THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESOURCE-BASED NEW TOWNS IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA: A COMMUNITY STUDY OF GOLD RIVER

by

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ABSTRACT

New towns is the form of settlement replacing camps and company towns in the resource areas of Canada. Resource companies, still requiring skilled workers living near the site of its development, are planning and building towns which are incorporated soon after completion. This feature distinguishing new towns from company towns and camps is intended to alleviate the resource company of direct responsibility to the town and its residents. The economic mainstay of the town, though, is still the resource company's operation.

Very broadly, this thesis seeks to discover who is responsible for the development of new towns in resource areas and what programmes they are undertaking. It is important that the large social and financial investments in these new towns not be left to the vagaries of the single resource market, the economic base of the town.

Specifically, this thesis examines Gold River, a forest-based new town in British Columbia. Rather than generalizing the findings of this study, this thesis is indicating a method by which such communities can be studied and compared in order to make general statements.
concerning the growth and development of new towns. By examining the role and relative impact of organizations on the development of the town and by examining the values of the residents through their objectives for their town, it is possible to relate societal values to the direction of development.

The British Columbia government has two objectives in the development of its forest resource. One ensures the perpetual yield of the resource through strictly enforced management policies. And the second seeks the perpetuation of prosperous communities for which no policies have been made to ensure its fulfilment.

Even though the town is incorporated, the Council tends to be inexperienced. Therefore, with no counter-balancing force, it is hypothesized that,

the policy of the resource company will continue to actively determine the future development of the town.

To test the hypothesis, the author gleaned the policies of the resource company by examining its activity in the town. Finding little to substantiate the hypothesis, the author examined the role and impact of other organizations. The residents are adamant that the responsibility for the future development of the town rest on themselves. The Council, and to a lesser extent, the Chamber of Commerce, are active in promoting new activity in their
town. The residents see the development of their town into a more viable and varied community, in terms of the development and growth of the region. Even though there exists a social fabric receptive to further development, the power and the control over the use of the region rests principally with the forest company and the initiative for further development of the region rests with the Provincial Government.

If a general statement could be made from this study it would be that,

the further development and growth of single enterprise resource-based new towns is an integral part of regional planning and resource development.
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Long ago Aristotle wrote,

The city comes into existence in order that men may live; it persists that they may live well.

---Politics I

The problems of new town building are complex, for they are the problems of the conception, birth, youth, and adolescence of a community. The idea behind a new town is important because it determines its conception, the way in which the scheme is worked out decides its birth, and the handling of its initial development conditions its growth and completion.

---C. B. Perdom

The Building of Satellite Cities
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction. The interest in the pattern and nature of small settlements in Canada is recent and growing. In his thesis, *New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier*, Dr. Ira Robinson notes that "the bulk of Canada's population (around 90%) is concentrated in a narrow belt of arable land hugging the Canadian-United States border. The exploitable resources, however, whether underground, on the surface, or in the water, are mainly located north of this populated belt. The lack of settlement and consequent shortage of labour at or near the site of the natural resources to be exploited have made it necessary to build new townsites in isolated areas. These townsites, typically one-industry communities, come into being by fiat of a single enterprise engaged in the extraction and/or primary processing of a non-agricultural resource."1 This type of small settlement established for the resource workers is a unique and important feature of Canadian resource development. By housing people expected or

already at the site of the natural resource, these settlements play an exceedingly critical role in the economy of the nation.

In 1953 Queen's University studied single-enterprise communities in Canada and identified approximately 145 such communities with a total population of approximately 165,000 persons. The building of such towns in Canada has been markedly rapid since the end of World War II, reflecting the accelerated development of mineral, forest, and water-power resources, which has sparked this country's post war economic expansion.

The structure of these settlements have evolved from camps to company towns to new towns. Ameliorating unsatisfactory living conditions and the changing requirements of both the resource company and the employee-resident are the underlying forces for the continuous change in the types of settlements found in Canada's resource frontier.

The initial type of settlement is the company camp. In the early days of resource development there was little, if any, governmental regulation concerning the efficient and long term management of the nation's natural resources.

2 H. W. Walker, Single Enterprise Communities in Canada: A Report to CMHC by the Institute of Local Government (Kingston: Queen's University, 1953).

As a result, the small operators looked upon the resource as a factor of production to be depleted. Since the location of the operation changed as the resource was economically depleted, the small operator used the camp to house his employees—the camp being an unincorporated settlement of temporary or portable buildings owned entirely by the operator and inhabited principally or exclusively by the male employees of the enterprise.

The camp provided little more than sleeping and eating accommodations. The lack of variety of activities and amenities, dissatisfaction with the isolation of the camp, the lack of privacy, and the absence of a suitable environment for wholesome family living gave rise to an essentially male population, characterized by high turnover. The high cost of providing room and board, the diversion of needed attention from the industrial operation to the management of the camp, as well as the high mobility of the camp residents prompted the operators to look for a more suitable type of settlement. (Roberson)

The company town took the place of camps where it was economically feasible for the company to erect fixed and durable buildings to be occupied exclusively by the employees of the enterprise, and their dependents. Although the predominance of the single worker is still present, there are fewer single men and more married men in the resident population in the company town. Since married
men proved to be the more stable employee, resource companies consciously tried to employ more married men. Because of the changed composition of the resident population, more amenities suitable for family living are available. Because the town is unincorporated, the responsibility for, and the management of, the town rests with the resource company. Very often, for the sake of maintaining good company-employee relations, the resource company provides facilities for the community which a non-company town of similar size could neither provide nor maintain.

Residents of company towns often complain of too much company control over, and involvement in, community life: the social hierarchy appears to have been predetermined by the company hierarchy; since housing accommodation is generally assigned by the company, there is no freedom in choosing one's home; and in general, the criticism that company paternalism has replaced individual responsibility and personal initiative in the social and political activities of the community. Again, the attention needed to manage the town proved to be the greatest single disadvantage for the resource company to continue using the concept of the company town to house its employees.

In the meantime, the resource companies have evolved from the small, independent operator to the large, highly capitalized corporation, whose outlook and commitment are long-term. A primary concern of this industrial enterprise
is the industrial operation. Another primary concern is to attract and retain a stable and necessarily, skilled, work force to man its complex plant operations. A further concern of the enterprise is the long-term economic management of the natural resource. This industrial enterprise looks upon the establishment of a townsite as an indispensable, but nevertheless, secondary consideration. Acting as builder, developer, and financier of housing, schools, churches, playgrounds, stores, and other urban amenities necessary to attract skilled workers and their families to the resource frontier, and then, withdrawing from the community life per se by incorporating the town, the industrial enterprise hopes to avoid most of the drawbacks of the prior two forms of settlements. The hope in this new form of settlement, the new town, lies in the ability of the residents to divorce private and community life from company life and, just as important, in directing the town into new fields of development and growth.

Review of the Literature. Much of the literature on single enterprise resource-based communities in Canada devotes itself to critiques and discussions of the problems and decisions regarding the planning of such communities. The two major works are the Queen's University study and Ira Robinson's thesis. The Queen's University study

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4 Walker, *Single Enterprise Communities*. 
summarizes many aspects of life in these communities and compares them to other Canadian communities. The report reveals the desirable as well as the undesirable aspects of life in these communities in terms of the physical environment, the role of the institutions, the adequacy of the community facilities, and the social structure.

In his thesis, Ira Robinson examines in detail four Canadian resource towns built after the Second World War. In the first section, he compares the problems of building these four new resource towns, looking specifically at the physical setting, townsite administration, the town plan, the social structure, and the economic base. In the second section he focuses on the lessons to be learned in view of these four case studies. These guidelines are for the selection of a townsite, the town plan and design policy, and the administrative arrangements for building these new resource towns.

Readings on single enterprise resource-based settlements can be broadly categorized. One section of the literature takes note of the trend which the form of the settlements is taking, that is, from camp to company town to new town. The article by Derbyshire focuses on the

5 Robinson, New Industrial Towns.


population makeup of Schefferville and suggests the nature of the contribution of each social class to the community social life. Noting the influence of the company hierarchy on the social structure of the community, Derbyshire concludes that this is one of the limitations of company towns. Critiques of new town development include the design of new towns, the lack of coordinated effort in resolving development issues facing new towns, and the need to review other planning procedures such as TVA and the British New Towns Act for their contribution to the establishment and operation of new towns. Some of the literature deals with recommendations to be considered in the future development and planning of resource-based new towns. Lastly, a preponderance of the literature deals with specific communities and the


planning problems encountered.\textsuperscript{12}

**Hypothesis.** Large resource projects located in sparsely settled and politically unorganized areas provide the impetus for building new isolated communities. The number of single enterprise resource-based new towns is likely to increase in the future, with the economic expansion in Canada so largely based on the development of her latent wealth in the forests, rocks, and rivers. The challenge found in planning new towns is to consider and provide both the relevant community structures and the necessary opportunities for personal development, required by the residents, within the economic limits of small settlements.

