% of the dwellers were interviewed and that such a sampling is relative.

Some of the survey's questions have not been tabulated, for they are of an unclassified nature. They are nevertheless discussed and interpreted. The questionnaire and data classification can be found in Appendix D and Appendix E.

**Face sheet information** (refer to Questionnaire.) - Here information about the interviewed people can be found. Out of 51 interviewees 28 were female because of the fact that there was more chance of finding women rather than men at home during daytime. Six out of 51 interviewees were bachelors, nine had no children, and nineteen had two or three children (the average being 2.3 per family). The age distribution of the children was denser in the pre-school and primary school age range. Most of the families interviewed were young families with small children distributed as follows:

- Number of children of pre-school age = 31
- Number of children of elementary school age = 34
- Number of children of high school age = 20

The elementary school has already become overcrowded, for it is smaller than the High School and has to cater to a larger number of children.
Nine of the interviewees were white collar employees' families, forty-two were blue collar.

From the 28 interviewed women 21% are employed, the rest are housewives. Women have a difficulty to find jobs: first because of their children who have to be taken care of and for whom there is no well organized day care center. But also because a woman cannot take on any job since anonymity in a small town does not exist and for the sake of status one hesitates to take up any employment. In addition to the jobs cited in Table 5 of Appendix E, women work as nurses, school teachers and journalists.

As far as education is concerned, 20% of the interviewed people had some technical or university education.

Table 7 of Appendix E shows that 28 persons have been in the town for more than two years while 23 have been there for less than two years: 45% are thus newcomers.

Table 8 of Appendix E shows that 27 persons plan to stay more than one year while 24 persons intend to move before the year is up: 47% are thus expecting to move shortly. Tables 7 and 8 show, therefore, that almost half of the community's population are either newcomers or transient elements.

We can also conclude that the population of the town, is, as predicted, mostly composed of young married people with small children who come mainly from British Columbia (80%). These people are not yet definitely established in the town - a fact which leads to a high turnover and a large number of newcomers.
Transportation and communication (refer to Questionnaire - section 1.) - The planner hoped at the start to develop the first basic neighbourhood and concentrate all housing facilities around the town's central core. The assumption being that walking to the commercial center, or hotel instead of driving around the town would become the practice. But, it seems that whether people go to work, to shop, to drink or out of town, they always use their cars or call a taxi.

Although there is a good bus service, its lack of punctuality annoys some people (25%) and the car is really the main means of transportation. The priest uses an airplane to visit remote communities, and the Indians use boats to visit their relatives. The existing situation does not seem to bother the inhabitants much. The only complaints are about the condition of the roads leading to the outside, and to the trailer court which is isolated from the actual town and has a very poor road connecting it with the town center. This fact contributes still more to the isolation of its inhabitants. The road to the outside of the community needs to be repaired and made safe for winter driving.

There were many complaints regarding the location of schools which are situated at the extreme end of the town. Children cannot walk to school alone for the walk is too long for the younger ones and dangerous for all since there is no side walk. There seems to be a need for a bus service organized by the school-board or public transportation organized by the municipality.
Since most people have at least one car, this problem does not really affect everyone. Nevertheless it remains an important problem for it indicates that such considerations were omitted in the planning process.

As far as radio and television are concerned, there seems to be a need for a larger variety of channels and a far better reception. There were also complaints about the price of the hook-up. Little variety, bad reception and high cost accentuate again the community's isolation.

Since the local newspaper seems to be good and manages to serve well the inhabitants, the delays in the delivery of the outside newspapers do not bother the inhabitants. Interestingly enough, there are still people in Gold River (6%) who are not even aware of the existence of the local newspaper. This shows how isolated and ignorant of community activities some people remain.

Except for the quality of the roads and the quality and variety in television and radio reception, the basic needs of transportation and communication seem to have been satisfactorily resolved. As far as the above mentioned short-comings are concerned, it is a matter of time, for there are discussions about improving both the roads and the television and radio reception.

The people of the community (refer to Questionnaire - section 2.) -
This part of the questionnaire aimed at the determination of some basic facts about the people comprising the community as well as the examination of attitudes between different groups. In general, neighbours were considered to be pleasant, except in the cases of row-housing and apartments where there was, it seems, some unpleasantness between the different occupants.

To the question whether there was a group in the community that one did not approve; negative answers were given by most of the interviewees. Only 12% disapproved of the trailer camp people, camp-inhabitants and unmarried people. Their reactions seem to have been purely defensive, for they, most probably, viewed such people as transient and unstable elements.

Job opportunity was for 68% of the inhabitants the reason for coming to Gold River. To others it was a matter of being transferred.

**Traditions - values - attitudes** (refer to Questionnaire - section 3.) - The purpose of this section was to discover how the inhabitants see the community and how the general character of the town could be described. 20% of the answers were negative (apathetic, gossipy, internal conflict), whereas the other 80% were positive (progressive, friendly, cooperative).

People usually see the community through themselves, they project their own feelings, fears and anxieties into the community. The 20% who did answer negatively can be considered negative
elements in themselves. This ratio is not high considering the existing high rate of working personnel turnover.

**Economics and employment** (refer to Questionnaire – section 4.) – There are no justifiable complaints about the level of wages and people agree that there is an opportunity of earning good money, especially by working overtime. This is often reflected on family life where the husband is not at home for prolonged periods and during awkward hours. It creates stress and is detrimental to the emotional health of the children.

On the other hand the cost of living is considered to be high by 82% of the interviewees. Everything, somewhat special, must be imported from outside the town and costs more because of the transportation factor. One should add here that people often compare actual prices in the town with those payed by them some time ago outside the community. This is a false comparison, for prices are generally climbing throughout the country.

Other people who come to Gold River are indebted and hope that they will be able to economize in this remote community. They are rather disappointed when they find out that they still spend as much as they did in the urban centers.

Shopping facilities seem to be the main source of dissatisfaction, concerning especially the policy of the Ucona Holdings in giving monopoly to merchants. Many people expressed the need for diversification of shopping facilities and 60% felt the
need for a corner store. This may reduce the number of people shopping in Campbell River and those who never buy anything in Gold River.

48% of the people consider the Tahsis Company foreign to the town, for the important decisions are taken in the head office in Vancouver. Furthermore, frequent and often contradictory changes in policy and management of the company reflect themselves in the already somewhat difficult and strained labour-management relations. Nevertheless, 38% of the people think that the relationship between the company and its employees is acceptable.

Local government and the RCMP (refer to Questionnaire - section 5.) - Out of 29 persons who knew that the council in Gold River is an elected one, 21 felt that Tahsis company's influence was very strong. This indicates the still minor role played by the local government in the decision making process and the rather prominent role of the company in all the affairs concerning the community. Although it is only natural for the company to desire to maintain control over the town since it is by far the largest taxpayer; such a situation does not create a very healthy atmosphere.

There is actually a conflict of principles, since the prime intention of the company, as stated, was to provide the town with an independent municipality. But as the company still has
some rather important investments in the housing, shopping center and real estate, it tries to ensure its own interest by influencing decision makings.

As far as the RCMP is concerned, people are satisfied and unanimously agree that police protection in Gold River is good and adequate.

**Community planning** (refer to Questionnaire - section 6.) - People are content with the general street layout and the physical layout of the town, but there are major complaints about the absence of sidewalks, small back-yards, slopes of the streets and even the absence of back-lanes. Nevertheless, these complaints are minor, for 54% of the interviewed like the idea of living in a planned community and only 22% dislike it. Although most people appreciate the unique setting of the town, its novelty and planning, they resent the uniformity and isolation. 66% of the people were convinced of the necessity of citizen participation in community planning. Others were either absolutely opposed or indifferent to the question. Those opposed argued that since a large proportion of Gold River's inhabitants were transient people, it is unfair and unacceptable to let such people have a say in the community planning or in decision making, for these people would not be there to bear any of the consequences.

**Housing** (refer to Questionnaire - section 7.) - This part of the
questionnaire brings together the opinions of people living in all the different types of housing because of the nature of its distribution. In general, the answers can be classified into two types:

- Those given by the owners.
- Those given by the tenants.

Although the home-owners thought that the price of the houses was high, they were basically satisfied with the other financial arrangements. They are mostly Tahsis Company employees with large families, on the average with three children. They cherish the large basements and roomy houses with a view. Most people complained about the lack of choice as far as type and price of the houses was concerned. This complaint was not only that of the owners but also that of the tenants.

The fact that no financial arrangement for the purchase of a house for service people is available was resented as much as the fact that no single family detached houses are available for rent.

The trailer court people complained about lack of playground for children and the density of trailers in the court. Complaints were also made concerning the heating system because of high bills.

50% of the people deplored the absence of privacy in apartments, trailers, town houses and even in the detached houses. The fault here seems to lie with the general layout of the
houses and their proximity. The apartment tenants complained also about noise due to insufficient soundproofing.

Notwithstanding all the above complaints, housing situation right now is not undergoing any crisis and seems to be on the whole rather satisfactory.

