THE TRANSFORMATION OF A CAPTURED CITY: NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C. 1945 - 1991

BY

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ABSTRACT

The envelopment of small, pre-existing cities into the urban field of larger metropoles is a neglected area of geographic inquiry. Smaller established cities often maintain distinctive identity and possess an internal cohesion and vitality which in time is significantly disrupted by an advancing metropolitan frontier. As the wave of metropolitan influence flows outwards, the secondary cities are metaphorically "captured" and in the process their unique identities are eroded. New Westminster, B.C., has been chosen to examine the complex processes that maintain or transform captured cities.

The viability and coherence of New Westminster is interpreted within a theoretical framework utilizing concepts arising from Jane Jacobs's urban commentary, social science research derived from systemics and non-equilibrium thermodynamics, and the urban field model. This framework is operationalized by the use of surrogate measures, such as retail sales, traffic flows and the May Day festival, to indicate the interrelationships among the various economic, political, community, cultural and demographic forces. The framework documents the stability of New Westminster between 1945 and 1956, its deterioration from 1957 to 1983 and its tentative revitalization in the

1980s and 1990s. This analysis permits the presentation of a model that accounts for the transformation of a captured city.

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CHAPTER 1

THE TRANSFORMATION OF CAPTURED CITIES

The study of cities as distinct entities, although a reoccurring theme of geographic research since the 1920s, was only formally recognized by the discipline in the 1950s.[1] Since then urban geography has undergone numerous paradigmatic shifts, but many of the models and conceptualizations continue to treat urban entities as either a mononuclear centre or a relatively ubiquitous metropolitan region.[2] The desire for universality implicit in these conceptualizations mask many subtle variations in the urban fabric of metropolitan regions. Even the more recent concept of an urban field has often neglected significant variations within a particular metropolitan region.[3]

One neglected area of urban research is an examination of the envelopment of small, pre-existing cities into the urban field of larger metropoles. These established smaller cities often maintain a distinctive identity and possess an internal cohesion and vitality which is profoundly disrupted by the advancing metropolitan frontier. As the wave of metropolitan influence of the larger central city flows outwards, the secondary cities are metaphorically "captured" and in the process the unique identity of the

smaller cities is eroded. The multiplicity of activities and functions which gave continuity to these cities before their envelopment are often severely curtailed in the new context. These transformations have and have had substantial implications for the inhabitants of these cities.

The explicit recognition of the existence of captured urban centres challenges the traditional mononuclear conceptualization of the North American city. Many of the models of the city accept the notion that there is but one centre, called the Central Business District, or C.B.D..[4] While this may have been true of the compact "industrial" city of the 1880s, with its limited means of transport,[5] this is not necessarily the case in post-1945 North American urban regions.[6] Suburbanization, the de-industrialization of the urban core, and the development of suburban shopping centres, followed in the 1970s by the emergence of suburban "town centres", radically changed the traditional urban pattern.[7] This change may be accelerating as the development of various information technologies further affects urban patterns of organization and, in the future, the nature of work and leisure may be substantially transformed. Thus the traditional core focused orientation of much urban research needs to be tempered by a greater recognition of the existence of new suburban nodes and older captured urban entities.

The concept of an "urban field" offers a more appropriate conceptualization of the contemporary urban reality.[8] The "urban field may be described as a vast multi-centred region having relatively low density, whose form evolves from a finely articulated network of social and economic linkages."[9] In other words, the concept of an urban field is analogous to the electromagnetic fields generated by electromagnets, with the precise influence of each "magnet" being dependent upon its relative size and location in relation to other "magnets".[10] The formerly dominant core cities are no longer seen as the single focus of the entire metropolitan region, but rather specialized centres within a complex urban fabric.[11] The concept of an urban field is therefore able to present a more subtle and flexible framework for the examination of specific urban places than the older models. However, even though the urban field is an advance over the older descriptive models, it still suffers from an equilibrium view of reality which prevents a dynamic interpretation.

Cities are not static structures, but rather dynamic entities which undergo constant transformation. The theories utilized in interpreting urban entities must therefore address their viability and persistence.[12] Some urban entities maintain their viability and expand or stabilize, while others show manifestations of dissipation. The case of a captured urban centre provides an opportunity to explore

the complex interrelationships among economic, political, community, cultural, and demographic forces that maintain or transform urban entities, either positively or negatively. The theoretical concepts on urban viability arising from Jane Jacobs' urban commentary,[13] contemporary social science research derived from systemics[14] and non-equilibrium thermodynamics,[15] and the urban field model are incorporated to provide a framework through which to interpret the specific case of a captured urban centre, New Westminster, British Columbia.

The framework posits an urban entity as an energy and information processing system whose organization and structure changes over time given both internal and external forces and fluxes. Urban entities are dynamic human structures which exhibit their own distinct "personality" as a consequence of their developing and transforming in specific spatial-temporal contexts.[16] This is not an argument for an exceptionalist position. Urban entities have a great number of characteristics in common, especially if they are located in a similar socio-economic system and have a similar development history. However, this uniqueness and dynamism of urban entities was not adequately integrated into the traditional urban geographic research. Various models advanced by the human ecology and spatial analysis traditions all suffer simplifying assumptions which although necessary for their claim to universality, undermine their

empirical validity.[17] This immutable and immortal perspective of the city was evident whether one examined Hoyt's Sector Model of the 1930s or Alonso's Land Use Theory of the 1960s.[18] But a new approach sees cities in flux over time, sometimes insufficient to alter organization and structure, but at times wide enough swings occur to bring about significant transformations.

The complexity of the transformation of the captured city of New Westminster B.C. renders any simple interpretation of its vitality and adaptability extremely difficult. Nonetheless, a variety of economic, demographic, social and cultural measures are indicative of the maintenance or deterioration of the city. The economy of the city is divided into four sectors, industry, the port, commercial activity, and administrative functions to enable analysis. The viability of the industrial sector is measured by its changing composition, the number of firms, the total acreage and floor space, and the degree of external or internal control. The degeneration of the port is measured by changing shipping volumes and the progressive deterioration and closing of the facilities. The commercial and administrative sectors are measured by changes in the number and types of establishments in the downtown and uptown areas, traffic volumes, property values, and the general physical fabric of the city. A wide range of sources were consulted including government publications, newspaper and journal articles, and interviews.

The demographic pattern of the city and the region is interpreted through the analysis of a variety of indices, including the fluctuating city and regional populations, the age and youth dependency ratios, and the pace of neighbourhood change. The demographic variables are derived in large measure from the various censuses and city directories. The description of these variables is conducted for census years only to maintain comparability between the different indices. The community and social reality is examined using the widest range of primary and secondary sources. These include a content analysis of the Columbian newspaper, personal interviews with prominent citizens, and the examination of the minutes of various business and community groups. The secondary sources draw upon newspaper articles, pamphlets, and television broadcasts. Although many of the community and social groups examined do not persist throughout the entire period some do, like the May Day celebrations, and their successive transformations provide the most comprehensive measure of the city's internal cohesion. Collectively, these indices permit a comprehensive analysis of the utility of this theoretical framework in understanding the changes wrought by a metropolitan envelopment process upon a stable city.

New Westminster is one of the oldest urban centres in British Columbia. Its study permits a detailed examination

of the nature and consequences of its subduction under the larger Vancouver metropolitan region. New Westminster has been the second most important industrial city in the province and the major administrative and commercial centre in the Lower Fraser Valley up to World War II. Then in the postwar period the city became enveloped by the urban field of Vancouver. This reality enables an investigation of the processes by which a once stable entity is disrupted, dissipated, and subsequently adapts to a new internal and external environment.

This thesis is organized around several temporal sequences which describe New Westminster's transformation. In choosing this format the fact that processes and forces continue in intervening years and, in combination, may lead to substantive changes is not ignored. Chapter Two discusses Jacobs' urban commentary, Richard Adams' energetics, C. Dyke's application of non-equilibrium thermodynamics to cities, and Blumenfeld's concept of an urban field. These provide the basis of a theoretical framework for a dynamic interpretation of the viability and stability of captured small cities. Chapter Three describes the growth and development of New Westminster from the 1850s to 1940 in order to explain the city's origins. Chapter Four is concerned with documenting the city's growth and coherence from 1945 to 1956, and interpreting how the various economic, demographic, community, and perceptual elements contributed

to the city's stability.

Chapters Five and Six discuss the increasing instability in New Westminster as its regional influence and internal coherence decayed between 1956 and 1983. Chapter Five shows how some sectors of the economy deteriorated while the demographic and community measures remained stable in the period from 1956 to 1966. Chapter Six traces the subsequent economic deterioration, demographic decline, and community instability between 1967 and 1983. In this period New Westminster was completely enveloped by the Vancouver metropolitan region. Chapter Seven describes the reversal of the processes of dissipation and the slow renewal of the city due to a partial recovery of some of its economic sectors and the implementation of the waterfront revitalization program. It assesses both the role of its citizens and the influence of external interests, both private and governmental, in this revitalization. Finally, in the Conclusion, an interpretation of the adequacy of these theoretical perspectives and the creation of a model of how a stable urban entity is transformed as a consequence of its incorporation into a larger metropolitan region are pursued.

NOTES

1 Although urban geography only received widespread institutional recognition in the postwar era, many geographers had been actively studying cities since the 1920s. For a review of their work see:

Robert E. Dickinson, "The Scope and Status of Urban Geography: An Assessment", eds., Harold M. Mayer and Clyde F. Kohn, Readings in Urban Geography, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959, pp. 10-26.

2 For a good introduction to the various traditional models of urban morphology and development see:

David T. Herbert and Colin J. Thomas, Urban Geography: A First Approach, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1982.

3 The single exception to this mononuclear conception of the city was the multi-nuclei model proposed by Harris and Ullman in 1945. Its main distinctive quality was its abandonment of the central business district as the sole focus of the city and instead replacing it with a series of discrete nuclei around which land uses were organized. As with all the models of urban morphology, it still presented a static view of the city over time.

Chauncey D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities", Mayer and Kohn (1959), pp. 277-286.

4 This was especially evident in some of the earlier, more abstract, research on the concept. For example see:

Hans Blumenfeld, "The Urban Pattern", translated and edited by Paul D. Spreiregen, The Modern Metropolis: Its Origins, Growth, Characteristics, and Planning, Montreal: Harvest House, 1967, pp. 50-60.

5 The invention and utilization of electric streetcars in the late 1880s and 1890s greatly extended the physical limits of the city and permitted the beginning of the large scale suburbanization of metropolitan populations in North America. See:

James E. Vance Jr., The Continuing City: Urban Morphology in Western Civilization, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990, pp. 384-392.

6 Blumenfeld (1967).

7 The decentralization of housing, industry, specialized services, and office jobs has led some commentators to posit the notion that an entirely new urban form has been created in the once exclusively residential suburbs. For example see:

Robert Fishman, Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia, New York: Basic Books, 1987.

8 The concept of an "urban field" may be traced back to the early work of Jean Gottmann and his concept of "circulation". For example see:

Jean Gottmann,"Megalopolis, or the Urbanization of the Northeast Seaboard", Mayer and Kohn (1959), pp. 46-57.

9 J.R. Friedmann, "The urban field as a human habitat", eds., L.S. Bourne and J.W. Simmons, Systems of Cities: Readings on Structure, Growth and Policy, New York: Oxford University Press, 1978, p.42.

10 The lines of force radiating from an urban centre include the movement of goods and services, information and capital flows, and population migration. The intensity of the contacts between urban centres and their hinterlands and other urban centres is an indication of their relative influence and attractiveness.

11 Leonard O. Gertler and Ron Crowley, Changing Canadian Cities: The Next 25 Years, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

12 Viability may be described as the ability of an

urban entity to either maintain its stability or to successfully adapt to changing internal and external forces. This does not mean that the entity is always exactly the same, but rather that it is able to readjust its internal structures in order to grow or stabilize.

13 The two principal works consulted are: Jane Jacobs, The Economy of Cities, New York: Random House, 1969; and Jacobs, Cities and the Wealth of Nations, New York: Vintage Books, 1984.

14 Systemics is a monistic philosophy which rejects the artificial dualisms of mind-body and natural-social which permeate contemporary philosophies. Systemics views human social systems as being a concrete system of interconnected individuals. See:

Mario Bunge, Treatise on Basic Philosophy, Volume 6, Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel Publishing, 1983.

15 C. Dyke, The Evolutionary Dynamics of Complex Systems, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, p.113.

16 A.G. Wissink, American Cities in Perspective, Assen, The Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum, 1962, p.2.

17 David Ley, A Social Geography of the City, New York: Harper and Row, 1983, pp. 24-27.

18 For a discussion of the many assumptions built into the various urban models see:

M.G. Bradford and W.A. Kent, Human Geography: Theories and their applications, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

CHAPTER 2

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF STABLE URBAN ENTITIES

2.1 CITIES AS DISSIPATIVE STRUCTURES

Rather than being static entities cities comprise persons and institutions within a physical context which are in constant flux. Cities are energy and information processing systems whose organization and structure change over time due to both internal and external forces and fluxes. In interpreting the transformation of a captured city a theoretical framework derived from a variety of separate, but compatible, theoretical perspectives is constructed. The theoretical framework posits a dynamic interpretation of urban entities which fundamentally differs from the traditional, static, equilibrium-seeking models of urban geography and economics.[1] The theoretical framework is derived from Adams' application of energetics to human structures,[2] Dyke's work on non-equilibrium thermodynamics,[3] Jacobs' urban commentary,[4] and Blumenfeld's urban field model.[5] The theoretical framework emphasizes stability, not equilibrium, as being the dominant condition in human entities.[6]

Stability posits that an entity exists in a state of

constant flux far from equilibrium. Stability is thus not a static state but rather a range of states which an entity experiences while maintaining its internal coherence. It will only collapse when and/or where it cannot adapt to new circumstances.[7] One author who attempts to apply these concepts emerging from the life sciences to social science is the anthropologist Richard Adams, especially his study of Britain during the nineteenth century.[8] Adams argues that "human society can expand and become more complex only in some direct relationship to the amount of energy it consumes...".[9] This theoretical perspective draws heavily upon energetics.[10] All material things that have the capacity of "doing work", including information, are described as energy.[11] Energy is presented as the basic unit which largely shapes the social forms and processes and by studying the various kinds of energy flows and structures, the degree of stability in any social system or entity can be assessed.

Society, in Adams' view, is therefore "composed of the energy it consumes".[12] Human society is an open system and as a consequence it is always in a state of constant fluctuation. This fluctuation is produced both by its internal structure and irregularities contained within the wider external environment. Human society is always readjusting to new sets of internal and external stimuli. The precise nature of any change which occurs within a given society is

directly the result of the coincidence of specific temporal and spatial factors. These processes may be quite unpredictable, so in periods of change the only certain forecast is that new order will emerge. Therefore, any explanation or theories which are developed to interpret human society must be dynamic if they are to be relevant beyond the specific spatial and historic moment of their creation.

Human societies can nonetheless achieve a steady state for significant periods of time. However this steady state or stability cannot be maintained indefinitely, Adams believes that human societies, like other natural structures, will inevitably create an expanding entropy debt which will cause the entity to decline. Growth or adaptation are the cardinal principles of life in his view and as a consequence, equilibrium is a reflection of something inhibiting this dynamic process and not the achievement of some penultimate utopia.[13] Human societies thus survive only as long as they are able to adapt to the changing internal and external contexts and that expansion is necessary for a society's continued viability.[14] In this theoretical perspective, the concept of "no growth", if ever enacted, would result in the immediate decline and dissipation of any human society.

Adams' energetics provides a dynamic interpretation of the viability and development of human societies, organizat-

ions, and structures. However, while the basic tenets of Adams' energetics are utilized, the concepts are exceedingly difficult to operationalize.[15] Adams' concepts require the interpretation of "energy" measures, such as per capita energy consumption and investment flows,[16] which are not readily available for small geographic entities such as New Westminster. As a result, other surrogate measures are employed such as property values, retail sales, economic output and traffic flows to indicate the degree to which energy is being transformed by the city. The cumulative patterns generated by these measures will enable an interpretation of the changing viability of New Westminster.

The scale at which these concepts and techniques have been applied so far has generally been at the societal or national level. The discussion of the processes and forces operating at an urban scale is conducted at a very abstract level. One proponent of the application of these and similar concepts to a dynamic analysis of cities is C. Dyke.[17] Dyke take as his principal point of departure the application of non-equilibrium thermodynamics to economic systems.[18] Dyke utilizes many of the same basic concepts as Adams, but he modifies and elaborates upon them to improve their applicability to cities.[19] The specific urban focus of Dyke's concepts renders them far more directly applicable to an interpretation of New Westminster. The central tenet of Dyke's work, and of this thesis, is that

cities are a special form of dissipative structures which exhibit all the basic characteristics.

Dissipative structures "are spontaneously arising stable configurations within an energy flux".[20] Dissipative structures maintain their internal cohesion by utilizing the surrounding energy fluxes and dissipating the degraded forms of matter and energy into the encapsulating environment.[21] The dissipative structure is thus only able to maintain its internal coherence as long as it is able to receive a continual influx of usable energy and matter to sustain and reproduce itself.[22] Dissipative structures, especially human structures and organizations, may be able to maintain themselves temporarily at any given equilibrium state but, they will be incapable of maintaining the equilibrium indefinitely. The principal cause of this instability is the fact that by maintaining its internal order, the dissipative structure has been accumulating an "entropy debt" which results in increasing disorder in the environment.[23] As all dissipative structures are open systems, the increasing disorder in the environment will inevitably result in decreasing order within the internal coherence of the dissipative structure.[24]

A dissipative structure will therefore ultimately reach a bifurcation point when it will undergo a significant transformation. A bifurcation point is a general state lying

"far from equilibrium where we cannot tell which of two (or more) entries (events) will appear."[25] The dissipative structure will be forced either to adapt to the new external and internal conditions or, if it is unable to adapt, the structure will begin to decline or die. The exact response which any given dissipative structure will develop to the new conditions is largely dependent upon its internal order. The same conditions applied to different dissipative structures will result in different responses. It is therefore impossible to predict the response of any given structure without possessing a complete comprehension of its internal order. The internal cohesion of a structure is not static either, it undergoes various transformations as the structure grows, stagnates or declines.

As a consequence of these transformations, the various permutations of possible outcomes are very difficult to predict. The dynamic character of the various external and internal conditions renders any a priori predictions highly suspect. This is even more obviously the case when one attempts to examine human structures and systems. Although all humans are constrained to some degree by an array of political, cultural, economic, biological, and social inhibitions, humans still possess a certain amount of "free choice" within a range of limited options. It is the very unstable nature of our collective and individual possibility space which renders precise prediction or interpretation

almost impossible. The objective of research thus becomes the presentation of a spectrum of possible outcomes and a contingent interpretation.

Cities or urban centres are one type of dissipative structure and as such they exhibit many of the basic characteristics. Urban centres are dynamic entities existing within an open system that generally possess a great deal of internal coherence. Urban centres are in part dependent upon external flows of capital, labour, natural resources, and information to maintain their internal integrity. However, cities are also self-generative structures producing many of the energy and matter flows required for their stability. Cities are the principal sites for the generation of capital, technological change, cultural and social innovations, and economic activity. Thus, there is no simple exchange between an urban centre and its surrounding environment, but rather an intricate situation in which each transforms, and is transformed by, the other. Urban centres often modify and increase the complexity of these various flows before dissipating them. The form and depth of this interdependency is extremely volatile, although the urban centre is never unaffected by its environment.

Cities are thus dependent upon the nature of the external environment, the amount of energy that flows into them, and their self generative ability to produce and

modify their own energy flows.[26] A city's self generative ability is a direct function of its internal organization and coherence. The nature, diversity, and adaptability of a city's internal coherence will largely determine its viability, especially during period of instability in the external environment. A city which is incapable of adequately performing this self generative function will become increasingly dependent upon external support and may ultimately dissipate.[27]

Dyke also makes an important distinction between two types of energy flows: gradient-seeking flows and organization-promoting flows.[28] Gradient-seeking flows are trade patterns which do not significantly augment a city's internal coherence and organization. Gradient-seeking flows largely pass through a city on their way to another final destination or, if they do terminate in the city, simply promote the maintenance of a state of equilibrium. The movement of goods and services through a port, such as at Prince Rupert, is an excellent example of this type of flow as none of the goods or services being shipped remain in the city to use in its own development.[29] Organization-promoting flows have all or at least part of their energy and matter utilized by the city to create new internal structures and adapt to the changing internal and external environments. Thus, the types of trade patterns and energy flows that a city receives will significantly influence the degree to which it can remain viable.

In examining the transformations which occur in New Westminster, Dyke's concepts are more readily operationalized from the available data. The division of the interpretation into economic, demographic, and social and community components permits an examination of the complex, and occasionally contradictory, processes of growth and dissipation. The self generative ability of New Westminster is interpreted from a variety of measures including the amount and type of industrial activity, the diversity and persistence of commercial and administrative functions, demographic variables, such as the age and youth dependency ratios, and the persistence, emergence, and success of various business, community, and cultural organizations in the city. The interpretation of the complex network of external and internal processes and structures which shaped the city, and the type of energy flows received and generated, are of paramount importance in understanding the transformation of New Westminster.

2.2 URBAN CENTRES AND WORK

Another source of similar, although independently derived, theoretical concepts may be encountered in the work of Jane Jacobs. It is Jacobs' central thesis that cities,

and not the nation-state nor the countryside, are the principal generators of economic growth and development.[30] The various nation-states are seen as political or military entities which contain a wide range of different economies. Cities are the dominant organizing structures in human society because "it is in cities that new goods and services are first created. Even innovations created specifically for farming depend directly upon earlier developments of city work."[31] The failure on the part of academics, planners, and politicians to recognize this reality is to Jacobs one of the main causes of the dismal state of the world's economy and environment.

Cities expand and develop through the simultaneous process of adding new work and import substitution. These two concepts are crucial to any interpretation of New Westminster. When cities create new work, it does not appear from nowhere, but instead arises from pre-existing older work.[32] The new work is added onto a fragment of the older work which in turn results in the development of more divisions of labour.[33] The increasing complexification of the urban centre's division of labour constantly yields up new possibilities for innovation and invention. The net effect is very similar to Pred's cumulative causation model in which the addition of a new or enlarged industry will exert a multiplier effect upon the local economy, resulting in an expanded market and offering the possibility of new

inventions or innovations.[34] In both of these conceptualizations, it is the development of new goods, services, and ideas which provides the basis for the urban centre's improved adaptation to the surrounding environment and its internal tensions.

The "new work" developed by an urban centre is, however, far more than the simple specialization of existing older work. "Division of labour, in itself, creates nothing."[35] The minute specialization of tasks, such as the divisions which exist along an assembly line or within a large, reified organization, may be "efficient" in a narrow, short term sense, but it offers little prospect of adaptation or innovation in conjunction with changing internal and external fluxes. Thus, it is generally true that the innovations and inventions which propel an urban centre's development and adaptation do not often occur in large organizations.

Import substitution is also critically important for the long term viability of urban centres. Import-replacing cities, to use Jacobs' term, grow and diversify by replacing not only the finished goods they import but also many of the producer's goods and services.[36] The simple replacement of the finished product alone will be more difficult and will not generate a significant amount of growth if the various ancillary goods and services which are

needed in the production process are not also available. The intricate network of linkages and innovations produced by the slow, erratic and apparently disorganized replacement of selected imports provides the flexible internal cohesion necessary for a city to survive. Import substitution is a dynamic process which is never wholly complete and every city must undergo periodic episodes of import-replacement and adaptation in order to avoid stagnation and decline.[37]

Yet not all cities are capable of performing this self-organizing function. Only import-replacing cities are capable of constructive internal generation of capital, goods, services, and information.[38] Cities which are incapable of import substitution become dominantly dependent upon influxes from the external environment to maintain their internal coherence. These "passive economies" or pure dissipative structures can only exist in a complex state if a continual supply of external energy is provided. Government transfer payments, regional development grants, and specifically relocated businesses or institutions are the principal means by which these dissipating entities are "propped-up". Most urban centres in the Maritimes and most single resource towns fit into this category. The absence of this external support will result in the decline and dissipation of these cities.[39]

Import substitution is based upon the ability of the

city to generate sufficient exports to pay for all the different imports. The type and volume of exports from a city will exert a profound influence on the quality and quantity of imports it is capable of acquiring. This concept has long been recognized in urban studies and formed the basis for several models of development.[40] However, the simple export of goods and services will not guarantee the viability of an urban centre if import substitution does not occur. All viable cities are constantly striving to replace their imports with indigenous production. As a result, the composition of a city's imports will change over time as new needs emerge as a consequence of previous periods of import substitution.[41] A city which specializes in only a few export products and makes no attempt to replace its imports will therefore inevitably decline as the aggregate demand for its goods or services falls. This scenario has occurred many times in the past.[42]

Import substitution must also be an internally generated process. The internal structure or coherence of an urban centre is extremely important in determining its potential adaptability. As has been mentioned above, large organizations with rigid divisions of labour are not usually the dominant source of new inventions and innovations. Cities possessing a large number of specialized, flexible firms will be more likely to respond and adapt to new conditions in the encapsulating environment. Flexible speciali-

zation and a condition of permanent innovation are critically important for a city to maintain its viability.[43] The apparent anarchy and inefficiency of such an urban centre is exactly what permits the possibility of a successful response to changing conditions.[44] A city dominated by a single large organization or a city lacking the diversity of smaller firms in related and ancillary sectors of the economy is highly non-adaptive and is extremely vulnerable to internal or external change.

The importance of small organizations to the viability and growth of cities has been an emerging theme in many development debates.[45] Small businesses have emerged as the "principal generators of economic growth and employment in Canada".[46] The failure of national governments to deal effectively with the high unemployment rates, economic dislocation, and local and regional inequalities of the 1980s has resulted in many municipalities in the developed world taking the initiative to promote indigenous organizations.[47] The technological changes which have occurred in the last three decades have made adaptability one of the prime prerequisites of firm or urban viability.[48] The vision of the large, vertically or horizontally integrated multinational corporation as the pinnacle of economic development has now become increasingly questionable.