The importance of technological progress to small remote communities is that they have the means to be linked

to the larger world and can become an integral part of the
nation. But existing new towns appear to have retained the
makings of the company town in that the company can still
dominate life in the community by its sheer importance to
the very existence of the town. The raison d'etre for the
town originates in the resource company's need to have an
attractive residence for its skilled employees. The planning,
the building, and the financing of the town are the result
of policies of the resource company. Even though the town
is incorporated, the municipal council tends to be inexpe­
r ienced and needs time to establish its role in directing
the course of the town. Without other forces to counter­
balance the imminence of the resource company in the commu­
nity's social, economic, and political activities, it
appears that life in the new town is not much different
from community life in the company town.

Given the raison d'etre of the new town, and the
financial investment of the resource company in the town,
the hypothesis of this thesis expresses the view that,
the policy of the resource company will continue
to actively determine the future development of
the new town.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

The literature focusing on differences in the various
types of resource-based settlements notes the underlying
causes for the change, but so far there has been little
examination of whether the concept of "new towns" is functioning as intended.

Attributed to new towns is an approximation of the urban atmosphere in a frontier setting which can attract needed resource workers and their families. If new towns are being used for no other purpose than to rid the resource company of a direct responsibility to the townsite by means of incorporation, then is this not a travesty of the concept. The potential of new towns is that they can be a force to polarize and focus regional activities in these remote areas and to attract people into these undeveloped areas by providing urban opportunities which people are now loathe to leave behind in the larger urban centers of southern Canada.

To fully realize the concept, the people must have the inclination, the power, and the resources to exploit opportunities which will not only fulfill the needs of the community but also establish the new town as a viable entity. This aspect of new towns—the attitudes, concerns, and decisions of the leaders as an important factor in the development of new towns—has not been previously touched upon.

METHODOLOGY

The degree to which the data procurable can provide insight into the problem under analysis is determined by the research design. There are essentially two approaches
There is the aggregate approach which utilizes census type data such as those on age, sex, race, ethnicity, and education, which can usually be quantified. Therefore, the collection of data for a number of communities permits a summary view of community structure and population characteristics in quantitative terms. The major limitations lie in the relatively small number of characteristics for which data are readily available, especially for a series of cities and the inability of the investigator to derive from such data more than a partial understanding of the nature and mechanics of the community process.

The other approach, the particularistic approach, is similar to the case study. While lacking the standardized indices of the aggregate approach, it has the definite advantage of permitting the observer to probe into the workings of a single community and to search for an explanation of recorded events.

The literature review did give the author a "feeling" for the general problems of resource-based new towns such as the dependence on a single employer for economic survival, the lack of amenities and opportunities for recreational activities, the isolation. However, even with this background, the author felt that it was inadequate to ensure the collection and analysis of meaningful data on the development of the towns and on the characteristics
of the resident population, by simply using a questionnaire mailed to a sample of residents in British Columbia's new towns.

Another method that was considered but rejected on the grounds not only of time but also of general suitability is that of assuming the role of participant-observer. By becoming a part of the community and by establishing a rapport with the residents, the participant-observer can better observe the activities of the community. This method is more applicable to community studies in which a particular society is described in detail in terms of the nature and significance of interrelationships. The emphasis is more on exploration, rather than the collection of systematic information for the testing of specific hypotheses.

The technique used in this thesis is that of interviewing in the field. One community was chosen. The author became first acquainted with the new town of Gold River on a two day field trip in the Fall of 1969. Having a reference point from which to work, the author chose to study this community further, and for ten days in February 1970, the author set about gathering specific information from the residents of Gold River. The structure of the town and the nature of the town's development, and the set of attitudes, or value orientations, of the civic leaders towards the development of Gold
River were discovered through unstructured interviews and reading of reports. Not knowing beforehand the events leading to certain community feelings and actions, the author was able to adapt the approach to the different interviewees and still remain true to the objectives and format of the interview schedule.

This method proved suitable for the author, who, knowing little of the nature of the issues facing the community, was able to field general questions during the interviews, supported with more probing questions. The author found that the personal interview method was successful in obtaining more information than was originally intended.

LIMITATIONS OF THE THESIS

The emphasis of the particularistic approach is on the comprehensive description and analysis of one unit, or, at best, of a limited number of units, chosen from the total units of a given type. However, the research worker gaining familiarity with the total community is often less likely to misinterpret his data or to interpret them erroneously. But conclusions can seldom be generalized since it is rarely possible to specify the degree to which the communities analyzed are representative of the universe of communities to which they belong. Knowing that the data for this thesis relates to only one resource-based
new town in British Columbia and keeping in mind the limitations of the method used, the reader must realize these peculiarities make it impossible to generalize the findings of this study. At best, this study should be a part of a much larger study which could compare many such community studies, to note patterns and trends. Ultimately, accumulation of such particularistic studies is necessary for testing theories and hypotheses concerning new town development in general and for concluding on the future of new towns as they are found in British Columbia.

For the purpose of analyzing the attitudes and concerns of, and the powers possessed by, the civic leaders and the nature of the organizational structure in Gold River, it is sufficient that this thesis study a static situation. What is occurring, or what is not occurring, and why this is so, are important considerations in modifying or rectifying inadequacies existing in this stage of new town development.

DEFINITIONS

**Resource Company.** A company engaged in the extraction, development, or processing of natural resources and whose operations in the frontier is the basis for establishing a settlement.

**New Town.** There are essentially two ways in British Columbia by which an unincorporated area can attain
incorporation.

1. Section 10 of the Municipal Act permits the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Municipal Affairs and with the approval of at least three-fifths of the residents who voted on the issue, to incorporate the residents of the area into a municipality.

2. Section 10A of the Municipal Act permits the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, where it is in the public interest to establish a municipality in conjunction with the development of a natural resource, 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 landowners in the area of the proposed municipality.

The essential feature that should be noted is that the new town so created is a legal political entity, given all the powers that other incorporated areas of the province possess.

It is the second type of incorporation about which this thesis is concerned. So far, the outstanding characteristic is that the economy of the town is based on the resource development activities of, at most, two resource companies in the same industry.
**Tree Farm Licence.** This form of tenure is an administrative device designed to enable the practice of sustained yield forestry by private interests. It permits the licensee to retain the use of lands on which he has certain rights to the timber stands and the government can grant him the use of additional vacant lands to bring the productive capacity of the unit up to the amount needed to sustain the industry. Stabilization and perpetuation of industry and communities, close utilization of the forest crop and perpetuation of the forest crop are the more important objectives of a Tree Farm Licence.

**Extracommunity System of Organizations.** This term refers to organizations headquartered outside the community under study but which directly control, by internal means, the activities of subordinate functional units operating in the community.

**Development.** Development is the process of mutually interrelated social, political, economic, and physical change in which human and natural resources are directed toward the service of man.

**Regional Planning.** Regional planning is a continuous process by which a society formulates, selects, and pursues its goals by initiating, coordinating, and ordering in terms of space, the development of its environment. Regional planning is characterized by a concern with the clarification
of social objectives in the ordering of activities in the supra-urban space.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Testing the hypothesis of this thesis rests on pinpointing the organizations whose presence are felt in the new town and on establishing their importance and role in bringing development to the town. Since the new town is an incorporated municipality, the design of the thesis necessarily recognizes the potential role of the outlook or value orientations of the residents. The answers to "Are the residents concerned about how their town is developing? What are they doing to ensure such development?" indicate the possible importance of these societal considerations to the town's development as well.

This thesis rests on three theories: the first analyzes the organizational structure of the community, the second is concerned about the social supports which are observed to accompany economic growth and development, and the third relates the values of the residents to the development of the town. A discussion of the theories is found in Chapter 2. Establishing and analyzing the structure of Gold River to determine the relative impact of the roles of the various institutions on the development of Gold River is the subject of Chapter 3. The next chapter looks to the residents, in particular, the
leaders, of Gold River to determine the effect of their orientations and objectives on the future development of their town. Chapter 5 concludes with a summary of the validity of the hypothesis and the implications of Gold River's problems in terms of its future. Because the scope of this thesis is very limited, this chapter also indicates areas requiring further research.
CHAPTER 2

A SOCIETAL FRAMEWORK FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In her study of five American communities, Lois Dean found that "the economic history and the present structure of a social system, whether a local community or a total culture, function as important determinants of the attitudes of its members toward a wide range of social issues, and that these attitudes feed back in such a way as to facilitate either maintenance or modification of the structure."¹ Using a theory of community structure and a theory of value orientations, this chapter forms a basis on which attitudinal, or value, and organizational factors can be related and provides a framework within which the data from the field work can be analyzed in a later chapter.

WARREN'S THEORY OF COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

To better understand the structure of a community, it is necessary to study the units which form the community as well as the relationships between each unit and the community as a whole. The advantage of this approach is that the

forces which originate outside the community, but act on the community, can be traced through the relevant system of organizations, starting with the subordinate local unit in the community. According to Roland Warren, each local unit belongs to two systems. Local units performing specialized functions are generally subordinate parts of extracommunity systems of organizations from which policies and objectives flow. For example, the local school board is the regional administrative arm of the Department of Education. By virtue of its presence in the community and its dependence on the community, the unit interacts with other local units as equals for mutual support and aid. The development of urban land owned by a national organization may be beneficial to both the city and the organization. However, obtaining approval of the plans may mean negotiation between the organization, through its local office, and the city planning officials and the council to ensure that the development will be to the satisfaction of both parties. Warren designates the former as the community's vertical pattern, or "the structural and functional relation of its various social units and subsystems to the extracommunity system" and the latter as the community's horizontal pattern, or "the structural and functional relation of the

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community's various social units and subsystems to each other. These two relationships not only affect the functioning of the community's units, but also characterize the community's organized structure.