Neighbourhood (refer to Questionnaire - section 8.) - Although the planner had in mind to build a town which at each stage would constitute a complete unit and would integrate its inhabitants into one neighbourhood, the outcome is different. From the answers of the people concerning the town as a unit, 28% had some extended notion of neighbourhood but did not include all of the town. 60% had only a limited concept of the town's neighbourhood. To most people the neighbourhood is determined by the acquaintances in the immediate proximity of their homes and other people met through their children. Furthermore, the fact that the town is subdivided into sections influences people into thinking of themselves as belonging to a certain section.

Although 22% of the people think that section A. is the prestige area of the town, in reality this section is only the oldest one in town. The loggers who occupy mainly this section are already settled and rather stable elements. This section has therefore, a very low turnover and seems to be the calmest part of the town. Only 8% of interviewees attached any importance of section B. where the high income group of the pulp-mill (management) live.
Where low-prestige areas are concerned opinions vary between the trailer camp, the apartments or the Indian Reserve. Strangely enough, no mention is made of the logging camp and the Heber Lodge. Perhaps these are not considered to be a part of the town's community.

In general some 60% of the individuals agreed that there is no such thing as low or high prestige areas in Gold River. The statement applied only to houses located in the town itself and does not include the trailer camp or the reserve.

The fact that many of the professionals are tenants because they do not get the financial advantages offered by the company to their employees in purchasing houses, makes it rather difficult to generalize and classify apartments as low-prestige areas.

**Education** (refer to Questionnaire - section 9.) - This part of the questionnaire was set up in order to get the feeling of the population towards the educational institutions and the system, and see if there is any spirit of awareness in the community.

Only 21% were dissatisfied with the local schools. Among these were native Indians who considered that it is too far for them and that they need a bus system because they live on the reserve near the pulp-mill. Other objections were made concerning the elementary school being situated on and "sinking" into a swamp; or that the schools are not in the center of the actual
town and the secondary school is too far and the children have to cross a main road to get there.

Only 16% were dissatisfied with the quality of teaching staff, the objection being the lack of discipline and too much freedom granted to the children.

To the question regarding the particular advantages of the design of the primary school, the answers were scattered, including statements such as: can extend, no rows, looks better, more individualistic, etc.. In general, there was not much awareness about the design of the buildings and even one could state that with rare exceptions there was a certain ignorance and unawareness of the advantages and possibilities of such a school.

When people were asked if there was a Parent Teacher Association, and if there was an opportunity for citizens to take part in the school's decisions, the answers were in general negative. Nevertheless, there was an awareness that there could and should be cooperation between parents and teachers in order to get better results. The general impression was that the parents were left out of participating in school affairs. There seems to be a barrier between them and the school because they do not fully understand what is happening there, due perhaps to the lack of education of some parents.

Certain people, nevertheless, noted that the School Board
is open to all suggestions, but parents who have attended the meetings of the Board do not feel at home there and only rarely come back to another meeting.

Objections have also been made that the secondary school does not have enough staff to provide a fully varied program. Their program is limited especially in the vocational field and it is difficult for sub-average students because they do not have a choice in technical classes. For the needs of the present community the school staff is large and too expensive. Hopefully, the above shortcomings will cease to exist in the future because the School Board is doing its best to give all possible opportunity to the students.

Almost everyone knew about the existence of adult education classes and many people have already taken courses in typing, sewing, painting, music, first aid, ceramics or trade qualifications. Only about 30% had a negative attitude towards such classes mainly because of lack of time. Everyone thinks that evening classes are a good idea. If they become popular, the gap actually existing between the school's and the parents could disappear and the schools would then become more integrated into the life of the community. Certain people still hesitate to attend evening classes because they lack education and are self-conscious about it.

The question: "Does the educational system in Gold River
provide adequate opportunity for your children?", was asked in order to find out if certain people would feel unhappy about staying in Gold River because of the remoteness of the schools from big centers and whether this could be a factor influencing their decision to leave the town. Only five persons answered negatively.

In general, we can say that the attitude of the inhabitants of Gold River towards the schools and the educational system is quite favourable. Nonetheless, one can feel a certain physical as well as psychological isolation of the schools. Because of their location, their philosophy and their newness, these schools are a foreign element in this new community where many other things are incongruous and still out of proportion.

Recreation and religious activities (refer to Questionnaire - section 10.) - The purpose of this section was to determine what people do in their free time and if there is a need for some more recreational and religious facilities from their point of view.

All of the interviewed persons had some suggestions regarding recreational facilities, present or future. Some suggestions, such as the need for a community center or playground, were very realistic. Others, such as a football field, a country club or a golf course were less realistic, mainly
because of the size of the town. Nevertheless, people in Gold River do feel a need for more recreation and some stimulation. The absence of adequate parks and playgrounds in the proximity of the houses was brought up by 68% of the interviewees. Although an arrangement has been made for a tot park, the location is not very well chosen.

The need for an urban situation and for more interaction on some unorganized and neutral territory is reflected by the fact that adults' and teenagers' meeting place revolves around the hotel and its facilities.

Only 20% of the interviewed people participated in religious activities. For the present demand there seems to be no shortage of such facilities in the town. 36% of the people thought that church had a major role to play in the community, the rest thought it was of no importance. This seems to be yet another sign of a new community, with no traditions, occupied by a heterogeneous and young population, for the church in an established community is an important institution.

58% of the people thought that tourism should be encouraged, for it would be one way of diversifying the industry of the town.

Only 50% of the population attends or belongs to some social club, the other half leads a secluded, 'work and home' oriented life.

Health and welfare (refer to Questionnaire - section 11.) - The
aim of this section was to determine the attitude of the people to the existing social and health facilities.

Although most people are aware of the existence of social problems, they are neither astonished, worried or frightened by them. 64% thought that there were no social problems as such and actually only 28% showed concern. The two problems considered as major were the breaking down of marriages and the youth problem - both the result of the absence of a strong community with set values leading to instability and frustration. 44% thought that the absence of some activity where all the family could participate was a serious problem.

As far as health facilities are concerned the fact that there are adequate facilities in Campbell River does not satisfy the population. The absence of such facilities in Gold River underlines even more the sense of isolation and creates fear. Although the ambulance service is satisfactory, the bad road to Campbell River diminishes its value.

The attitude of the people towards the local doctor can be summarized by a typical fatalistic deduction which runs around town: "No good doctor would come to such a small community as Gold River. If a doctor comes, it means he is bad. If he is bad we have to fight him - so let us fight the doctor." Until now, three doctors have come and gone because they found the stress just too much to bear. 3

On the whole people think that Health and Welfare are
providing adequate services through the public nurse. They are not aware that other services such as counselling, leadership and community planning could be also provided. There is a general feeling that modern health services such as hospital, X-rays etc., should have been provided by the company. It is the company again which is held responsible for all the deficiencies and shortcomings in this field.

**General questions** (refer to Questionnaire - section 12.) - Two general questions were asked - what people like most and what they dislike most about Gold River. It is rather striking that the majority answers were the scenery and the isolation. Two characteristics of Gold River which were neither planned nor built, but which were there long before Gold River was even thought of.

Also interesting are the answers where some people liked most the smallness of the town and some (the same number) disliked precisely this very same characteristic. Some liked the quietness, others disliked it, some liked nothing about the town, others disliked nothing. Evidently, it is very difficult to please all the people all of the time.

The answers to the questionnaire are classified and summarized in the "Tabulation of Responses to the Questionnaire", Table II. The interpretation of the answers to the questionnaire will be used in the search for the different causes of dissatisfaction and in the analysis of goal realization.
B. Dissatisfaction and Its Reasons

Tabulated responses in Table II, show that out of the 37 tabulated reactions 15 are negative responses which can be classified into the following major areas of dissatisfaction:

- **Isolation of the community:** the poor shape of roads, irregular bus service and limited radio and television reception lead to frustration and nostalgia. The above are a basic omission due to the lack of coordination between the different planning bodies.

- **Lack of adequate recreational facilities:** the absence of a community center, parks, a decent playground, tot parks and some other indoor facilities lead to boredom and little opportunity for community interaction. This again is an omission of planning because such facilities are of prime importance and are the basic needs in a community living in isolation. Presently the municipality has great difficulties to get money to provide these facilities while at the initial stage it would have been simpler to include the cost in the general budget made for the town.