Small organizations are also important to the growth

and development of cities because, unlike large multinational corporations, small businesses are more closely tied to their specific urban centre. The ability of large multinational corporations to shift their productive processes in response to changes in profitability and the essentially "placeless" nature of such large organizations have rendered them dubious sources of long term urban viability.[49] This does not mean, however, that large organizations are not important to urban centres. Small businesses are prone to high failure rates, fierce competition, capital shortages, and lower wages, particularly in the service sector.[50] Large organizations, both corporate and governmental, are far more "efficient" than smaller firms, in aggregate account for a large portion of the total national employment, and through their purchases provide the necessary markets or linkages for smaller firms. Thus, a dynamic urban centre will require a diversified balance between large and small organizations over many sectors of economic activity.

The development associated with a dynamic import-replacing city is not totally confined to its legal or physical limits. In Jacobs' scheme, the expansion which results from import-replacement is composed of five forces or flows of growth: "abruptly enlarged city markets for new and different imports... ; abruptly increased numbers and kinds of jobs... ; increased transplants of city work into

non-urban locations as older enterprises are crowded out; new uses for technology... ; and the growth of city capital."[51] The five forces all combine to create a dynamic city region. Of course, not all cities develop their own city regions and some of those that do only exert a limited influence on the surrounding area. Nevertheless, all five of these forces are supposed to be present in import-replacing cities.[52] The absence of any one of these forces will result in the steady dissipation of the city.

The steady, adaptive development of any urban centre is never guaranteed. Every import-replacing city must undergo successive periods of innovation and adaptation in order to continue to prosper. The decline of established urban centres is therefore a dynamic process. Cities, like other dissipative structures, rarely just suddenly collapse but rather experience a process of steady deterioration. Cities which fail to adapt to their changing environment may find that their exports are no longer able to pay for the imports which they need, or that their industries cannot produce new products utilizing the latest technology. As this process worsens, the city may become even more dependent upon other import-replacing cities to maintain its internal structure. The visible manifestation of the deterioration of the city's internal coherence is the prevalence of urban blight and growing poverty. The process of decline is extremely difficult to reverse, especially given its cumulative and almost self-sustaining nature.

The application of the concepts of new work, import substitution, and the flexibility of small firms to New Westminster permits an interpretation of the city's economic viability throughout the entire study period. By examining the changing composition, area, and value of the industrial, port, commercial, and administrative sectors in New Westminster the degree of innovation and adaptation can readily be assessed. The presence or absence of new industries or establishments can be utilized to interpret the degree of new work or import substitution which is, or is not, present. The flexibility and innovative potential of the city can also be inferred by examining the degree of local control in the industrial sector. Thus, Jacobs' concepts complement and elaborate upon the earlier theoretical constructs and permit a more detailed interpretation of New Westminster's various transformations. The utility of Jacobs' concepts is demonstrated by their application to the specific cases of Manchester and Birmingham.

The differing developmental histories of the cities of Manchester and Birmingham graphically illustrate these principles. Manchester, during the nineteenth century, was often portrayed by a wide number of observers as being the culmination of industrial development.[53] Manchester had achieved spectacular rates of growth during the nineteenth century based upon the cotton industry. Manchester's large,

efficient textile mills seemed to be the pinnacle of economic organization.[54] Birmingham, on the other hand, lacked any well defined specialization and most of the city's industrial activity was conducted in small workshops. Birmingham possessed a greater diversity of occupations, a smaller proletariat, and greater social mobility than Manchester.[55] These characteristics were largely ignored by contemporary and later commentators.

In the long term, however, Birmingham turned out to be the more viable of the two urban centres. The collapse of the cotton industry in the twentieth century meant economic decline for Manchester.[56] The large, efficient mills were incapable of adapting to the changing world economy. The over-specialization of Manchester and its inability to replace most of the imports it received resulted in wide-spread unemployment and economic stagnation. Birmingham's economy, however, continued to adapt to the changing circumstances. The small workshops proved to be far more flexible and innovative than large firms.[57] While Birmingham has suffered as a result of Britain's declining prosperity and world position, it has maintained its internal cohesion and possesses a greater possibility of continued prosperity. Thus, by generating new work, and due to the small scale nature of its enterprises, Birmingham was able to adapt to the new external environment and prosper.

2.3 URBAN STRUCTURE

This discussion generally neglects the spatial structure of urban centres. The internal structure of urban centres has been an area of prolonged interest and inquiry in urban geography.[58] Many of the early models and concepts which were proposed and applied suffered from a relatively static vision of the city.[59] The focus upon the search for universal laws of urban structure and form in North American urban geography in the 1950s and 1960s created a series of narrow conceptualizations which have not been able to adapt adequately to contemporary circumstances. Since the 1960s, however, a series of new visions of the urban fabric have emerged which present a more complete interpretation.

One of the most distinguished advocates of a new vision was Hans Blumenfeld. Blumenfeld rejected a static concept of the city and instead stressed the self generation of metropolitan regions within North America. A metropolitan region is defined "as a commuting watershed or as a common labour market and a common housing market."[60] His concept of a metropolitan region explicitly recognizes that there has been a fundamental change in the composition of urban centres since the early twentieth century. Blumenfeld's metropolis is a combination of the "central ruling and

organizing function of the town with the function of being the major seat of material production."[61] The metropolitan region, unlike the "big city", is both a place "to make a living" and a place to "live the good life".[62] The metropolis is a complex urban fabric in which a series of significant nodes and areas are woven together to form an interdependent whole.

The application of Blumenfeld's concept to New Westminster permits the most explicit interpretation of the changing spatial context within the Greater Vancouver region. By examining traffic flow data, market surveys, the pattern of shopping centre development, and employment and labour force data, the spatial influence of New Westminster and its position within the metropolitan region is assessed. This concept also aids in the identification of the precise moment when New Westminster was captured by the metropolitan region. The emphasis upon flows between or in cities in Blumenfeld's concept makes it readily adaptable to the theoretical components.

Blumenfeld's concept of a metropolitan region has a great deal in common with Jacobs' notion of an urban region. Both concepts envision an extended urban field linked to a central city or metropolis and stress the transformative nature of the forces which flow to and from the surrounding areas. The principal differences between the two concepts

lies in Blumenfeld's more explicit delineation of the limits of the metropolitan region and his slightly greater emphasis upon the generative characteristics of other nodes or urban centres within the urban region.[63] While these distinctions are subtle and perhaps overdrawn, the greater emphasis on the "outer city" in Blumenfeld's work renders it more appropriate to this study.

The evolution of the North American metropolis in the postwar period is also important in interpreting the transformation of New Westminster. A metropolitan region, although still influenced by a central city, is no longer completely dependent upon the core. In the United States the suburbanization and decentralization of industry, residences, retailing, and wholesaling activities has reduced the productive and distributive importance of the old core cities relative to those in the suburbs and beyond. The suburban shopping centre, formerly just a response to residential growth on the periphery, has undergone a series of transformations.[64] Shopping centres have evolved from purely retail ventures to multi-use "downtowns at the periphery" that form and organize the space around them.[65] These suburban or peripheral nodes have been experiencing a significant amount of growth in recent years, both in the United States and to a lesser extent in Canada. The Central Business District of the old core city, although still very important, has seen its dominance eroded. The cumulative

effect of these and other transformations in the United States has been a decline of many inner cities and increased social and spatial polarization.

In the Canadian context, the central city has continued to exert a far greater degree of dominance over the metropolitan region. Canadian central cities have not experienced the "counter-urbanization" trend which has appeared in the United States.[66] As well, a greater proportion of the metropolitan region's economic activity continues to be concentrated in the central city.[67] The particular economic, political, social, and cultural characteristics which distinguish Canada from the United States have given rise to metropolitan regions and urban centres which significantly differ from their American counterparts. Thus, the same global or regional forces may elicit quite different responses from Canadian and American cities. This evolution of the metropolitan region offers two possible outcomes for New Westminster. The city could either lose economic activities due to its status as an older "core" city or it could gain both economic activities and population due to decentralization from Downtown Vancouver. The actual outcome is discussed in the main text.

The most significant oversight in the wider discussion of metropolitan regions has been the neglect of the importance of older, established urban centres which have been

subsumed over time into the metropolitan urban field. The changing viability, coherence, and importance of these smaller urban centres has not been adequately examined in the North American context. The interpretation of the transformations which occur when a small industrial city is subsumed under a larger metropolitan region will broaden our understanding of both the complex, interdependent, and dynamic nature of urban centres in the late twentieth century and offer further insight into the nature of cities.

NOTES

1 An equilibrium model posits a static state for an entity or structure. In urban geography, equilibrium models envision a city in which many of the elements and processes are either unchanging or perfectly "balanced". In reality, these steady states are rare and do not persist for any significant period of time due to the substantial entropy debt they produce. See:

Magnus Blomstrom and Bjorn Hettne, Development Theory in Transition, London: Zed Books, 1984, p.15.

2 Richard N. Adams, The Paradoxical Harvest, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

3 C. Dyke, The Evolutionary Dynamics of Complex Systems, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

4 Jane Jacobs, Cities and the Wealth of Nations, New York: Vintage Books, 1984.

5 Hans Blumenfeld, "The Old City and the Rise of the New Metropolis", Metropolis ... and Beyond: Selected Essays by Hans Blumenfeld, translated and edited by Paul D. Spreiregen, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979, pp. 26-32; and Hans Blumenfeld, "The Urban Pattern", The Modern Metropolis: Its Origins, Growth, Characteristics and Planning, translated and edited by Paul D. Speiregen, Montreal: Harvest House, 1967, pp. 50-60.

6 The basic belief in the existence of either universal laws or comprehensive "meta narratives" has become increasingly questioned since the 1960s. In both the physical and the social sciences, the general absence of a world at equilibrium and the culturally and historically relative nature of all concepts and institutions has become apparent. See:

John Briggs and F. Donald Peat, Turbulent Mirror: An Illustrated Guide to Chaos Theory and the Science of Wholeness, New York: Harper and Row, 1989; Ian Stewart, Does God Play Dice?: The Mathematics of Chaos, Oxford:

Basil Blackwell, 1989; and Quentin Skinner, ed., The Return of Grand Theory in the Human Sciences, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

7 Richard N. Adams, The Eighth Day, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988, p.25.

8 Adams (1982).

9 Ibid, p.ix.

10 Energetics is the study of the manner in which natural or human structures or organizations transform and utilize energy flows.

11 Adams (1982), pp. 12-13.

12 Ibid, p.17.

13 Adams (1988), p.38.

14 Adams (1982), pp. 27-28.

15 Some attempts have been made to "quantify" information and matter in energy terms. For example see:

Howard T. Odum, "Self-Organization, Transformity, and Information", Science, 242 (November 1988), pp. 1132-1139.

16 Adams (1982).

17 In fact, Dyke is the only researcher that I am aware of who is applying these concepts specifically to urban centres in his published works.

18 Dyke (1988), p.113.

19 In the simplest of terms, both Dyke and Adams have developed a dynamic, energy based interpretation of human structures and organizations, stress the importance of the internal and external environments to the development of a city, and accept the unpredictable nature of most outcomes.

20 Dyke (1988), p.114.

21 C. Dyke, "Cities as Dissipative Structures", Bruce Weber, David Despew, and James Smith, eds., Entropy, Information and Evolution, Cambridge Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1982, p.356.

22 Stewart (1989), p.84.

23 Dyke (1988), p.114.

24 This conceptualization has recently been questioned by Brooks and Wiley who argue that entropy and organization emerge in parallel. See: Daniel R. Brooks and E.O. Wiley, Evolution as Entropy, 2nd ed., Chicago: University of Chicago, 1980.

25 Dyke (1988), p.115.

26 In Dyke's terms these may be classified as endogenous and exogenous factors

27 Abandoned mining towns and "ghost towns" are vivid examples of the final result of dissipation.

28 Dyke (1982), pp. 360-362.

29 The gradient seeking nature of the trade flows passing through Prince Rupert in part explains why the city has not achieved metropolitan status despite numerous efforts to expand, modernize, and promote the port.

30 Jacobs (1984), p.34.

31 Jane Jacobs, The Economy of Cities, New York: Random House, 1969, p.9.

32 Ibid, p.52.

33 Ibid, p.55.

34 Allan Pred, "Industrialization, Initial Advantage, and American Metropolitan Growth", Geographical Review, 55 (1965), pp. 158-185.

35 Jacobs (1969), p.82.

36 These import-replacing cities may also be described as strange attractors. A strange attractor is a "structure that emerges from an economic flux and then begins to organize that flux." Dyke (1982), p.360.

37 These episodes or bifurcation points are impossible to predict but if they do not occur fairly regularly or the city does not respond adequately, then urban decline or blight will develop. See:

Jacobs (1984), p.41.

38 In other words, import-replacing cities are capable of creating more complex forms of matter and energy from the external ambient fluxes. Ibid, p.35.

39 Ibid, p.34.

40 Charles N. Tiebout, The Community Economic Base Study

Paper No.16, New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1962.

41 Jacobs (1969), p.146.

42 Jacobs cites Montevideo, Uruguay as an example of this tendency, but one can easily find cities across Canada, such as St. John's, which are equally vulnerable to changes in world trading patterns. Jacobs (1984), pp. 59-64.

43 M.J. Piore and Chas. Sabel, The Second Industrial Divide, New York: Basic Books, 1984, p.282.

44 Jacobs (1969), p.90.

45 See: G. Gappert, ed., The Future of Winter Cities, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1987; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, New Roles for Cities and Towns, Paris: 1987; and Piore and Sabel (1984).

46 Dan Stankovic, "An Entrepreneurial Approach to Local Economic Development", Plan Canada, 27 (March 1987), p.7.

47 O.E.C.D. (1987), pp. 10-15.

48 Arthur J. Cordell, The Uneasy Eighties: The Transition to an Information Society, Background Study 53, Ottawa: The Science Council of Canada, 1985, pp. 60-61.

49 See: Richard Peet, ed., International Capitalism and Industrial Restructuring, Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987; and Stephen Hymes, " The multinational corporation and the Law of Uneven Development", Hamza Alavi and Teodore Shanin, eds., Introduction to the Sociology of "Developing Societies", New York: Monthly Review Press, 1982, pp. 128-152.

50 Stankovic (1987), p.10.

51 Jacobs (1984), p.42.

52 Ibid, p.47.

53 Both Disraeli and Engels saw Manchester as the "typical" English industrial city and formulated their views on industrial society and economic organization in light of Manchester's conditions. Disraeli cited in Jacobs (1969), p.87. and Frederick Engels, The Condition of the working class in England, translated and edited by W.D. Henderson and W.H. Chalmen, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968.

54 Jacobs (1969), p.86.

55 Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities, Hamondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1968, p.186.

56 Michael Dumford and Diane Perrons, The Arena of Capital, London: Macmillian Press, 1983, pp. 312-313.

57 For a more comprehensive discussion of these two cities see: Jacobs (1969), pp. 87-90.

58 See: L.S. Bourne, ed., Internal Structure of the City: Readings on Space and Environment, New York: Oxford University Press, 1971; David T. Herbert and Colin J. Thomas, Urban Geography: A First Approach, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1982; and Maurice Yeates and Barry Garner, The North American City, 3rd. ed., New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

59 Most of the various land use models which have been proposed are fundamentally ahistorical and contain a variety of simplifying assumptions which limit their real world applicability. A short, but not exclusive, list of these models includes Burgess's Concentric Zone Model, Hoyt's Sector Model and Alonso's Land Rent Model.

60 Hans Blumenfeld, "Not a Valid Concept", in Alexander B.

Leman and Ingrid A. Leman, eds., Great Lakes Megalopolis: From Civilization to ecumenization, Ottawa: Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, 1976, p.8.

61 Blumenfeld, "The Old City and the New Metropolis', (1979), p.27.

62 Blumenfeld, "The Urban Pattern", (1967), p.51.

63 See: Jacobs (1984) and Blumenfeld (1979), pp. 65-70.

64 John A. Dawson, Shopping Centre Development, New York: Longman, 1983.

65 Brian J.L. Berry, "What Lies Ahead for Urban America?", John R. Hitchcock and Anne McMaster, eds., The Metropolis: Proceedings of a Conference in Honour of Hans Blumenfeld, Toronto: University of Toronto, 1985, p.34.

66 Len Gertler, "The Changing Metropolis and the Blumenfeld Blues", Hitchcock and McMaster (1985), p.52.

67 Michael A. Goldberg and John Mercer, The Myth of the North American City, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986, pp. 166-172.

CHAPTER 3

THE COHERENCE OF NEW WESTMINSTER

New Westminster, B.C. in its formative years was an independent city with discrete boundaries which, at its zenith, commanded the lower Fraser River. The adaptability and cohesion of New Westminster's internal structure, citizens, and organizations enabled its transformation from a monofunctional administrative centre into a significant industrial and commercial city. These transformations, both internal and external, fundamentally altered the city's viability, regional influence, and boundaries.

Cities, as open systems, are exceedingly difficult to precisely define. All dissipative structures "may find ... a new arrangement that permits them to take different forms, to redefine themselves."[1] Thus, the urban realm of New Westminster will fluctuate over time with its various phases of adaptation or decline. At one time or another, parts of South Burnaby and Surrey were functionally integrated with the city, however, the number of people and activities was very small and not very significant during this period. As a result, this interpretation will generally accept the administrative boundaries of the city, augmented by the inclusion of other areas such as Annacis Island and South Burnaby depending upon the city's vitality and influence.[2]

The acceptance of the administrative boundaries of New Westminster as the basic unit of interpretation is a reflection of the fact that most of the community, social, cultural, and some of the economic data is assembled at the municipal level.[3] The limitations of the data should not obscure the inherent dynamism of the city, either in terms of its morphological limits or its social or economic influence.[4] The constant transformation and interaction of the various internal and external processes, structures, and fluxes occurred at a variety of spatial and temporal scales. Therefore, despite the boundary restrictions imposed by the data, the broader origins and implications of these processes will be discussed.

3.1 NEW WESTMINSTER
THE FORMATIVE PERIOD (1859-1868)

The origins of the city of New Westminster are found in the gold rush which swept through the British Columbia mainland in the late 1850s and early 1860s.[5] The massive influx of prospectors, many of whom were American, into the sparsely settled territory led to fears of American annexation. In order to secure the territory, the British government created the crown colony of British Columbia in 1858. To assert British colonial rule, a detachment of Royal

Engineers under the command of Colonel Richard Clement Moody were sent in late 1858 and one of their first accomplishments was the surveying and laying out of the infrastructure of the new capital, New Westminster. The initial founding due to political and strategic reasons and its subsequent growth due to its relative location and trade advantages were the dominant forces and processes which shaped the city's subsequent development into an administrative and commercial centre.

The Royal Engineers influenced the city's internal coherence in several significant respects. The very criterion which Colonel Moody utilized to select the site of the capital, "defensibility", is unique in the history of British Columbia's settlement. The fear of an American invasion was paramount in the minds of the British colonial authorities and this site, located on the north side of the Fraser River with a rough and hilly topography, could be easily defended. The steep terrain, which made the site such an obvious military choice, has been an inhibiting factor in the city's development. The relative lack of level terrain near the water has been a constraint on the city's industrial and commercial expansion. As well, the steep incline of many of the city's hills has always been an impediment to the mobility of its elderly and disabled residents.

New Westminster had been literally cut out of the

forest and its planned role as the commercial and administrative centre for the colony provided a series of governmental functions, such as the land titles office, law courts, and a mint, which initially propelled its prosperity and attracted settlers and businesses which made the city the chief commercial entrepot on the mainland. This expansion was restricted by the emergence and steady intensification of a commercial and political rivalry with the city of Victoria.[6] This rivalry led to a significant amount of wasted energy in protracted disputes over taxation, infrastructure improvements, and administrative jurisdiction.[7] New Westminster lost out to Victoria in 1868 when, following the merging of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia in 1866, Victoria was proclaimed the capital.[8] Thus, the city lost many of its administrative and political functions within a decade of its founding, although some elements like the Royal Columbian Hospital remained. The loss of these functions due to an external political decision ended the city's first phase of expansion.

The city's name also had a significant psychological and symbolic impact upon the city's inhabitants. Colonel Moody had originally proposed "Queensborough", in honour of Queen Victoria, as the new capital's name, but Victoria already bore the name of the sovereign. In order to settle the resulting dispute between the two urban centres, the final choice of a name was left to Queen Victoria. The name chosen

for the new capital, New Westminster, drew its inspiration from Westminster, the borough of London in which both the Houses of Parliament and Buckingham Palace are located. Thus, the name has been a source of civic pride and "sense of place"[9] with the residents often referring to their home as the "Royal City". A psychological and symbolic connection was forged between its early origins and its presumed destiny as the major urban centre in British Columbia.

3.2 THE EXPANSION OF NEW WESTMINSTER 1868-1913

In these years the resourceful citizens, after losing the administrative functions, turned to the resource economy and trade to maintain the city's economic viability. Simultaneously, the citizens actively promoted the processes of community and social integration to strengthen the city's internal coherence. While the city's population declined from an estimated 1800 people in 1861 to less than 500 in 1869,[10] the adaptation of its citizens to the new environment soon began to encourage its slow, but erratic, economic and demographic growth. The new economic activities which became crucial to New Westminster's survival and eventual prosperity were salmon fishing, forestry and wood products manufacturing, and the provision of commercial and

administrative services to the Lower Fraser Valley agricultural communities.

Salmon fishing had been conducted on the Fraser River since the earliest days of aboriginal habitation in the area. The first canning of salmon by Europeans occurred in 1863, but the industry only began to develop significantly in the 1870s as a market for canned salmon was established in Britain. This change in the external environment resulted in the existence of thirteen canneries in and around New Westminster by the late 1880s and early 1890s.[11] These canneries were supported by a large Fraser River fishing fleet based in the city. The fishing fleet and the canneries promoted the emergence of several forms of new work and import substitution. Several local shipyards equipped and maintained the fleet,[12] while many manufacturing firms in the city derived a significant proportion of their business from supplying engines and machinery to this sector.[13] The substitution of externally built vessels and machinery for local products allowed the city to diversify its industrial base and thereby strengthen its adaptability.[14] The fact that many of the fishermen and cannery workers lived in the city bolstered its commercial viability by keeping the wages earned in the local economy. The importance of the creation of new work and import substitution became increasingly apparent from the late 1890s onward when the industry began to decline in the city due to the gradual concentration of

the fish canning industry around Steveston, 22 kilometers to the west, overfishing, and increasing corporate concentration.

The 1870s also witnessed the establishment of the city's most important long term economic activity, the sawmilling and shingle industry. In these years the Lower Fraser Valley still had excellent stands of timber which provided an easily accessible log supply. By 1878 there were four sawmills operating in the city, including Brunette Sawmills and the Royal City Planing Mills.[15] Their numbers continued to grow, although the cyclical nature of the forestry economy produced significant variation in the numbers of firms in any given year. Simultaneously, a series of ancillary industries, such as Westminster Iron Works and later New Westminster Foundries Ltd., developed to provide the heavy machinery inputs. The city's industrial base leading to the turn of the century, while expanding, was severely dependent upon the uncertainty of foreign demand for salmon and lumber.

The progressive clearing of Lulu Island and other delta lands, Surrey, and the rest of the Lower Fraser Valley enabled widespread farming. Although farming settlement was slow in the pre-1881 period, New Westminster, as the only service centre in the region, held a complete monopoly of the agricultural trade. The importance of the traffic gener-

ated from the south side of the Fraser River eventually necessitated the establishment of a ferry service between New Westminster and Surrey and then a permanent bridge in 1904. The expansion of road and rail connections throughout the Fraser Valley continually benefited the focus of the system, New Westminster. Even after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) and the emergence of Vancouver as the western terminus, New Westminster continued to be the dominant service centre for the entire Lower Fraser Valley.[16]

The economic expansion of New Westminster was mainly externally driven during this period, but some internal innovation, new work, and import substitution did occur. The increased external demand for salmon and lumber propelled the development of the fishing and wood products sectors. The continued influx of immigrants was responsible for an increase in the provincial and city populations.[17] However, the development of local shipbuilding and machinery manufacturing industries increased the amount of indigenous secondary production in the city. The commercial sector expand in direct relation to the progressive clearing and settlement of the region, a process aided by the centralization of most the transportation routes upon the city. As a result, most of the energy, information, and material flows generated in the city or the Lower Fraser Valley were focused upon New Westminster. The interaction of external and

internal fluxes and processes produced a general, if erratic, physical and economic expansion of the city which more than exceeded the losses incurred in 1868.

By 1900 New Westminster had become a relatively stable city with a viable industrial base and an established trade area. This process was fairly consitent throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, despite a series of external and internal fluctuations, such as the wide swings in the world economy, the emergence of Vancouver, and the 1898 Great Fire of New Westminster. From 1900 to 1913 New Westminster witnessed a surge in economic activity due to the process of rebuilding the downtown core, the Prairie wheat boom and its concurrent demand for British Columbia's lumber, the continued settlement of the provincial interior, and real estate speculation all fueled its rapid growth. The population of New Westminster doubled from 6,500 in 1901 to 13,000 in 1911.[18] However, this failed to equal the rapid population growth which was occurring in Vancouver, whose population grew from 13,000 in 1891 to 100,401 in 1911.[19]

Although New Westminster fell relatively further behind Vancouver in terms of population, economic viability, and regional influence, the city's inhabitants continued to maintain a discrete and viable city. A resurgence of industrial activity centred on the growth in the processing of

natural resources and the manufacturing of transportation equipment, machinery and fabricated metal products propelled the revitalization of the city's economy.[20] By 1910-11 approximately ten percent of New Westminster's population was employed in manufacturing or "1,238 workers engaged in twenty-four different enterprises...".[21] Among the firms which were founded in this period were Vulcan Iron Works in 1907, Webb and Gifford in 1910, and Heaps Engineering in 1911. New Westminster was at this time "one of the leading industrial centres in Western Canada, behind only Vancouver, Winnipeg and Calgary in value of manufacturing output."[22]

The city's internal coherence was strengthened by a series of cultural, social, and community events and institutions which emerged. One of the most widely attended events which underscored New Westminster's regional influence and bolstered its identity was the annual Provincial Exhibition. The first Exhibition was held in 1869 and it eventually emerged as one of the most popular fairs in the province.[23] This type of exhibition mirrored the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London.[24] The stated purpose of the Provincial Exhibition was "to improve agricultural conditions in general", to highlight the industrial products of the city and the province, and to entertain visitors.[25] Among the events at the Exhibition were livestock shows, agricultural and industrial exhibits, live bands, and in its later stages, amusement rides and sundry other forms of entertainment.