The Corporate Linkage. Since this thesis concerns the development of a one industry town, the structure of the corporate form will be examined in more detail.

The corporate organization has evolved from the local form in which ownership and control of the enterprise rests with local businessmen, to the unit form in which ownership and control reside with absentee capitalists and the local unit produces a finished product, and finally, to the lateral form in which ownership and control reside in absentee capitalists and the unit produces only part of the finished article.

Each of these forms seems to embody its own type of local-extracommunity linkage:

In the local form the linkage is largely one-way, from the local to the extracommunity system: the market for the locally produced good is found outside the community. The linkage of the unit form is two-way. For the businessmen, who are now unit managers for an extracommunity organization, the bond is probably equally strong in both directions. The linkage in the lateral form is also two-way but for the

4 Ibid.
businessmen, now operating specialized divisions of the extracommunity organization, the bond is likely to be weaker to the local, than to the extracommunity, system. Since the products are not sold locally but are transferred to other units in the corporate system, the community may represent little more than a physical setting for the company's operations.

**Leadership Linkage.** Leaders within a community may be classified according to their functional linkage in a manner similar to that of the corporation.

Those leaders whose primary link is to the extracommunity system are the principal business leaders, the owners and managers of the largest employing organizations, together with their union counterparts. Those leaders whose primary link is to the community are the executives of community clubs, those retail merchants whose market is the community, the professionals—all those who serve the community. The intermediate leaders are the government officials, the executive of the Chamber of Commerce, school superintendents, and other functionaries employed by organizations to straddle both systems.

Even though all three types of leadership are present in each type of community characterized by the prevailing corporate structure, one type of leadership will tend to dominate, giving the community its ethos and contributing to its belief structure.
The Impact of the Two Systems on the Community.

The vertical aspect of units has important repercussions on the community in that the vertical ties to the extra-community systems is generally stronger by nature than the horizontal tie to the community. The strength of the vertical tie is embodied in the relatively strict bureaucratic structure from which flows the program objectives and operating procedures, and materials and technical aids to be utilized in accomplishing the objectives of the system. The units, engaged in activities assigned by the extracommunity systems, are performing specific functions relevant to the existence of the system. Tasks which bind the units in the system are production, distribution, consumption, social control, and mutual support.

If community can be defined as "that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions relevant to the local scene", what is the nature of the interrelationships between local units which give meaning to the geographic set of units and which provide the basis of interaction of each of these units within a specific geographic area. Despite strong ties to the extracommunity systems, the functioning of units involve at least a minimum of local interaction. Interaction such as social participation, social control, and mutual support

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5 Ibid., 268.
which are based on propinquity, characterizes the operation of the community as a social system. In other words, these local units interact on the community level in such a manner as to maintain a systematic relationship called the horizontal pattern of social organization. Characteristic of the horizontal pattern is the informal, adhoc structure. Interaction occurs because of symbiotic needs, not because of directives. These units perform specific, but interrelated, functions in the life of the community. Their specialized activities together form the aggregate set of locally relevant functions which it is the principal function of the community to provide.

The community provides a means by which the local units in the community and the extracommunity systems can interact. The structure of the community provides the channel through which the community can affect the extracommunity system and through which the extracommunity system can affect the community. The values and objectives of the community and the extracommunity systems may impose different, and sometimes conflicting, sets of demands on the local units. Within the local unit reconciliation occurs. The units must consider the mutual effect of their actions on other units in the locality. The impact of a change coming from one system will cause an adaptive reaction by those local units which have been affected. Changes are not only carried into the community through extracommunity systems but changes are transmitted outward to the extracommunity system as well.
ROSTOW'S THEORY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Historically, theories of economic growth state the relationships which should exist in terms of economic variables. Development studies and growth theories assign important roles to social constructs, that is, the human orientations and motivations called innovation, and a suitable environment in which economic growth and development can occur, a scientific atmosphere fostering invention, the existence of which are assumed in the society undergoing economic change.

In his book, Stages of Economic Growth, 6 W.W. Rostow attempts to identify types of societal frameworks associated with various stages of economic development. His central thesis is that stages of economic growth are characterized by certain value orientations, or sets of attitudes, which are appropriate to a society's current stage of growth, and that a necessary prerequisite for progression to the next stage of economic growth is the development of attitudes in the power centers, appropriate to the next stage.

In a dynamic economy in which change is constant, the capacity to adjust is significantly affected by the inclination to entrepreneurship. A major challenge to entrepreneurship is the application of existing materials to new

uses. This suggests that the quality of entrepreneurship is not a simple function of resources and objective opportunities but depends in a complex way on the heritage of the past, the social and cultural values, and economic experience and tradition. There is a strong temptation to assume that the capacity for entrepreneurship is secured, and that its level and quality are independently determined. The capacity to exploit economic opportunity is a function of the level of local entrepreneurship and of the governing framework inducing greater economic activity. Economic growth is now much less a function of the natural environment and much more a function of the human and social environment.

PARSON'S THEORY OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Parsons\(^7\) sees society as a loose federation of systems and units, each with its own internal problems and needs and orientations. These systems and units interact in Parsons' theory much as they do in Warren's theory. Any commitment made by one unit may restrict activity in other units. No particular course of activity can serve simultaneously and with maximum effectiveness all the needs of all the units. Therefore, those needs which remain unmet can become sources of tension if some action is not taken to modify its effect or force on the total system.

Parsons' sociological theory is principally a theory of action. To speak of action, not only must the situation and the action itself be referred to but also the subjective processes or orientation and the goals which function to structure the actor's orientation to the situation. The theory embraces the idea that the actors must orient themselves to situations, with reference to various sorts of goals, values, and standards, and behave accordingly. Throughout Parsons' theory, choice among alternative values and courses of action is an integral part of the actor's orientation.

Talcott Parsons compares total social systems on the basis of orientation called "pattern variables". These pattern variables are "a set of five dichotomous variables conceived as constituting universal and basic dilemmas confronting an actor in any social situation."\(^8\) Parsons uses the way in which members characteristically resolve these dilemmas to associate social systems with particular patterns of economic activity and organizations. The prevailing outlook of the dominant residents provide a relatively good indication of the number and variety of means open to retaining that particular society's goals.

This thesis is concerned with those dichotomies which can be used to analyze orientations significant to town development. This criterion excludes Parsons' affectivity-

\(^8\) Ibid., 39.
affective neutrality dichotomy, which tests for the presence of affect in a given social relationship. For example, a high level of affect is regarded as appropriate in husband-wife relations but as inappropriate in clerk-customer relations. There was no basis for supposing that this type of interactive orientation need vary with different economic environments. The following sets of dichotomies, however, are deemed to be relevant to a discussion of a town's development.

The specificity-diffuseness dichotomy measures what Parsons refers to as the scope or inclusiveness of the description of the relationship. In the diffuse orientation, the individual relates to another in terms of his total person; in the specific orientation only functional roles are relevant to the interaction.

In socio-economic systems where kinship or friendship is important, it is possible to observe the diffuse orientation in relationships; whereas in a society in which role and ability are stressed, the individual's capabilities is the more important factor in determining relationships.

Depending on how one categorizes, a person may be either particularly or universally oriented. The dilemma to be resolved is whether to speak in general or universal terms or to discuss a situation in particular terms.

Like the particularism-universalism dichotomy, the
quality-performance dichotomy refers to standards of evaluating social objects. Devereux points out that, the central dilemma...turns upon whether the primary consideration, in defining a relationship, is given to some ascriptive quality of the object--age, sex, beauty, possessions, status, and so on--or to some particular complex of performances. What matters most: who or what the person is, or what he has done or can be expected to do?9

Relatively closed and simple socio-economic systems could, by virtue of their comparative isolation and the presence of informal face-to-face interaction, encourage the development of strong in-group sentiments based on particularistic and qualitative standards of evaluation. On the other hand, the more open industrial system, with its complex division of labour and specialized functions, emphasizes efficiency and rewards on the basis of impersonal standards of competence. One would expect universalistic and performance criteria to take precedence over particularistic and qualitative ones.

The self-orientation versus the collectivity-orientation dichotomy is perhaps best described as the dilemma of competing collectivities, rather than as a simple problem of 'selfishness' versus 'groupishness'. The relevant description depends on the answer to "With what collectivity do I perceive my personal interests to be most closely identified? Self, community, or extracommunity? As socio-economic systems grow more complex, more closely related to larger systems,

9 Ibid., 42.
their members tend to shed the parochial stance and increasingly identify with the larger collectivity.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

Given that a town exists, what are the limits that are placed on it in terms of development and growth? What are the limits placed on the interaction, sentiments, and activities of the residents of that town? Lois Dean has found that the structure of the community has an important effect on the orientations of the residents and that the orientation of the residents in turn affects the structure of the community. Rostow presents the same idea in a different way. He underscores the important role of social inputs for economic growth and development. For a town to grow, the community must be innovative and convert its problems into indigenous opportunities for growth.