- **Health facilities:** medical service is being provided by a private physician. The problem is to get one and to satisfy people with his services. In the absence of adequate facilities doctors hesitate to come to Gold River and those who come have difficulties in coping with the people and their mentality. Through a joint effort x-ray equipment has been recently
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SATISFACTION</th>
<th>DISSATISFACTION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% OF POSITIVE RESPONSES</td>
<td>% OF NEGATIVE RESPONSES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACE SHEET</td>
<td>CREATE A SPIRITUAL COMMUNITY AND LABOR FORCE ATTRACTION MARRIED PEOPLE WITH FAMILIES</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION</td>
<td>TRANSPORTATION WITHIN G.R.</td>
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<td>TRANSPORTATION OUTSIDE G.R.</td>
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<td>RADIO AND T.V.</td>
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<td>NEWSPAPER</td>
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<td>LOCAL NEWSPAPER</td>
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<td>PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY</td>
<td>FEELINGS ABOUT NEIGHBORS</td>
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<td>DISCRIMINATION</td>
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<td>COMMUNITY MEETS YOUR EXPECTATIONS</td>
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<td>FEELINGS TOWARDS TANSIS CO.</td>
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<td>YOUTH PROBLEM IN G.R.</td>
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<td>ARE MEDICAL SERVICES ADEQUATE</td>
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<td>IS EMERGENCY AMBULANCE ADEQUATE</td>
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\[
\Sigma \text{ of } \% \text{ of } \text{POSITIVE RESPONSES} = 2019
\]

\[
\Sigma \text{ of } \% \text{ of } \text{NEGATIVE RESPONSES} = 1648
\]
bought by the community and negotiations are taking place to provide hospital facilities. At present the factor of isolation and the inadequate health facilities render the situation critical especially for pregnant women. These shortcomings are also a basic omission at the planning stage; free enterprise cannot take care of such things.

- **Lack of variety**: the lack of choice leads to the feeling of a loss of freedom. This lack of choice is basically a function of the size of the community. These feelings have been expressed regarding primarily the shopping facilities. But, we have to take into consideration that a town of 2,300 people cannot support too many shops. Furthermore, since the shopping center is very modern, rents are necessarily high and only a monopoly policy can insure any profit. This naturally eliminates competition, hence choice. The lack of choice and variety in housing is reflected in mass production and standardization - the result of an attempt to reduce cost.

- **Lack of privacy**: this point has already been brought up in the discussion regarding the general layout of houses: their disposition in some cases accentuates this sense of a loss of privacy and anonymity which is already rather marked in a town of this size. This, once more, can be considered as the result of standardization, the size of the community, as well as too quick and unpondered decisions concerning the layout at the planning stage.
- **Diversification**: the existence of only one basic industry leads to friction. This is finally one of the major problems. People feel strongly about the necessity of some other industry and tourism is one of the great hopes at the moment. Perhaps, a policy should have been established from the start and strong measures taken in order to attract and insure some secondary industries rather than let things take their own course and happen by themselves.

The difficulty in obtaining housing facilities, exorbitant prices and high labour wages are factors which discourage investors, who in addition to the high initial cost have no assurance of the continued existence of the town. They are thus afraid to risk capital in any long term investment. Unless such industry is planned and sponsored by the government, there is no hope of any secondary industries coming to Gold River.

At present the Tahsis Company admits that a secondary industry would be a very desirable element in the community, for it will create new employment outlets and possibly contribute in stabilizing the town's population.

- **Stability**: the high turnover is deplored by the company as well as by the inhabitants of the town. People leave the community when they lose or quit their job. In other words, most people leave the town when they have problems with their employer. The fact that feelings towards the Tahsis Company and the labour-management relations are not very good is,
perhaps, a partial reason the problem of turnover. Work at the mill is a continuous tension and reflects very strongly on the town's atmosphere and even at school. When there is an accident or some labour-management trouble it is automatically reflected on the behaviour of the children. In addition to all of the above, the majority of the people are still convinced that the company rules the town and directs its government.

Dissatisfaction is a constantly present factor in every community, but it is important to note that in the case of Gold River the reason for some of it is the result of basic miscalculations and omissions made during the planning process. Most of the factors causing dissatisfaction seem to be due to the lack of coordination between the different planning bodies - hence due to a lack of unity in planning. This lack of coordination and unity lead to a lack of variety in - Work (diversity).
- Services (growth and competition).
- Design (standardization and mass production in housing).

But, not all the fault lies with the planning, for there is a strong correlation between the size of the town and the possible range of variety which can be offered. Perhaps if Gold River was larger, some of the dissatisfaction could be reduced and eliminated.
C. **Analysis of Achievements**

It is generally accepted that the creation of a town in wilderness from nothing is a great achievement. This is the case of Gold River, for the very day the mill opened the town was ready to offer a livable place to families with children. Primary facilities were provided almost instantly the day people started moving in. This undoubtedly is a great achievement in the field of planning and organization.

The town right from the beginning provided:
- Job opportunities for some 600 employees.
- Housing facilities with advantageous purchasing conditions for company employees.
- Good protection and order (fire brigade and RCMP).
- Communal facilities, especially where the schools and the teaching staff are concerned.

Furthermore, the physical aspect of the town, its location within the surrounding scenery, its street lay-out and the primary school design should be praised. Each individual detached single family house is within itself very well designed and offers at least some privacy within.

Although the community in Gold River lacks the integrated spirit and friendliness of some of other older communities, it must be admitted that among the different groups of inhabitants there are close ties of friendship and cooperation. This fact in itself can be considered to be a great achievement for there
was no community planning as such and people came from different places and with different backgrounds and still were able to get assimilated, to some extent at least, into the community. This latter achievement is reflected in the creation of a local newspaper which is a sign of the beginnings of some public concern and has become the common denominator of community life.

Furthermore, the very fact that 80% of the people felt that there is no discrimination is a healthy sign of, if not a unified community, at least one which is not liable to be plagued by discriminatory problems so common elsewhere. It is also interesting to note that although social and youth problems do exist, they are limited and far less than what is usually expected in frontier communities.

One of the most important aspects of Gold River is that young people have the unique opportunity to start a new community and adapt it to their needs. They have the opportunity to govern themselves and perhaps realize their ideals and aspirations. Unlike the old day pioneers, they can start a new life in an ultramodern town where they can safely raise their children.

Unfortunately, many are not aware of this opportunity and to them the town still preserves the company ownership stigma. The lack of the people's participation in the town's administrative life is minimal. The bond between people and the elected representatives, as shown in Diagram 9, is still very weak. Time and awareness are the two necessary factors in the strengthening of such bonds.
We have spoken of achievements in general terms. In reality each body regards achievement in terms of its own set goals and their realization. Thus, where Gold River is concerned, achievement seen by the planner, the architects, or the company may or may not coincide with the inhabitants' view of achievement. Since towns are built, at least theoretically, for people, the ideal situation would be one where all parties would view the same achievements and have the same goals.

Where the inhabitants are concerned they see achievement in terms of the degree to which their needs have been fulfilled - i.e. their goals satisfied. It is very difficult to determine people's goals and needs. One way of finding out whether people's goals have been satisfied is by asking them questions regarding the different aspects and facilities of the town. Positive responses to such questions may be assumed to indicate that the goals concerned have been achieved.

Thus it can be claimed that achievement can be measured in terms of satisfactions and dissatisfaction, at least where the inhabitants are concerned. Satisfaction and dissatisfaction then would be expressed in terms of positive and negative responses (see Tabulation of responses in Table II).

Furthermore, from Table II:
- Sum of percentages of positive responses = 2,019
- Sum of percentages of negative responses = 1,648
- Total = 3,667
If 3,667 is considered to represent 100%, then the average percentage satisfaction will be \( \frac{100 \times 2.019}{3,667} = 55\% \). The average percentage dissatisfaction would then be equal to 45%.

In 1969 in Gold River the turnover over 10 months was 57%. Over a period of 12 months the turnover can be calculated to be 69.4% which is rather high. But if we consider that for established communities the turnover is said to be 20% per 12 months, then the turnover in Gold River in excess to the normal turnover is 69.4 - 20 = 49.4%.

The turnover in established and stable communities is due to causes such as marriage, death, birth, sickness or transfer, etc. Any excess turnover can be claimed to be due to some shortcomings in the immediate environment - facilities or strained relationships. It is interesting to note that the turnover in Gold River in excess to the normal turnover percentage given corresponds rather closely to the percentage dissatisfaction determined by the questionnaire: and calculated from Table II: 49.4% as compared to the calculated 45%.
Footnotes

1 For turnover rates in Gold River see Appendix F.


4 Information obtained from one of the school teachers in Gold River.

5 For turnover rates in Gold River see Appendix F.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The present study has been an attempt to enumerate and analyse the reasons and factors which lead to the creation of Gold River. Since towns are dynamic entities, and in a constant state of change, observations made, at different periods of time, of the physical, economic and social aspects of the town will not always be the same. It should, therefore, be kept in mind that the physical, economic or social aspects recorded, correspond to a certain time, specifically that of the winter months of 1969.

It is evident that the findings in this study are limited to one town. Any generalization concerning the problems of instant towns and their solutions must involve a similar study carried out on the other remaining five instant towns in British Columbia. Nevertheless, there always remain some constant common factors or aspects between different towns as well as a certain consistencies within each community interrelationship. With these factors and consistencies in mind one can try to find general reasons for discontent as well as satisfaction concerning primarily the population. Discontent and satisfaction will show the extent of discrepancies between the basic decisions made by the planning bodies during the planning process and their final execution. A correlation made between goal specification and the resulting product, as well as the satisfaction and dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, may give a clear picture
of the shortcomings of this specific planning process.

This study can be considered as the starting point for further studies on instant towns, for it has been primarily a study of the planning process and its implementation in the building of one specific town - Gold River. It is hoped that such a study will be instrumental in raising some questions concerning the current ways of planning for such towns. This may lead to more awareness of the problems concerning instant towns and possibly help to avoid repeating some of the basic mistakes committed in the planning process of Gold River.