The Exhibition was one of the most important annual events in the city. The entire downtown was often decorated and improved to make it as attractive as possible for the many visitors. Special combination tickets were issued by the British Columbian Electric Railway (B.C.E.R.) to "enable Vancouver residents to make the trip and take in the exhibition for one price."[26] The emphasis the city placed upon the success of the Exhibition reached its peak in 1905 when New Westminster hosted the Dominion Exhibition. New exhibition buildings were erected in Queens Park for this national event and the midway was provided with superior illumination than existed in the city itself.[27] On several occasions, the crowds were so large that the possibility of excluding some people due to safety concerns was discussed. Until the accidential burning of the Exhibition buildings in 1929 the Provincial Exhibition was one of the main events which supported the city's dominance in the Lower Fraser Valley, promoted its image throughout the Pacific Northwest, and strengthened its collective identity through community involvement.

The New Westminster Farmers' Market was another important institution. The first city-sponsored market opened in 1892. Its regional significance was illustrated by the presence of reeves and farmers from Delta, Surrey, Langley, Maple Ridge, and Chilliwack at the opening ceremonies.[28]

The market progressively grew and eventually became the largest genuine farmers' market in Western Canada. The products sold at the market included handcrafted goods, poultry, cattle/livestock, vegetables, fruits, flowers, and clothing.[29] The market was so crucial to the economic welfare of the Lower Fraser Valley that when it was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1898, the municipalities of Surrey and Matsqui both donated money to its immediate reconstruction.[30]

The Farmers' Market was a social institution in addition to its economic function. The market day was a social occasion bringing the relatively dispersed farmers and their families together with friends and relatives. The strength of these social linkages reinforced the Farmers' Market's role as the premier distribution centre for the region's agricultural products. The market was so successful that in its early days that in 1896 a Vancouver alderman "complained that two-thirds of the produce sold at the New Westminster market was purchased by Vancouver residents."[31] The success of the Farmers' Market and the Exhibition in promoting a sense of place and strengthening the city's ties with the Lower Fraser Valley were important elements in maintaining New Westminster's internal coherence.

The most enduring element contributing to the distinctive identity of New Westminster was the May Day celebrat-

ions. In 1870 the first May Queen was chosen and after that date the celebrations became increasingly more organized and elaborate. Two themes which were increasingly stressed in the ceremonies were allegiance to the Queen and the promotion of civic pride. In tandem, these themes aided in the creation of a sense of common identity within the city and reaffirmed its "royal" origins. The May Day celebrations underwent a variety of transformations in this period. As a consequence, there is insufficient space to detail the symbolic, class, and political ramifications of each successive change, although the basic themes remained constant throughout all the transformations.

Collectively, these social and cultural events served to promote a greater degree of internal cohesion in the city. These events and organizations focused energy flows into the city by attracting people, capital, and information from distant cities and regions.[32] These trigger mechanisms[33] permitted the annual influx of external energy into the city thereby promoting greater organization and expansion. The industrial and agricultural exhibits at the Exhibition, for example, allowed the mass dissemination of new ideas and technologies throughout the city and the region. The promotion of a common civic identity created a sense of place which increased the possibility of cooperative responses to maintain the city's viability.

The stability of New Westminster's internal structure was severely strained by a series of significant changes in its external environment. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its decision to build its terminus at Coal Harbour (Vancouver) in 1886 ended the city's monopoly position as the main trading centre on the mainland. New Westminster only got a spur line of the C.P.R. built to the city. As a result the city's potential trade area was greatly reduced. The focusing of the flow of goods, services, people, and information on Vancouver propelled its rapid growth while New Westminster was left with a regional trade area comprising the Lower Fraser Valley.

New Westminster's potential growth to metropolitan status was dashed by the 1892 recession and the 1898 Great Fire. During the 1892 recession a significant number of the city's industrial firms closed and several of the city's most influential families, such as the Trapps, went bankrupt in the generally depressed business climate. The Great Fire in 1898 resulted in the destruction of almost all the buildings along Front Street, Columbia Street and adjacent areas. The downtown core was rapidly rebuilt, which indicates the continued confidence of the city's inhabitants. The cumulative effect of these two events was to further widen the gap between the metropolitan influence of New Westminster and Vancouver.

3.3 THE TREND TOWARDS STABILITY 1913-1930s

New Westminster remained relatively stable throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, despite the succession of national and international upheavals and conflicts. While, on the one hand, the onset of another recession in 1912 disrupted the local economy, on the other World War I provided a strong impetus for industrial development in the city. The Imperial Munitions Board awarded contracts to a local shipyard, B.C. Construction and Engineering, and to Heaps Engineering to produce vessels and shells for the war effort.[34] The externally generated demand for increased industrial production bolstered industry in the city, but did not result in any significant change in the structure or composition of the industrial sector. The labour unrest and economic downturn which followed the cessation of hostilities caused some difficulties, but the 1920s were generally a decade of stability for the city's industrial sector. A combination of internal and external changes, such as the development of the Port, increased Prairie grain shipments, the opening of the Panama Canal, and a growing American market for B.C. lumber, fueled New Westminster's economic growth.

The steady expansion of the transportation and communications system in the region continued to focus energy and information flows on New Westminster. Railway connections from the southern Fraser Valley and the United States were channelled through New Westminster with the construction of railway bridges over the Fraser River. The opening of the first Fraser River bridge in 1904 focused the principal transportation routes leading from the Lower Fraser Valley on New Westminster.[35] All road traffic from the south was forced to travel through New Westminster. Although the continued expansion of the transportation system also made Vancouver far more accessible to the farmers of the Lower Fraser Valley, as the B.C.E.R.'s "milk trains" running from Chilliwack to Vancouver aptly demonstrated, the majority of the region's trade was still under New Westminster's control. The commercial pre-eminence was visibly evident along Columbia Street, which was called the "Miracle Mile" due to the fact that it had one of the highest volumes and value of retail trade in the Lower Mainland.[36]

New Westminster's regional importance and economic viability was maintained by the steady expansion of its role as an important administrative and governmental centre. The city had a significant health care sector with the existence of two hospitals, the Royal Columbian Hospital and the St. Mary's Hospital. These facilities were augmented by the establishment of the Woodland's School for the disabled in

Sapperton. The presence of the Land Registry Office, the Provincial Court House, and completion of the British Columbia Penitentiary in 1878 all extended the administrative influence of the city throughout the region.[37] The extent and diversity of administrative functions was not sufficient by itself to propel the city's expansion, but these functions provided a stable base of employment and income which could support the city during periods of economic instability.

Stability was especially evident in the various elements which helped to generate New Westminster's distinctive identity. The May Day celebrations continued to be an important unifying event. The Farmers' Market continued its dual function of serving as the distribution centre for farm products and as a social institution. The extension of the British Columbia Electric Railway to Chilliwack in 1910 permitted the operation of weekly "market specials" to New Westminster every Friday.[38] The importance of the Market continued even after a money bylaw to upgrade the building failed to pass and a fire destroyed the building again in 1925.[39]

The Provincial Exhibition continued during the 1920s but there were some discussions of merging the Vancouver and New Westminster exhibitions.[40] When fire destroyed the Exhibition buildings in 1929, the Exhibition was permanently

lost and the subsequent creation of a single Exhibition based in Vancouver symbolically marked New Westminster's declining influence in the region. The Provincial Exhibition, unlike the May Day celebrations, had attracted a far larger number of visitors and tourists and had broadened the visibility of New Westminster in the Lower Fraser Valley. Although the city was able to appoint a representative to the Board of Directors of the Pacific National Exhibition in Vancouver, its ability to influence the composition of the event was very limited and its location at Hastings Park saw all the benefits from the Pacific National Exhibition flow to Vancouver and not into New Westminster.[41]

In the 1920s the city emerged as an important West Coast port. While New Westminster had been declared a port in 1859, the shallow depth of the Fraser River and the slow improvement of its facilities had limited its use to river steamers and shallow coastal vessels.[42] The formation of the New Westminster Harbour Commission (N.W.H.C.) in 1913 marked a renewed effort to develop the city's port facilities. Constant dredging had deepened the main channel to eighteen feet at low tide. A nine foot tidal range gave a high tide depth of twenty-seven feet which was just an adequate depth for the size of ocean-going vessels.[43]

The construction of docks along the waterfront provided warehouse and transhipment facilities for a wide range of

cargoes. Ocean going vessels also berthed as far upstream as Fraser Mills. The number of deep-sea vessels increased from a mere 13 in 1921 to 453 in 1934 (Table 1). This expansion was the result of the simultaneous interaction of a variety of significant external and internal forces. In the external environment, the opening of the Panama Canal in 1913 and the reduction in railway freight rates to the West made it economically viable for Prairie wheat to be shipped through West Coast ports to Europe. While most of this trade was directed to Vancouver, the New Westminster Harbour Commission did build a grain elevator on the Surrey side of the Fraser River in 1927 to capture part of this traffic.[44] Of even greater importance was the rapid increase in the American demand for British Columbian lumber. The amount of New Westminster lumber shipped to the United States rose from 5 million feet in 1919 to about 250 million feet in 1923.[45] Although a significant proportion of the trade flowing through the port was gradient-seeking trade, such as the grain exports, an equally important proportion was organization-promoting trade which provided energy for the creation of new enterprises in the city.[46]

The New Westminster Harbour Commission itself was an active agent in the expansion of the port facilities. The Commission was the perfect organization for the promotion of the city and the development of the port. The city owned the docks along the waterfront and it had a direct input

TABLE 1

THE PORT OF NEW WESTMINSTER

VOLUME OF DEEP-SEA SHIPPING

1921-1934

Year	Number of Ships	Tonnage (net reg.)
1921	13	38,987
1922	35	100,321
1923	48	144,973
1924	100	333,138
1925	150	496,420
1926	175	579,167
1927	153	486,603
1928	198	625,271
1929	248	827,762
1930	297	994,637
1931	301	1,052,865
1932	311	1,087,878
1933	409	1,454,842
1934	453	1,639,342

Source: New Westminster Harbour Commission, Annual Reports, 1924-1934.

into the manner in which the port would be marketed and developed. It appointed one of the three commissioners to the Board, thereby strengthening the linkages between the two institutions.[47] Of even greater significance, there was a large degree of overlapping membership between the N.W.H.C. and the New Westminster Board of Trade and joint action was frequent as "everyone involved had local real estate or other business interests that would benefit from more development and employment."[48]

Preference was given to New Westminster workers over Vancouver longshoremen in the loading and off-loading of cargo. The use of Vancouver longshoremen in 1924 provoked an immediate response by both the City Council and the Board of Trade to assure that as many local stevedores as possible would be employed before help was sought from Vancouver.[49] The close-knit nature of the New Westminster business community allowed it to present a unified front against the various attempts to amalgamate the N.W.H.C. with the port of Vancouver and to conduct joint ventures to promote New Westminster's viability.[50] The culmination of this process was the construction of the high level, four lane Pattullo road bridge across the Fraser River in 1937.

The opening of the Pattullo Bridge was an important event for New Westminster. The 1904 bridge had proven incapable of handling the road traffic volumes from the south,

especially truck traffic carrying the Lower Fraser Valley's produce.[51] The 1904 bridge was a low level, dual function structure which had rail lines on the lower level and an upper automobile deck.[52] The completion of the new bridge reaffirmed New Westminster as the focal point of the region's transportation system. As a result, the city was able to retain its role as the distribution centre for the Lower Fraser Valley. The project also acted as the catalyst for the paving of Columbia Street, improvements to the approaches at either end of the bridge, and the commencement of a new bus service to replace the older tram service in the city which had been allowed to deteriorate.[53]

The most important aspect of the bridge's construction, however, was the fact that most of the work was conducted by firms in and around New Westminster. While the primary contractor was the Dominion Bridge Company, many New Westminster firms provided the materials or installed and/or built some of its elements. For example, Motts Electric was responsible for the bridge lighting, New Westminster Iron Works supplied some machinery, and Gilley Brothers Ltd. provided gravel, sand, and other construction materials. The benefits of this project thus largely stayed in New Westminster and helped the city sustain itself in the Great Depression of the 1930s.

By the end of this period New Westminster was the dominant industrial and commercial centre in the Lower

Fraser Valley. The city had replaced imports and its economic composition of small organizations enhanced its viability. The social and community cohesion of the city permitted a significant degree of adaptability and resilience in response to the changing internal and external contexts. New Westminster was set for further growth in the 1940s and 1950s.

NOTES

1 Adams (1982), p.20.

2 See: Edward Soja, The Political Organization of Space, Commission on College Geography Resource Paper No. 8, Washington D.C.: American Association of Geographers, 1971.

3 Continuous data on the surrounding areas which were generally integrated with New Westminster, such as South Burnaby and South Westminster, is difficult to acquire. The most notable exception is Annacis Island which is part of the municipality of Delta but almost completely dependent upon New Westminster because it was also under the jurisdiction of the New Westminster Harbour Commission. Thus, with some exceptions, the

basic unit of interpretation is the city of New Westminster proper.

4 For example even the census tract boundaries and census definitions change over the study period, thereby complicating the interpretation.

5 The initial founding and land assignment of any city provides the physical and institutional context which influences all subsequent growth and change. A city is a palimpsest on which different patterns or processes occur without erasing the earlier patterns. Thus, New Westminster's grid street pattern oriented to the river has provided a physical constraint on all subsequent transformations and persists to the present.

Vance (1990), p.8.

6 Margret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, Toronto: Macmillan, 1958, p.179.

7 For example, Governor Douglas had declared Victoria a free port. This fact, combined with the customs duties which penalized the Fraser River trade, forced most goods to pass through Victoria first before going onto the mainland. Ibid.

8 Margret McDonald, New Westminster, 1851-1871, (unpub-

lished M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1947), pp. 65-70.

9 Yi-Fu Tuan, "Topophilia: Personal Encounters with the Landscape", eds., Paul W. English and Robert C. Mayfield, Man, Space and Environment, New York: Oxford University Press, 1972, pp. 504-507.

10 British Columbian, December 24, 1862; and British Columbian, May 2, 1869.

11 T.R. Weir, "New Westminster, B.C.", Canadian Geographical Journal, 36 (Jan. 1948), p.25.

12 "Base for 1200 Salmon Fishermen", British Columbian, Centennial Edition, May 5, 1960.

13 Weir (1948), p.25.

14 For example New Westminster Iron Works built steam and later diesel engines for both the fishing fleet and the forest industry. See: "Base for 1200 Salmon Fishermen" (1960).

15 Weir (1948), p.26.

16 G.I. Howell Jones, "The Urbanization of the Fraser

Valley", ed., Alfred H. Siemens, Lower Fraser Valley: Evolution of a Cultural Landscape, Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1968, p.144.

17 The population of the city had increased to 7,000 by 1890 while the provincial population had grown to approximately 98.173.

Norbert Macdonald, "Population Growth and Change in Seattle and Vancouver, 1880-1960", eds., J. Friesen and H.K. Ralston, Historical Essays on British Columbia, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976, p. 203 and Walter N. Sage, "British Columbia Becomes Canadian, 1871-1901", Ibid, p.67.

18 Allen Seager, "Workers, Class, and Industrial Conflict in New Westminster, 1900-1930", eds., Rennie Warburton and David Coburn, Workers, Capital and the State in British Columbia, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988, p.119.

19 Robert A.J. McDonald, "Working-Class Vancouver, 1886-1914: Urbanism and Class in British Columbia" BC Studies, 69-70 (Spring-Summer 1986), p.36.

20 New Westminster Planning Department, A Report on Industrial Land in the City of New Westminster and Greater Vancouver Region, New Westminster: 1990, p.19.

21 Seager (1988), p.118.

22 Linda D. Swaine, New Westminster: The Royal City Economic Profile, New Westminster: Royal City Development Association, 1985, p.6.

23 Ed Cosgrove, "City Had Most Wonderful Fair of Them All", British Columbian, May 5, 1960, p.3.

24 The 1851 Great Exhibition in London is significant for a variety of reasons. The Great Exhibition was an extravagent fair which exhibited all the accomplishments and products of British industry and commerce and emphasized Britain's industrial importance. The Great Exhibition also produced innovative architecture in the form of the glass domed Crystal Palace. The Exhibition was subsequently copied by other countries and cities to demonstrate their industrial, commercial, and scientific progress.

25 British Columbian, September 3, 1925, p.8.

26 "Horse will be King at the Exhibition", British Columbian, August 28, 1925, p.1.

27 Visitors to the 1905 Dominion Exhibition came from all over Canada, the United States, and Britain.

Archie Miller, Curator of the New Westminster Museum, Public Lecture, October 17, 1990.

28 Barry Mather, New Westminster: The Royal City, Vancouver: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1958, p.101.

29 "Where Farmers Meet on Fridays", British Columbian, May 2, 1924, p.1.

30 Patricia E. Roy, "The Changing Role of Railways in the Lower Fraser Valley", Siemens (1968), p.54.

31 Ibid, p.55.

32 The flow of energy mainly came from the rest of the province, the Lower Fraser Valley, and to a lesser degree from the rest of Canada. The Exhibition and associated events also drew a significant amount of inflow from the United States.

33 A trigger mechanism is a human social structure which inhibits or modifies energy flows. See: Adams (1982), p.15.

34 Author unknown, Heaps Engineering (1940) Limited: Outline of History, Physical Assets and Operations, (unpublished essay in the New Westminster Public

Library, date unknown), and "Shipyards Laying Off Nearly All Men", British Columbian, June 5, 1919.

35 Three railways served New Westminster the Great Northern, the Canadian National, and the British Columbia Electric Railway. In combination these railways accounted for almost all of the rail traffic from the Lower Fraser Valley to New Westminster and Vancouver. See: Roy (1968).

36 Swaine (1985), p.6.

37 For example all land titles in the Lower Fraser Valley need to be registered in the New Westminster Land Titles Office.

38 "The Old Rattlers Are Gone... But They Did Serve a Wonderful Purpose", British Columbian, Centennial Edition, May 5, 1960.

39 "Failure of Bylaw means no market", British Columbian, October 12, 1925.

40 "Visit New Westminster Fair", Vancouver Star, September 1, 1924; "Amalgamate the Exhibitions", Vancouver Star, October 27, 1924; and "Ready to Merge Two Big Fairs", Daily Province, April 25, 1925.

41 New Westminster Board of Trade, Annual Report 1951, p.16.

42 G. Farthing, "The Port of New Westminster" (unpublished term paper for Professor Ormsby, reel 11 of the Fraser River Harbour Commission microfilm, 1958-59), p.80.

43 New Westminster Harbour Commission, Annual Report 1925, p.1.

44 The Fraser River Grain Elevator was never a significant export terminal and it suffered form a shallow berth which often meant that vessels could not load their cargo.

See: C.B.A. Engineering, An Introductory Study for the Development of the Tidal Sections of the Fraser River, (reel 14 Fraser River Harbour Commission microfilm, 1958), p.16.

45 Jacqueline Gresko and Richard Howard, eds., Fraser Port: Freightway to the Pacific, Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1986, p.59.

46 For example, the lumber and wood products exports from local mills not only provided stevedore and longshoreman jobs, but created a demand in the local machinery firms for engines and equipment to handle the cargoes.

47 J. Alexander Walker and W.G. Swan, A Preliminary Report upon Transportation, Harbors and Railways; including industrial sites, New Westminster, B.C., New Westminster Town Planning Commission, 1946, p.5.

48 An example of this mutual interest was J.G. Robson, owner of Timberland Lumber and long-time head of the Board of Trade Navigation Committee who constantly pressed Ottawa for channel improvements to attract deep-sea vessels.

Gresko and Howard (1986), p.66.

49 "Get Men From Here", Daily Province, March 18, 1924; and "Workers Come From Outside", Daily Province, July 9, 1924.

50 "United Harbour Board Opposed", British Columbian, July 8, 1924.

51 "Valley Truck Operators Lost Huge Sum in Delays and Loads on Old Bridge", British Columbian: Souvenir Bridge Edition, November 15, 1937.

52 The 1904 bridge was a swing bridge which was too low to permit deep-sea vessels to pass without opening the structure. As a consequence there were often long

delays in crossing the river for vehicular traffic and this became a critical problem as the pace of settlement on the south side of the Fraser River increased.

53 "Ideal Facilities Bring Scores of Industries to Royal City Harbour Area", British Columbian: Souvenir Bridge Edition, November 15, 1937.

CHAPTER 4

STABILITY IN NEW WESTMINSTER
1940s and 1950s

4.1 ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC EXPANSION

Stability in the city's organization and structure and absolute change in its population and employment characterized New Westminster in the 1940s and 1950s. The completion of the Pattullo Bridge in 1937 had confirmed the city's preeminence as the dominant trading centre for the Lower Fraser Valley. The onset of the Second World War finally stimulated a full economic recovery from the Great Depression. Nevertheless, as the city's inhabitants enjoyed relative prosperity and optimism, processes were already in evidence that were undermining the city's vitality and internal coherence. This chapter examines the nature of these positive transformations in the city and identifies the deeper weaknesses that are critically important in understanding the subsequent changes in New Westminster.

New Westminster's postwar prosperity was in part a reflection of the wider national and international processes of growth. Average real income for Canadians steadily grew during the late 1940s and early 1950s, and despite profound

inequalities in the distribution of income and resources, there was an overall increase in the standard of living.[1] This trend towards greater societal prosperity occurred at the precise moment when the pent-up demand for housing, automobiles, and consumer durables, which had accumulated over the Great Depression and the Second World War, provoked a massive growth in industrial production.[2] The establishment of a relatively stable world economic and political order under the hegemony of the United States further reinforced a climate of prosperity and growth.[3]

New Westminster's industrial sector expanded in terms of the number of firms, the level of employment, and the types of products produced (Figure 1). In 1940, there were fifteen lumber mills, produce and fish canneries, a paper mill, a distillery, a brewery, and plants for cold storage, meat packaging, chemical fertilizers and timber preserving.[4] The increased wartime demand for industrial production caused a rapid expansion of the local industrial base with a further five lumber mills (twenty in total), a veneer and plywood mill, an aircraft manufacturing plant and a revitalized local shipyard added to the city.[5] The production of machinery for use in the canning, milling and logging industries also substantially expanded. In totality, the number of manufacturing plants increased from 64 in 1931, to 88 in 1941, and 112 in 1951.[6] In the process of expansion, almost all the usable industrial waterfront land was occupied by new or expanded firms.

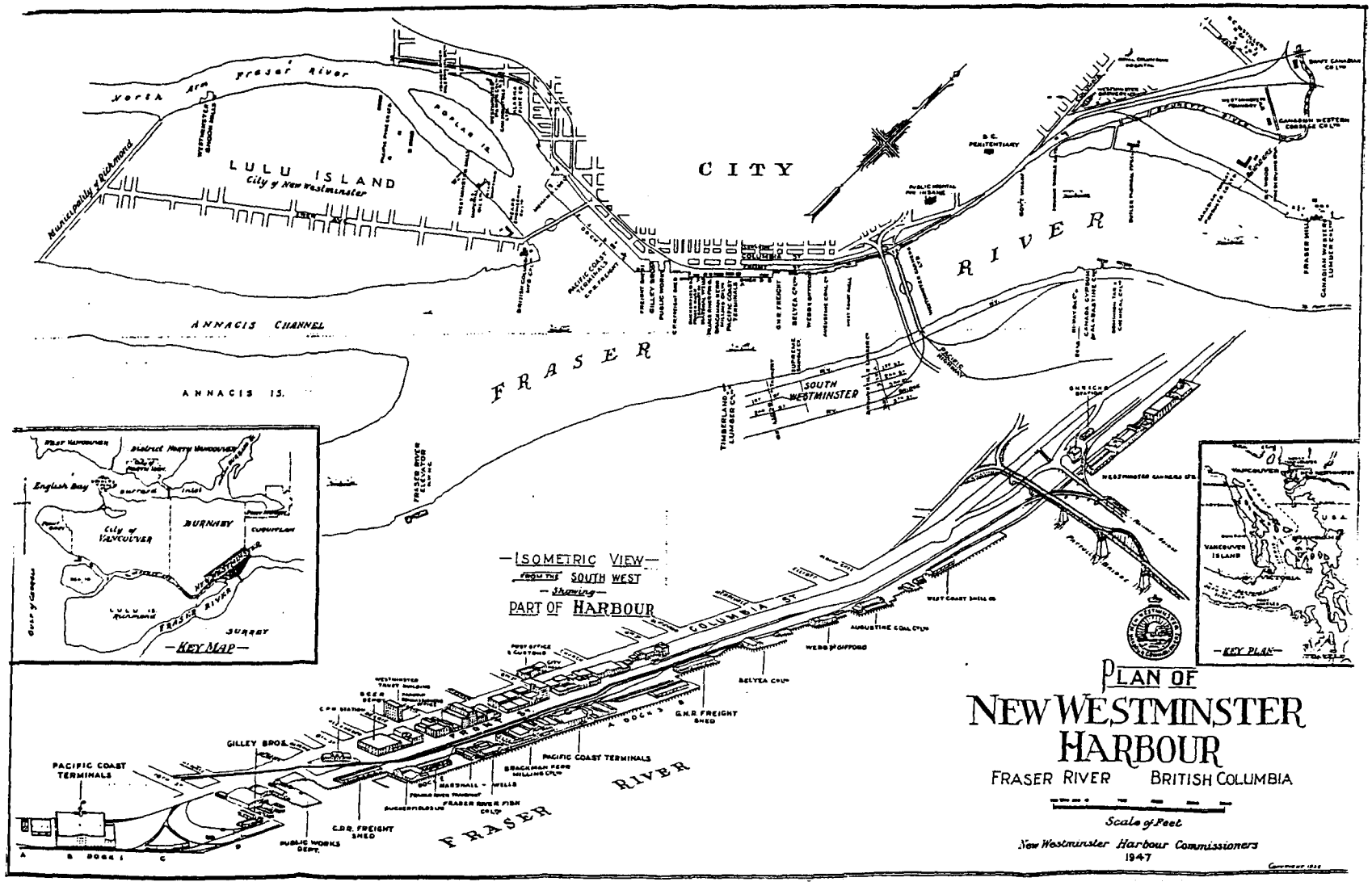


FIGURE 1

Source: N.W.H.C., Annual Report 1949.