Because the structure of the town is an integral part of this theory, this chapter studied Warren's approach to community structure. It is particularly relevant in that the theory considers, not the community per se, but, the components of the community in terms of their relevance to the community and in terms of their relevance to its own organizational system. The dominating units of the community are noted in order to trace their effect on the residents, particularly the leaders, of the town.

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Parsons' dichotomies are used in this thesis to analyze the orientations of the leaders of one particular
new town in British Columbia. How these people interact, how they relate to extracommunity systems, and how they view their situation reveal much about the degree to which the social inputs can induce economic growth in the town. In simpler systems where identification is with the local scene, one would expect diffuse and qualitative ascriptions of interactions in terms of particular events. On the other hand, in complex industrial societies in which interaction can occur between widely diverse systems, and in which specific interactions and universalistic standards are the rule, one would expect norms of achievement to prevail. According to Rostow, orientations that are suitable to economic development are resources to it and orientations that are unfavourable are detrimental or limitations to development.
CHAPTER 3

THE STRUCTURE OF THE GOLD RIVER COMMUNITY

THE HISTORY OF GOLD RIVER

The Tahsis Company. In 1938 W. F. Gibson and his sons started logging at Nootka Sound. Initially, they shipped their logs by barge to the open market in Vancouver but after the Second World War, the Gibsons started a small sawmill operation at Tahsis, shipping lumber direct to the export markets. In 1948 the sawmill burned to the ground. With financial assistance from the East Asiatic Co. Ltd. who was the lumber export agent for the Gibsons, a new mill was constructed under the newly created Gibson-East Asiatic Co. Ltd. partnership called the Tahsis Company. In 1952, W. F. Gibson and his sons sold their shares to the East Asiatic Co. Ltd. and all the timber holdings owned by East Asiatic Co. Ltd. in the area were sold to the Tahsis Company.

In 1953, the Tahsis Company began working a logging

1 The data forming the basis of this chapter has been obtained principally from mimeographed material prepared for the opening of Gold River; a student project on Gold River, completed in April 1969; an unpublished report prepared by the Trade Union Research Bureau; newspaper and personal accounts.
camp at Gold River on Muchalat Inlet which has since become the company's main logging camp. On May 25, 1952 the Minister of Lands and Forests granted Tree Farm Licence Number 19 to the Tahsis Company. The area covers 190,910 acres of productive forests in the Clayoquot, Nootka, and Espinosa Inlets on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

In the early 1960s the Tahsis Company began to consider integrating its operations by exploring the possibilities of producing pulp from the lower grade forest holdings. The feasibility study showed that the quality of the timber was suitable and that there was an adequate supply of pulping material. The study concluded that a pulpmill should be built. On the basis of the report, the Tahsis Company decided to build a $60 million, 750 ton-a-day bleached kraft pulp mill at Gold River, with production scheduled to start in June 1967. The construction of a town nine miles upstream from the mill site was an integral part of the report.

Neither Tahsis nor its parent company, the East Asiatic Co. (Canada) Ltd. had any experience in pulp production or pulp sales. In search of a sales outlet, the Tahsis Company sold a half interest in the Tahsis Company to Canadian International Paper Co. of Montreal, a subsidiary of the International Paper Company of New York, the largest pulp and paper organization in the world, in April 1965.
The District Municipality of Gold River. Gold River is located at the confluence of the Gold and the Heber Rivers, found in the central section of the west coast of Vancouver Island. A fifty-seven mile public highway connects Gold River to Campbell River, a commercial center and a community of 7,000, situated on the Island Highway linking most communities on the east coast of the Island.

An amendment to the British Columbia Municipal Act in 1965 permits the incorporation of an area in conjunction with the development of natural resources, upon the petition by five landowners in the defined area. The first use of this legislation involved the Tahsis Company in the building of Gold River.

Following submission of the necessary petitions, negotiations between the Provincial Government and the Tahsis Company resulted in a contractual agreement which divided the responsibilities for development of the proposed townsit. Then on August 26, 1965, Letters Patent incorporating the District Municipality of Gold River was issued.

Incorporation as a district municipality is a technique by which an industrial site not close to the town can be included within the municipality's boundaries. As agreed to, the Tahsis pulpmill site, connected by a nine mile public highway, is included in the District Municipality of Gold River. As a result, the municipality, excluding the highway, covers an area approximately two thousand acres.
At the same time as construction started on the pulpmill, the Tahsis Company started building the new town of Gold River. The Gold River townsite consists of 847 acres, of which 224 acres were owned by the Tahsis Company and the remaining 623 acres were bought from the Provincial Government at $100 an acre. Under the terms of the agreement with the Provincial Government, the Tahsis Company was responsible for surveying and clearing the land, planning and subdividing the streets and lots, construction and paving of streets, including curbs, construction of a complete storm sewer system, installation of street lighting and underground cables for electricity, telephone, and television, and the dedication of all parklands designated by the town's designers.

The townsite clearing began in February 1965. By October of that year the first subdivision was complete, ready for the first families to move in. Even though there are only five basic house designs in the town, the use of different materials, exposures, and site layouts make the housing subdivisions varied in appearance. The 249 homes sell between $19,000 and $25,000. This includes 40 townhouses which sell for $19,500. The developer experimented in housing types by building condominiums, 22 in total, selling for about $16,000. There are 172 apartment units, with one, two, and three bedrooms, rents ranging from $110 to $155 a month. A trailer park, isolated in the south-
western sector of the town, has space for 60 trailers. This park is undergoing expansion to accommodate forty more trailers.

The 450 employees at the pulp mill form the basis of the current town population of approximately 2,500. The majority of the 200 employees of the Company's logging division live in the logging camp, two miles from Gold River, and do not take part in the community life to any great extent. The population is noticeably young, the average age of the adult population is thirty-one years. There are very few old residents and very few teenagers. Until recently, there was a high turnover of workers in the mill which generated instability in the town. Expansion of the highly automated mill will not significantly affect the size of the population.

One of the first commercial buildings in Gold River was the Gold River Inn, a $700,000 50 room hotel. In August 1967, the 22 acre shopping center was completed, with space for twelve retail outlets.

The Letters Patent for Gold River provided for an Interim council of six members, 2 appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, which was to be responsible for the initial building and development of the town. Subject to the Letters Patent, the Interim Council possessed

2 Five of the Interim Councillors were managers in the Tahsis Company at Gold River and the sixth member, the wife of a manager.
all the powers and duties of Council under the Municipal Act and other applicable acts. This Interim Council felt that its most important duty was the planning for orderly growth and development of the community and saw the assets of the town grow to $2,983,062 in 1967 with an accompanying debenture debt of $1,552,246.

Accusations of a company biased council forced the first election to be held one year earlier than anticipated. A local businessman and a school principal replaced two interim council members who declined nomination. After the second election one year later, in December 1969, the Mayor notes that, "Times change and the result gives us a representative council. We retain a housewife, a teacher is returned, an hourly paid worker, plus Aldermen _____ and _____ who have frequently differing views on many matters."

A self-governing district municipality, Gold River derives its revenue chiefly from taxes on property. The net taxable assessed value of its property in 1969 amounted to $8,588,034, producing an annual tax revenue of $161,000, of which the Tahsis Company pays about 80 per cent. The responsibilities of the municipal government in Gold River are identical with those of other B. C. municipalities, and include streets, sewers, garbage collection, recreation facilities, police and fire protection. The agreement between the Tahsis Company and the Provincial Government
designated the municipality to build and finance, during the development of the townsite, a sanitary sewer system, a treatment plant, a domestic water supply system, and a reservoir. The municipality has provided fire and ambulance service since incorporation and in 1966 provided regular garbage collection. By mid-1966, the townsite had advanced to the point where the municipality could assume responsibility for the assets provided by the developer. In June 1967, Gold River had four miles of paved and curbed streets, a public safety building, six miles of sanitary sewers, six miles of storm sewers, and six miles of water works. In spite of its limited funds, the municipality has been able to provide three tot lots, two tennis courts, a riverside picnic park area, a library, a community center which was the coop store before the shopping center was completed, and a soccer field, currently under construction. The construction of a civic hall and the landscaping of a park for the quiet enjoyment of the residents have to be delayed until the municipality is in a better financial position. Having to spread the large debt among a small population means the postponement of many necessary community facilities.

Telesis Co. Ltd., a local firm, has a federal licence to bring cablevision into Gold River and its neighbouring company town, Tahsis. Due to difficulty in obtaining a permit to put communication installations in Strathcona Park, the reception is poor and the selection of channels
limited. In November 1969, CBC completed the construction of a repeater station in Gold River, which provides daily contact with the rest of the nation. In addition, the residents can subscribe to the three daily newspapers from Vancouver and Victoria. The town has a local monthly newspaper, *Between the Gold and the Heber*, which focuses on community activities and advertises club activities.

Gold River is part of the recently created Vancouver Island West School District No. 84. Tax support comes from a large area, including Gold River and its pulp mill site, Tahsis' sawmill operation, and the mine and iron concentrator at Zeballos. In Gold River, there is a $750,000 18 room elementary school for approximately 400 pupils and 17 teachers and a $1,000,000 secondary school for 160 students and 10 teachers.