The present study has shown that:
- In the planning process goals are often not expressed explicitly and clearly.
- There is insufficient communication between the different bodies involved in the planning process, whereby goals are misinterpreted and only partially realized.
- The success of a town in terms of growth and stability depends on reduction of the turnover of the population, which is to a large extent a function of the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants.
- Substantial recreational facilities are necessary.
- Diversified industries are necessary for development, growth and permanence of instant towns.

A. Goals Versus Achievements

When Tables "Tabulation of implicit and explicit goals"
(Table I) and "Tabulation of responses" (Table II) are compared, the correlation between the initial goals and results can be analysed. Since goals are not always clearly stated, some interpretation and interpolation is necessary. In this way it is possible to determine acceptability, unacceptability and neutrality of each goal for each of the different planning bodies involved.

The criteria of acceptability, unacceptability and neutrality, of both, explicit and implicit goals are as follows:

- **Acceptability**: a goal is termed acceptable when it is not in contradiction with a planning body's or bodies' general policy and attitude regarding the issue in question or an explicitly stated goal.

- **Unacceptability**: a goal is termed unacceptable when it is in contradiction with a planning body's or bodies' general policy and attitude regarding the issue in question or an explicitly stated goal.

- **Neutrality**: a goal is neutral when it does not induce either a positive or a negative reaction of a planning body or bodies.

Since achievement is a function of the extent of the realization of a goal, attained achievement can be measured when goals are compared with results. The question arises here as to
how can one determine the extent to which a goal is realized.

Two assumptions about goals and their motivational origin were made:

- We can speak of particular goals as those goals which are concerned with, either particular issues related to the interests of a small group, or those encompassing the whole nation. These are necessarily the goals of the different planning bodies involved. In the first case for example such a particular goal would be the profit to be made by the company, or the professional challenge to the architects and planners. In the second case it would be promoting resource development by the government.

- General goals, or those directed towards the consumer, i.e. the inhabitants of the town, which are directed towards the fulfilment of the consumer's expectations. These would be for example such goals as to provide education, recreation or health facilities.

Each of these goals, whether particular or general is conceived and evaluated in different ways and is an answer to the different needs and interests of each individual planning body.

The term achievement can be very relative. To have some basis for judging the extent of achievement a criterion has to be chosen. We may thus assume the existence of three degrees of achievement:

- Total achievement: when goals are carried through as they
have been stated or when the result meets the expectations of the consumer.

- **Partial achievement**: when there was an evident attempt to carry through the goal but for certain reasons only partial execution was attained, or when the people's expectations were only partially satisfied.

One reason of the partial attainment of a goal may be the reluctance of the other planning bodies to make a compromise. For example the goal to make Gold River a center of the region did not seem to concern the contractor in the least.

- **Failure**: when stated goals of certain planning bodies or body are not carried out, or when the carried out goals do not meet the expectations of the people and lead to discontent.

In the first case for example the trailer camp was to be integrated into the town but it was not. The goal of creating a larger town rather than a small town was not carried through. The building of the town adjacent to a settlement was not executed.

To have any meaningful evaluation of results, it is necessary to separate the results into two categories:

- Achievement or failure from the point of view of the planning body as a whole (projectors).

- Achievement or failure from the point of view of people (users).

Projector results are thus the full achievement, partial achievement, or failure determined by the degree of the fulfilment of the different goals of each of the planning bodies. (see Table III)
User results are determined in terms of the expressed opinions and reactions of the inhabitants of the town regarding the specific goals expressed and stipulated by the planning bodies (see Table III).

Using the classification of goals into implicit and explicit, the effect of such goals on the users can be studied. In Table III all of the above results are classified and evaluated.

It has to be remembered that the determination of user results has been obtained from the comparison of the different goals expressed by the planning bodies and a comparison of those goals with the results tabulated in Table II. The Table shows that:

- Out of 56 stated goals there were 10 on which there was basic disagreement between the different planning bodies.
- In the category of general goals, i.e. those geared towards the users' needs, out of 40 goals 18 were not achieved according to the users' responses, while 22 can be considered achieved.
- In the category of particular goals out of 16 stated goals 4 were failures while 12 can be considered achieved.

From the comparison of the above results it clearly appears that:

- Particular goals are achieved (75%) in a much larger proportion than the general goals (55%).
## EVALUATION OF TOTAL AND PARTIAL ACHIEVEMENTS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOALS</th>
<th>TYPE OF GOALS</th>
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<tr>
<td>EXPLICITLY STATED GOALS</td>
<td>P PARTICULAR</td>
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<td>IMPLICIT GOALS</td>
<td>G GENERAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACCEPTABLE</td>
<td>RESULTS</td>
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<td>A ACHIEVEMENT</td>
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<td>NEUTRAL</td>
<td>F FAILURE</td>
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### TABLE III – EVALUATION OF TOTAL AND PARTIAL ACHIEVEMENTS

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###Legend:
- **G:** GOALS
- **P:** PARTICULAR
- **A:** ACHIEVEMENT
- **F:** FAILURE
- **R:** RESULTS
- **G:** GENERAL

### EXPLICITLY STATED GOALS

1. **SUCCESS OF THE OPERATION**
2. **PROFIT FOR THE COMPANY**
3. **STABLE LABOR FORCE**
4. **STABLE COMMUNITY**
5. **THINK IN TERMS OF REGIONAL CENTER**
6. **GOAL GIVER REGIONAL CENTER IN THE FUTURE**
7. **HEALTH, WELFARE AND HAPINESS OF CIVILIZATIONS**
8. **WELL-BEING OF INHABITANTS**
9. **LAWS ENSURING AN ACCEPTABLE MARRIAGE**
10. **LAWS ENSURING AN ACCEPTABLE COMMUNICATION**
11. **SATISFY THE HUMANTRITAS**
12. **IMPROVE LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS**
13. **ENSURE EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION**
14. **ATTRACTION AND PLEASANT ENVIRONMENT**
15. **MOREN TOWN**
16. **SUBURBAN TYPE**
17. **PROVIDE TOWN WITH SUBURBAN CHARACTER**
18. **SIMPLE FAMILY DETACHED HOUSES**
19. **IMPROVE BUILDING STANDARDS**
20. **FLEXIBLE POLICY**
21. **VARIETY IN STREET PATERN**
22. **TRAILER CAMPT INTEGRATION**
23. **PLANNING FOR CHOICE**
24. **PROVIDE FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH**
25. **PROVISIONS FOR THE CENTER**
26. **INCREASE POPULATION**
27. **INCREASE POPULATION**
28. **AVOID CREATING A SMALL TOWN**
29. **BUILD THE TOWN AGAINST THE RETIREMENT**
30. **ENSURE THAT TOWN IS IN AN AVANCED UNITATION STAGE**
31. **DESIGN ACCORDING TO NEIGHBORING CONCEPT**
32. **INCREASE DENSITY OF THE CENTER**
33. **TOWN CENTER SOUR POINT**
34. **NEIGHBORING SITUATION IN THE CENTER**
35. **APARTMENT BUILDINGS IN THE CENTER**
36. **ATTACK FOR OTHER COMMUNITIES**
37. **MUNICIPALITY**
38. **ATTACK MARRIED PEOPLE**
39. **WORKERS AND FAMILIES AS POPULATION**
40. **GOOD SANITARY CONDITIONS**
41. **EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES**
42. **BUILDINGS FOR EDUCATION**
43. **SCHOOL FACILITIES**
44. **INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES**
45. **COMMUNITY FACILITIES**
46. **PROVIDE FOR COMMUNITY LIFE**
47. **PROVISIONS FOR RECREATION**
48. **RECREATIONAL FACILITIES**
49. **GAIN TO THE PROVINCIAL TREASURY**
50. **MAKE A PROFIT**
51. **PROFESSIONAL CHALLENGE**
52. **BE A FAIR JUDGE BETWEEN COMPANY INHABITANTS' INTERESTS**
53. **COORDINATE FOR EFFICIENCY**
54. **ECONOMY ON SERVICES**
55. **PRODUCE NEW RESOURCES**
56. **PRODUCE NEW COMMUNITIES**
- In the category of particular goals considered achieved 6 out of 12 were stated explicitly (50%).
- In the category of general goals considered achieved only 5 out of 22 were explicitly stated (23%).

B. Modification of the Planning Process

As shown in chapter II, the helix continuous chain of the successive stages of goal specification, decision-making, plan-execution, evaluation and re-orientation to be carried out efficiently and lead to the least possible number of discrepancies, must be based upon a clearly stated starting point. Since goal specification is the starting point it is evident that at this stage goals have to be stated as clearly as possible. The basic task of this stage then, is to establish a common vocabulary among the different disciplines involved in the planning process. This can be attained only through intensive preliminary group work.

The starting point of the planning process would involve active and close cooperation between the government and the company, designers and contractors. There should be a basic agreement to state explicitly and clearly goals, priorities, basic principles and policies. This can be achieved by creating interdisciplinary commissions and committees. The role of these commissions and committees would be to analyze similar situations and report on the way of life and the expectations of the people who
go to new communities.