New Westminster 1949.

Industrial expansion continued into the 1950s, reaching a peak measured in terms of employment, the amount of floor-space, and the area zoned for industry around 1956. In that year, approximately forty-three percent of New Westminster's labour force, or 10,000 employees, worked in the industrial sector, while the total level of manufacturing employment also increased from 1,621 in 1931 and 3,778 in 1941 to 6,286 in 1956.[7] This broadening of the city's industrial base to other sectors, such as aircraft manufacturing and engineering, created the new work necessary to continue the city's expansion. The only weakness in this expansion was the lack of import substitution which limited the diversification of the city's economy and continued the domination of the forest products sector.

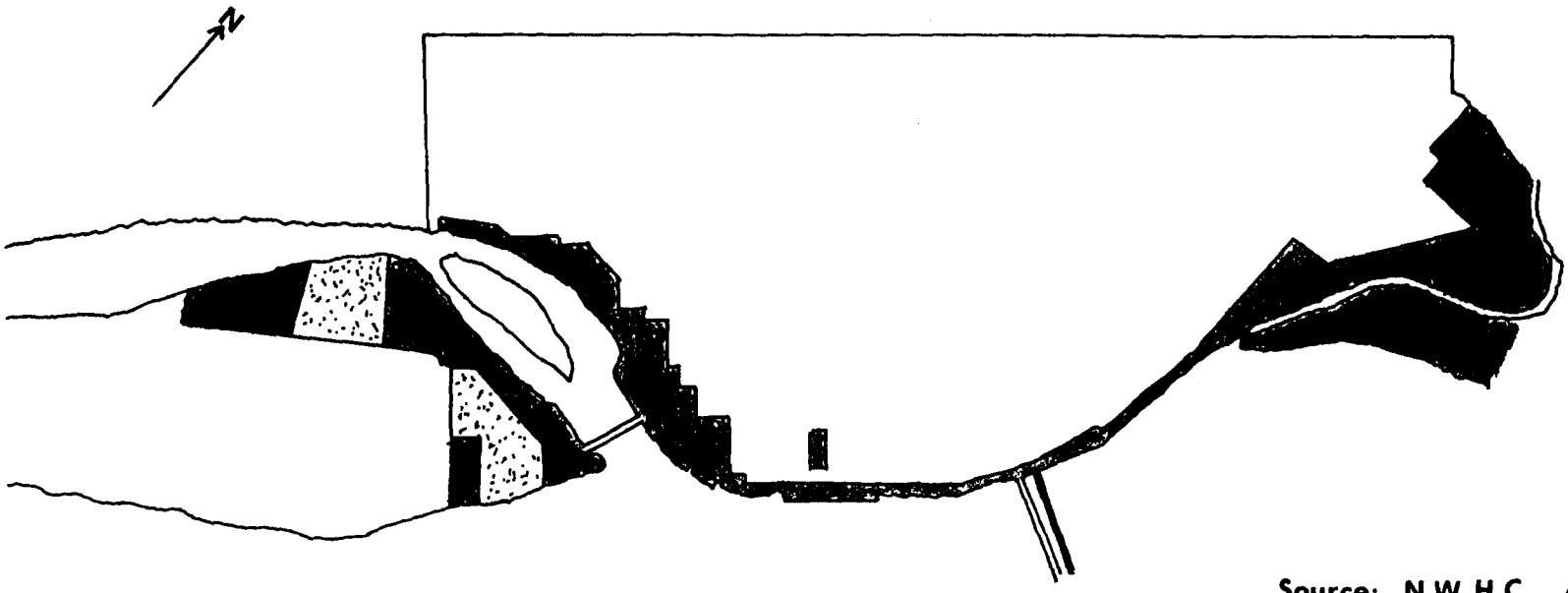
The increased size and diversity of New Westminster's industrial composition was in part a consequence of the continued importance of local firms. The fact that most of the firms were owned by local or metropolitan entrepreneurs produced a greater degree of flexibility and adaptation in their operations. For example, Heaps Engineering and the Star (Mercer) Shipyards jointly built merchant ships for the Canadian Merchant Marine during the war and when the war contracts ceased, the two firms continued to cooperate in producing fishing vessels and related equipment for customers as far away as Newfoundland.[8] The tendency for these

firms to utilize other local or metropolitan firms to provide the necessary forward and backward linkages generated a positive multiplier effect which propelled the city's expansion.

Industrial expansion in New Westminster benefited from the direct efforts of the City Council, the New Westminster Board of Trade (N.W.B.T.) and the New Westminster Harbour Commission (N.W.H.C.). The formation of the Town Planning Commission in 1938 and the enactment of the first comprehensive zoning bylaw for New Westminster in 1940 facilitated the city's expansion. The designation of land for industrial use reached its zenith in the mid 1950s when large areas of Queensborough were zoned explicitly for this purpose (Figure 2). This coincided with an active advertising and promotional campaign by both the N.W.B.T. and the N.W.H.C. throughout Canada, the United States, and Europe.[9] In fact, the New Westminster City Council tried to maintain the growth by creating more industrial land in Queensborough, but due to poor soil conditions and a general lack of basic infrastructure, the area never fully developed.[10]

The prosperity in the industrial sector maintained New Westminster's position as the second most important manufacturing centre in the province. This was reinforced by the construction of the first industrial park in Greater Vancouver on Annacis Island in 1954. The Annacis Island

NEW WESTMINSTER INDUSTRIAL ZONES



Key

1950

1956

FIGURE 2

Source: N.W.H.C., Annual Reports, 1950 and 1956 and Weir (1948), p. 37

Estate, consisting of some 1,200 acres, is legally within the municipality of Delta, however, its only connection with the rest of the Greater Vancouver Region was over the $250,000 Annacis Island Causeway built by the New Westminster Harbour Commission.[11] The firms which located on the estate in the 1950s, such as the Western Copper Mills, Sherman-Williams Benjamin Moore Paint Company, and A.I.M. Steel, were completely dependent upon New Westminster for their labour force, supplies, and transportation facilities.

Rapid industrial expansion in New Westminster must also be viewed in the context of the steady growth of the industrial base of the entire Lower Mainland region. While the Lower Mainland as a whole was highly specialized in wood products manufacturing (including pulp and paper production), the degree of concentration was more pronounced in New Westminster. The "percentage of the total national output of manufactured goods produced by the Lower Mainland rose from 2.6% in 1931 to 4.2% in 1956."[12] The relatively greater specialization in woods products in New Westminster is indicated by the fact that in 1951 approximately fifty percent of the city's manufacturing employment was in this sector as compared to only about thirty-nine percent in the Lower Mainland.[13]

Renewed expansion of the port facilities paralleled the industrial expansion.[14] The war years severely reduced

shipping levels due to the shortage of vessels and the high costs of transportation, but the end of hostilities allowed the return of vessels to the Pacific and a lowering of the costs of shipping goods through the Panama Canal.[15] The volume of deep sea traffic which entered the port from 1939 to 1954 is indicated in Table 2. The growth in New Westminster's deep sea trade was largely due to an increase in European and American demand for the province's forest products and expanding Japanese demand for its mineral resources.[16] Even the volume of grain shipments from the elevator on the south side of the Fraser River improved, although it remained small compared to Vancouver (Table 3). Difficulties with the depth of the channel at the berth resulted in frequent loading delays and cancellations.[17]

The physical infrastructure of the port was also upgraded. In 1954 the N.W.H.C. built a dock and a storage shed on a city-owned central waterfront site and helped to create a new company, Overseas Transport, to operate the facility.[18] This development, coupled with the continued operation of the Pacific Coast Terminals, provided sixteen deep water berths for vessels.[19] The main reoccurring complaint of shippers was the continued difficulty with siltation in the main channel which limited access for some vessels. Although a series of river improvements were undertaken to deepen the main channel to thirty feet, this proved inadequate for the draught of the larger vessels which were being built.[20]

TABLE 2

THE PORT OF NEW WESTMINSTER

VOLUME OF DEEP SEA SHIPPING

1939-1954

Year	Number of Ships	Tonnage (net reg.)
1939	503	1,774,318
1940	333	1,057,109
1941	156	432,351
1942	109	416,846
1943	86	363,056
1944	114	451,829
1945	176	718,765
1946	287	1,112,751
1947	358	1,517,917
1948	280	1,179,123
1949	338	1,382,141
1950	342	1,393,731
1951	394	1,615,502
1952	387	1,534,580
1953	396	1,643,876
1954	439	1,829,575

Source: New Westminster Harbour Commission, Annual Reports, 1952-1955.

TABLE 3

VOLUME OF GRAIN EXPORTS

FROM NEW WESTMINSTER AND VANCOUVER

1950-1956

Year	New Westminster (Bushels)	Vancouver (Bushels)
1950	3,266,862	48,690,000
1951	5,385,733	73,793,000
1952	9,633,733	105,573,000
1953	8,571,058	91,766,000
1954	5,523,467	86,898,000
1955	3,568,734	69,911,000
1956	5,017,558	106,076,000

Source: Letter to Gordon W. Stead, Assistant Deputy Minister, Ministry of Marine from John E. Clayton, Port Manager, March 3, 1960 (Fraser River Harbour Commission microfilm, reel 11-7).

The city's overall stability was further maintained by its continuing role as a base for the Fraser River salmon fishing fleet. While the fleet was slowly declining in size, it still supported the city's shipyard and other firms which serviced the vessels and their crews.[21] The fishermen also constituted an important component of the city's retail clientele. The city received a boost to its international reputation in 1947 when it became the headquarters of the International Pacific Salmon Fishing Commission. The Commission, established to preserve salmon fishing stocks on the Fraser River, focused a greater degree of international attention upon the city and strengthened its image as an autonomous urban centre.[22]

The increasing shipping volumes, the presence of the salmon fishing fleet, and the location of the Commission's headquarters in the city collectively increased the amount of externally generated energy entering New Westminster. While the port itself may have had a high degree of leakage due the large proportion of semi- and unfinished products exported, the continued investment and employment associated with the port facilities augmented the city's growth. Both the fishing fleet and the Commission focused a significant amount of energy into the city and contributed to the slow adaptation of the ambient energy into higher forms of organization. For example, the Commission supported local

legal and service activities and increased the volume of information flowing into the city.

New Westminster's economic growth was also in large measure the result of its continued commercial domination of the Lower Fraser Valley. This was demonstrated in 1948 when, as part of a reform effort to improve the efficiency of the Board of Trade's activities, the Fraser Valley Committee was established to bring New Westminster "more prominently into Fraser Valley affairs."[23] This committee was to serve the dual function of coordinating the economic and political activities of the various boards of trade and chambers of commerce in the region and in maintaining personal ties between the New Westminster business community and its Lower Fraser Valley counterparts. The formation of this committee indicates the leadership of the New Westminster business community in the Lower Fraser Valley.

The focusing of the trade and energy fluxes from the Lower Fraser Valley into New Westminster was further demonstrated by the N.W.B.T.'s decision to hold its June 1945 General Meeting at the Collister farm in Langley.[24] An active policy of promoting joint endeavors between the N.W.B.T. and the Lower Fraser Valley communities became a constant theme throughout the 1940s and early 1950s.[25] New Westminster's commercial preeminence depended to a significant degree on this network of personal and business

contacts. The exclusion of members of the Vancouver Board of Trade from these events indicates the degree of rivalry which still existed between the two cities for control of the region's commercial activity. In fact, as late as 1948, the suggestion that some joint advertising on certain issues with the Vancouver Board of Trade should be undertaken met with a significant degree of discussion.[26]

The city's control over the Lower Fraser Valley's trade area and social life continued despite the loss of the Provincial Exhibition in 1929. In 1949 the British Columbian Products Show was held in the Farmers' Market and it attracted some 10,000 visitors in two days.[27] The success of this event further demonstrated the importance of the city's agricultural hinterland. The continued patronage of the Lower Fraser Valley's farmers was secured by other special agricultural events and the promotion of greater consideration of the needs of farmers.[28] The most important institution which the city's economic and social ties with the Lower Fraser Valley was still the Farmers' Market.

The continued importance of the Farmers' Market for the city was bolstered in 1947 with the opening of a new 130 stall market building at the foot of Eleventh Street. At this time the market was attracting approximately 3,000 customers every Friday and Saturday.[29] The market was drawing people from as far away as Chilliwack. The market

was one of the city's principal attractors, drawing captial and people constantly into the city and, through the continuous social and economic activity, modified and adapted these flows to support the city's economic and social cohesion.

The retail viability of New Westminster appeared secure in the 1940s and 1950s as Columbia Street maintained its dominance as the principal commercial and administrative centre for New Westminster and the Lower Fraser Valley.[30] New Westminster's commercial sector generally expanded in the immediate postwar era. Its trading area population was estimated at 75,000 in 1945 and this increased to approximately 135,000 in 1953.[31] New Westminster continued to have one of the highest per capita volumes of retail sales in the province and Columbia Street remained the centre of most commercial activity in the city. By 1954, $60,000,000 worth of retail business was done in the city through some 416 stores employing approximately 3,200 people.[32] The city's commercial influence continued to stretch throughout much of the Lower Fraser Valley, although its immediate market area tended to be concentrated on the surrounding municipalities of Surrey, Burnaby, Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, Langley, and Delta. The growth of the city's commercial sector underwent a profound transformation in 1954 with the opening of the Woodward's department store in the uptown area of the city.

The most expansive commercial subsector was automobile retailing. Automotive retailing had actually begun in the city with the opening of Trapp Motors in the 1920s, but its most rapid growth occurred in this period.[33] A large number of automobile dealerships and repair shops began to congregate along Columbia Street west of Eighth Street and then steadily moved up Twelfth Street as far as Sixth Avenue. By the mid 1950s Twelfth Street south of Sixth Avenue was largely occupied by automobile oriented retailing and Twelfth Street had become a distinctive automobile row.[34] The regional trade flows drawn into the city by this specialized retail district provided a further influx of capital, employment, and information which augmented the expansion in other sectors.

The one significant equilibrium seeking sector was the city's administrative and governmental functions. While various federal and provincial institutions, such as the British Columbia Penitentiary, the Woodland's mental health facility, the Land Registry Office, and the Royal Columbian and St. Mary's hospitals, provided a stable and slowly growing employment and tax base for the city, these institutions did not expand independent of the general population and economic growth and produced little new work or import substitution to further the city's diversification. Many of these facilities had their origins in the 1880s and 1890s and the changes which occurred were generally one of scale

and not the result of significant organizational transformation. As a result, while the administrative and governmental functions promoted the coherence and stability of the city, they were not a significant contributor to its economic expansion.

The changing regional context, especially rapid suburbanization, exerted an impact upon New Westminster's coherence. The implications of suburban growth for New Westminster's viability are rather complex. Suburbanization was generally beneficial to the city in its early stages. The early population growth tended to strengthen the commercial importance of Downtown New Westminster. The construction of the new suburban single-family neighbourhoods created large populations which lacked adequate retail or service facilities. As a consequence, Columbia Street served as an important commercial centre for the expanding municipalities and continued to capture much of the region's trade and information flows. However, the subsequent development of the uptown area and the construction of shopping malls, such as the Brentwood Mall, after 1955 severely reduced Columbia Street's trade area.[35]

New Westminster experienced a steady increase in its population form 1941 to 1956, expanding by approximately forty-four percent (Table 4). This compared to only a thirty-three percent increase for Vancouver. However, Van-

TABLE 4

POPULATION CHANGE

Region	1941	1951	1956	% Change
Vancouver CMA	377447	530728	665017	76.0
Vancouver	275353	344833	365844	32.9
New Westminster	21967	28639	31665	44.1
Surrey	11404	33670	49366	332.9
Burnaby	30528	58376	83745	174.3
Coquitlam	7949	15697	20800	161.7
Port Coquitlam	1539	3232	4632	200.9

Source: Censuses of Canada, 1941 to 1956.

couver's larger population base resulted in a continued expansion in its absolute numbers and a disparity in their respective sizes. In the surrounding municipalities of Surrey, Coquitlam, Burnaby, and Port Coquitlam, the population increased at a faster rate than for either of the two main urban centres, with most of the municipalities doubling their population. This rapid suburbanization of the metropolitan region's population reflected the dominant urban trend in North America in the postwar era.

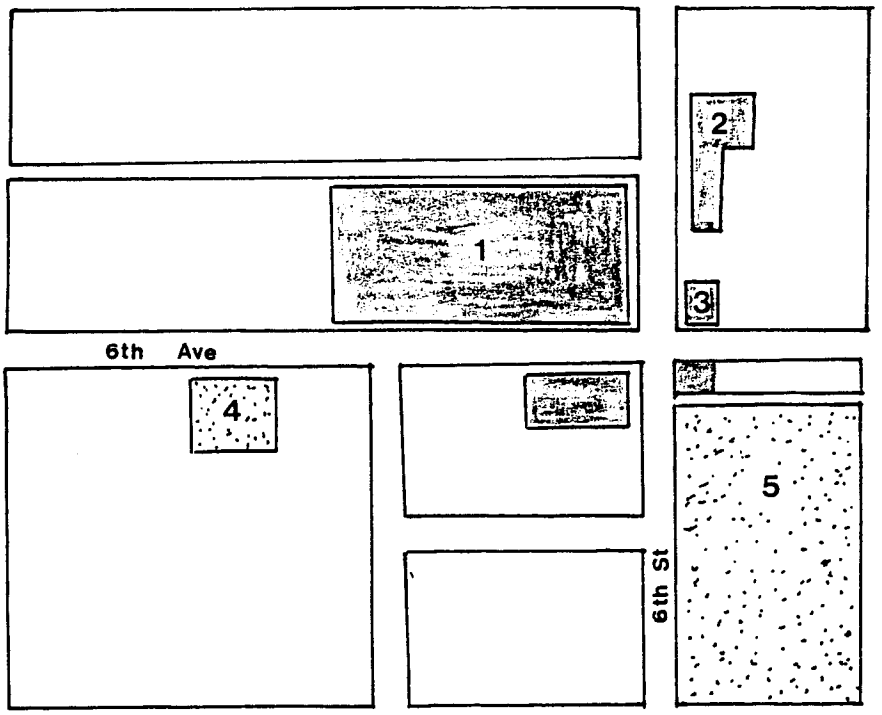
The vigorous expansion of New Westminster began to stall and reverse around 1956. New Westminster's influence in the Lower Fraser Valley began to wane.[36] The apparent commercial vigour of the Farmers' Market was eroded as a series of interrelated dynamic and pervasive processes began to transform the internal and external environment. The Farmers' Market's reliance upon agriculture remaining the pre-eminent, and indeed almost the only, economic activity of the Lower Fraser Valley was too specialized. As the "rural", urban-oriented farming communities of the region were transformed into sprawling suburbs, the growth potential of the Farmers' Market vanished.[37] The over-specialization of the Farmers' Market and its decline when the external environment was transformed underscores the necessity of adaptability and diversity in human organizations.

The intensity of these transformations was reflected in the city's changing urban morphology. The erection of the Woodward's department store at the intersection of Sixth Street and Sixth Avenue in 1954 created the first intracity commercial rival for Downtown New Westminster. The store acted as a catalyst for the transformation of this predominately single-family residential area into a higher density commercial and apartment node.[38] Within two years, the British Columbia Telephone Company had moved its telephone exchange from the downtown core to Sixth Street and the Royal Bank opened a new branch on the northern side of the intersection (Figure 3). These were followed by a series of other commercial and institutional developments in the uptown area, including the building of a new Public Library in 1958. As a result, the Uptown became the focus of most new development in the city during the late 1950s.

While the development of the uptown area in the aggregate benefited the city, it had significant ramifications for the downtown businesses. The Woodward's department store was able to provide large amounts of free parking for automobiles which gave it an advantage over Columbia Street with its limited number of metered parking spaces. As well, there was the perception on the part of many Downtown businesses that the City Council was biased in favour of the interests of Woodward's and other Uptown merchants.[39] The cumulative effect was to disperse the retailing focus of the city

FIGURE 3

MAJOR BUILDINGS AND DATE OF CONSTRUCTION IN THE UPTOWN AREA 1958



KEY

1	Woodwards 1954		
2	B.C. Telephone 1956	Institutional	
3	Royal Bank 1956		
4	Public Library 1958	Commercial	
5	Hollywood Hospital		

between two competing and occasionally hostile commercial nodes. An illustration of the divisive hostility which developed between the Uptown and Downtown entrepreneurs was the prolonged and acrimonious debate over night shopping hours which weakened the unity of the city's business community during the mid 1950s.[40]

A distinct spatial dichotomy thus emerged in the city between an adaptive, energy organizing Uptown and an older, less adaptive Downtown. The widespread use of the automobile was the principal technological transformation which negatively affected the downtown core. Columbia Street had been designed to accommodate horses, wagons, and the interurban railway system. Therefore, there was a relative absence of parking spaces at a scale appropriate for the increasing proportion of the population relying upon the automobile as the principal mode of transportation.[41] The ability of the Downtown business community to adapt to the changing internal and external environment would govern the viability of the core.

4.2 ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

The city and the surrounding region maintained a high degree of cohesion through the persistence and integration of various established organizations. The relative absence

of any new integrative processes in the city is one of the salient features of the postwar period. The efforts of the Board of Trade and other organizations to reinforce the city's links with the Lower Fraser Valley was one of the means by which New Westminster's unique identity and external influence was promoted. The Farmers' Market was still one of the city's main tourist attractions and its successful operation was perceived as being necessary for the city's welfare.[42] Collectively, these elements act as effective surrogate measures for the degree of self-organization and internal stability which existed in the city.

The annual May Day celebrations also continued in their dual function of promoting internal cohesion and expressing the external importance of the city. The festivities required the compulsory attendance of all elementary school children at the official celebrations, the Maypole and Folk dances, and various sporting events. The day long fete was marked by the firing of the Hyack Anvil Battery, a symbol of the city's Victorian heritage. The boosterist and tourist orientation of these celebrations was not uncommon in Western Canadian cities, but the longevity of the event and the emphasis placed upon maintaining it as a festival primarily for children was rather unique.[43] The pageantry and pomp of the celebrations reinforced the romantic imagery of New Westminster's early years and reasserted the city's claim to a "royal" lineage.

One of the few new organizations to emerge as a consequence of New Westminster's changing internal and external environment was the Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association. The Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association (D.B.A.) was formed in 1954 as a voluntary organization of professionals, local entrepreneurs, and property owners who joined together to prevent the erosion of their trade area and to coerce the City Council into taking corrective action. The D.B.A. originally had fifty members, and it increased to one hundred and sixty by 1967.[44] The D.B.A. perceived its principal task as being the completion of an off-street parking ramp, something the unorganized businesses had been unable to acquire despite several years of lobbying the City Council and the N.W.B.T..[45]

The formation of the D.B.A. was an indigenous response to the changing internal and external conditions. The D.B.A. emerged as an effective energy and information adapting organization. The D.B.A. instigated a series of studies and discussions on the parking problem and physical appearance of the downtown area. In fact, the eventual construction of the Front Street parking ramp was solely due to the D.B.A.'s efforts.[46] The failure of the City Council to provide any form of leadership or innovation in dealing with the problems of the downtown left the D.B.A. as the only adaptive and information rich organization in the downtown area.[47]

The city's symbolic and perceptual cohesion received further support from a series of major institutional building initiatives which were undertaken in the 1950s. The first of these projects was the construction of a new City Hall in 1953. The architecturally modern building presented a new and progressive image to the city and its location on the lands originally reserved for the provincial legislature buildings by Colonel Moody was a symbolic reaffirmation of the city's ambitions. The next major project was the erection of a new federal government building at the corner of Sixth Street and Columbia Street. The new building permitted an expansion of the Post Office and an upgrading of its operations. However, the modernist architectural design of the building created an abrupt break in the Victorian streetscape, and further interfered with the flow of pedestrians.[48] In totality, these buildings and the other additions to New Westminster's built fabric mark a definitive architectural break with its nineteenth century past.[49]

The city's internal cohesion and external influence was reinforced by the activities and orientation of its only radio station, CKNW. CKNW started broadcasting in 1944 under the ownership of Bill Rea. The station operated a country and western format, which was well in keeping with New Westminster's role as the service centre for the Lower Fraser

Valley agricultural community.[50] CKNW also actively participated in the promotion of New Westminster throughout the metropolitan region, both by membership in several of the city's organizations, including the Board of Trade, and through its promotion of local programming.

CKNW's commitment to the promotion of New Westminster can be traced to its first two years of operation when it offered advertising space to New Westminster firms which sponsored its 8 p.m. newscast.[51] This was followed by the presentation of a series of fifteen minute broadcasts on Canadian heritage, with an explicit focus on New Westminster.[52] CKNW, in tandem with the British Columbian newspaper, was the principal "voice" of the city in the region. The radio station received several commendations from the N.W.B.T. for its active role in promoting and supporting the city's development.[53] This in turn resulted in an almost exclusive reliance upon the radio station and the newspaper as the only significant media outlets for the city. However, this symbiotic relationship was dependent upon both the continued growth of the city and the media remaining under local ownership, conditions which disappeared in the 1960s.