**THE VERTICAL PATTERN IN GOLD RIVER**

The **Tahsis Company.** In two important respects, the Tahsis Company is part of the vertical pattern affecting the life in Gold River. First of all, the world market for pulp forms the basis on which pulp mills determine the level of production. The level of activity in these mills significantly affect the size and well-being of the one industry communities in which they are located, whether the communities are open new towns or closed company towns.

In addition, the parent companies of the Tahsis Company
are foreign based. Policies handed down through the levels of the organization must necessarily preclude any input from the community. One example relating to the town is the creation of Ucona Holdings, a subsidiary set up by the Tahsis Company to handle the sale of property in the town. This subsidiary is the direct result of a conscious decision to divorce the Tahsis Company per se from ownership and control of property in the townsite. Eventually Ucona will liquidate its holdings and cease to exist. The Board of Directors of Ucona, however, consists of the executive officers of the Tahsis Company, the East Asiatic Co. Ltd., and the International Paper Company. Ucona Holdings in turn, appointed Ibbotson, Corker Real Estate Company on Vancouver Island to handle the sales of residential property and Mackenzie Management of Vancouver to handle commercial real estate transactions.

Realizing that the purchase of homes is a new and expensive item for many prospective employees, the Tahsis Company through Ucona Holdings, offers a 5% second mortgage up to a maximum of $5,000 to its employees. In addition, Tahsis guarantees the repurchase of employees' residential properties should it be necessary within the first five years of employee ownership.

It being difficult to attract private capital to build the shopping center in Gold River, the Tahsis Company developed and financed this part of the town as well. To
induce retail outlets to Gold River, Tahsis, through Ucona, has written a five year 'no competition' clause into the lease contract. At present the real estate market in Gold River is indirectly tied to the policy of the Tahsis Company. The nature of the transactions can be traced to the Tahsis Company, which, by nature and by will, is more a part of the extracommunity system or vertical pattern than of the community horizontal pattern.

**Governing Bodies.** By the provisions of the British North America Act, the Provincial Government is responsible for all matters relating to property and civil rights, in all matters of a local nature and has sovereignty over all Crown lands and resources. In 1965, the B.C. Government amended the Municipal Act to permit the development of new towns. Therefore, in British Columbia, the planning of new towns and the establishment of local government make the new town legally independent of the resource company which built the town.

Regarding the actual establishment of new towns,

The traditional policy of the Department of Municipal Affairs towards local government would appear to be the most local autonomy possible with the least governmental direction and control. Policies have been directed toward providing the legislative and financial mechanism to enable new towns to be built and to establish a form of local government in the unorganized areas of the Province capable of dealing with the immediate urban consequence of resource development. Specific policies with regard to the need for new towns, their location, size and function are lacking. It should be noted that Provincial
Government policies related to forest management licences, mineral extraction, hydro power development, and transportation indirectly determine new town location, size, and function.3

At the time Gold River was being constructed, the concept of regional districts was establishing itself in British Columbia. Through the regional district, the associated members can undertake services common to them all and administer them jointly. It is the Provincial Government's hope that economies of scale can be realized. With hospitals the only statutory function, the activities of the regional district can be tailored to suit the needs of the members. In addition, the regional district board is composed of elected representatives appointed by the member municipalities, people who are already involved in the municipal picture and who know the problems and the issues.

At the request of the Tahsis Company, Gold River was placed in the Regional District of Comox-Strathcona which covers the central section of Vancouver Island and the adjacent coastal mainland of British Columbia. One Gold River alderman cautiously states, "It is too early to comment on the effectiveness of the Regional District." But the general sentiment is that Gold River, while paying its share of the costs, isn't receiving the benefits from projects to the extent that the other members do. The

3 "New Towns in Resource Frontier Region", mimeographed material, (School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia, 1969), 6.
majority of the members, located in proximity of each other on the shores of the Strait of Georgia, have similar problems and therefore, can share in general solutions. Relatively isolated in its needs, Gold River feels that the efforts of the Regional District make minimal, if any, impact on the development of the town or the area around Gold River.

In 1969 Gold River submitted a report detailing its need for a small hospital, to the Regional District for consideration. In turn, the Regional District supported Gold River's request. Instead of approving a hospital for Gold River, the Minister of Health and Welfare approved a diagnostic ambulatory treatment center. The Provincial Government's policy, not widely communicated, is to replace small inadequate hospitals, scattered throughout the Province, with centralized regional hospitals, better equipped to provide a high level of medical services. In spite of their disappointment with the Minister's decision, the community feels that the Regional District concept does give the individual municipalities a stronger voice in Victoria.

Other functions this Regional District has assumed are a water resources study, elderly citizens housing, general planning, ambulance services, recreation, parks acquisition, fire protection, an emergency answering service, and electrification.
The role of the regional district, however, doesn't replace the local government's task of petitioning the Provincial Government for changes in statutory laws, of obtaining approval to build certain community facilities, and of clarifying decisions of the Provincial Government whose effects have regional and local significance. In February 1970, several members of the Gold River council went to Victoria to meet with representatives of the RCMP, and the Departments of Highways, Health and Welfare, and Municipal Affairs to discuss and resolve problems, to clarify situations pertaining to Gold River, and to promote a highway to the north end of the Island routed by way of Gold River. One outcome of the meeting was a suggestion by the Deputy Minister of Recreation and Conservation that Gold River form a Community Parks Board to pursue the matter of parks and recreation facilities. And besides offering to undertake a feasibility study the Provincial Government will share some of the costs of the parks. As one reporter puts it, "I think that per capita Gold River makes more noise in Victoria by means of protests from our local council than any other. At least Victoria knows we exist."

The Unions. A third system acting on the community of Gold River is the union. The four unions are the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill

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Workers; the Canadian Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers; the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada; and the International Woodworkers of America. The local union leaders do look to the headquarters for research data and general assistance in administering union matters.

The early years of Gold River saw much tension and discontent in the mill and in the town. There were startup problems in the mill, disrupted family life due to the regular overtime work, wives dissatisfied with the lack of shopping facilities, complaints about the gravel roads to the mill and to Campbell River. The IWA Municipal Committee did meet with the Gold River Council to discuss matters of taxation, assessment, and community development.

In addition to this, there was a struggle for the fledgling Canadian Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers to keep the International Brotherhood from encroaching on its certification in the mill. The struggle was reflected in strained worker relations in the mill which was brought home to the town. A vote in 1969 finally decided the rights of the Canadian Brotherhood to retain certification, which was one factor in bringing peace to the town of Gold River. But the summer of 1970 may expose the truly tenuous situation of a single-enterprise resource-based town. The mandate from the pulp mill and other forest workers of British Columbia may call for strike action to support its demands of the forest companies.
Because these towns are so economically dependent on the operation of the resource company and have no recourse to other economic supports, the towns are bound, inescapably, to a period of tension and financial difficulty.

THE HORIZONTAL PATTERN IN GOLD RIVER

The horizontal pattern describes the relationship between the local units of the extracommmunity systems. In Gold River, the community level of interaction involves principally the social organizations that were formed initially as a means for the residents to get acquainted. The activities of the Company, the union and those businesses which are only one of many branch outlets are guided by policy from head office and therefore, these local units cannot freely participate on the community level.

The Church, while part of a world-wide organization, functions principally in the community in which it is located. The Church in Gold River is a community church shared by three ministeries. By allowing the teenagers to operate a coffee house in the church once a week the Church has been able to interact with one segment of the community. The activities of the other church groups, however, have not had much of an impact on the community at large.

The community-minded Kinsmen are now into their second fund raising campaign. This club donated an X-ray machine to the community in 1969. The 1970 campaign is aiming for
$12,000 to purchase a much needed ambulance. Taking part in the fund raising are the school children, the fire department, the Lions, other clubs, and some local businesses.

In 1967 the local Chamber of Commerce was formed. In the words of its founder, "To assist in the future development and expanding growth of Gold River, it is necessary to initiate a united effort to meet the problems faced by our community. To facilitate this action the organization of a local Chamber of Commerce is essential. Its primary aim is to foster trade and industry, stimulate civic development and to generally promote the welfare of the community and the surrounding areas." The Chamber of Commerce is aiming for more tourist facilities. They realize that tourists won't come to Gold River where there are so few and inadequate facilities available. But their most ambitious project is the promotion of the highway route through Gold River, the heart of the Island, up the Nimpkish Valley, to Port McNeill and Port Hardy at the north end of the Island where the Utah Construction and Mining Company's copper molybdenum development is located. The $74 million investment is expected to start production in 1972. If the existing private logging road through the area were converted into a first class highway, the Chamber of Commerce

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5 This quote is taken from a letter presented to the Council of Gold River on December 19, 1967, advising of the proposed organization of the Chamber of Commerce at Gold River.
feels that it would go a long way towards establishing Gold River as the gateway to Northern Vancouver Island. It would also make Gold River a prime tourist attraction. But more than that, Gold River could become an important supply and repair center for both the logging and mining industries and thereby attract additional industry which Gold River so badly needs. Realizing the potential of this road, the Chamber of Commerce is working closely with Council to persuade the Provincial Government and the Department of Highways of the desirability of this route. In fact, one member of the Chamber of Commerce accompanied the Council members to Victoria on their last trip. At the 1969 Gold River Days, an annual celebration honouring the incorporation of Gold River, the mayor praised the Kinsmen for bringing such a fine celebration to the town. The mill manager said, "Gold River is starting on a new and more rapid pace of development. It is an eyeopener to see the spirit of these service clubs. They have put on a great show which helps to build a community."6

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

In all societies, physical and social needs are met through the creation of social systems. Particular structures within systems are called institutions, or extracommunity systems, as used in this thesis, and the units composing

6 The Campbell River Upper Islander, Wednesday, August 27, 1969, 3.
these systems become the basic features of a community. Thus a community will have varied institutions through which all types of needs are satisfied. The needs of each institution dictates the nature of each unit.