In this way the future consumer's needs and expectations will become evident and can thus be taken into consideration. In creating a new town it is of prime importance to have all the available information on the potential inhabitant and his way of life in order to understand his priorities.

If the inhabitants' needs and expectations are known and are taken into consideration, possibly, discrepancies between the inhabitants' expectations and the realized town would be reduced. This would definitely improve the psychological and social atmosphere of the town and, perhaps, even reduce the turnover.

At this stage of preliminary group-work exchange of opinions, confrontation, leading to basic agreement over ideas and attitudes can take place (see Diagram 14). The main purpose of this stage should be the search for a commonly accepted and agreed upon 'vocabulary'. This would eliminate misunderstandings due to misinterpretation of ideas and statements and would lead to improved communication.

The next stage is one where the decision-making body is structured and the proper functioning of this decision-making process is ensured. This would not present any difficulties if every party or individual would be aware of his as well as the others' responsibilities. Once the awareness of respective responsibilities is established a re-organization and redistribution of
Diagram 14: The suggested starting point in planning.
the roles of the different bodies involved in the planning process should take place. This may eventually lead to more totally realizable goals.

At this stage some basic changes should be introduced into the planning process (Diagram 7). The lack of communication can be eliminated by creating, at the governmental level, an interdepartmental committee directly responsible to the cabinet. This committee would deal with the person responsible for the project and the coordinating architect and an independent planning committee which would base its decisions on the results gathered by a sociological research group (see Diagram 15).

This group should consist of planners, architects, social workers, sociologists, economists and geographers. The function of the sociological research group would be to act as an advisor, and at the same time represent through documented research, the opinions, needs and attitudes of the potential inhabitants of the towns to be built.

The group would have a twofold role of:
- Carrying out detailed studies from different points of view on similar cases of new towns already functioning. It would also make cross-sectional studies of attitudes and needs of different groups which such towns would attract as potential inhabitants.
- Acting as an advisory to the planning committee composed of the governmental interdepartmental committee, the company's representative and the architect coordinator.
DIAGRAM - 15  MODIFICATION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS - STAGE 1
Diagram 7: The Planning Process - Stage 1

Higher Level of Negotiations
Resulting in Goal Specification & Major Decision Making

- Negotiations with Each Department Separately
- Policy Making
- Plan Execution
The goal of introducing the sociological research group and the planning committee is to:

- Eliminate discrepancies between the inhabitants' expectations and reality.
- Eliminate discrepancies between the publicized aspects of the town and reality.

We can also assume that since decisions taken by the planning bodies would be based upon the representative needs of the inhabitants as presented by the sociological research group, people's needs in the town would be more or less satisfied. The by-laws which theoretically represent the needs for security and protection of the inhabitant would then actually coincide with those needs and would become protective-by-laws rather than restrictive ones.

In the case of Gold River the needs of the inhabitants were not represented in the planning process, this is why the by-laws had to be restrictive since the protection of each inhabitant and the community as a whole had to be ensured. Laws enacted are usually answers to needs and become protective, but laws which preceed needs, as was the case of Gold River, cannot but be restrictive. Instead of answering people's needs they often contradict or frustrate them.

The same reasoning applies to the case of the interim government which would then, not virtually but really, represent the interests of the inhabitants of the town because then its role would be to maintain order in terms of the inhabitants'
needs (see Diagram 16 as compared to Diagram 8). This would lead to better results in the Planning Stage 3 (Diagram 9), where the term "affect the established order" could be exchanged for "improve the established order".

Under such conditions it would be possible to keep the interim government for a shorter period whereby the town could attain stability and democratic representation in a shorter time.

C. General Suggestions

Having proposed changes and modifications in the planning procedures, an attempt now may be made to try and give some general suggestions concerning the initial stages in building new towns.

The town and its location have to be looked upon from the regional development point of view. The town should fit into an overall regional plan of desirable settlements which in turn should be the result of a thorough study of the region.

Since isolation seems to be one of the most resented factors in a new community, it is of prime importance to link these towns with a regional center by easy and efficient communication facilities. Isolation being a function of the size of the community, it is advisable to concentrate as many facilities as possible and bring together more than one primary industry to ensure a town of some meaningful size.

Diversification in employment is directly proportional to the future size of a town and is a very important factor in the development of a well balanced community. By introducing
Diagram - 16
Modification of the Planning Process - Page 2
diversification it may be possible to eliminate the stress resulting from the one employer situation and the absence of choice.

Building towns involves the creation of new communities. The success of such communities depends mainly on their stability. It is therefore necessary to reduce the turnover to as low a percentage as possible. This does not necessarily eliminate mobility, which has become a characteristic aspect of modern society. The attempt to reduce turnover and the search for stability do not imply stagnancy but a balanced mobility which leads to change and growth.

People's satisfaction is strongly linked with the existence of hope. Hope is a function of expansion and growth. It appears that in order to satisfy people it is necessary not only to plan realistically for growth, but also ensure it. Growth is reflected in new opportunities through the opening of secondary industries which ensure new job opportunities as well as material benefits.

Since choice and variety are important components of man's contentment, it is evident that job opportunities and facilities, whether housing, shopping, educational or recreational, to be effective must have the above mentioned qualifications.

It, therefore, follows that competitive institutions should be promoted and monopolies eliminated. Cooperative arrangements and organizations should be made in order to allow people to
feel that the town belongs to them and is not run by an outsider
to the community.

Whenever there is the danger of a business being monopolized
by a company with headquarters outside the community, it is
advisable to initiate cooperative arrangements. The shopping
center in Gold River, for example, could have been run on such
basis, if at the start there would have been community organ­
izers aware of the negative effects of "one store of each type"
arrangements directed mostly by outside investors.

The creation of such "coops" could lead to stronger
involvement and more participation. Not only people involved
in such "coops", but possibly the rest of the inhabitants would
feel that they have more choice and are not imposed upon by
outsiders. In this manner a sense of belonging could be promoted,
for people would have direct interests (investment and profit)
in the town.

It is possible to go further and state that the inhabitants
of resource towns should have the opportunity and be encouraged
to become share-holders in the prime industry. By doing so,
it would be possible to improve the relationship between the
management and the workers, for, again personal interest would
be involved.

It would also be advisable to introduce and stimulate
inhabitant participation in the political life and decision
making procedures of the town. Participation, involvement and
cooperation are three very important elements that should never be forgotten by planners and should be re-considered and re-examined at each stage of the planning process. The implementation of these three factors should be the prime concern of community organizers.

More stress should be put upon considerations regarding the availability of doctors, dentists, and hospital needs. Presently, it seems, that police and fire brigades have the priority in Gold River. Health services should be included and built at the same time as the school or recreational facilities and all should be built at the same time as the rest of the town. Their cost would not be an additional burden, but could be included in the basic cost of the town.

An adequate and appropriate meeting place in the town for the community should be on the same list of priorities as health or recreational facilities. In Gold River, the absence of a permanent community center coupled with the fact that the schools are at the extreme ends of the town does not encourage in the least community activities or meetings.

There is a need for a cultural, educational and recreational center in the focal point of the town. The role of this center would be to gather people and provide activities in the central point of the town. This could lead to more intensive community life.

It should not be forgotten that the basic size of the
community is significant and should be taken into consideration when the type of the town to be built is being considered. It is in general accepted that what people want is a suburban environment. But, it is also generally forgotten that a suburban environment becomes absurd in the absence of an urban center.

Although the material conditions of suburban life can be duplicated in terms of street patterns, individual houses, land subdivision and servicing, we do not have suburbia as such, for many different factors intervene.

New communities, such as Gold River, are composed of a relatively small number of individuals. There is only one employer. There is no sizable urban center nearby. These factors combined with the constant anxiety of the individual over the fluctuation of prices or changes in policy, possibly leading to the closure of the plant, lead to a frustrating insecurity and feelings of instability regarding the future.

In planning for new towns, choice, variety and growth must be insured. The present planned communities re-create the suburban physical environment which is valid, only when such towns are within a reasonable distance from a highly urbanized center. What we actually have is a suburbia in the wilderness filled with boredom and monotony, with no close centers for recreation or variety, and with too few people to have any intense community or social life.
In these communities young people have no alternatives but to work in the prime industry or move out of town - which they often do. In the same way, many parents feel obliged to leave the town because of the lack of opportunities for the future of their children.

In the case of small communities which are unable to support an urban center, it would, perhaps, be advisable to avoid suburban type environment and instead create a semi-rural environment with large lots, possibilities of growing orchards or a garden. This would supply diversification and some additional income. Furthermore, it is a well known fact that when man tills the soil and invests his energy into it, he feels tied to the land and will not move away easily.

Also, when density is reduced, the restrictive by-laws would decrease: lesser restriction would mean an increased sense of freedom and, perhaps, in the long run a feeling of belonging to the community.

What we actually have in Gold River is a 'liliputian' arrangement of dense suburbia in a rather rural environment, lacking the density and the size of a town and surrounded by widespread unutilized land. The houses are jammed on small lots and it is practically impossible to buy a cheap farm because the land price is artificially boosted.