The decisions made by the various organizations in their advertising is another reflection of the city's influence and vitality. The superior advertising resources of Vancouver, with its larger population, two daily newspapers,

and its own radio stations, was a continual source of concern for New Westminster's business community. "Every day, six days a week, people in New Westminster are invited to do business outside of their city... ."[54] The fear of being subsumed under Vancouver's media had prompted the N.W.B.T. to produce its own publications on New Westminster's industries and to refuse to participate in the Vancouver Sun's 1945 survey of industry due to its exclusive focus upon Vancouver.[55] The N.W.B.T. and the British Columbian also undertook a study to examine the feasibility of the city producing its own City Directory, but it was abandoned due to the excessive cost and it was replaced by a more limited Manufacturer's Directory for the city.[56]

While economic motives predominated in the development of the advertising policies of most of these organizations, the intensity and areal extent of these strategies also played a prominent role in bolstering the city's integrity. The range of some of the advertising campaigns could be quite extensive. In 1945, the N.W.B.T. sent its information brochure to "all the major cities of the world" and in 1950 the brochure was distributed to "the State libraries of every State in the United States, and also every Provincial library."[54] Apart from these special publications, most of the city's advertising was concentrated in CKNW, the British Columbian, and the various local papers in the Lower Fraser Valley such as the Coquitlam Star, the Langley Advance, and

the Surrey Leader. The explicit exclusion of the Vancouver Sun and the Province from this list reflects the incipient rivalry between the two business communities. The importance of the N.W.B.T. to the external promotion of New Westminster was assured in 1951 when its Promotions Bureau assumed full responsibility for all advertising for the city.[58]

In most of the advertising produced by the N.W.B.T. and the N.W.H.C. a definite image of the city as an industrial and commercial centre was presented.[59] The advertising stressed the business and development potential of New Westminster, but the "tourist" potential of the city was noticeably absent. The principal integrative events which were habitually promoted were the Farmers' Market and the May Day celebrations. The historic potential of the city did begin to receive greater consideration by the mid 1950s, but the active promotion of tourism was not undertaken in any consistent manner until the 1960s.

The cumulative effect of these and other integrative processes, such as the civic pride generated by the resident lacrosse team, was to create a city with a high degree of common identity and purpose. The "community spirit" demonstrated by New Westminster's residents was often noted by outside commentators and this engendered a sense of unity which permitted common action by different elements and groups within the city.[60] The local orientation of the

business community and the political leadership usually allowed a fairly rapid degree of coordination on any major issues affecting the city. The perceived common identity also meant that generating community involvement or mobilization behind major events and projects, such as the Parkade, was relatively attainable in this period. However, this strong internal cohesion also gave rise to a deep sense of parochialism and an unwillingness to accept foreign ideas or participation in the city's affairs.[61] This in turn left New Westminster vulnerable to stagnation and decline due to its inability to perceive the nature of the internal and external environmental transformations.[62]

The integrative processes were counter-balanced by several disruptive forces. The business community became divided over a series of issues in this period, such as the night shopping controversy. Even the D.B.A. was not a completely unifying organization as its desire for the parking ramp, or Parkade, over Front Street was opposed by the Front Street merchants. In fact, Mayor Fred (Toby) Jackson openly opposed the proposal because it "would hinder our waterfront development by providing a bottleneck for the only piece of waterfront we have."[63] The unity of the city was significantly less secure after 1959.

4.3 SUMMATION

Jacobs identified the creation of new work as one of the two processes by which an urban centre expands and increases its viability.[64] New Westminster was only partly successful in creating new work because while the local shipyard and engineering firms expanded and diversified and there was an aircraft manufacturing plant in Queensborough for a few years, the dominance of the wood products sector and its primary industrial products meant that there was relatively little scope for diversification or innovation. As long as the external environment demanded the city's products New Westminster's prosperity was assured, but once the external demand fell or the larger productive environment changed, as it did after 1956, the city's expansion would cease. The fact that many of the machinery firms in the city, such as Westminster Boiler and Tank Company and the Westminster Iron Works, made many of their sales to the wood products industry meant that once a process of deterioration commenced in one sector, its effects would be far reaching.

As well, there was relatively little import substitution propelling the city's expansion. The city's exports continued to be raw materials or semi-finished goods, with all finished goods and consumer products being imported. The inability to replace its imports reduced the city's overall viability and left it vulnerable to external fluctuations.

New Westminster is not unique in this respect as the inability to develop a more diversified and higher order manufacturing base has been a characteristic feature of both the British Columbian and Vancouver economies.[65] The cumulative effect of these weaknesses was to leave New Westminster vulnerable to stagnation and decline after 1956.

The internal cohesion and self-organizing ability of New Westminster, and by inference other urban entities, is aptly demonstrated by the variety of surrogate measures employed in this interpretation. Although data on the volume of capital and information flows and per capita energy consumption would have provided a more accurate interpretation of the city's organization and structural stability, the measures utilized do indicate the degree of stability and viability present.[66] The expansion of the industrial, retailing, and port sectors and the continuity of the community and social organizations resulted in the continued influx of capital, people, and information which was actively modified and adapted by the city's internal structure. New Westminster was not a closed system, however, as the changing national and metropolitan contexts were to demonstrate in the following decades.

New Westminster and Vancouver maintained a bi-nodal urban system with several lesser suburban nodes emerging in the rapidly growing suburban municipalities. The earlier

radial- concentric pattern of the region was largely unchanged and much of the development in the late 1940s was simply infilling the established pattern.[67] While population suburbanized, the retail and employment activities continued to be concentrated in the downtown cores of the two major cities. The dominance of the older cores began to be eroded after 1954 when various competing commercial nodes, such as Uptown New Westminster, the Sears department store on Kingsway, and the Brentwood Mall were constructed.

The envelopment of New Westminster by Vancouver's metropolitan region dates from this period. While New Westminster was still an important urban centre, commuting flows began to pass through the city from the south and east into Vancouver. At the same time, Vancouver widened its economic lead over New Westminster by becoming the principal location for the office headquarters of the various regional, national, and international corporations. By the late 1950s, the processes of growth and integration were being overwhelmed by various processes of deterioration and dissipation. It is these powerful forces which would govern New Westminster's external and internal environment for the next thirty years.

NOTES

1 Leo A. Johnson, Poverty in Wealth (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1974), pp. 1-3.

2 Piore and Sabel (1984).

3 The supremacy of the United States was assured by the Marshall Plan, the Bretton Woods Agreement and its premier role as one of the two military "superpowers".

See: David Ziegler, War, Peace, and International Politics, 4th ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1987)

4 British Columbia and Yukon Directory 1940, Vancouver: Sun Life.

5 British Columbia and Yukon Directory 1942, Vancouver: Sun Life.

6 City of New Westminster, A Report on Industrial Land in the City of New Westminster and Greater Vancouver Region, New Westminster: 1990, p.29.

7 Ibid, p.75 and p.79.

Not all of the 10,000 employees lived within the administrative boundaries of New Westminster.

8 "Heaps Engineering" (date unknown), p.6; and "Many fishing, towboats built right here", New Westminster Progress Magazine, 1 (1969), p.20.

9 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, September 7, 1945 (New Westminster Chamber of Commerce microfilm); and N.W.H.C., Annual Report 1951, p.1.

10 New Westminster (1990), p.22.

11 N.W.H.C., Annual Report 1954, p.7.

12 Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board, Manufacturing Industry in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, 1931 to 1976, New Westminster: 1960, p.i.

13 Ibid

The estimate for New Westminster's proportion was derived from the amalgamation and interpretation of the following sources: "Lumber Payroll Here $25,000,000", British Columbian, Centennial Edition, May 5, 1960, City of New Westminster, New Westminster: The Royal City (Promotional Brochure, 1960); and New Westminster (1990), p.160.

14 Dyke, building upon Jacobs's work, makes a fundamental distinction between two different sorts of

trade. In one sort, the material and energy flows simply pass through the entity along established patterns without having an significant impact upon the entity. In the second type of trade, part the flux is diverted by the entity to expand and elaborate its own internal organization. In the case of Port of New Westminster, the employment and capital investment in the immediate postwar period resulted in some of the fluxes passing through the Port being available for internal adaptation. However, as the Port declined and became less "tied" to the city from the 1960s onwards, the pattern of trade regressed to the equilibrium inducing, flow-through variety.

Dyke (1982), pp. 360-361.

15 Denis E. Kerfoot, Port of British Columbia: Development and Trading Patterns, Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1966, pp. 98-99.

16 New Westminster had been the leading mineral exporting port ever since 1930 when the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company, in conjunction with the Canadian Pacific Railway, bought Pacific Coast Terminals and established it as the corporation's main shipping point.

See: N.W.H.C., Annual Report 1935; and Kerfoot (1966), p.78.

17 Letter to Gordon W. Stead, Assistant Deputy, Ministry of Marine from John E. Clayton, Port Manager, March 3, 1960 (Fraser River Harbour Commission microfilm, reel 11-7).

18 Norman Lidster, "An Historian sets the record straight on New Westminster waterfront", Columbian, October 15, 1971.

19 Pacific Coast Terminals was founded in 1926 by a group of local capitalists on eighteen acres of industrial waterfront land. The facility originally consisted of a cold storage compartment, modern mechanical cranes and conventional terminals.

See: N.W.H.C., Annual Report 1926, p.4; and Gresko and Howard (1986), p.64.

20 "New Plans for New Westminster", Canadian Shipping and Marine Engineering News, 31 (June 1960), pp. 52-53.

21 "A Continuing Story...", New Westminster Progress Magazine, 1 (1969), p.12.

22 Weir (1948), pp.34-5.

23 N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1949, p.6.

24 N.W.B.T., Quarterly General Meeting, June 26, 1945.

25 For example see: N.W.B.T., Annual Reports, 1945-51.

26 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, April 23, 1948.

27 N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1949, p.3.

28 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, February 16, 1945.

29 Weir (1948), p.34, and British Columbia Directory, Part 2, 1945, Vancouver: Sun Directories.

30 The continuous influx of trade flows into an urban entity is another source of capital, information and "energy" which can be utilized to maintain the entity's internal coherence and viability. The vitality of the city's retail sector provides an indication of the strength of these flows and the city's potential for further self-organization and expansion.

Dyke (1988), pp. 118-121.

31 British Columbia Directory 1945; and The Vancouver and New Westminster City Directory 1953, Vancouver: B.C. Directories Ltd.

32 N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1954, p.7.

33 "Trapp firm history explores 85 years", Columbian, Trapp Motors Special, August 18, 1967, p.3.

34 In Berry's classification of business patterns in Chicago, an automobile row is a "dense concentration of garages and auto-dealers usually on the edge of the central area... ."

B.J. Berry quoted in Ross L. Davies, Marketing Geography with special reference to retailing, London: Methuen, 1976, p.123.

35 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, March 7, 1955.

36 An indice of this decline is provided by the intensity of business contacts between the N.W.B.T. and other business organizations in the region. For example, although the Fraser Valley Committee continued be an important bureau within the Board of Trade, the practice of holding some of the General Meetings in the Valley ceased after 1951 and the Bureau's annual reports list only occasional visits to other Valley communities in the 1960s.

See: N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1951; and New Westminster Chamber of Commerce, Annual Reports 1960-1964.

37 N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1956.

38 The probable reasons for this decision to build the department store on this site were the availability of significant amounts of cheap, level land for development, the emergence of Sixth Street and Sixth Avenue as major traffic arteries and the advantage of being the only major retailer in this part of the city.

39 Personal Interview with Mr. M.G. Thomson, former Treasurer of the New Westminster Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association, November 10, 1990.

40 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, March 7, 1955.

41 The provision of adequate free parking was one of Woodward's greatest attractions in the Uptown area.

42 New Westminster (1960); and N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, April 20, 1945.

43 The May Day fete not only instilled a sense of place in the children but, through the crowning of the May Queen and other formalities, promoted the Victorian notions of obedience and hierarchy in society.

44 Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association, The Story of Downtown New Westminster 1952 to 1967, New Westminster: 1967, p.5.

45 Tito Castro Firmalino, Citizen Participation in Selected Planning Programs: A Case Study of New Westminster (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1968), p.54 and p.60.

46 Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association (1967), p.7.

47 The ability of any entity to develop new organizations or structures to modify and utilize the new energy fluxes produced by a changing environment will in large measure determine the long term viability of that entity. In the case of New Westminster, the failure of the City Council to deal practically and effectively with the various transformations created a significant organizational and policy vacuum that reduced the city's ability to adapt to the new context.

48 M.G. Thomson (1990).

49 For an interpretation of the relationship between architectural style and cultural change see: Alan Gowans, Images of American Living, New York: Harper and Row, 1976.

50 Conversation with Dr. W.G. Hardwick, January 21, 1991.

51 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, April 26, 1946.

52 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, February 25, 1949.

53 N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1951.

54 Mr. Kelly, Special Guest Speaker, N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, October 19, 1945.

55 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, August 31, 1945; and N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, September 7, 1945.

56 N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1949; and N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1952.

57 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, September 7, 1945; and N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1950, p.10.

58 N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1951.

59 Brown, Mitchell and Wright Ltd., Advertising Agency, "A Program for the Promotion of the Use of Present and Future Facilities of the Harbour of New Westminster for the Year 1960" (report for the N.W.H.C., Fraser River Harbour Commission microfilm reel 12).

60 Hal Gordon, "New Westminster" (unpublished essay for the N.W.H.C., Fraser River Harbour Commission microfilm reel 12, 1935); and Thomson (1990).

61 G.W. Taylor, Builders of British Columbia: An Industrial History, Victoria: Morriss, 1982, pp. 132-133.

62 Thomson (1990).

63 Mayor Jackson quoted in Firmalino (1968), p.62.

64 Jacobs (1969), p.52.

65 Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board (1960); Ronald A. Shearer, John H. Young and Gordon A. Munro, Trade Liberalization and a Regional Economy: Studies in the Impact of Free Trade on British Columbia, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971; and David Baxter, Dimensions of the Greater Vancouver Economy 1986 to 1996, Vancouver: Greater Vancouver Regional District, 1986.

66 Adams (1982), p.17.

67 Walter G. Hardwick, Vancouver, Don Mills, Ontario: Collier-Macmillan, 1974, p.5.

CHAPTER 5

STAGNATION AND DECLINE
1956 TO 1967

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The late 1950s and 1960s were a transitional period in New Westminster. The city experienced a high degree of social and demographic stability. However, the city's economic structure deteriorated. The processes in these differing sectors created a highly unstable situation. The city's inhabitants attempted to reverse the economic decline while, at the same time, preserving the symbols, organizations, and structures of previous epochs.

A variety of indices measure the degree of economic deterioration and dissipation in New Westminster. It is exemplified by decline in the industrial, retailing, and port sectors. The most significant measures of this decline are the total land area and level of employment of the port and industry. Simultaneously, regional, national, and international firms began to dominate industry and their policies affected the city's viability. This decline was further exacerbated by an incipient rivalry between the two

principal commercial nodes in the city, Columbia Street and the uptown area, and the bypassing of New Westminster by the regional transportation system.

The city's population continued to increase in these years, albeit at a slower rate than before and in comparison to other municipalities. Both the youth dependency ratio and the aged dependency ratio exhibited consistent patterns. The evidence for social stability demonstrated by the slow rate of neighbourhood change, the persistence of the May Day celebrations, and the continued New Westminster focus of its daily newspaper, the British Columbian. Household mobility was low in New Westminster and many of its citizens were determined to preserve the character of May Day celebrations intact against all forms of change. The only exception to the process of social cohesion was the rapid transformation of the city's radio station, CKNW, from a community oriented media outlet to the "voice of the province" as a result of its being purchased by a national broadcasting corporation. The ramifications of the conflicting processes of demographic and social stability and economic deterioration and their impact upon the city's overall viability and regional significance constitutes the central theme of this chapter.

5.2 ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

The economic deterioration of New Westminster took place at a time when North America continued to enjoy economic expansion. But now this prosperity is known to have masked shifts in the composition of the world and the Canadian political economies. The general decline in demand for consumer durables in the 1960s provoked a crisis in the established command-control systems of industrial production.[1] The command-control, mass production model of industrial organization, which was the dominant model in New Westminster firms, proved to be slow in adapting to the changing global and national context and therefore experienced a period of instability.[2]

The international political environment also transformed the stable world order which had formerly supported North America's expansion. The re-emergence of Japan and West Germany as economic and political powers eroded the hegemony of the United States in international affairs.[3] As well, the newly industrializing countries (NICs) in East and Southeast Asia began to compete effectively with the older industrial nations. The shift of labour intensive industrial production to the Third World provoked a steady deterioration in the viability of the older industrial centres of the First World.[4] The increased foreign indust-

rial competition in the traditional industries such as heavy engineering, shipbuilding, and steel limited the growth potential of older Canadian cities like New Westminster.

5.21 Industry

New Westminster, with its industrial sector heavily concentrated in primary manufacturing, was not as adversely affected as other industrial cities.[5] While both the wood products and the paper and allied products sectors were relatively stable in terms of the total value of output and the number of firms, the other industrial sectors, such as engineering, aircraft manufacturing and food and beverage manufacturing all experienced a reduction in total employment and the number of firms.[6] The closure and auctioning off of the Heaps Engineering Company and the aircraft manufacturing plant in the late 1950s stalled the trend to a relatively more diversified industrial base which had commenced in the 1940s. The city was again dependent upon the economic health of the forestry industry with its volatile external demand. This loss of the "new work" and the absence of any significant degree of import substitution resulted in a negative multiplier effect which impaired its economic viability and contributed to the active process of deterioration.[7]

While total employment in the industrial sector declined from 6,286 in 1956 to 5,526 in 1966 and the number of firms fell from 111 to 103, other indices present a more complex image.[8] Both the total area zoned for industrial use and the total industrial floor space remained relatively static.[9] The annual value of industrial production, on the other hand, increased from approximately $90,000,000 in 1953 to $401,000,000 in 1967.[10] The increase in the value of production, despite declining levels of employment, was a direct result of the application of labour-saving, capital intensive methods of production by the city's firms. Increasing automation, as exemplified by the upgrading of the Scott Paper and McMillan Bathurst paper plants in the 1960s, also resulted in an expanded demand for land because the new methods of production required larger sites. Former multi-story structures were replaced by single-story buildings.[11] The obsolescence of older multi-story structures was an especially significant problem in Downtown New Westminster where most of the industrial buildings were of this type. The fragmentary nature of the landholdings made assembly into larger units difficult and expensive.[12]

A significant change which had long-term repercussions on the viability of the city was the completion of the process of corporate concentration and foreign multi-national control, especially in the wood products and paper and allied products sectors. This process of corporate concent-

ration had been underway in Canada since the 1890s.[13] In British Columbia, it was the period from 1941 to 1952 which witnessed the greatest increase in the "consolidation of many provincial resource companies into larger units, and the entrance... of large multinational resource companies...".[14] New Westminster's industrial sector largely lost its indigenous ownership in the late 1940s and 1950s when several local mills and plants were acquired by national and multinational firms, such as the 1948 acquisition of Heaps Engineering by Waterous Ltd. of Ontario or the 1954 merger of the Westminster Paper Company with Scott Paper Limited. This process continued throughout the 1960s with the majority of the new firms becoming subsidiaries of provincial, national or multinational corporations.[15]

The composition of the city's industrial sector is indicated in Table 5 and highlights the degree of external control. Although the number of firms identified in Table 5 is rather small, due in part to the difficulty in determining ownership, the basic characteristics of this sector are apparent. In the machinery manufacturing, shipbuilding and printing and publishing sectors many local firms still remained, but these firms were either dependent upon the wood products sector for most of their business or they just served the local market.[16] The principal implications of this external control were the relative lack of forward or backward linkages in the local economy and the inhibition of

TABLE 5

SELECTED FIRMS WITH

IDENTIFIABLE OWNERSHIP 1966

Sector	Number of Firms		
	New Westminster Control	External Control	Total
Machinery	6	2	8
Wood Products	2	6	8
Paper and Allied Products	-	2	2
Printing and Publishing	3	-	3
Shipbuilding	1	-	1
Food and Beverage	1	4	5
Total all sectors	13	14	27

Sources: New Westminster (1990), p.22; New Westminster Progress Magazine (1969); N.W.H.C., Annual Reports, 1961-1965; and various articles from the New Westminster Public Library Vertical Files on industry.

autonomous information flows.[17] In New Westminster, apart from linkages with local machinery manufacturing firms the various woods products and paper plants were mainly oriented to the overseas markets. The majority of the inputs for these large firms, except for labour, were acquired from elsewhere in the metropolitan region while the semi-finished outputs were almost exclusively exported abroad.[18] As a result, the residual multiplier effect was not as substantial as might have been attained if the city's former indigenous orientation had been maintained.

As North America moved from a goods based form of social and economic organization to an "information society" a city's relative location within the flows of information became crucially important in maintaining its viability.[19] New Westminster throughout this period was increasingly in a peripheral location in relation to these international, national and regional information flows. While many of the city's firms were controlled by national or provincial corporations, such as Macmillan Bloedel, their head office functions were all located outside of the city, either in Downtown Vancouver, Toronto or American metropolitan centres. The absence of head office functions in the city meant that there was virtually no local input into the operation of these firms and that the city was reduced to being one point of production among the many points controlled by each corporation.[20]

There was also a lack of any research and development in New Westminster. The city's industrial firms could only upgrade or adapt to the changing internal and external environments with the consent of the head office. The type and pace of technological change was thus dependent upon the importation of new innovations. As a result, there was little encouragement of local innovations or entrepreneurial skill and the vulnerability of the city's industry to external transformations was greatly increased.[21] The city was therefore at risk of becoming a passive receptor of external information flows and thus incapable of rapidly adapting to the "postindustrial society" which emerged in the late 1960s.[22]

5.22 The Port

Paralleling the stagnation in the city's industrial sector, New Westminster's port was adversely affected by a combination of technological change in the vessel sizes and loading techniques, the age and topography of the waterfront and shifts in transportation modes.[23] During the 1960s, the size of vessels increased. This was partly a result of an increase in the world's ocean going fleet and volume of trade and partly due to the shipping companies' desire to achieve greater economies of scale and reduced turn-around times.[24] While most tramp and liner vessels had weighed between 5,000-8,000 d.w.t. before 1960, by the early 1970s

vessels as large as 30,000 d.w.t. were in active service and some specialized bulk carriers, such as oil tankers and ore carriers, easily dwarfed even these new ships.[25] The larger vessels required deep ports for their safe operation and New Westminster, with a harbour depth of thirty to thirty-five feet and constant river siltation problems, was incapable of easily accommodating these changes.[26]

Simultaneously, there also occurred a radical transformation in the means of transporting and loading/unloading cargo. In the case of general cargo, the two techniques which have had the greatest impact are the roll-on/roll-off method and containerization. Both of these techniques came into commercial use in the 1960s in response, in part, to increasing labour costs at the docks due to increasing wages, low productivity and restrictive union practices. By adopting these methods the ship owners were able to mechanize the waterfront, thereby increasing the productivity of labour while reducing the total number of workers required. At the port, "a smaller labour force, reduced as much as ninety percent"[27] can easily handle the same volume of commodities. As before, the turn-around time of the vessel improved, thereby reducing the time it spends as an expensive floating warehouse.[28] By the late 1960s the wharves and warehouses on the waterfront of New Westminster were becoming old and decrepid. The city was thus faced with upgrading the docks, which it owned, and it simply did not

have the money available.[29] The lack of investment in the port resulted in its increasing obsolescence and a steady deterioration in its relative attractiveness.

All the new maritime techniques required large amounts of flat, accessible land for their effective operation.[30] This requirement was especially damaging to New Westminster because the city is characterized by numerous steep hills with only a limited amount of flat land available near the river. In 1971 Pacific Coast Terminals had only nine acres in which to assemble and move cargo and this was spread out in a narrow strip between Front Street and the river, while the Vanterm facility alone in Vancouver had seventy-six acres.[31] Finally, these techniques were also associated with a modal shift in land transportation away from railways to truck transport. Access to regional highway networks thus became of paramount importance, while the older rail-linked facilities, such as New Westminster, declined to a peripheral status. New Westminster's congested port area was made even more inadequate by the city's traffic provisions which limited all heavy vehicle traffic to Front Street, thus reducing the port's accessibility.

The opening of the Fraser Surrey Docks in 1963 on the south side of the river underscored the city's decreasing relevance. Fraser Surrey is a sixty-nine hectare facility sited in the municipalities of Surrey and Delta. Fraser Sur-

rey is both a general cargo and a container terminal, completely equipped to handle unit loads, containers and roll-on/roll-off traffic.[32] Steel, fruits, meat, containers and other types of general cargo arrives in the facility, almost all of which would have been unloaded in New Westminster in earlier years. The extensive open as well as enclosed storage areas and the large berthing area both combine to give Fraser Surrey an immense advantage over New Westminster.[33] The existence of such a modern facility so close to the city reduced the desire of many of the firms and organizations associated with the old port to undertake a massive modernization program.

The deterioration of New Westminster's position as a port was symbolically indicated by the 1959 decision of the New Westminster Harbour Commission to widen the scope of all subsequent annual reports to include the entire Lower Fraser River region and not just the immediate area around New Westminster.[34] This decision was a reflection of the increasing industrial and port importance of the surrounding municipalities. The declining regional importance of New Westminster was institutionally recognized in 1965 when the New Westminster Harbour Commission was replaced by the Fraser River Harbour Commission (F.R.H.C.). The Commission became a regional body with membership extended to all of the municipalities contained within its 217 kilometer administrative area. While the head office remained in New West-

minster, the city was forced to share influence with the surrounding municipalities.[35] The demolition of the grain elevator in 1969 marks the final eclipse of the city's port ambitions and the ending of grain shipments through the Fraser River.