In any community there is a wide range of influences which operate directly and indirectly to affect community activities and programmes. Some of the influences, such as physical environment, natural resources, population size, and relative location to other communities, constitute the basic conditions of community life and determine in part the kinds of problems or needs with which the people of the community must deal. Neither the Company nor the unions and neither the Provincial Government nor the Regional District have shown any inclination to stimulating further development in the town of Gold River. Both Tahsis and the Provincial Government, the planners and builders of the town, have taken positions of disinterested guardians; the former, a guardian of its direct financial investment in the town and the latter, the guardian of the governing process. This chapter shows that the scope of the unions and the Regional District is tied to an already predeter-
mined function. But the section dealing with the organizations interacting on the community or horizontal level indicate that these groups see bringing further development into Gold River as their responsibility.
Other influences, such as power and leadership, have much to do with the way these people go about solving community problems and hence the kind of decisions eventually reached. This latter topic will be dealt with in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 4

THE ORIENTATIONS OF THE GOLD RIVER RESIDENTS

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The character of a town is often a determinant of the type of decisions which its citizens make, and ultimately such decisions will reflect, in turn, the character of the town. In other words, the character of a town is a reflection of the people who participate in community affairs as well as their decisions, thereby affecting the life of the whole community. Participation in community affairs involves decision-making; those who make decisions are the leaders who have power and authority. Consequently, their attitudes and values directly affect the future course of development of the town.

The People Interviewed. In this study, community leaders are those local residents whose decisions are crucial in determining the community's social, political, and economic development. These individuals are associated with local government, schools, the local newspapers, Chamber of Commerce, company management, and union leaders. Dean's study appears to support this view, "From previous
experience, we knew that the so-called 'real' leaders were not likely to be found outside these predesignated status-role clusters; and if they were, we would discover the exception upon arrival in the community." Upon arrival in Gold River, the author realized that the social organizations played a larger role in the community life than did the education system. Therefore, the executive members of these organizations replaced the educators on the list of people to be interviewed.

**Interview Schedule.** With a guide of essentially open-ended questions, the author asked these local community leaders their perceptions and views on the nature of the community's problems and on the general direction in which the town is heading. During the interview, relevant background information was obtained. The interview began with questions asking, "What do you think are, and were, the principal problems facing the community? What do you think are the sources of these problems and how do you see these problems being resolved? Have the Regional District and the Provincial Government, the unions and the Tahsis Company affected the development of the town? How?" These questions were used as much as a source of information about the problems facing the community as it was a source of opinions and attitudes to be analyzed using Talcott Parsons'  

1 Dean, *Five Towns*, 18.
theory outlined in Chapter 2.

The theory considered has established that societal attitudes suitable to further economic development and growth must necessarily be one of the inputs to that development and growth. The last chapter showed that the residents are assuming responsibility for the further development of their town. The broad overall questions which these interviews were geared to answer are: To what degree can the problems of the town be resolved by the community itself, and to what degree can the community control the direction of its development. Parsons' dichotomies can help in determining whether the type of societal attitudes being expressed by the residents are indeed adequate for the town to progress to the next stage of the development process.

Measurement of the Variables. In a study of this nature, the value given to a variable is, at best, an approximation. Themes and overriding impressions, as they relate to the answers, indicate the strength of the variable. For a larger study comparing many communities it is easier to apply quantitative methods for a more precise analysis. However, the particular nature of this study lends itself to a sociological type of analysis without losing the force of being a scientific inquiry.
Particularism and Universalism. To the question of "What do you think are, and were, the principal problems facing the community?" the answers are best classified on the particularism-universalism dichotomy. The answers ranged from discussion on local issues to broader, more philosophical questions of new town development.

The local issue receiving greatest discussion at the time of the field work was the ice arena being built by the Tahsis Company. Until the Fall of 1969 there had been much agitation within the community, stemming from the Canadian Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers Union's fight to retain its certification in the pulp mill, while in the town the lack of facilities manifested itself in dissatisfied and unhappy families which, in turn, was reflected in poor company-union relations. A vote ensuring the union's certification and the paving of the road connecting the townsite to the millsite were steps toward greater worker and community harmony. And at the 1969 Gold River Days celebration, the President of the Tahsis Company announced the construction of an ice arena and the dedication of some of its land to parks. Some residents felt that the Company was finally facing its responsibility to the town, others felt that the Company should not have to give an arena to the town;
if the residents are to appreciate an arena, they should have to contribute to it. Regardless, these events marked the beginning of a town which was ready to consider some of its more important problems. But, five months after the announcement, the Tahsis Company and the Council found that they disagreed as to what the terms of the verbal agreement were. In spite of what some townspeople label as the Company's poor public relations, the citizens, through their Council, have been able to discuss the problem amiably with the Tahsis Company and are hopeful in arriving at a solution acceptable to both parties.

But the very fact that the Tahsis Company had to step forward with the arena has raised other local issues.

The original plans for the town included both an outdoor and an indoor recreation scheme. However, the Interim Council, realizing that the municipal debt would be increased that much more from its existing $1.6 million level, felt that the urban servicing was of greater immediate importance than community facilities such as an arena. Until the twenty-five year amortization period has passed the town will have a limited capital budget, and so it will be some time before the town can undertake necessary community projects on its own. If the town is to acquire facilities it is highly dependent on donors such as the Tahsis Company. The financial situation may not have been so serious had the estimated five thousand
A second bone of contention arises out of the fact that the town has no land at its disposal. "The Company has a stranglehold on property because it owns it all." The Company pays property tax on the land that it owns but to the townspeople the ownership constitutes a direct control over the future growth and development of the town. Just what the townspeople would do with the land if it were at their disposal is unknown but one fear that the people have is that the cost of the land\(^2\) would and has acted as a barrier to new businesses. However, one member of Council feels very strongly that no land inducements should be given to attract industry or business enterprises. If the firm can realize a profit, it should consider paying all the associated costs. He knows of similar deals which have backfired, leaving both the firm and the municipality in difficult financial situations. He is hesitant to duplicate the story of short term gains at the expense of long term growth and stability.

Currently, the Tahsis Company, through Mackenzie Management, controls the competition within the shopping center by means of the lease agreement. To induce prospective retail establishments to locate in Gold River, the clause guaranteeing no competition for five years

\(^2\) Industrial land has sold for $12,500 and $15,000 an acre. These figures are taken from "The Gold River Story", a report prepared for the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada by the Trade Union Research Bureau, September 1969.
was included to ensure sufficient business during the initial phases of development and settlement of the town. In actuality, the townspeople are not wholly dependent on the shopping center in town but can and do shop in the communities on the east coast of the Island. This clause has prohibited the entry of more suitable businesses and has inhibited entrepreneurs from establishing in Gold River.

The long term problem facing Gold River is its extreme dependence on the one major industry for its existence. "Wherever we turn, it's the forest industry. Our economy is gauged to that of the forest industry." To many of those interviewed, this situation makes Gold River a "glorified company town". One resident believes "that this may be one of the reasons why the town isn't growing." Having lived in company towns, these people want to avoid the inadequacies of company town living. The problem is how can they stimulate growth and development in the town.

The second level of concern involves the relevance of the Comox-Strathcona Regional District to the town. Gold River pays its fees calculated according to its property assessment but votes according to the size of its population. Specifically, Gold River pays six times as much for its one vote as does another member municipality. However important this is in terms of the role
Gold River can play in the Regional District, just as important, if not more so, is the relevance of the interests and needs of Gold River to those of the other members. The majority of the members of this Regional District have been established on the shores of the Strait of Georgia for many years. Because of its geographic location and special needs, Gold River can't take advantage of the Regional District's efforts as fully as other members. But the concern of the interviewees revolves around Gold River's membership in this particular Regional District, not around the concept of regional development, as witnessed by its efforts in promoting Gold River as the gateway to the north end of the Island.

On a more universalistic note, a few of the residents stated in more philosophical terms the problems found in the development of the town. One respondent, having lived at the site ten years prior to its incorporation, saw the initial problems of settlement in terms of the immigrants. It has taken time for them to realize that many of their complaints were unsubstantiated. Once the people saw that Gold River is a nice place to settle in, a sense of community could develop and then so could the town. For two years the Kinsmen have involved the community in fund drives to buy needed equipment for Gold River. As far as the facilities, or lack of facilities, is concerned, one resident observes, "You can't satisfy everyone at once. We will soon have an ice arena. I would have liked
a swimming pool. But at least the town is getting the facilities people want." Another says, "Building a community will create problems—no matter how well planned. Problems are working themselves out. It takes time for a town to mature."