In planning for resource towns, planning for people should always be taken into consideration, for if people are willing
to go to remote places and forego certain advantages of the centers, then at least they should be offered a minimum of security and a future.

Physical and social considerations should, therefore, be handled jointly, and physical and social planners should join forces to create stable and lasting communities. When people talk or think of the "good life", they do not only visualize it in terms of design, landscaping, land-use or open space, but also see it in terms of meaningful relationships within the community itself.

That is why

We need to humanize the planner's perspective so that he may view his responsibility to society in a more meaningful vein. We need to make him aware of the concept of urban design and of the ultimate, decisive impact of physical form on our cultural development. We need to create social architects.
Footnotes

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APPENDIX A

THE HEALTH ACT

(Revised Statutes of B.C., 1911, chap. 98, sec. 9)

Board of Health.

9. (1.) The Provincial Board may further from time to time make regulations applicable to lumber camps, mining camps, sawmills, railway-construction camps, and other places where labour is employed throughout the Province:

(a.) Respecting any particular industry and the conditions under which the same may be carried on for the purpose of preventing nuisances and the outbreak or spread of disease:

(b.) For the cleansing, regulating, and inspection of lumbering camps, and of mining camps, and of railway-construction works, and of other places where labour is employed:

(c.) For providing for the employment of duly qualified medical practitioners by employers of labour in lumbering camps, and in mining camps, and on railroad-construction works, and other works where labour is employed, and for the erection of permanent or temporary hospitals for the accommodation of persons so employed:

(d.) For providing for the construction, arrangement, and inspection of houses for the accommodation of men employed in lumbering and mining camps and in railway-construction work.

(2.) Regulations made under this section may be general in their application, or may be made applicable specially to any particular locality or industry. 1911, c. 20, ss. 1, 2.
**APPENDIX B**

**THE COMPANY TOWN ACT**

(Statutes of B.C., 1919, chap. 14)

**CHAPTER 14.**

An Act to make Provision for Access by the Public to Company Towns.

[Assented to 29th March, 1919.]

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British Columbia, enacts as follows:—

1. This Act may be cited as the "Company Towns Regulation Act."

2. In this Act—

   "Company" includes corporations, copartnerships, persons, and associations of persons; and, when used with reference to a company town, means the company carrying on the industrial operation or business in respect of which any area has been declared a company town under this Act;

   "Roads," "streets," or "ways" includes bridges, viaducts, culverts, subways, and embankments.

3. Where any one hundred or more persons employed by any company in or about any industrial operation or business carried on by the company are living or sojourning on lands owned, occupied, or controlled, either directly or indirectly, by the company, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may, by order published in one issue of the Gazette, declare those lands, together with any adjoining lands within an area to be described in the order, to be a "company town" within the meaning of this Act; and may in like manner from time to time alter or revoke that order and make others.

4. (1.) Where, in any company town, any roads, streets, or ways are opened, maintained, or used by the company or by its employees, and are by any order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council pursuant to section 6 declared to be roads, streets, or ways for the purposes...
of this Act, His Majesty, his agents and servants, and every member of the general public shall have the right at all times, without further licence than the provisions in this Act contained, to use and enjoy all those roads, streets, and ways as free and uninterrupted rights-of-way, ingress, egress, and regress, for persons, animals, and vehicles, loaded and unloaded, for all purposes, through, along, and over the area comprised in the company town.

(2.) Upon the written request of the Minister of Lands, the company shall within two months from the receipt of the request file in the office of the Minister of Lands at Victoria a plan showing all roads, streets, and ways opened, maintained, or used by the company in the company town referred to in the request.

5. (1.) Where the usual means of transportation to and from any company town consist wholly or in part of transportation by water, the company carrying on any industrial operation or business therein shall provide and maintain a safe and convenient public wharf and proper wharf facilities in the company town adequate for the purposes of landing, embarking, and shipping passengers and freight, together with convenient and proper approaches and ways connecting the wharf with the roads, streets, and ways to which this Act applies within the company town.

(2.) Subject to the provisions of subsection (3), His Majesty, his agents and servants, and every member of the general public shall have at all times, without further licence than the provisions in this Act contained, free access to and the use of the wharf, wharf facilities, approaches, and ways for the purposes mentioned in subsection (1).

(3.) The rights conferred upon the general public under the provisions of this section shall be subject to the payment of wharfage and warehousing charges at such rates as may be approved by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council from time to time, and shall also be subject to the industrial and business necessities of the company, but so that the rights of ingress, egress, and regress conferred by this Act shall not be obstructed.

6. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may from time to time, by order published in one issue of the Gazette:—

(a.) Declare any roads, streets, or ways in any company town to be roads, streets, or ways for the purposes of this Act:

(b.) Declare whether or not any company town is one to which the provisions of section 5 apply;

and may annul either in whole or in part any declaration so made.

7. Nothing in this Act shall prevent any company from exercising from time to time its right to utilize for building-sites or for any bona-fide business or industrial purpose of the company any road, street, or way to which this Act applies.
8. Without in any way limiting the rights conferred by the provisions of this Act, nothing in this Act or in any order made thereunder shall be construed to constitute a dedication of or to establish any road, street, or way as a highway within the meaning of the "Highways Act."

9. Every company which obstructs or interferes with His Majesty or any person in the exercise of any right conferred by or under this Act in respect of the use and enjoyment of any road, street, way, wharf, wharf facility, or approach shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

10. Every company failing or refusing to provide or maintain any wharf, wharf facility, approach, or way which by this Act the company is required to provide or maintain, or failing or refusing to file any plan which by this Act the company is required to file, shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

11. Every company guilty of an offence against this Act shall be liable, on summary conviction, to a penalty not exceeding five hundred dollars, and in the case of a continuing offence to a further penalty of twenty dollars for each day during which the offence continues.
APPENDIX C

INSTANT TOWN LEGISLATION

CHAP. 28  MUNICIPAL (AMENDMENT)  13-14 ELIZ. 2

Amends s. 10.

4. Subsection (5) of section 10 is amended by striking out the words "have, for one month immediately preceding the day of voting, been" from the third and fourth lines and substituting the word "are", so that the subsection shall read as follows:—

"(5) The persons entitled to vote at a poll held under this section shall be British subjects of the full age of twenty-one years who and corporations which are the owners of real property within the area proposed to be incorporated."

Enacts s. 10A.

5. The Act is further amended by inserting the following as section 10A:—

"10A. (1) Notwithstanding section 10, where, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, it is in the public interest to establish a municipality in conjunction with the development of a natural resource, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may, by Letters Patent, incorporate the residents of any area of land in unorganized territory into a municipality upon the receipt of a petition from at least five owners of land within the area of the proposed municipality.

"(2) Until the first Council is elected, a municipality incorporated under this section is deemed to be a village for the purposes of subsections (2) and (3) of section 231."

Amends s. 11.

6. Section 11 is amended

(a) by inserting after the word "granting" in the first line the words "or issuing";

(b) by striking out the words "incorporating a municipality, or granting" from the second line and substituting the word "or";

(c) by striking out the words and figures "under section 21, 24, 25, or 26" from the third line;

(d) by inserting after the word "municipality" in the third and fourth lines the words "or the proposed municipality"; and

(e) by inserting after the word "petition" in the fourth line the words "or from those designated by the Minister,"

so that the section shall read as follows:—

"11. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may, when granting or issuing Letters Patent or supplementary Letters Patent, vary the boundaries of the municipality or the proposed municipality from those set out in the petition, or from those designated by the Minister, for the purpose of making the same regular or in conformity with the boundaries of neighbouring municipalities, or to exclude or include an area from or in the municipality."
APPENDIX D

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

FACE SHEET

Sex of Interviewee ............................................

Number of children ............................................

Ages of children ..............................................

Occupation of father .........................................

" mother .......................................................

Education of father ...........................................

" mother .......................................................

How long have you lived in Gold River? .................

Where did you come from? ..................................

How long do you plan to remain in Gold River? .........

.................................................................
1. **Transportation and Communication**

   (a) What are your usual means of transportation - within the town of Gold River?

      To work .............................................

      Outside the community ..........................

   (b) What forms of improvement would you like to see in transportation?

      within Gold River? ..............................

      outside Gold River? ..............................

   (c) How many radio stations do you receive?

      How many T.V. channels do you receive?

      What improvements are necessary in the above?

   (d) When do you receive your daily newspaper?

      Is this satisfactory?

   (e) How meaningful is your local newspaper?
2. **People of the Community**

(a) How do you feel about your neighbors?

(b) Are there any groups in the community you do not approve of?

(c) Why did you come to Gold River?

(d) Did Gold River community meet your expectations? Explain.

  like

  dislike
3. Traditions - Values - Attitudes

(a) Is there any particular characteristic which best describes the people of Gold River?

(b) Which word best describes your community?

- progressive  
- conservative  
- co-operative  
- internal conflict  
- industrious  

- friendliness  
- tolerance of difference  
- community-mindedness  
- individuality  
- apathetic
4. **Economics and Employment**

(a) How do you feel about the level of wages?