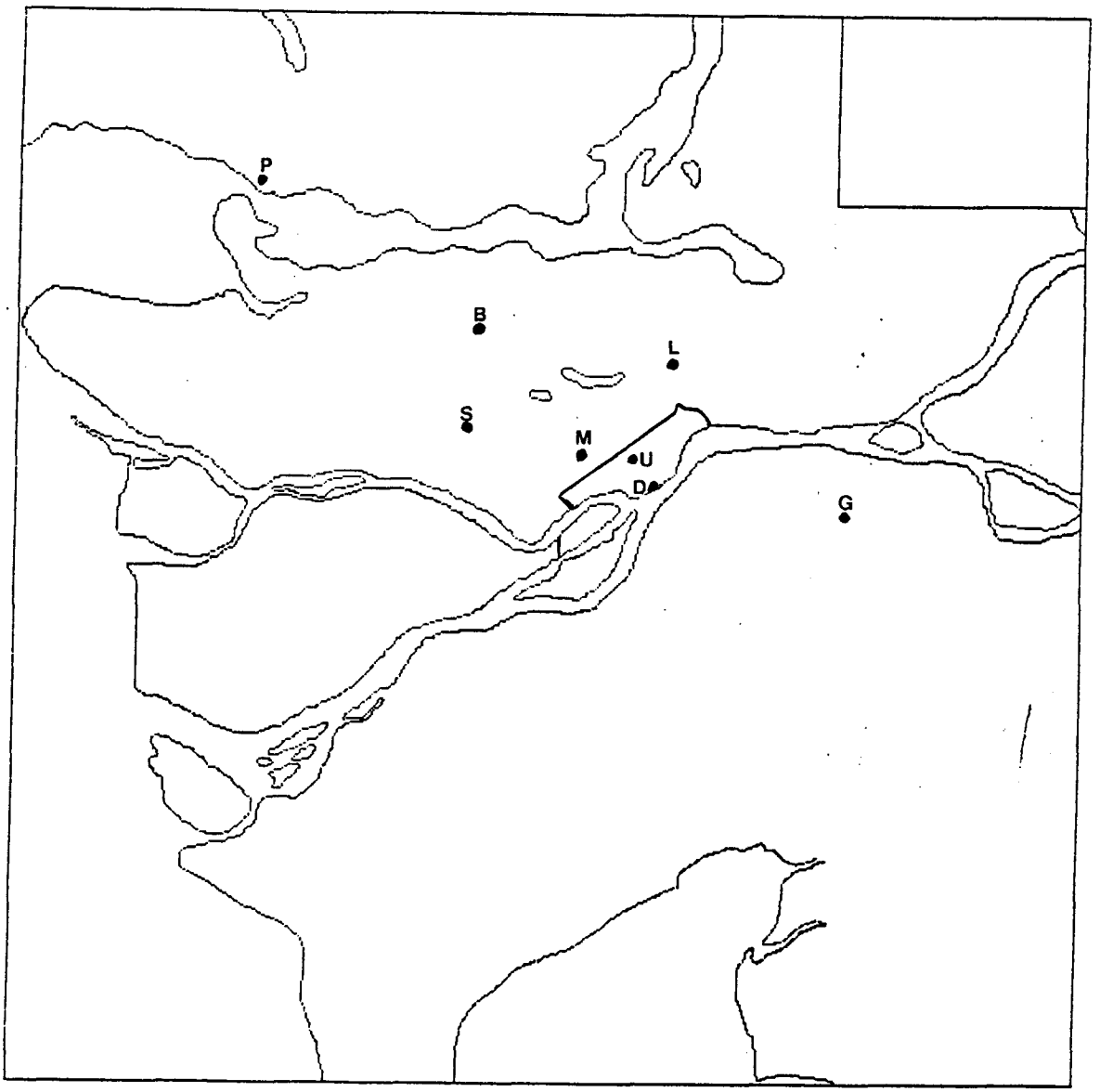
5.23 Retailing

The retail viability of New Westminster experienced a significant degree of instability in the 1960s due to the continued decline of the Downtown, renewed expansion in the Uptown and the containment and reduction of the city's trade area by the development of new regional and community shopping centres in the surrounding municipalities (Figure 4). In general terms, the city's trading area population expanded from 135,000 in 1953 to 180,000 in 1967 with a total retail sales volume estimated at over $105,000,000.[36] However, this expansion can largely be accounted for by the continuing population growth in the city and surrounding municipalities. Despite the absolute increase in the city's market size its relative position within the metropolitan region continued to erode.[37] As a result, the volume of trade flows into the city decreased and New Westminster's self-organizing function was significantly impaired.

Downtown New Westminster, although not declining in an absolute sense, was no longer the major market centre for

FIGURE 4

NEW WESTMINSTER AND ITS COMMERCIAL RIVALS
1969



Key
U Uptown New Westminster
D Downtown New Westminster
L Lougheed Mall
M Middlegate Mall
G Guildford Shopping Centre
S Sears Department Store
B Brentwood Mall
P Park Royal Shopping Centre

Source: New Westminster Public Library

the entire Lower Fraser Valley. Although the completion of the parking ramp in 1959 had temporarily alleviated the shortage of parking spaces in the core, the Downtown still did not offer the large amount of free parking available in the suburban shopping centres or in Uptown New Westminster.[38] The parking ramp also adversely affected the streetscape along Front Street and ultimately caused the commercial collapse of the entire street (Figure 5). Columbia Street was itself suffering from a variety of problems associated with its increasing age. The main commercial buildings were often owned by absentee landlords and as a result Columbia Street's general appearance had deteriorated.[39]

The Downtown Business and Property Owners's Association (D.B.A.) was the one organization which consistently attempted to offer solutions to the mounting problems. In 1963 the D.B.A. succeeded in convincing the City Council to install ornamental colored street lights along Columbia Street to improve its attractiveness.[40] A year later, a major renovation of Columbia Street was undertaken by the City Council and the D.B.A.. The street was reconstructed with improved greenery and wider sidewalks and an effort was made to encourage property owners to upgrade their facades.[41] However, these improvements did not address any of the underlying processes which were causing the Downtown's dissipation and thus the impression of Columbia Street as a declining area continued.

FIGURE 5

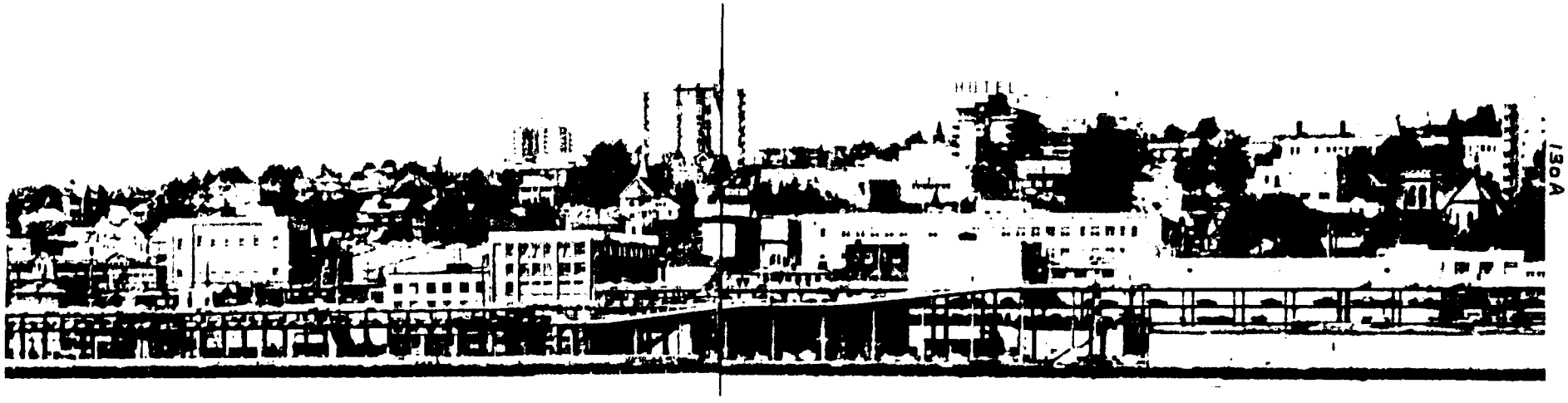
FRONT STREET UNDER THE PARKADE

Source: New Westminster Public Library

By 1962 the lack of adequate parking had once again begun to emerge as an important issue. The D.B.A. proposed an extension to the parking ramp to alleviate some of the congestion which was occurring on Columbia Street. Unlike the original ramp proposal, the extension was actively supported by Mayor Beth Wood and the rest of the Council and the plans were quickly approved.[42] The extension was supported by a majority of the Downtown property owners in a vote on a special money bylaw in 1964 and the extension was completed in 1966 at a cost of $1,010,000.[43] The expanded ramp consisted of three decks which extended over Front Street for about two-thirds of its length and could accommodate a total of 911 cars.[44] The expanded ramp did increase the amount of parking space in the Downtown, but it also exerted a negative influence on Front Street (Figure 6).

Architecturally, the expanded parking ramp was an extremely unattractive structure and it acted as a strong physical barrier to the waterfront. The neglect of the ramp's design and aesthetics had a negative impact upon the commercial viability of Front Street. The parking ramp, with its reinforced concrete decks and pillars, created a tunnel effect which, in combination with the high volumes of railroad and heavy vehicle traffic, rendered normal conversation impossible. The high levels of noise and the lack of adequate lighting discouraged the street's utilization by

FIGURE 6



DOWNTOWN NEW WESTMINSTER WITH THE PARKADE

Source: New Westminster Public Library.

pedestrians. The declining commercial viability of Front Street was indicated by the prevalence of pawnshops, second-hand stores and vacant buildings and this in turn provoked a disincentive to invest in renovations on the part of the property owners.[45] By 1967, Front Street was a fully blighted commercial strip.

Uptown New Westminster, however, consistently experienced processes of expansion and development in the 1960s. In 1963, at the southwest corner of the intersection of Sixth Avenue and Sixth Street, an office complex was built which contained the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce on the ground floor. This building was significant because it marked the beginning of the general expansion of the office sector in the Uptown area. As Table 6 indicates, the pace of construction continued unabated throughout the 1964-68 period. The completion of the Westminster Medical Building greatly enhanced the availability of medical and professional services to area residents and the expansion of the Woodward's department store secured the position of the Uptown as a significant multi-functional commercial district.

Simultaneously, the City Council rezoned a large proportion of the Uptown to high density residential use from the previous single family designation.[46] This rezoning permitted the development of a large number of apartment buildings in the area. As Table 7 indicates, at the peak of

TABLE 6

UPTOWN:

NEW COMMERCIAL FLOOR SPACE

Year	Approximate New Floor Space	Major Developments Included
1964	60,000 sq. ft.	Westminster Medical
1965	-	-
1966	3,500 sq. ft.	Mini-Mart
1967	9,000 sq. ft.	B.C. Telephone and a Service Station
1968	30,000 sq. ft.	Woodward's Stores
Total	102,500 sq. ft.	

Source: The City Centre (1969), p.19.

TABLE 7

NEW APARTMENT UNITS CONSTRUCTED

IN THE UPTOWN

Year	Number of Units
1964	97
1965	523
1966	461
1967	772
1968	1,002
Total	2,855

Source: The City Centre (1969), p.20.

development in 1968, approximately 1,000 units were constructed. This rapid development resulted in a profound increase in the local population in the Uptown area and a shift in its composition from single family homeowners to mainly renters, a large proportion of which were senior citizens.[47] This population growth aided the commercial expansion of Uptown New Westminster, but its effects on the Downtown core are more problematic. The generally lower mobility of senior citizens, coupled with the steep hills leading into the Downtown, probably restricted the shopping patterns of many of the residents to the Uptown area.[48] Furthermore, the relatively small range of most convenience goods and services also limited the benefits to the Uptown area.[49] The transformation of Uptown New Westminster in certain respects paralleled the similar, albeit far larger, development of the West End of Vancouver into the highest density district in the metropolitan region.

Downtown and Uptown New Westminster existed in an unstable symbiotic relationship during this period. Both areas attracted consumers from the surrounding municipalities into the city and it is reasonable to assume that a significant proportion of the shoppers travelled between the two nodes. The continued expansion of the Uptown strengthened the commercial viability and population base of the city. As well, Columbia Street, with its mix of department stores, services and government offices exerted a significant magnetic at-

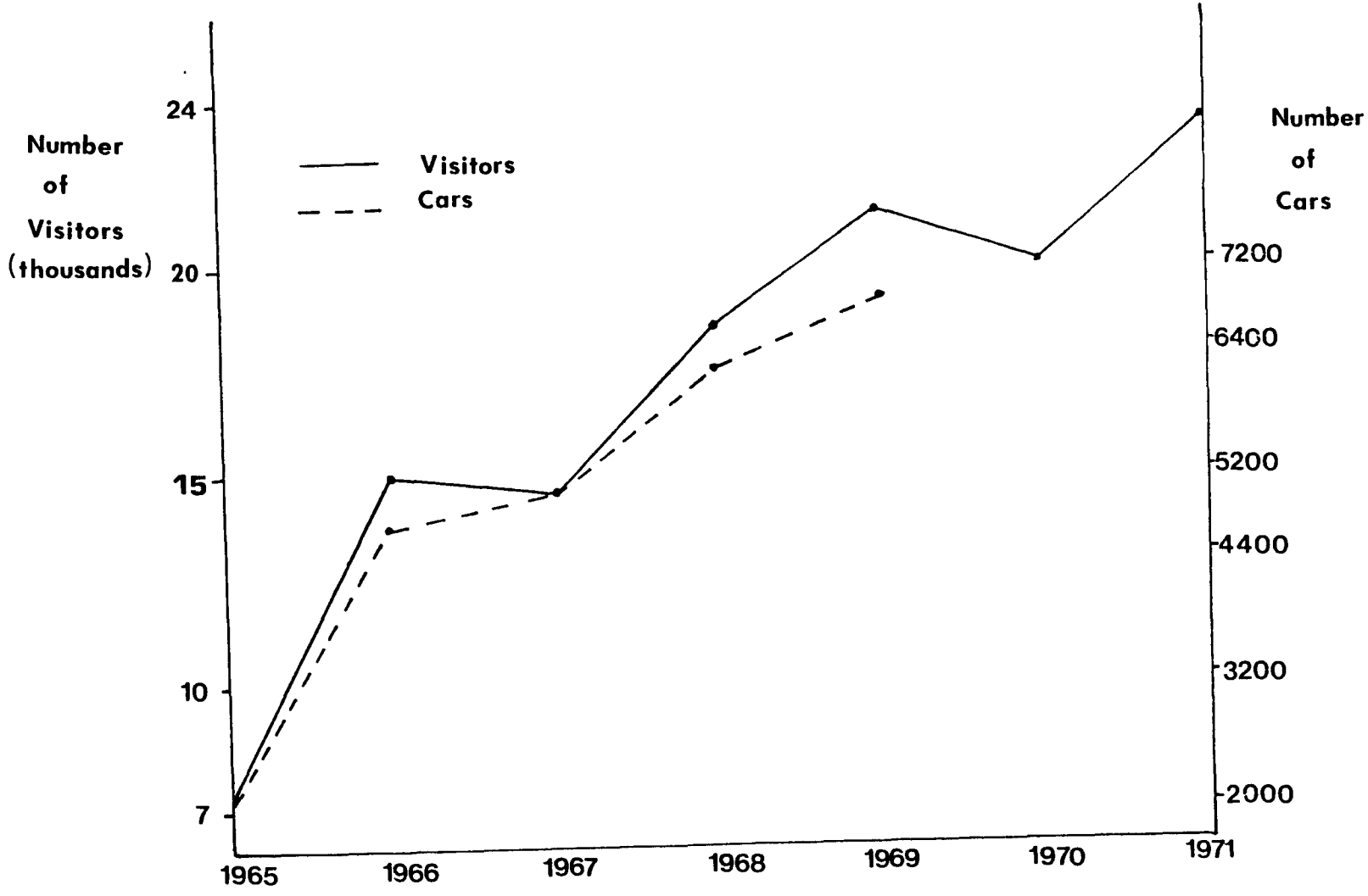
traction on the region. However, within the city the two areas tended to be in competition with each other, thereby limiting the degree of cooperation between them and weakening the long term adaptability of the city. In an effort to eliminate the wasteful competition, the City officially recognized the interdependency of the two areas with The City Centre report in 1969. This report stressed the necessity of treating the two areas as one unified commercial core and in developing plans to promote complementary growth for both. The failure to implement the plan fully resulted in a continuation of the dispersal of development between the two areas and an exacerbation of their differing trajectories.

As with all dissipative structures, cities often still possess dynamic elements which promote the city's economic viability despite the general process of deterioration.[50] The most significant shift in the economic composition of the city was the growing promotion of the tourist and convention industry. Although the absence of an adequate first-class hotel had been seen as a significant disadvantage since 1950, it was not until the late 1950s that the Board of Trade began to seriously consider this issue.[51] The designation of Irving House as the city's historic centre in 1953 had improved the attractiveness of the city to tourists, but it was not until the Royal Towers Hotel opened in 1962 that the City could accommodate tourists.[52]

The growing volume of tourist traffic entering the city is indicated by Figure 7. Both the number of visitors and the volume of traffic served by the Visitor's Information Booth operated by the Chamber of Commerce (formerly the Board of Trade) steadily increased from 1965 to 1971. In fact, the renaming of the Board of Trade to the New Westminster Chamber of Commerce was in part motivated by the perceived shift in its operations away from an exclusive focus upon industry or retailing.[53]

The complexity of the dynamic economic situation in New Westminster was reflected in the fluctuations in the value of building permits and assessed land values in the city from 1955 to 1969. The dynamics of urban land rent has often been utilized as an indicator of the relative attractiveness and importance of an urban centre.[54] In more traditional approaches, such as Alonso's Land Rent Model, differences in land values are associated with variations in the relative accessibility of areas within the city or region. This concept has recently been elaborated upon by some European researchers, such as Roberto Camagni and Tomasco Pompili, who argue that urban land rent is not only an indicator of the "demand for accessibility to urban-centred information", but also "a mode of appropriation of the surplus generated by urban-based innovation...".[55] Thus, rising land values will ultimately adversely affect the viability of urban centres by propelling the eventual movement of urban-based

FIGURE 7



Source: N.W.C.C., Annual Reports, 1965-71

information activities out of central locations in favour of decentralised and peripheral locations. This movement out of the central locations to the periphery has been described as the "periphery's revenge after the tyranny of the metropolis."[56] An urban centre's present attractiveness and future viability therefore may be inferred from the fluctuations in its land rents.[57]

Table 8 indicates the fluctuations in the value of building permits, the total assessed value of land and the Vancouver metropolitan Consumer Price Index. In terms of the value of building permits, using 1961 as the base year, there was a marked degree of variation over the 1955 to 1969 period. The greatest increases in the value of building permits issued occurred form 1965 to 1969 when the construction "boom" in Uptown New Westminster was at its peak. Despite the often vast swings in the value of building permits, the trend was generally moving in an upward direction after 1961 and the values greatly exceeded both the increase in the total assessed value of property in the city and the Consumer Price Index. However, the total assessed property values increased only marginally faster than the Consumer Price Index (C.P.I.) during the 1950s and at about the same rate as the C.P.I. in the early 1960s, with the noticeable exception of the years 1960 to 1962. The total assessed property values began to increase rapidly after 1967 as the Uptown development began to have a significant impact upon the city.

TABLE 8

THE RELATIVE ATTRACTIVENESS

OF NEW WESTMINSTER

(Base Year 1961)

Year	Building Permits	Assessed Property Values	C.P.I.
1955	115	77.6	91.1
1956	92	81.8	92.4
1957	115	84.4	94.7
1958	103	87.7	97.1
1959	113	90.3	98.8
1960	111	95.7	99.7
1961	100	100.0	100.0
1962	159	112.5	100.3
1963	124	112.6	101.9
1964	129	113.5	102.6
1965	179	117.9	104.5
1966	180	121.3	107.0
1967	249	126.3	111.0
1968	329	135.8	115.1
1969	221	145.7	119.0

Source: City of New Westminster, Information Bulletins, Numbers 12 and 18; City of New Westminster, Financial Statements, 1961 to 1984; and Statistics Canada, Consumer Prices and Price Indexes, 1961 to 1985.

These figures indicate that New Westminster was not a completely depressed area, or "sink", in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The fact that the total assessed property values increased during this period, albeit at low rate, demonstrates that at least some areas of the city were still experiencing continued expansion. However, the slow growth also means that the city was not a strong urban attractor. The lack of rapid property value increase until the late 1960s implies that the city had become economically stagnant and bypassed as a major urban information centre. The figures also indicate that the city was still able to generate or modify its own internal and external "energy" fluxes in order to maintain its internal coherence. The growth in the city's land rents and economic viability in the late 1960s was a direct consequence of the development of Uptown New Westminster.

5.24 Regional Transformations

The viability and regional importance of New Westminster was negatively affected by changes in the regional transportation system. The progressive construction of new bridges over the Fraser River and Burrard Inlet in the post-war period aided the rapid population growth in the suburbs and exerted a profound influence on New Westminster's relative accessibility. The Pattullo Bridge had been the only

significant crossing from New Westminster to the southern municipalities and the Lower Fraser Valley since 1937. However, by 1955 the Pattullo Bridge was suffering from increasing traffic congestion and the Board of Trade began to agitate for a new crossing at Annacis Island.[58] At the same time the constant disruption of road and rail traffic between Downtown New Westminster and Queensborough due to the opening of the swing span of the Lulu Island Bridge to accommodate river traffic, coupled with its inadequate width and increasing age, provoked a series of meetings between the Board of Trade, the New Westminster Harbour Commission, the North Fraser Harbour Commission and the B.C. Towboat Owners' Association to discuss its replacement.[59]

The importance of the Pattullo Bridge to New Westminster and the metropolitan region is indicated by Table 9. Fifty-nine percent of the South Shore Pattullo Bridge traffic originated or terminated in Surrey while an additional nineteen and a half percent originated or terminated in Langley or elsewhere in the Lower Fraser Valley. On the North Side of the Pattullo Bridge thirty-seven percent of origins and destinations were in New Westminster, which was only slightly less than the forty-two percent figure for Vancouver, the North Shore and the University Endowment Lands. Thus, New Westminster was able to capture a large amount of the traffic flowing across the Fraser River and maintain its commercial viability. However, by 1954 the peak

TABLE 9

ORIGINS AND DESTINATIONS

OF PATTULLO BRIDGE TRAFFIC

1953

To and From	Percent of Total Traffic
Surrey	59.1
Langley and east	19.5
White Rock and U.S.A.	16.6
Delta	4.8
Total	100.0
<u>North Shore</u>	
East of North Road	4.8
New Westminster	37.2
Burnaby	11.3
Boundary Road to Fraser St. (including North Vancouver)	12.4
West of Fraser St. (excluding downtown)	15.9
Downtown Vancouver and West Vancouver	15.0
Lulu and Sea Island	3.4
Total	100.0

Source: Technical Committee on Metropolitan Highway Planning (1955), pp. 37-38.

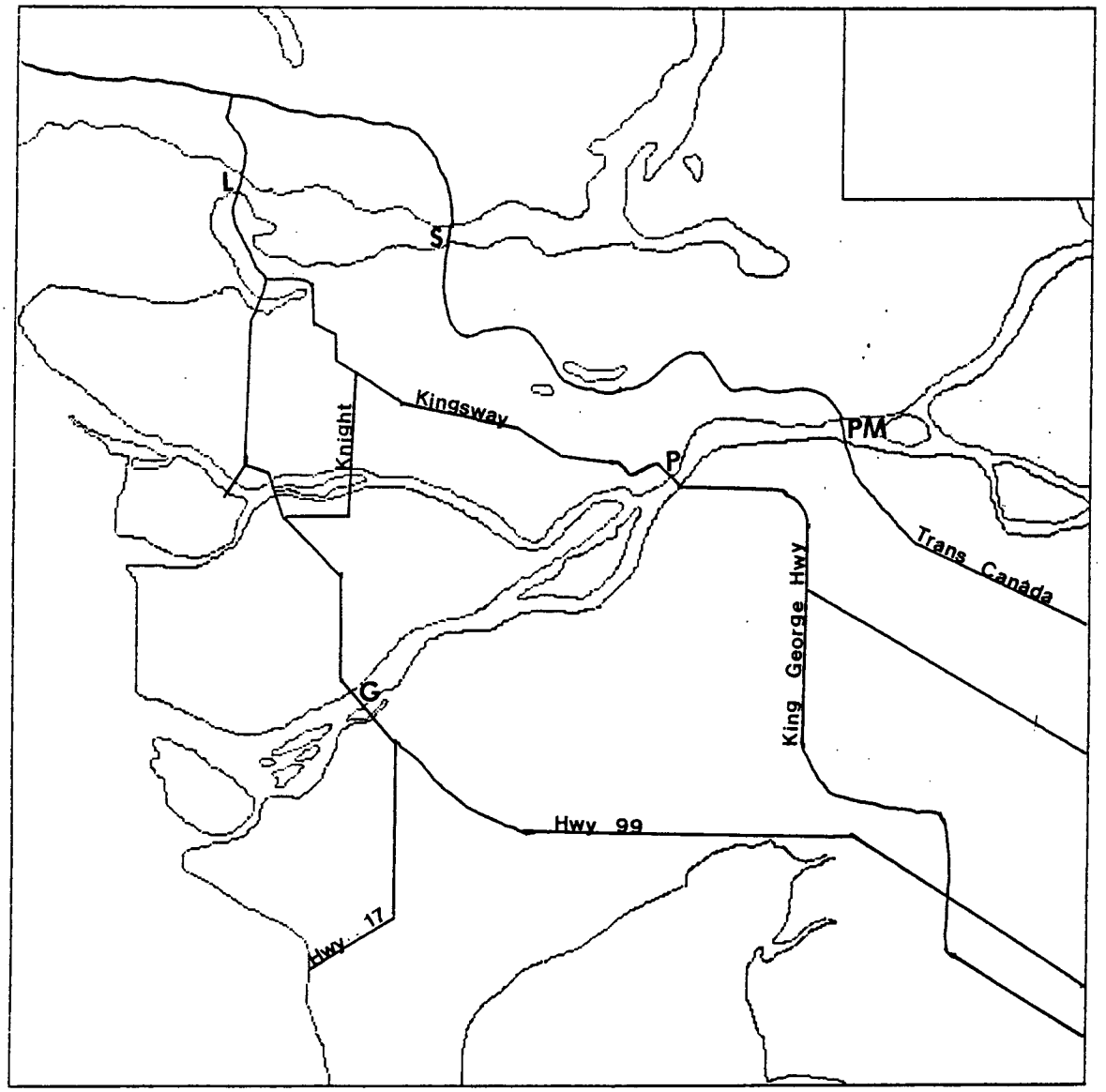
Sunday traffic volume had reached 2,400 vehicles per hour for two lane one-way traffic while the maximum design capacity was only 3,000 vehicles per hour.[60] With the annual traffic volumes increasing at an average of fifteen percent per year, additional crossings were necessary.[61]

The new system of crossings which emerged was not beneficial to New Westminster. The completion of the Deas Island Tunnel in 1959 (later renamed the George Massey Tunnel) and Highway 17 to Tsawwassen, 10 miles to the west down river, provoked the rapid development of Delta and its integration into Vancouver's urban field.[62] The subsequent construction of the Trans-Canada Highway and the Port Mann Bridge in 1964, 5 miles up river to the east, for the first time permitted traffic from the Lower Fraser Valley to bypass New Westminster completely on its way into Vancouver and Burnaby (Figure 8). Although these crossings did alleviate some of the congestion problems plaguing the Pattullo Bridge, they also served to link the outer region more closely with Vancouver and Burnaby and undercut New Westminster's former commuter shed and trade area. New Westminster was thereby transformed into just one among several destinations in a multinucleated metropolitan region.