In a different vein, one interviewee sees the problem of Gold River in terms of a concept. "Planners are using the traditional pattern to build Gold River but Gold River is a different type of community." Some of the particular problems noted by the residents arise out of this observation, but this person was able to see Gold River in a more abstract, but crucial, sense.

One observation on the question itself should be noted here. It tended to elicit specific answers about local issues, rather than permit a broader range of answers. The answers to the next question, however, is significant in that the respondents did not confine their solutions to local powers but are searching out and using all avenues open to them.

**Orientation: Self Versus Collective.** The dichotomy, self versus collective orientation, lends itself well to an analysis of the responses to the question, "What do you feel are the solutions to these problems?" The predominant orientation indicates the breadth of opportunities which the town feels it can exploit in
working towards a solution of its problems.

One council member attributes the lack of economic expansion at the retail level to the small population, to the misleading notion that the residents form a 'captive market' for the shopping center, and, lastly, to the five year 'no competition' clause, which is artificially supporting noneconomic retail units. He believes that until conditions permit the survival of open competition, individual entrepreneurial initiative will be stymied at the expense of the community's needs and the development of the town. "In order to escape the company town syndrome, it is the responsibility of the Chamber of Commerce and the municipality, not the Company, to work towards this end."

Facing the problem of being a one-company town, the interviewees see themselves approaching a solution on several fronts. Experience at the local level indicates that the strict enforcement of the building code, almost to the point of nit-picking, and the requirements of the code itself, prohibit new developments. Enactment of a code permitting different requirements for different land uses is one means to encourage and facilitate the development of industrial land in the town. And the solution to the problem of making more liberal interpretations of the building code is a matter of internal reorganization.
Council’s standing committee on expansion has examined possibilities for diversifying the town’s economic base. So far, there has been little geological exploration in the immediate area to warrant optimism in any mining ventures. Gold River has a natural harbour near the site of the pulp mill. West coast fishing vessels have been docking there during the fishing season. Talks with the fishermen indicate that they would use Gold River as their fishing base provided facilities for storage and distribution are made available. To date, this possibility has been discussed by local businessmen and by the Indian Band whose reserve borders the harbour.

The third possibility concerns establishing tourist facilities to cater to the growing numbers of campers and sports fishermen. Lacking camping facilities of any kind, the municipality was forced to clear a trailer park in the industrial site to keep trailers out of the shopping center’s parking lot and off the residential streets. If Gold River could acquire proper tourist facilities it would be willing to promote Gold River as a tourist vacation land for boaters, campers, and fishermen. But the solution is not as simple as it seems on the surface. There is no land which is suitable for a campsite within the municipal boundaries and there are several obstacles to using land outside the municipality. Besides the Company’s hesitancy to allow public
use of private lands for fear of vandalism to its equip-
ment, increased forest fire hazards, and the dangers
involved in public use of logging roads, there is the
important consideration that use of the land outside the
municipality is restricted by the terms of the Tree Farm
Management Licence 19.

A North Island working committee was struck by the
Ministers of Municipal Affairs; Recreation and Conserva-
ation; Lands, Forest, and Water Resources; and Highways
to examine the potential development of the north end
of the Island. Part of the study included an examination
of the communication network system. There being no
public road connecting the north end of the Island to
the south end has become a focal point for regional
action. As a member of this committee, Gold River is
persevering in its efforts to have the private logging
roads to the north end of the Island open to the public.
The local Chamber of Commerce is a strong partner advo-
cating this programme. An executive member of the
Chamber of Commerce explains, "A need must be recognized
or a gap created before any development will take place.
By campaigning for Gold River as the gateway to the
north, the leaders hope that the demands created by the
increased commercial and public traffic will add to the
economic expansion of the region and in turn, stimulate
growth in Gold River. The search for a solution to a
local problem, the survival of local business interests, has manifested itself in a regional outlook.

The townspeople realize that the solution to their problems will not materialize easily. In the long run, they appear to be optimistic that growth in the town will occur subsequent to regional development. The community is not depending on the Tahsis Company to expand its operations nor is it waiting for some chance development to occur. In their search for means to realize their goals, the leaders in Gold River are actively tapping all resources available and known to them. Rather than permitting their geographical isolation to permeate their thinking, the leaders in Gold River are successfully relating the community to the larger context.

**Diffuseness-Specificity and Quality-Performance.** How interviewees referred to their relationship with other citizens indicated that using these two dichotomies together in the analysis would enhance the nature of their answers. For a diffuse orientation, the individual relates to another in terms of his total person; in the specific orientation, only functional roles are relevant to the interaction. Those who are quality oriented refer to ascriptive qualities and judge people by character and personality whereas those who define a relationship in terms of capabilities are performance oriented. Where
friendship or kinship governs interaction, the diffuse and qualitative orientations would be expected to prevail. But in the complex industrial system, where interaction occurs for specific ends, one would expect people to relate to each other principally on the level of capabilities, what a person can do, has done, or may be expected to do.

Generally, the comments about civic leaders centered about how they performed in their role as community leader. To give recognition to the possibility that the Company may influence the actions of the leaders, reference was invariably made to the dual position of some of the leaders. To this extent, the description of the leaders was diffuse. However, when focusing on the person acting for the interests of the community, other roles that the person plays are excluded from the discussion.

"He may be _____ in the Company but he doesn't let that influence his decisions in Council. He calls them as he sees them."

"I had expected him to be more company-minded in Council, but after observing him in Council, I feel he is very community-minded."

"He played an important role in the initial development of Gold River's municipal government. Having worked as _____ in Kitimat and Port Coquitlam, he knew how things should be done. We were inexperienced
so we had to rely on him to teach us the workings of 
municipal government."

"We have an excellent doctor now. The previous one 
left much to be desired, and has been known to tell frantic 
parents to call the fire department if they wanted help 
at night."

"The ______. Nice guy and knows the town inside 
out, but essentially doesn't rock the boat. Alderman 
_______. Clever, but doesn't initiate much in Council; 
Alderman _______. Sincere, but doesn't rock the boat, 
either. Alderman _______. New. Initiated ambulance 
drive, fireman, not terribly effective yet. Alderman 
_______. Has been ticked off by the President of Tahsis 
for being too outspoken. Sincere, but has fumbled a few 
things. Alderman _______. Clever, articulate, has drive 
and ability to lead—but God knows where. That is our 
council as I see them. Couple of interesting people. 
_______ is a promoter, real go-getter. Another is _______. 
Has his thumb in many plums [sic], works hard, is doing 
things."

Gold River is a small town. Gold River is also a 
pulpmill town. It would be relatively easy for the 
townspeople to consider others solely in terms of their 
personal attributes and relationships. But the fact that 
Gold River is a new town, a town that is just seeing its 
residents settle down and its residents develop strong
friendships, and the fact that Gold River is a town dominated by an industrial complex, have inhibited the orientation from being overly diffuse and qualitative. Because the town has problems, it is important that its leaders be capable of resolving issues and initiating programmes. Therefore, the people consider what the person can do or what he can be expected to do, rather than allowing people to gain positions of leadership mainly on personal attributes.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter is concerned with the interactive relationships between individuals and groups, and the way these relationships influence, or are influenced by, particular patterns and processes. It is concerned with organizations insofar as they influence, or are influenced by, the outlook and decisions of the community. It is concerned with differences insofar as preferences and prejudices associated with these differences serve to bring people together or keep them apart in resolving these differences.

The residents have demonstrated the possession of a social fabric characteristic of the economically advanced societies. The community's value orientation and the national outlook is one and the same. It would seem that further development in the town will be ably
supported by a receptive community. In fact, not only would the community be receptive; it is now actively initiating projects that will attract new economic activity to the town. The majority of the community leaders understand, and are committed to solving, their local problems. They may be inexperienced in all aspects of municipal affairs but they do not hesitate to ask for aid and guidance. Comprehending the workings of the various levels of government, and having contact with organizations outside their small community, Gold River is not isolating itself and its problems but is identifying with both local and provincial institutions, seeing them as partners in attaining important community goals.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

RECAPITULATION

Given the raison d'être of the new town, and the financial investment of the resource company in the town, the hypothesis stated in Chapter 1 says,

de the policy of the resource company will continue to actively determine the future development of the new town.

To test this hypothesis the author noted the activities of the resource company and other organizations found in one new town and listened to the comments of the residents.

The particular town studied in this thesis disproved the hypothesis. It is true that the Tahsis Company is trying to hide its interests in the town by creating subsidiary companies to handle its real estate transactions and it is equally true that it is difficult, if not impossible, to deny the importance of the resource company as the economic foundation of the town. But desiring to avoid the criticism and the costs of maintaining a company town atmosphere, the Company has turned all the powers of government and the role of leadership over to the residents. However, in spite of this policy, the Tahsis Company does assume some responsibility for its workers regarding the
This responsibility has manifested itself in the form of community facilities for the town. Nevertheless, the resource company sees itself playing the role of exemplary corporate citizen. Upon the incorporation of the town, the Tahsis Company itself has consciously withdrawn from participation in the affairs of the town. To categorize the resource company, it is lateral in that its export product is partially processed and the town is a necessary, but secondary, consideration of the company's operation.