(b) Do you think there is a need for a corner store in your neighborhood?

(c) Do you have any feelings about the cost of living in Gold River?

(d) What do you purchase in Campbell River?

(e) What are the general feelings toward the Tahsis Company?

(f) What sort of relations exist between labor and management?
5. Local Government and Police

(a) What type of government exists in your community?

(b) What role does civic government play in relation to the Tahsis company?

(c) What opportunities are there for citizen participation? i.e. P-T-A, Service

(d) Do you have adequate police protection?

(e) What is the community's relationship toward the R.C.M.P.?
6. Community Planning
   (a) Do you have any suggestions for improving the future planning of Gold River? (service, industry, etc.)

   (b) Do you like the overall street layout? Explain.

   (c) Do you feel that the citizens should have a part in the community's planning?

   (d) Would you prefer a different physical layout? Explain.

   (e) What are your feelings concerning living in a planned community? Explain.

   (f) What do you feel are the unique characteristics with regards to the planning, of your community?

   (g) What advantages do these unique characteristics bestow on your community?
7. **Housing**

(a) Are you a home owner?

(b) Do you have a mortgage, and on what terms?

(c) Do you think the financial arrangements are satisfactory? Explain.

(d) How many people are in your household?

(e) What do you like about your house?

(f) What do you dislike about your house?

(g) Do you feel your house has enough privacy? Explain.

   within the house

   from the neighbors

(h) Do you think there is enough variety in the housing? Explain.
8. **Neighborhood**

(a) On the map provided, can you delineate what you consider to be your neighborhood?

(b) On what criteria do you decide such delineation?
   - know most people in area
   - children of the area play together
   - physical appearance
   - other

(c) Is there a prestige housing area in Gold River?
   - if so, where?

(d) Is there a low prestige housing area?
   - if so, where?
9. **Education**

(a) Are you satisfied with the location of the schools?

(b) Are you satisfied with the quality of the teaching staff?

(c) Are there any particular advantages to the design of the primary school?

(d) Is there a P.T.A.? Are you a member?

Is there an opportunity for citizens to take part in school decisions?

(e) Would you attend Adult Education classes if they were available?

(f) Does the educational system in Gold River provide adequate opportunities for your children?
10. **Recreation and Religious Activity**

(a) What do the children do for recreation?

(b) Do you feel there are adequate parks and playgrounds near your home?

(c) What recreational facilities does Gold River need?

(d) What are the meeting places for the various age groups?
   - children
   - teen-agers
   - adults

(e) Do you participate in any religious activities? Specify.

(f) What role does the church play in your community? Explain.

(g) What form does adult recreation take?
   - in the evenings
   - on weekends
   - during holidays

(h) What effect does Tourism have on your community?

(i) Do you take part in any club activities? Specify.
11. **Health and Welfare**

(a) Are there any particular social problems in the community? If so, what?

(b) Are there any particular health needs? If so, what?

(c) Is there a need for Day Care in your community?

(d) Are there any activities which allow full family participation?

(e) Is marital breakdown a problem in your community?

(f) Does this community have a youth problem? If so, please explain.

(g) Are medical services adequate? Comment.

(h) Are you satisfied with the emergency ambulance procedures available?

(i) Are the provincial Health and Welfare services meeting the community needs?

(j) In what way could the community provide lacking Health and Welfare services?
12. General Questions

(a) What do you like most about living in Gold River?

(b) What do you like least about living in Gold River?
APPENDIX E

DATA CLASSIFICATION

FACE SHEET INFORMATION

Table 1 - Sex of Interviewee

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Table 2 - Number of Children in Family

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Table 3 - Ages of Children

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<th>18</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 - Occupation of Males

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pulp Mill</th>
<th>Logging</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White collar</td>
<td>Blue C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Service

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 - Occupation of Females

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secretary in Pulp Mill</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help with husband's business</td>
<td>- 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store Clerk</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Helper</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Clerk</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others - housewives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 6 - Education - Males

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NK or less</th>
<th>Gr. 8</th>
<th>Gr. 10</th>
<th>Gr. 11</th>
<th>Gr. 12</th>
<th>Univ.</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Tech.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7 - Length of Stay in Gold River

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than 2 mos.</th>
<th>2-6 mos.</th>
<th>7-11 mos.</th>
<th>1-2 yr.</th>
<th>2 yrs.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8 - How Long People Plan to Remain in Gold River

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Less than 1 yr.</th>
<th>1-5 yrs.</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Where people came from

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Interviewees</th>
<th>Within B. C.</th>
<th>Outside B. C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell River</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comox</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cornwall, Ont.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coquitlam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ft. William, Ont.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtenay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fredericton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Alice</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly Cove</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Quebec City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelowna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitimat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladysmith</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean Falls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Alice</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince George</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salmon Arm</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trail</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Rock</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodfibre</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Pulp Mill Towns
INTerview SCHEDULE

1. **Transportation and Communications**

   a) What are your usual means of transportation - within the town of Gold River?

   To work: own car ........ 44
   car pools ....... 2
   walk ........... 3
   other .......... 2
   (co. transport.)

   Outside the community:
   own car ............... 43
   bus (public transp.) ... 4
   airplane ............... 1
   boat ................... 3

   b) What forms of improvement would you like to see in transportation?

   Within Gold River: none ........................................ 47
   Improvement of roads .......... 2
   (road to trailer court)
   Improvement of public transport .. 2
   (buses for schools, circuit bus)

   Outside Gold River: None ........................................ 12
   Improvement of roads .......... 24
   Improvement of public transport. . 12

   c) How many radio stations do you receive? How many T.V. Channels do you receive?

   T.V. Channels -- 2 (Ch. 6 & 12) sometimes reception poor.
   Every person had complaints about such poor reception.

   Radio ........ Reception is limited mostly to night hours.

   What improvements are necessary in the above?

   --lower initial hook-up for T.V. (presently $50 and $7 per month)
   --better installations for reception of T.V. and Radio.

   d) When do you receive your daily newspaper?

   The Province - available the same day of publication
   The Colonist - " " " " " " "
   The Sun - " " " day after publication
Local newspaper — "Between The Gold and The Heber"
published bi-weekly or monthly

Don't know it exists ............... 3
Satisfactory ...................... 41
Unsatisfactory .................... 7

Note that each school publishes a newspaper. The mill also publishes one. All of the above are produced by voluntary effort.

2. People of the Community

a) How do you feel about your neighbors?

Pleasant ...................... 35
Indifferent .................... 6
Unpleasant ..................... 7
No answer ....................... 3

b) Are there any groups in the community you do not approve of?

None ......................... 40
No response ................... 5
Yes ............................. 6

There was no agreement on groups disliked.

c) Why did you come to Gold River?

Because of work or business availability .... 27
Advancement in job .......................... 6
Transferred ............................. 8
Location .................................. 7
Better economic conditions ..................... 1
Just happened ............................ 1
No answer ................................ 1

d) Did Gold River community meet your expectations?

Yes .............................. 36
No ................................. 12
Indifferent ......................... 3

3. Traditions - Values - Attitudes

a) Is there any particular characteristic which best describes the people of Gold River?

No response ....................... 9
We received comments ranging from:

--want improvement
--constipated
--after opportunity
--gossipy
--young age level

--from all over the world
--normal
--transient community
--clique
--modern

b) Which word best describes your community?

friendliness .......... 14
gerow progressive .......... 9
apathetic ............. 7
community minded .... 5
cooperative ............ 4
tolerance of difference ..... 4
internal conflict ........ 3
conservative ............. 1
industrious ............. 1
individuality ............ 1

4. Economics and Employment

a) How do you feel about the level of wages?

high ..................... 12
fair ....................... 33
low ....................... 6
no response ............. none

b) Do you think there is a need for a corner store in your neighbourhood?

yes ................. 30
no ................. 20
no answer ...... 1

c) Do you have any feelings about the cost of living in Gold River?

high ................. 41
fair ................. 7
no response ...... 3

d) What do you purchase in Campbell River?

Most of the people buy groceries and everyday supplies in Gold River, but go to Campbell River for monthly big shopping, clothing and shoes.

e) What are the general feelings toward the Tahsis Company?

Good ................. 11
Fair ................... 11
Poor ................... 24
No response ........... 5
f) What sort of relations exist between labor and management?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Local Government and Police

a) What type of government exists in your community?

There is a municipality with an elected council, but out of 51 interviewed, there are 22 persons who do not know what type of government there is. (Tahsis Co. or directed by Tahsis Co.)

b) What role does civic government play in relation to the Tahsis Co.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Influenced by Tahsis</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c) What opportunities are there for citizen participation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opportunity</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opportunity</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d) Do you have adequate police protection?

e) Community’s relationship toward the R.C.M.P.

General feeling is that there is enough police protection and R.C.M.P. is considered as being friendly and there are good relations.