The relative loss of traffic due to the new bridges was compounded in 1960 by changes to the north and south approaches to the Pattullo Bridge. Prior to 1960, there had

FIGURE 8

MAJOR ROADS AND CROSSINGS IN THE
GREATER VANCOUVER REGION



Key

P Pattullo Bridge
PM Port Mann Bridge
G George Massey Tunnel
L Lions Gate Bridge
S Second Narrows Bridge

been direct access from Columbia Street onto the Pattullo Bridge. However, to increase the carrying capacity of the approaches and reduce traffic congestion on Columbia Street, a clover-leaf interchange was built on the north side which forced all north-bound traffic to turn onto Royal Avenue before entering the Downtown while south-bound traffic was only able to use Columbia Street to enter the bridge during non-peak hours. As a result, traffic was almost forced to bypass the Downtown and the Columbia Street merchants noticed a perceptible drop in their business.[63] The Downtown was thus rendered less accessible to its traditional customers on the south side of the Fraser River and its relative attractiveness declined.

The construction of the Queensborough Bridge created other problems for the city. The pre-existing Lulu Island Bridge had served as the only crossing point between Queensborough and the rest of the city since 1909 and its single span carried two lanes of road traffic and a single railway track. "The highway portion of this structure had for some time had a 10-ton, 10 m.p.h. limit imposed upon it..."[64] and it could only handle a maximum of 8,000 cars per day.[65] The bridge was unable to accommodate both trains and vehicles simultaneously and this caused numerous traffic bottlenecks. The old swing bridge was also viewed as a navigation hazard by the B.C. Towboat Owners' Association and both of the harbour commissions.[66] In order to improve

upon all of these problems the city decided to construct a new bridge between Queensborough and the West End of the city (then an independent area under provincial control called District Lot 172).

The completion of the new Queensborough Bridge did resolve some of the problems, but it also had negative ramifications for the city. The new bridge could accommodate approximately 20,000 cars per day and it did not possess the inconvenience of a railway in the middle of the structure.[67] The bridge was not a hazard to navigation as it had been built with an eighty foot vertical clearance, thus permitting river traffic to pass unobstructed.[68] However, the bridge was not an unquestionable success. The location of the bridge on the north shore of Queensborough and connecting with Marine Drive and Twentieth Street meant that traffic could once again flow around the city into Vancouver and Burnaby. Although there are precise figures on the impact of the bridge on the Downtown's commercial viability, the cumulative effect was probable to further erode the core's relative accessibility.

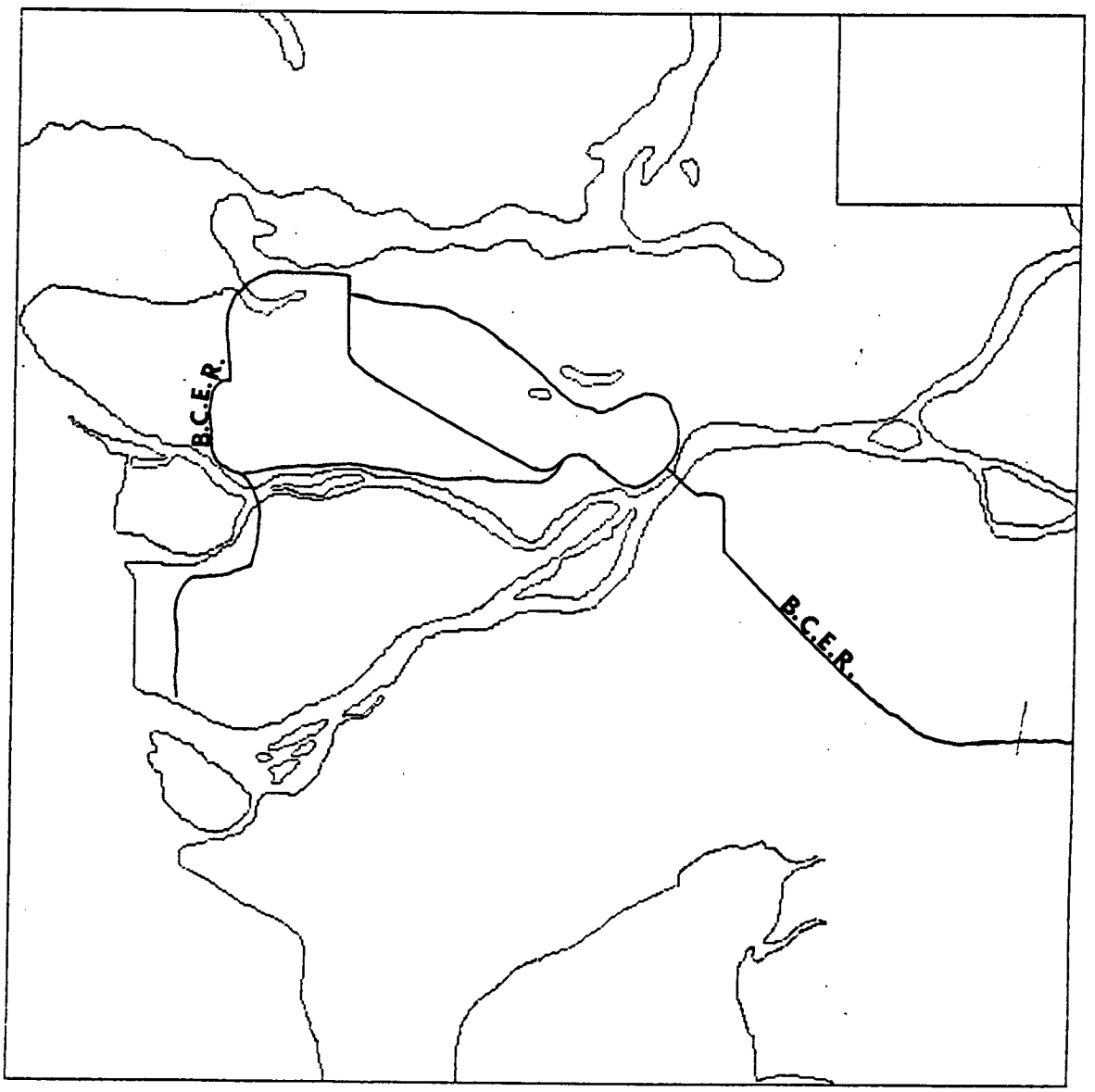
The fact that the Queensborough Bridge was a toll bridge and that it was built by the city with no appreciable financial support from the province imposed a heavy financial burden on the city and Queensborough residents. The final $4,000,000 cost was paid through the sale of deben-

tures guaranteed by the provincial government and the constant need to make up the annual payments and cover the operating deficit strained city finances.[69] This debt made it very difficult for the city to undertake any other major capital projects. The necessity of charging tolls was an especially hard burden for Queensborough residents and industries. The cost of the tolls was seen as a significant additional burden by the firms in Queensborough and on Annacis Island and as a disincentive to invest in the area.[70] The greatest protests came from the residents who complained about the high cost and inconvenience of reaching New Westminster.[71] Until 1966, when the provincial government agreed to assume responsibility for the bridge and abolished the tolls, the Queensborough Bridge was a definite strain on the city.

The accessibility of the city was also impeded by the changes which occurred in the regional transit system in the 1950s and 1960s. Between 1950 and 1953, the interurban and tram systems, which were focused on Downtown New Westminster (Figure 9), were closed throughout the region and in their place a bus system was established. However, the service which was provided in New Westminster and South Burnaby was viewed as being completely inadequate. "The main complaint was that it took double the time to travel to New Westminster than formerly... ".[72] and the instigation of an express bus into Vancouver made Downtown Vancouver easier to

FIGURE 9

THE INTER-URBAN RAILWAY SYSTEM
1947



travel to than Downtown New Westminster. The City Council and the Board of Trade both made vigorous protests to Pacific Stage Lines, but apart from some minor route changes very little was accomplished.[73]

In the same year, Pacific Stage Lines moved their bus terminal from Front Street to the corner of Sixth Street and Royal Avenue. This move provoked a great deal of opposition from the Downtown merchants because the new location now required all passengers to negotiate the steep Sixth Street hill in order to shop on Columbia Street. In response to the reduction in the city's accessibility for bus passengers, the Board of Trade, and later the Chamber of Commerce, started a special Shopper's Bus from the bus terminal around the Downtown core which was supported by a special levy on Downtown businesses.[74] In 1962 the bus was made the responsibility of the D.B.A. and its continued operation into the 1970s is a reflection of the poor state of bus service in the city.

In fact, the complaints about the bus service continued into the 1960s. In 1961, a complaint was made by the Chamber of Commerce about the inadequate bus service to Coquitlam which was an important source of customers for the city's businesses.[75] The lack of any overall improvement in the provision of bus service to the city resulted in a reduction in New Westminster's urban field for transit users. By 1966

Mr. M.G. Thomson of the D.B.A. could remark that " a number of means of public transit into Downtown New Westminster had been lost in recent years and that the "experts" had actually written-off our Downtown about ten years ago."[76]

The various changes in the relative accessibility and attractiveness of New Westminster are of even greater importance when examined within the context of the continuing rapid suburban growth and development. The steady increase in the population of the surrounding municipalities was of obvious benefit to the city as it increased the potential size of the city's market area. At the same time, the proliferation of regional shopping centres around the city significantly restricted its effective market. For example, the opening of the Guildford Shopping Centre in 1969 acted as an intervening commercial centre for traffic originating in the Lower Fraser Valley, thereby completing the truncation of the city's regional influence. Furthermore, the completion of several community shopping centres in the surrounding municipalities, such as the Dell Shopping Centre in North Surrey or the Middlegate Mall on Kingsway in South Burnaby, increased the amount of economic competition for some goods and services.[77]

5.3 DEMOGRAPHICS

The economic instability and deterioration which characterized the city was counter-balanced by continued demographic stability and growth. The process of rapid metropolitan population expansion continued unabated in the 1956 to 1966 period. Table 10 highlights the scale of this transformation. As in the previous 1941 to 1956 era, all the municipalities in the metropolitan region experienced increases in their populations. New Westminster witnessed a twenty percent increase in its population as compared to only a twelve percent increase for Vancouver. The far greater absolute population of Vancouver rendered this relative difference largely meaningless. The most significant increases in population continued to occur in the suburbs, with the older municipality of Burnaby showing the smallest growth at thirty-three percent while Port Coquitlam exhibited a massive one hundred and forty percent increase. This period is also significant because, with the exception of Port Coquitlam, all the surrounding municipalities were larger than New Westminster thus fully eclipsing the city's demographic importance in the region. However, the absolute increase in New Westminster's population indicates that the city was still a viable and attractive location.

The age structure of New Westminster provides an addit-

TABLE 10

POPULATION CHANGE

1956 TO 1966

Region	1956	1961	1966	% change
Vancouver CMA	665017	790165	892286	34.2
Vancouver	365844	384522	410376	12.2
New Westminster	31665	33654	38013	20.0
Burnaby	83745	100157	112036	33.8
Surrey	49366	70838	81826	65.8
Coquitlam	20800	29053	40916	96.7
Port Coquitlam	4632	8111	11121	140.1

Source: Censuses of Canada, 1956 to 1966.

ional indication of the viability of the city. The proportion of the population which is either too young or too old to fully participate in the city's economic activities must be supported by other means and, in the Canadian context, this usually implies transfer payments, such as pensions or family allowance cheques, from other levels of government. Dependence upon such transfer payments has been identified as one of the "transactions of decline" which eventually drains the resources and flows of a city and creates a very non-adaptive form of development.[78] An urban centre which receives a significant proportion of its capital influx in the form of transfer payments is vulnerable not only to the constant swings in the business cycle,[79] but also to changes in government ideologies and policies.[80] The increasing dependence of some Canadian urban centres upon transfer payments has significant implications for the long-term viability of these cities.[81]

The degree to which New Westminster's age structure differed from the rest of the metropolitan region can be assessed from Tables 11 and 12. Table 11 presents the aged dependency ratio for New Westminster and surrounding municipalities from 1951 to 1971. The aged dependency ratio is a numerical indicator of the percentage of the population aged 65 and above over the percentage of the population aged 15 to 64.[82] Although the ratio is inherently flawed because many people still work long after age 65, it does provide a

TABLE 11

AGED DEPENDENCY RATIO

1951 TO 1971

Region	1951	1961	1971
New Westminster	15.4	17.6	19.1
Vancouver CMA	18.2	18.4	15.6
Vancouver	19.3	21.9	20.1
Burnaby	17.1	14.6	11.9
Coquitlam	17.8	14.6	10.9
Surrey	--	16.1	13.2
White Rock	--	75.8	56.9

Source: Censuses of Canada, 1951 to 1971.

TABLE 12

YOUTH DEPENDENCY RATIO

1951 TO 1971

Region	1951	1961	1971
New Westminster	35.3	39.8	28.7
Vancouver CMA	35.7	47.7	39.3
Vancouver	31.6	37.1	29.4
Burnaby	44.3	54.8	38.3
Coquitlam	38.3	58.8	54.2
Surrey	--	68.8	53.6
White Rock	--	40.7	32.1

Source: Censuses of Canada, 1951 to 1971.

gross indication of the aging of a given population over time. As Table 11 shows, New Westminster was experiencing a continual aging of its population throughout this period. By 1971, New Westminster's aged dependency index was only marginally lower than Vancouver's and was higher than the surrounding suburban municipalities and the Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area (C.M.A.) as a whole. This increase in the index implies a general aging of the city's population and thus a greater increase in the importance of transfer payments for its inhabitants. However, the city was far less biased in its aged dependency ratio than White Rock which after its separation from Surrey in 1958 became the quintessential retirement community.

Table 12 shows the youth dependency ratio for these urban areas. The youth dependency ratio is similar to the aged dependency ratio except that it provides an indication of the relationship between the percentage of the population aged 0 to 14 to the percentage of the population aged 15 to 64.[83] A comparison of the youth dependency ratios for the various urban areas indicates that New Westminster witnessed a rapid decline in the proportion of children in its population. While both Vancouver and White Rock had low ratios, by 1971 New Westminster had the lowest ratio and this in turn meant that the city was increasingly characterized by an older population. The increasing age of the city's population contributed to the social and perceptual stability

and cohesion exhibited during this period and provided a more immobile market population for the city's deteriorating economy.

5.4 COMMUNITY AND PERCEPTUAL SHIFTS

The city and the surrounding region continued to maintain a high order of cohesion through the persistence of many integrative processes. Despite, or perhaps because of, the economic deterioration and slow demographic expansion, the city's identity and sense of place were relatively unaffected. An examination of the degree of neighbourhood stability and the persistence of the May Day festival clearly demonstrate this community integration. The only element of dissipation apparent was the decreasing emphasis the city received from its principal media outlets. This reduction in the city's media profile was in part a consequence of its deteriorating economic viability and eroded the city's image as an important urban centre. In totality, these social and community indices, in conjunction with the economic and demographic elements, provide an indication of the city's internal coherence and adaptability.

5.41 Neighborhood Stability

All of these active processes and fluxes were reflected in the degree of neighborhood stability which existed in different areas of New Westminster.[84] Tables 13 to 16 present the results of an examination of residences along three streets in New Westminster to infer the degree of stability or change which occurred in the city from 1951 to 1966.[85] The three streets chosen were Nanaimo Street in the West End, Queens Avenue in the Queens Park area and Richmond Street in Sapperton, each of which remained a predominantly single family area throughout the study period. The actual list of residences and their names was compiled from various City and Lower Fraser Valley directories.[86]

The greatest degree of neighbourhood change occurred in the 1951 to 1956 period (Table 13). In this five year interval thirty-six percent of the addresses had new residents as compared to only about thirty percent from 1956 to 1961 and twenty-nine percent from 1961 to 1966. The degree of instability is probably even more pronounced in the earlier period when one considers that five additional addresses appeared in the other two time intervals. The greater degree of neighborhood instability in the 1951 to 1956 period is probably a reflection of the economic expansion and postwar prosperity which was at its zenith in 1956. As the city begins to experience economic stagnation and dissipation from 1956

TABLE 13

NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

1956 TO 1956

Street	Number of Addresses	Number of New Addresses	% change
Nanaimo	31	13	41.93
Queens	26	10	38.41
Richmond	18	4	22.22
Total	75	27	36.00

TABLE 14

NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

1956 TO 1961

Street	No. of Addresses	No. of New Addresses	% change	No. of Addresses over 10 years residence	%
Nanaimo	33	11	33.33	14	42.42
Queens	27	6	22.22	14	51.85
Richmond	18	6	33.33	12	66.67
Total	78	23	29.48	40	51.28

TABLE 15

NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

1961 TO 1966

Street	No. of Addresses	No. of New Addresses	% change	No. of Addresses with 10 years or more of residence	%
Nanaimo	33	12	36.36	16	48.48
Queens	27	6	22.22	17	62.96
Richmond	20	5	25.00	10	50.00
Total	80	23	28.75	43	53.75

TABLE 16

CUMULATIVE CHANGE

1951 TO 1966

No. of Addresses	No. of New Addresses	% change
233	73	31.33

onwards, the number of new households declines as the city becomes a weaker attractor. An excellent indication of the degree of neighborhood stability is the fact that fifty-four percent of the residents in the 1961 to 1966 period had lived at the same address for ten years or more (Table 15).

The degree of neighborhood stability is further demonstrated by comparing the mobility figures with that of the nation as a whole. Approximately "42.4 per cent of the population aged five years or over in 1961 changed residences within Canada."[87] Although not directly comparable due to its inclusion of tenants in apartment areas, the proportion for urban areas was even higher at forty-seven percent.These figures indicate a high degree of geographical mobility within the Canadian population, a degree of mobility which was not exhibited in New Westminster. The amount of geographic mobility indicated by Table 14 was nearly thirteen percent below the national average for this period and this reinforces the earlier assertion that New Westminster was characterized by a significant degree of neighbourhood stability. This relative immobility is in part due to the more secure tenure of homeowners, but is also in large measure attributable to the increasing age of the city's population as mobility rates fall steadily after about the 30-34 age cohort due to a wide variety of lifestyle, occupational and educational changes.[88] The cumulative effect of the demographic transition and neighbourhood stability

was to reinforce the city's internal cohesiveness, although these processes also supported the development of occasionally parochial attitudes on the part of its residents.

5.42 Community Integration

The internal cohesion of New Westminster was bolstered by the continuation of many of the integrative events and traditions established in earlier eras. Although some of the elements, such as the Farmers' Market, did experience a decline in their importance, the central component of the city's coherence, the May Day festival, continued to play a significant role. Despite the city's cohesiveness, its identity was increasingly derived from an emphasis upon its past and not the emergence of new processes of integration. The image of the city as the pre-eminent urban centre in the Lower Fraser Valley was increasingly removed from the city's declining economic importance and viability.

The May Day festival continued in a relatively unchanged fashion for much of this period. The Festival was maintained as a one day event held on a Friday to permit the attendance of the city's elementary school children. The Festival and the annual parade attracted from 20,000 to 25,000 participants and visitors into the city from 1952 to 1957 and approximately 30,000 people in 1959 for the special enlarged celebrations.[89] The attendance dropped sharply

in 1960 to about 15,000 due to poor weather, but it generally recovered to pre-1959 levels throughout the rest of the early 1960s.[90] Despite the consistent attendance figures there were often complaints about the poor level of enthusiasm demonstrated by Downtown businesses throughout the 1950s and this fluctuation of business support was seen as a long-term threat to the event's continuity.[91] The waning of support for the festival in the Downtown was in part a reflection of the core's commercial stagnation and dissipation and a weakening of the cohesive forces.

The desire to keep the May Day festival unmodified by contemporary tendencies was a constant theme throughout the 1955 to 1964 period. Any suggestion to expand or substantially transform the celebrations was vigorously resisted by the May Day Committee and other citizens. Thus the suggestion by the Junior Chamber of Commerce that the fete be held on a Saturday in 1961 on the grounds that more visitors could be drawn into the city was rejected because it was felt that May Day should remain a day for the children.[92] This resistance to change was given further support in a series of editorials in the British Columbian. In 1954 the British Columbian stated that "it was a children's day, and the committee hands... are to be congradulated (sic) for defending it against the encroachment of commercialism".[93] Seven years later this theme was repeated when the paper wrote that "there are pitfalls, costs and commercialism in-

volved in a big show of the Empire Stadium category" and the "fame of the Royal City May Day rests entirely on its traditional format... ".[94] Although there was a recognition of the necessity of business support, the emphasis was upon a family oriented, civic children's festival.

The emphasis upon traditionalism occasionally resulted in a significant amount of parochialism. The most graphic demonstration of the narrow vision which could emerge occurred in 1958 when the May Day Committee decided to exclude children from District Lot 172 from participating in the May Day events. The reasons given for this decision were that May Day was only open to children from within the boundaries of the City and since the 1960 May Day would coincide with the city's Centennial it was felt to be inappropriate if a student from outside the city won the 1960 May Queen competition.[95] This decision produced a great deal of opposition, particularly from the parents of the children living in District Lot 172 who had to attend school in New Westminster but were now being excluded from the city's functions. Subsequently, the May Day Committee agreed to change its policy to permit all children residing in the School District for three years or more to participate in all events, but the fact that the Committee considered excluding these children indicates the degree to which this sense of localism and parochialism could become a negative force.[96]

The continuity and traditionalism inherent in the May Day festival came under increasing pressure for change from 1964 to 1967. During this period the demands for a more commercially marketable and tourist oriented fete began to gain prominence in the organization of the event. The shift in emphasis was in part a consequence of the celebrations of the 1960 New Westminster and the 1966 British Columbia centennials which required far more elaborate events and organization that had ever happened before. Of far greater importance, however, was the emergence of a new group of politicians and business leaders, exemplified by Alderman Muni Evers, who felt that the old May Day had lost its appeal and that it had to be modernized or abandoned.[97] The death of Mr J.J. Johnston, who had been chairman of the May Day Committee for thirty-four years, in 1966 and the retirement of other long-term members of the Committee removed the "old guard" opposition and permitted the transformation of the Celebrations.[98]

The reorientation of the May Day festival commenced almost immediately in 1966 with the expansion of the event to a three day celebration as part of the larger B.C. Centennial events. The 1966 May Day broke with past traditions when it placed a greater emphasis upon tourist activities, such as a two day carnival in Queens Park and various attractions in the Downtown core, than on a local children's celebration.[99] The three day event attracted large numbers

of visitors into the city and this could only help the poor commercial performance of the Downtown. Although there was some lamenting of the transformation of the fete into a more commercial venture, the new May Day Committee was convinced of the necessity of upgrading the event to make it competitive with other celebrations throughout the region and the province.[100] The May Day festival thus took on a more explicitly tourist and commercial function than previously and while the community integration component was still very important it was no longer as dominant in the imagery and symbolism of the event.

The promotion and reinforcement of a sense of place among the residents of New Westminster was not completely displaced in either the May Day festival or the special Centennial celebrations. The pomp and pageantry of the May Day fete continued to stress the past regional dominance of the city and its ties to England and the Monarchy. The annual crowning of the May Queen was a symbolic reaffirmation of the city's loyalty and ties to the British Monarchy and its unique position in the province as the only city explicitly named by Queen Victoria.[101] The Maypole and folk dances provided a symbolic link with Britain although this connection was with a rural pre-industrial past that no longer existed and was occurring in a city which had lost its agricultural hinterland in the late 1940s and 1950s.

The contribution made by the festival to the city's community integration continued to be very significant throughout this period. The unification of the city's different socio-cultural, class, political and ethnic groups was in larger measure accomplished through the reliance upon volunteer assistance in the planning, organization and execution of the event. Although the city bureaucracy was taking more responsibility for the festival after 1964, the participation of large numbers of volunteers was still essential to the commencement of the event. The importance of the celebration to the promotion of greater community cohesion was underlined by an editorial written by Mr. Rae Eddie, MLA for New Westminster, in 1955 in which he stated that "Besides being for the children, the May Day celebration provides an avenue for the expression of the community spirit for which our citizens are noted... ".[102] As a means of promoting the city's internal cohesion and external image the May Day celebration was of unparalleled importance to its inhabitants.

The promotion of greater internal cohesion and external influence received further support from the series of special celebrations which were held in the city throughout the 1960s. The 1960 New Westminster Centennial witnessed several special projects such as the decoration of the city and the opening of Centennial Park, but it was plagued by bad weather, especially in May when the May Day celebrations

were moved inside the Queens Park Arena for the first time in the city's history and other events were delayed or suffered from reduced levels of participation.[103] The 1966 Centennial of the union of the two colonies and the 1967 Canadian Centennial were far more extravagent affairs with a massive amount of expense and effort put into each spectacle. The 1966 Centennial witnessed the afforementioned expansion of the May Day celebration to three days which, coupled with a carnival and other events throughout the summer, heralded a concerted effort to reestablish the city's prominence in the region.