From an analysis of the organizational structure of the community, it appears that neither the resource company nor the union and neither the Regional District nor the Provincial Government are active in the community's affairs. Each institution has its own function in the community but no function in terms of the community itself. Much of the impetus for community development and growth will come from concerned members of the community.

Rostow's theory presents the idea that social development is an integral part of economic development. Therefore should the town develop economically such growth needs a suitable societal framework of values. Parsons deals specifically with orientations. Each of his five dichotomies of value orientations can be associated with a simple society or a more complex society. Using these five dichotomies to analyze the comments of the residents of the new town, the author is able to state that the value orientations of the
residents coincide with those expressed by an industrial society. Even though the residents realize that the town was built according to the new town concept it is, nevertheless, to them, a 'glorified company town'. From the comments, the residents of this new town are particularly adamant in seeing their town progress to its rightful place as a new town.

The study and analysis of the beliefs and attitudes of the leaders in Gold River revealed a broad conception of their problems. The civic leaders and businessmen, dealing with both the horizontal and vertical systems of organizations in their daily work, are able to relate well to, not just the local context, but also the extracommunity context. In their concern over the lack of development and growth in their town, and in the attempt to turn the potential advantages of their unique position into economic opportunities, the leaders are actively advocating support for their projects and programmes at the regional and provincial levels. The local businessmen have shown inclination toward entrepreneurial and innovative activity. But for these aptitudes to be fruitful, there needs to be an overall framework within which economic opportunities can be exploited, and for the residents of Gold River, the relevant framework is the region developing its many potentials.

The questions to be answered are, "Why is the town stagnant? Where are the blockages occurring? What new
activities can be developed? Who is allowed to develop? Is development efforts maintaining the status quo or is it stimulating innovations through experimentation?"

THE CASE FOR ESTABLISHING NEW TOWNS IN TERMS OF THE REGION

Jane Jacobs hypothesizes that "a community that is not stagnating economically is a city that is continually casting forth new kinds of economic activity and it does not matter whether the enterprises are privately owned or publicly owned."¹ A city grows by creating and maintaining outlets for new economic activity, whereby its range of exports is widened and its local economic activity is stimulated. However, in the single purpose town where the mine or mill is the basis of the town's economy, technology permits greater productivity in the export product without creating a concomitant increase in local economic activity. "Eventually a town or a city which grows like this out of its exports, stagnates and begins to shrink."² But by turning local problems into opportunities, stagnating towns can grow through self-generation.

The townspeople of Gold River know that relying on the resource company is not the answer to the development of a viable town. So they are trying to generate internal growth by establishing indigenous enterprises and by


² Ibid., 97.
exploiting their natural advantages.

The circumstances inhibiting development and growth of Gold River stems from deeper roots than the presence of the Tahsis Company in the town. Even though Jacobs says that the causes of growth "is more fundamental than the arrangement of who controls things and who supplies the money", she does not mean that these people are unimportant. The disposition of these people can either help or hinder the development process by virtue of their command over necessary resources.

As forest resource development exists today in British Columbia, encouraging private capital investment in the forest resource possesses a regional dimension in the name of Tree Farm Licences. Therefore, economic growth that is pursued in terms of planned resource development should be pursued in terms of regional development. But the prior responsibilities laid down in the Tree Farm Licences and the desire by the forest licencees to protect their economic resource from unnecessary wasteful destruction preclude direct and active public intervention in the licence area for regional development. It appears that

3 Ibid., 95.

4 After a term of twenty-one years, the licence can be renewed, provided the licencee has complied with previously approved working plans and the maintenance of a suitable plant. Further requirements and responsibilities to the forest area can be negotiated at renewal. However, if proposals for other use of the licence area are approved by the Provincial Government, the Crown lands can be withdrawn from the Tree Farm Licence and used for such other purposes as recreation.
the impediment to growth is regional in character. To ensure regional growth and subsequently, urban growth, requires a regional development programme.

The Provincial Government is deeply involved in providing the type of environment its citizens inhabit and is the crucial link to realizing the potentials of development in the province. The Provincial Government holds title, on behalf of its people, to over ninety percent of the land in the province and many of the changes which are taking place in the province are a direct result of government policy. Consideration must be given to the goals of community action, especially as these goals relate to the provincial design of resource development. In fact, the Provincial Government, by overemphasizing forest management practice at the expense of determining policy on settlement, has created a settlement pattern consisting of small, isolated communities with no hope for growth, economic stability, and therefore, permanence. The location of these communities is dictated by the geographic requirements of the resource company, independent of the needs of the town. Lacking public access through licence areas to other communities, and the limited use of licence areas are very real blocks to establishing a regional pattern of urban development in forest resource regions, which can support a higher level of amenities for the residents.
Resource development is still the economic mainstay of the Province. New investment will produce significant changes in the provincial settlement pattern in the form of new towns in hitherto undeveloped areas and of restructuring communities in already established areas. With one of its objectives in resource development the stabilization and perpetuation of communities, the Provincial Government can use the force of change to reshape the province. This propensity for change is a resource which can be wasted and dissipated just as surely as any other resource or it can be utilized to realize desirable standards of urban life. The well-being of these single industry resource-based new towns are closely linked to that of the individual resource operation and policy changes affecting the operation are of compelling significance to these communities as well. There is too much capital invested in such towns to be left to the vagaries of the particular resource economy. These changes can be used to achieve a design of settlements which will stimulate communities by providing for interaction and participation in regional development.

Giving approval to the establishment of new towns and giving legitimacy to the new municipal government is the extent of provincial planning for new towns in British

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Columbia. But for developing new towns, the local government level should not be given the task of maintaining a stable community. The issues involved in resource development and environmental change have a spatial incidence far broader than that normally encompassed by the local government. The most important policy decisions in matters of resource development are made at the provincial level, which is not easily subject to local government influence. New town planning is bound to regional planning and resource policy.

The role of the Provincial Government should be that of guide and stimulator. Both public and private activity need a governmental framework for effective decision-making and for relating interlocking effects of individual decisions. Controls can be constructive and positive. They can be used to enlarge the scope of freedom rather than confine it. Communities' problems are real and deep but they are human problems subject to human direction. This means a government that is prepared to be responsive to the needs of the communities, to give direction, and to give leadership. This means a provincial framework conducive to innovation and entrepreneurial activity for the interplay of economic activity in an open environment. Policies aiming for multiple use of the resources in the region and controlled by firm government action, can widen the function of new towns so as to lay the foundation for self-generation,
and become polarizing forces attracting skilled people to develop regions of the province.

FURTHER RESEARCH

The case for establishing new towns in a regional context has been based solely on a study of one new town; in particular, a forest-based new town with all its specific problems and orientations. Many community studies using the same methodology must be undertaken before a general statement can be made concerning the development of single enterprise resource-based new towns in British Columbia.

However, insofar as the findings of this study show, the hypothesis stated in Chapter 1 is invalid. A new hypothesis should be put forth. It may be stated thus,

the further development and growth of single enterprise resource-based new towns is an integral part of regional planning and resource development.

The planners and builders of Gold River failed to realize this important fact. The purpose of new towns is new and therefore, its function differs from that of other communities. Where a new function is created, its form must be made to interlock with it. The problem is how to build a new town, which, in spite of its particular problems, remains true to its original concept.

This thesis studied new towns in terms of its being a new form of settlement and the problems associated with its development. But even more basic is the question of
the validity of the concept of new towns. What is the role of new towns in the development of resources in British Columbia? Is the new town as it now exists, able to provide the type of social environment necessary to give each resident the opportunity for full personal development and self-realization? The use of new towns in British Columbia is recent and because of its experimental nature, much more evaluation is needed.
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SOURCES CONSULTED

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Mr. Bruce Chisholm, Mayor and assistant manager at the pulp mill at Gold River, B. C.
Mr. Darcy Dehart, Forest Ranger at the Forest Service office at Gold River, B. C.

Mrs. Joan Donovan, reporter for Gold River for the Campbell River Upper Islander.

Mr. William Ford, Manager at the Logging Division at Gold River, B. C. and member of Interim Council.

Mr. Len Garrison, Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce, Gold River, B. C. and Bank manager in Gold River.

Mr. Adrian Greene, real estate agent in Gold River, B. C.

Mr. Frank Grobb, Manager of Operations, Sawmill and Services, Tahsis Company, Vancouver, B. C.

Mr. David Harley, Alderman and local union leader in Gold River, B. C.

Mr. John Healey, Alderman and school teacher.

Mr. Tom Lampard, Alderman and supervisor at the pulp mill at Gold River, B. C.

Mr. Norm Paulson, Municipal Clerk at Gold River, B. C.

Mr. Perry, Researcher at the IWA, Western Canadian Regional Council No. 1, Vancouver, B. C.

Mr. J. Reilly, Secretary-Treasurer of School District No. 84.

Mrs. Mae Stewart, member of Interim Council, former council member, and housewife.

Mr. Gar Westlake, Alderman and businessman, Gold River, B. C.