6. Community Planning

a) Do you have any suggestions for improving the future planning of Gold River? (service, industry, etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggestion</th>
<th>Total no. times suggested</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More industry</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More stores</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming pool</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More parks</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice rinks</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More houses</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidewalks</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More facilities for teenagers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Suggestion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggestion</th>
<th>Total no. times suggested</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Movie Theatres</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More facilities for children</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less planning</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital planning</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf Course</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larger backyards</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streets too steep</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving School</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trees</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve Housing construction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free housing enterprise</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlarge town</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backlanes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Do you like the overall street layout?

yes ............... 45
no ................ 6
indifferent ...... none

c) Do you feel that the citizens should have a part in the community's planning?

yes ............... 33
no ................ 13
indifferent ...... 5

d) Would you prefer a different physical layout?

yes ............... 7
no ................ 34
indifferent ...... 3
no answer ........ 7

e) What are your feelings concerning living in a planned community?

Like .............. 27
Dislike ........... 11
Indifferent ...... 6
No answer ........ 7

f) What do you feel are the unique characteristics with regard to the planning of your community?

g) What advantages do these characteristics bestow on your community?
Planned for the future .... 4 New town ........... 6
Street layout .............. 4 Expensive living .... 1
Centralized layout .......... 4 Isolated .......... 1
Underground wiring .......... 9 No opinion ...... 13
Location .................. 8
Uniformity in housing ...... 1

7. Housing

a) Are you a home owner?

Homeowner .......... 30
Renter .......... 17
Trailer .......... 4

b) Do you have a mortgage, and on what terms?

The homeowners are the only ones to have a mortgage. Those who work for Tahsis Company have a 25 year term with a 2% mortgage of $5000 free of charge. Those employed by the School Board have a subsidy.

c) Do you think the financial arrangements are satisfactory?

yes ............... 20
no ............... 5
don't know ........ 5

d) How many people are in your household?

Household of 1 .......... 4
" 2 .......... 8
" 3 .......... 7
" 4 .......... 11
" 5 .......... 10
" 6 .......... 4
" 7 .......... 5
" more .......... 2

e) What do you like about your house?

The relevant answers were in order of importance.

roomy
layout
no answer
view
basement
f) What do you dislike about your house?

The relevant answers were in order of importance.

no answer
nothing
not well built
not soundproof
small
expensive

g) Do you feel your house has enough privacy?

Within your house: yes .......... 34
no .......... 9
no answer ... 8

From your neighbor: yes .......... 19
no .......... 25
no answer ... 7

h) Do you think there is enough variety in the housing?

yes .................. 14
no .................. 29
indifferent ........ 4
no answer ........ 4

8. Neighborhood

a) On the map provided, can you delineate what you consider to be your neighborhood? (to be done on a map)

limited neighborhood ............... 12
extended " " .................. 14
whole town ................................... 6
Special section
    trailer park .......................... 5
    logging ............................. 2
    Reserve ................................ 2
    No answers .......................... 10

b) On what criteria do you decide such delineation?

Know most people in area ............ 20
Children play together ............... 15
Physical appearance .................. 5
Other ................................... 1
No answer ............................ 10
c) Is there a prestige housing area in Gold River? If so, where?

- Yes ............ 11
- No ............ 29
- No answer .... 11

A - 6
B - 4
C - 1

9. Education

a) Are you satisfied with the location of the schools?

- Yes ............ 33
- No ............ 11
- No answer .... 7

b) Are you satisfied with the quality of the teaching staff?

- Yes ............ 30
- No ............ 8
- No answer .... 13

c) Are there any particular advantages to the design of the primary school?

- Yes ............ 20
- No ............ 8
- Don't know .... 4
- No answer .... 19

d) Is there a P.T.A.? Are you a member?
Is there an opportunity for citizens to take part in school decisions?

There was no P.T.A. hence there are no members.

Concerning an opportunity to take part:

- Yes ............ 13
- No ............ 15
- No answer .... 15
- Don't know ... 8
e) Would you attend adult education classes if they were available?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f) Does the educational system in Gold River provide adequate opportunities for your children?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Recreation and Religious Activity

a) What do the children do for recreation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Times Suggested</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not much</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play on streets</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports activity</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowling</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy Scouts</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skating</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Do you feel there are adequate parks and playgrounds near your home?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c) What recreational facilities does Gold River need?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggestion</th>
<th>Total no. of times suggested</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swimming pool</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More industry</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movie theatres</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf course</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community centre</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football field</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis court</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More facilities for children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country club</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larger bowling alley</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night club</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discoteque</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indoor Recreational complex</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indoor recreation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
d) What are the meeting places for the various age groups?

Children:  
- Community hall .......... 11  
- Street .................. 2  
- School gym ............... 4  
- Bowling .................. 2  
- Playground ............... 2  

Teenagers:  
- Poolroom ................. 11  
- Coffee shop .............. 17  
- Bowling alley ............ 11  
- Hotel ..................... 8  
- School ................... 4  
- Shopping centre .......... 3  

Adults:  
- Beer parlor .............. 17  
- Parties ................... 11  
- Hotel ...................... 10  
- Community hall .......... 6  
- School ................... 5  
- Bowling alley ............ 5  
- Clubs ...................... 3  

e) Do you participate in any religious activity?

yes ............ 10  
no ............... 41  

51

f) What role does the church play in your community?

- 18 people felt that the church had a positive and major role to play in the community.  
- 18 people also felt that the church played a very minor role in the community.  
- 7 people did not know what role, if any, the church played in the community.  
- 8 people had no reply.  

g) What form does adult recreation take?

The **weekends** were used for fishing, boating, camping and going to Campbell River.  
In the **evenings** adult recreation took many forms, i.e. home life, visiting, T.V., dancing, parties, bowling, night school, bingo, cards, clubs, tennis, reading, etc.  
**Holidays** were used to leave the community, i.e. Vancouver, Victoria and points east.
h) What effect does Tourism have on your community?

12 people felt that tourism was very good for the community.
12 people also felt that there was not enough
5 people felt that the future would see a lot more tourists
21 had no reply
3 did not want tourists in the area.

i) Do you take part in any club activity?

yes ........... 25
no ............ 26

11. Health and Welfare

a) Are there any particular social problems in the community?

yes ........... 17
no ............ 32
no answer .. 3

The social problem breakdown: stealing 3
drinking 4
vandalism 3
lack of leadership 2
gay people 2
doctor 1
discontented wives 1
disturbed children 1

b) Are there any particular health needs?

clinic ...... 16  better service from doctor ... 2
hospital ...... 13  no reply ...................... 2
dentist ...... 10  optometrist ....................... 1
no ............ 7  incubator ....................... 1
new doctor ... 6  needs two doctors ............... 2

Some gave more than one answer.

c) Is there a need for Day care in your community?

No ............ 31  don't know ........... 4
yes ............ 7  there is one ........... 3
no reply .... 6  51
d) Are there any activities which allow full family participation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no reply</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowling</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>picnic</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swimming</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishing</td>
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<td>ball games</td>
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<td>outdoor activities</td>
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<td>camping</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>skating</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>skating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drives</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>church</td>
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<td>drives</td>
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<tr>
<td>church</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rod and Gun Club</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not too much</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skates</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walks</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drives</td>
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<td>church</td>
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<td>boating</td>
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<td>school functions</td>
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<td>经济损失</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no reply</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>no worse than elsewhere</td>
<td>5</td>
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e) Is marital breakdown a problem in your community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Count</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no reply</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no worse than elsewhere</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f) Does this community have a youth problem?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Count</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Causes:</td>
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<tr>
<td>not enough to do</td>
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<tr>
<td>marital breakdown</td>
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<tr>
<td>drinking</td>
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<td>pregnancy</td>
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<td>hippies</td>
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<td>vandalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>no</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

g) Are medical services adequate?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Needs</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>better doctor</td>
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<td>clinic</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>dentist</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>no needs</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>better emergency service</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>health centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>X-ray machine</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nurse</td>
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</table>

h) Are you satisfied with the emergency ambulance procedures available?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>no reply</td>
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<tr>
<td>costs too much</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vehicle not suitable</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>road a problem</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
i) Are the Provincial Health and Welfare services meeting the community needs?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

j) In what way could the community provide lacking Health and Welfare Services?

- No reply ................................................. 25
- By building a clinic .................................. 8
- By building a hospital ............................... 4
- In the same way the X-ray machine was provided .. 3
- By providing a nurse ................................. 1
- Through clubs sponsoring them ..................... 1
- Should be provided by company; then run by town .. 1
- By opening the town up; it might attract medical people 1
- By first aid man providing in doctor's absence .... 1
- Community is too small to provide them .......... 1
- It is too soon to provide them ..................... 1
- They will gradually be added as needed .......... 1
- They are a waste of time ............................. 1
- Don't know .............................................. 1
- No lacking services ................................. 1

12. General Questions

a) What do you like most about living in Gold River?

- Scenery .................. 13
- Outdoor life ............ 8
- Job opportunities ..... 5
- Nothing .................. 5
- Friendliness .......... 4
- Quietness .............. 4
- Small town ............ 4

b) What do you like least about living in Gold River?

- Isolation ............... 8
- High cost of living ... 7
- Lack of facilities .... 6
- No complaints .......... 5
- Nothing to do .......... 4
- Shortage of single women ...... 4
- Small town ............ 4