The pinnacle of these elaborate celebrations was reached in 1967 during the nation-wide Canadian Centennial. The May Day festival was expanded to a five day celebration involving a giant pageant staged by the city's high school students on the first day, May 18th, followed by the traditional May Day festival on May 19th, and other events such as a sporting show, a horticultural show, and a car rally.[104] The five day event culminated in an extensive parade which was advertised as the largest in the province's history and provoked Alderman Muni Evers to gloat that "We've got the P.N.E. parade well and truly licked."[105] An estimated 100,000 people viewed the parade and despite its incurring the largest ever deficit, the extravaganza bolstered the city's external image and raised its tourist profile.[106] Earlier in January the B.C. Legislature had opened its

Spring Session in New Westminster in honour of its former role as the provincial capital. While there were no long term benefits for the city, the temporary presence of the Legislature further bolstered the city's regional and national profile.

5.43 New Westminster's Profile

While these events bolstered the city's internal coherence and external influence, other elements of New Westminster's community integration were either declining or transforming to serve the metropolitan region. The Farmers' Market continued to play a role as one of the city's few tourist attractions, but it was frequented by fewer and fewer farmers as the pace of suburbanization increased and the size of the agricultural population plummeted. Of even greater significance was the steady decrease in the prominence of New Westminster in the local and regional media, especially in the city's two dominant media outlets, radio station CKNW and the British Columbian newspaper (after 1963 its name changed to the Columbian). The decreasing orientation of these two media outlets to the city steadily undermined New Westminster's regional influence as the city was slowly reduced to the status of just another municipality. Simultaneously, the shift away from the city weakened its economic viability as its residents were increasingly exposed to advertising and information from external sources and

a reduced attachment to place was fostered. This change in the orientation of its media ultimately contributed to the peripheralization of the city in terms of the external information flows, one of the most important of the "energy" fluxes.[107]

The declining linkage between New Westminster and its media outlets was most obviously demonstrated by the transformation of CKNW in the late 1950s and early 1960s. CKNW had been a local station specializing in Country N' Western music, live entertainment and local quiz shows throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s. The main studios were located on Columbia Street and with only 500 watts power it was limited in its reach to the city and the adjacent municipalities.[108] In 1949 the power was increased to 1000 watts and this permitted the station to reach the entire regional market. The owner of the station, Bill Rea, was an active supporter and booster of New Westminster and he actively promoted all of the city's events, especially the May Day celebration. This exclusive focus upon the city began to slowly change in the 1950s as the need for more advertising compelled an increase in the metropolitan component, but it was not until 1956 that the city rapidly lost its position in the medium of radio.

In 1956 Bill Rea sold CKNW to Western International Communications, a Western Canadian media conglomerate which

owned in 1983 seven radio stations in four cities and had the major ownership in BCTV.[109] The change in ownership ended local control of the station and marks the start of an accelerated effort to make CKNW the number one radio station in the province. The station's power was upgraded in 1965 to 50,000 watts which permitted it to reach a provincial audience and this was followed a year later by the relocation of its New Westminster studios from Columbia Street to its present location at the corner of Eighth Avenue and McBride Boulevard. These changes were accompanied by a shift in both its programming and advertising away from New Westminster to Vancouver and the rest of the metropolitan region.[110] New Westminster was thus largely restricted in its prominence on the station to some advertising, occasional newscasts and the last two letters of the station's call sign.

The declining importance of New Westminster to CKNW's operations is demonstrated by the changing location of the Roving Mike program and the addition of other studios outside of the city. The Roving Mike program was originally started by Bill Rea to interview visitors to the New Westminster Farmers' Market as a public relations exercise for the city and the station.[111] In 1949 the program moved to the tram station on Columbia Street where Bill Hughes, who had just joined the station, interviewed people getting on and off the tram.[112] The termination of the Interurban

service in 1953 resulted in the program moving to the bus depot on Royal Avenue, but shortly after the station was sold in 1956 the program moved to interview tour bus passengers in Downtown Vancouver.[113] The loss of this program eliminated the daily reference to New Westminster which had formerly helped to maintain the city's regional profile and shifted the tourist focus almost completely out of the city.

The loss of most of CKNW's studios throughout the 1960s confirmed the city's decline to a peripheral status. The opening of Mr. Jack Cullen's studio in the Hotel Georgia in 1959 marked the first movement of the station's facilities out of the city. Subsequently, many of the station's late night programming and interviews would be conducted in a string of studios and offices which were successively opened in Vancouver.[114] The facility in New Westminster, while still important for the local news broadcasts, some interviews and as the main office, was relatively less significant. By 1967 CKNW had emerged as the most listened to station in the province, but New Westminster was far less prominent in both its advertising and programming and as a consequence its regional importance was significantly reduced.

New Westminster's regional influence and internal coherence is also illustrated by the proportion of local advertising and changing character of the Columbian newspaper. The proportion of local advertising present in the Columbian

provides an indication of the degree of commercial viability and influence of the city. By conducting a simple content analysis of the Columbian between 1947 and 1967 for selected days during the months of January and August the relative proportions of advertising in the paper conducted by New Westminster firms and those in surrounding areas can be ascertained and the existence of any trends determined.[115] The technique utilized in this study is a "classical" quantitative content analysis which measured the amount of non-classified advertising present in the newspaper.[116] The analysis only examined the non-classified advertising in order to isolate the major advertisers and to limit the scope of the inquiry to a manageable level. By measuring the number of inches of advertising for each area and translating these results into percentages the changing regional influence of the city and the strength of its internal economic structure can be inferred.

The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 17 to 21. In both absolute and percentage terms the amount of New Westminster advertising in the newspaper slowly declined over the sample period. From a high of approximately seventy-eight percent in January 1947 and eighty-three percent in January 1952, the amount of local non-classified advertising declined to sixty-nine percent in 1967. The regions which most increased their advertising in the newspaper were Vancouver, Surrey and especially Burnaby. In

TABLE 17

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE

COLUMBIAN 1947

Region	January (Inches)	Percent
New Westminster	971.5	78.3
Surrey	22.5	1.8
North East Sector (Coquitlam, Port Moody and Port Coquitlam)	3.5	0.3
Burnaby	34.0	2.7
Vancouver	35.5	2.9
Rest of the Lower Fraser Valley	4.5	0.4
Rest of the Province	---	---
National or Unknown	169.5	13.6
Total	1241.0	100.0

Source: Columbian, January 2,9,16, and 23, 1947.

TABLE 18

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE

COLUMBIAN 1952

Region	January (Inches)	%	August (Inches)	%	Total	%
New Westminster	883.0	83.1	212.5	63.6	1095.5	78.4
Surrey	---	--	7.0	2.1	7.0	0.5
North East Sector (Coquitlam, Port Moody and Port Coquitlam)	---	--	---	--	--	--
Burnaby	13.0	1.2	15.0	4.5	28.0	2.0
Vancouver	41.5	3.9	---	--	41.5	3.0
Rest of the Lower Fraser Valley	66.0	6.2	---	--	66.0	4.7
Rest of the Province	10.0	0.9	62.0	18.6	72.0	5.2
National or Unknown	49.0	4.7	37.5	11.2	86.5	6.2
Total	1062.5	100.0	334.0	100.0	1396.5	100.0

TABLE 19

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE

COLUMBIAN 1957

Region	January (Inches)	%	August (Inches)	%	Total	%
New Westminster	824.0	74.8	239.5	54.4	1063.5	69.2
Surrey	79.5	7.2	32.5	7.5	112.0	7.3
N.E. Sector (Coquitlam, Port Moody and Port Coquitlam)	8.5	0.8	4.5	1.0	9.5	0.6
Burnaby	72.5	6.6	42.0	9.5	114.5	7.4
Vancouver	19.5	1.8	67.5	15.3	87.0	5.7
Rest of the Lower Fraser Valley	---	--	40.5	9.2	40.5	2.6
Rest of the Province	6.0	0.5	3.0	0.7	9.0	0.6
National or Unknown	91.5	8.3	10.5	2.4	101.5	6.6
Total	1101.5	100.0	440.0	100.0	1537.5	100.0

TABLE 20

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE

COLUMBIAN 1962

Region	January (Inches)	%	August (Inches)	%	Total	%
New Westminster	484.5	69.4	214.0	62.4	698.5	67.0
Surrey	1.0	0.1	26.5	7.7	27.5	2.6
N.E. Sector (Coquitlam, Port Moody, Port Coquitlam)	16.0	2.3	18.0	5.3	34.0	3.3
Burnaby	45.5	6.5	24.5	7.1	70.0	6.7
Vancouver	19.0	2.7	35.0	10.2	54.0	5.2
Rest of the Lower Fraser Valley	---	--	9.0	2.6	9.0	0.9
Rest of the Province	---	--	9.0	2.6	9.0	0.9
National or Unknown	132.5	19.0	7.0	2.1	139.5	13.4
Total	698.5	100.0	343.0	100.0	1041.5	100.0

TABLE 21

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE

COLUMBIAN 1967

Region	January (Inches)	%	August (Inches)	%	Total	%
New Westminster	593.5	69.4	167.0	41.2	760.5	58.0
Surrey	52.5	5.8	44.0	10.9	96.5	7.4
N.E. Sector (Coquitlam, Port Moody, Port Coquitlam)	63.5	7.0	11.5	2.8	75.0	5.7
Burnaby	76.0	8.4	26.5	6.5	102.5	7.8
Vancouver	41.5	4.6	82.5	20.3	124.0	9.5
Rest of the Lower Fraser Valley	2.0	0.2	16.0	4.0	18.0	1.4
Rest of the Province	26.0	2.9	48.0	11.8	74.0	5.6
National or Unknown	51.5	5.7	10.0	2.5	61.5	4.6
Total	906.5	100.0	405.5	100.0	1312.0	100.0

1947, the commercial pre-eminence of New Westminster was unquestioned with any of the readers of the paper encountering only advertisements from the city, but twenty years later the emergence of competing shopping centres in the surrounding municipalities had greatly enhanced the competition and reduced the influence of the city. Although the majority of the advertisements continued to be from New Westminster the decline was constant and it implied a deteriorating media position for the city.

This reduction in the city's communicative ability was exacerbated from September 1963 to August 1970 by a fragmentation of the Columbian's distribution. In September 1963, the newspaper began to publish separate editions for New Westminster, Burnaby, Coquitlam and Surrey. This fragmentation of the market allowed more local news to be reported while not affecting the advertising as the same advertisements were carried in each edition. However, the very nature of this specialization meant that New Westminster was now being treated as an equal of the surrounding municipalities and that only residents of the city consistently encountered its local news and information. The cumulative effect of these changes was to completely truncate the circuit of information flowing from the city while simultaneously permitting a greater penetration of New Westminster by external information flows.

5.5 SUMMATION AND ELABORATION

Economically, New Westminster in the period 1956 to 1967 was a stagnant and slowly dissipating urban centre. In Jacobs's conceptualization of urban viability the city was an extremely vulnerable entity with little new work and no import-substitution propelling the industrial sector. The city had actually lost most of the new industrial sectors, such as the aircraft and engineering industries, which were created in the earlier period of expansion. The almost complete domination of the city's economic structure by large provincial, national and multinational firms further eroded the city's adaptability by increasing its dependence upon external decisions, information flows and innovations. The industrial sector and the largest commercial establishments may have provided jobs for administrators and managers, but innovators and local "entrepreneurs" were largely absent. As a result, the ability of the city to modify or adapt the external energy fluxes, as it had in the past, was significantly reduced.

The deterioration of the city's economic viability eroded its regional importance as an employment and shopping centre. Although still a major employment centre, the loss of jobs in industry and the Port and the deterioration in the Downtown reduced the city's relative importance in the

region. New Westminster was no longer the secondary centre of a bi-nodal urban system. By 1967 New Westminster was fully subsumed under Vancouver's metropolitan region with its firms largely dependent upon the information flows generated in Downtown Vancouver or Toronto and most of its once extensive trade area lot either to Vancouver or the spreading suburban shopping centres. The expansion of the regional transportation system, with its new bridges, roads, highways and ferries, had largely bypassed New Westminster and in the mobile society of the 1960s this declining accessibility meant a deterioration in the city's overall economic attractiveness. In essence, New Westminster was effectively a captured city with increasingly little internally generated economic expansion. Instead, the city's economic viability was increasingly governed by the vitality of the metropolitan region.

The economic deterioration did not completely dissipate the city due to the strong processes of stability exhibited in the city's demographic and community components.[117] The still growing, albeit aging, population maintained the city's retail viability. The persistence of this older population, as demonstrated by the low degree of neighborhood mobility, along with the retention of a high degree of social cohesion, made for a sense of place that would be less prevalent in a more transient population. The May Day Festival and other special events reinforced the continued com-

munity integration and identity. Although the May Day Festival underwent a series of profound changes in the late 1960s, the fundamental function of the event remained the same. The only consistent indication of a deterioration in the city's community cohesion and perceptual profile was the declining reference to the city in the local media outlets.

The transformation of the local orientation of New Westminster's two prinicpal outlets exerted a significant impact on the city's external influence and internal cohesion. The progressive reduction in the city's ability to diffuse its advertising and information throughout the region severely curtailed its influence over the residents of other municipalities. As well, the increasing penetration of New Westminster by external advertising and information flows probably eroded consumer loyalty and the degree of attachment of its residents. The growing dominance of the modern mass media focused upon a metropolitan, provincial, or national market has undermined our societal sense of place and reduced the importance of lesser places, like New Westminster.[118] In certain respects this disintegrative process is the mirror opposite of the May Day fete and its emphasis upon localism, community involvement and explicit placeness.

The immediate origins of the problems and crises which

were to trouble New Westminster for the following thirty years date from this period of economic deterioration and demographic and social stability. The preservation of the city's integrity had become heavily dependent upon the absolute expansion of its population and the maintenance of its traditional integrative elements. The viability of the city was thus based upon the stability of these social and demographic components and when these elements declined, as the city's population did in the 1970s, or were transformed, the city's viability was adversely affected. The disruption of these elements, in concert with the economic instability and deterioration of the 1970s and 1980s, would eventually result in New Westminster becoming a dissipated "sink" by the late 1970s.

NOTES

1 Piore and Sabel (1984).

2 Michael Storper and Allen J. Scott, "The geographical foundations and social regulations of flexible production complexes", eds., Jennifer Woloch and Michael Dear, The Power of Geography: How Territory Shapes Social Life, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989, p.25.

3 Ziegler (1987); and Gabriel Kolko, "The Gulf and Afterwards: The Future of American Foreign Policy", Studies in Political Economy 34 (Spring 1991), pp. 7-28.

4 Richard Peet, " Industrial restructuring and the crisis of international capitalism", in Peet (1987), pp. 20-24.

5 The most adversely affected industrial centres the heavy manufacturing cities of the Northeast United States, such as Pittsburgh and Buffalo, and steel towns like Sydney, Nova Scotia.

See: Berry (1985), pp. 34-35; and Gappert (1987).

6 Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board (1960), p.34.

7 This economic specialization left the city too dependent upon a couple of external energy fluxes to maintain its viability. Dyke (1982), p.356.

8 New Westminster (1990), pp. 29

9 Ibid, pp. 26-28.

10 The Vancouver and New Westminster City Directory 1953, Vancouver: B.C. Directories Ltd.; and Lower Fraser Valley (Vancouver Suburban) Directory 1967, Vancouver: B.C. Directories Ltd.

11 James E. Randall, Metropolitan Vancouver: Industrial Decentralization and Port Activity on the Lower Fraser River, Working Paper No. 12, Toronto: University of Toronto/ York University, 1983, pp. 31.

12 New Westminster (1990), p.61.

13 The process of corporate concentration which resulted in large firms being in cities but not of cities can be traced back to the late nineteenth century. The erosion of the association of businesses with a specific place has reduced the viability of many Canadian cities.

See: John H. Taylor, "Urban Autonomy in Canada: Its Evolution and Decline", eds., Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, Power and Place: Canadian Urban Development in the North American Context, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986, pp. 269-291.

14 Michael Howlett and Keith Brownsey, "The Old Reality and the New Reality: Party Politics and Public Policy in British Columbia 1941-1987", Studies in Political Economy, 29 (Spring 1988), p.149.

15 "The Area's Progress", New Westminster Progress Magazine, 1 (1969), pp.2-5.

16 Most of the firms which located on the Annacis Island Industrial Estate, such as I.B.M., American Motors, A.I.M. Steel, Sherwin Williams and Benjamin Moore and Western Copper Mills Ltd., were also subsidiaries of national or international firms.

See: N.W.H.C., Annual Report 1961.

17 See: Kari Levitt, Silent Surrender: The multinational corporation in Canada, Toronto: Macmillan, 1970; and Grant L. Reuber and Frank Roseman, The Take-Over of Canadian Firms, 1945-61, Special Study No. 10, Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada, 1969.

18 Randall (1983), p.91.

19 The growth of multilocational organizations, both public and private, and the growth of white collar employment have made an urban centre's relative location within the national and international information flows extremely important.

See: Allan R. Pred, Major Job-Providing Organizations and Systems of Cities, Commission on College Geography, Resource Paper No. 27, Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1974.

20 See: Michael Ray and Roger Roberge, "The pattern of post-war urban growth: Multinationals as city and reg-

ional planners", eds., James Lorimer and Carolyn MacGregor, After the Developers, Toronto: Lorimer, 1981, pp. 14-24.

21 The lack of major skills development and research on the part of Canadian industry has been identified as a serious national problem. The overall productivity and "competitiveness" of Canadian firms has suffered because of this lack of investment in retraining programs and indigenous research and development.

See: Cordell (1985); and Leon Muszynski and David A. Wolfe, "New Technology and Training: Lessons from Abroad", Canadian Public Policy, XV (September 1989), pp. 245-264.

22 The concept of a "postindustrial society" has received a great deal of academic attention since the 1960s. A postindustrial society may be defined as a social formation characterized by a change from a goods producing to a service economy, the pre-eminence of the professional and technical class, and the development of the quarternary sector, based upon information technology, as the leading economic sector. Although the Vancouver metropolitan area has always been characterized by a high proportion of service employment, the transformation of Vancouver into a postindustrial city, with the concurrent emergence of the "new middle class", largely occurred in the 1960s.

See: Daniel Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society, New York: Basic Books, 1973, p.14; and David Ley, "Liberal Ideology and the Postindustrial City", Annals, Association of American Geographers. 70 (1980) pp. 238-258.

23 While materials and "energy" continued to flow through the port, these trade flows were largely gradient seeking flows which provided no net benefit to the city. These passive flows promoted an equilibrium condition in the port which inexorably declined during the 1960s. Thus, New Westminster, like Prince Rupert, was increasingly just a transshipment point for the trade flows generated by other cities.

Dyke (1988), p.188.

24 During the boom between 1950 and 1973 the volume of world sea trade increased over 600 percent, the annual rate of growth reaching 4 percent in the 1960s.

H.C. Brookfield, "Boxes, Ports and Places Without Ports", eds., B.S. Hoyle and D. Hilling, Seaport Systems and Spatial Change, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1984, p.63.

25 Ibid, p.62.

26 The constant siltation problems eventually re-

sulted in the implementation of the Fraser River Trifurcation project in 1960.

See: "New Plans for New Westminster", (1960); and N.W.H.C., Annual Report 1961.

27 Hoyle and Hilling (1984), p.10.

28 An added benefit has been the erosion of union power as not only are there fewer workers, but the actual loading and unloading of the containers, with some exceptions like Vancouver, occurs at the origin and destination of the goods.

29 The history of the city's efforts to upgrade its port facilities is an interesting one. In 1954, New Westminster sold a central waterfront site to the New Westminster Harbour Commission for one dollar. The Commission then built a dock and storage facility in order to encourage Overseas Transport to operate it. In 1971 another proposal was made, but never followed through, to sell Pacific Coast Terminals the docks it leased from the city for one dollar in exchange for P.C.T. expanding the facilities.

30 Compared with the typical postwar conventional berth of .8 hectares, a modern container facility requires about 10 hectares.

Brian Slack, "Technology and Seaports in the 1980s", Tijdschrift voor economische sociale geographie, 2 (1980), p. 109.

31 Norman Hacking, "New terminal unloads its first ship", Vancouver Province, November 27, 1975, p.20.

32 Norman Lidster, "An Historian sets the record straight on the New Westminster Waterfront", Columbian, October 15, 1971, p. B4.

33 Fraser River Harbour Commission, Fraser Port, Vancouver: 1986, p.3.

34 N.W.H.C., Annual Report 1959.

35 Gresko and Howard (1986), p.91.

36 Vancouver and New Westminster City Directory 1953, Vancouver: B.C. Directories; and Lower Fraser Valley (Vancouver Suburban) Directory 1967, Vancouver: B.C. Directories.

This was still one of the highest per capita sales volumes in the province. See: T.C. Kinnear, "Metropolitan Vancouver: a market profile", Canadian Business 42 (October 1964), pp. 40-46.

37 The deteriorating position of New Westminster for high order specialty retailing was especially evident. Roger Leigh's work on specialty retailing in Vancouver describes the case of a Danish modern furniture store which originally located in New Westminster in 1961 based on the assumption of a relatively mobile population and good accessibility in the city. However, it was forced to relocate into Vancouver in 1963 due to very poor sales. This led Leigh to speculate that New Westminster was too eccentric a location to support such high order retailing.

Roger Leigh, Specialty-Retailing: A Geographic Analysis, Vancouver: Tantalus, 1965, p.45.

38 Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association (1967), p.3.

39 New Westminster Chamber of Commerce (hereafter referred to as the N.W.C.C.), Annual Report 1963, p.2.

In 1960 the New Westminster Board of Trade changed its name to the New Westminster Chamber of Commerce due to the existence of government controlled bodies of the same name in England and its decreasing focus upon industry in favour of commercial enterprises.

40 Ibid

41 N.W.C.C., Annual Report 1964.

42 Firmalino (1968), p.67.

43 Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association (1967), p.11.

44 Ibid.

45 Downtown Business and Property Owners's Association (hereafter abbreviated as the D.B.A.), Board of Directors Meeting, July 19, 1967 (Personal Collection of Mr. M.G. Thomson, hereafter abbreviated as T.C.).

46 Wayne Harding, "New Zoning Bylaw Gets Public Study", Columbian, December 2, 1965, p.1 and 2; and "New Bylaw Will End Royal City Spot Zoning", Columbian, November 5, 1965. p.1.

47 In 1961 Census Tract 123, which encompassed most of the Uptown, had 13.3 percent of its population over age 65, the second highest proportion in the city. The highest proportion was in Census Tract 122 (West End) which had 13.4 percent of its population over age 65. This situation reversed in the 1960s with the continued apartment construction in the Uptown.

City of New Westminster, Urban Renewal Study, Part One, 1965, p.68.

48 This is compounded by the fact that, on average, the elderly are more limited in their mobility. For example, "compared to other age groups the proportion of elderly persons with driver's licenses and owning cars is considerably lower."

Jonathan Gunn, Jacqueline Verkley, and Lynda Newman, Older Canadian Homeowners: A Literature Review, Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1983, p.49.

49 A convenience good is a low-order good which people are not willing to travel very far to acquire and is purchased on a relatively frequent basis. Examples of a convenience good include cigarettes, bread, milk, and newspapers.

Bradford and Kent (1977), p.21.

50 Adams (1988), pp.24-25.

51 N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1950; and N.W.B.T., Annual Reports, 1956-1959.

52 "New Westminster Historic Centre", B.C. Historical Quarterly, 17 (January - April 1953), pp. 147-148; and N.W.C.C., Annual Report 1962.

53 N.W.C.C., Annual Report 1960; and N.W.C.C., Executive Council Meeting, June 6, 1960.

54 The value of urban land has traditionally been seen as a function of its relative accessibility to the rest of the metropolitan region. Thus, the highest valued land is located at the point of maximum accessibility in the city, which in North American cities was always in the Central Business District.

See: Bradford and Kent (1977), pp. 79-85.

55 Roberto Camagni and Toscano Pompili, "Competence, power and waves of urban development: an Italian example", ed., Peter Nijkamp, Sustainability of Urban Systems: A Cross Evolutionary Analysis of Urban Innovation, Der Hague: Van Nostrand, 1991, p.41.

56 Ibid, p.43.

57 Although data on capital and information flows would have been more appropriate for this interpretation, the land rent data which was available provides an excellent surrogate measure of the city's ability to modify and adapt to the external energy fluxes. The ability of an entity to organize and utilize the external energy flux is the prime indication of its adaptability and viability. Entities which are unable to organize the external fluxes eventually deteriorate into full dissipative structures.

Adams (1982); and Dyke (1988).

58 N.W.B.T., A Brief Supporting the Recommendations of the New Westminster Board of Trade to Construct a Bridge Across the Fraser River at Annacis Island", (N.W.C.C. microfilm, May 30, 1955).

59 N.W.B.T., Recommendations of the Special Committee on the Queensborough Bridge Question, August 3, 1955; N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, December 20, 1955; and N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, August 6, 1956.

60 Technical Committee on Metropolitan Highway Planning, Future Crossings of the Fraser River, March 1955, p.24.

61 Ibid, p.21.

62 Len Evenden, "Shaping the Vancouver Suburbs, ed., Len Evenden, Vancouver: A Western Metropolis, Vancouver: Tantalus, 1978, pp. 184-185.

63 "Pattullo Bridge: New Traffic Pattern", Columbian, July 20, 1960.

64 D. Knight, "The Queensborough Bridge", The B.C. Professional Engineer, 30 (February 1959), p.9.

65 Ken Hart, "Traffic Capacity Boosted by the Queensborough Span", Vancouver Sun, August 18, 1960.

66 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, December 20, 1955.

67 Hart (1960).

68 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, August 6, 1956.

69 "Royal City agrees to parley on tolls", Columbian, February 25, 1964.

70 Jack McLeod, "Bridge Toll Concessions Almost Satisfy Residents", Vancouver Sun, November 6, 1961.

71 "City Council making new try for Queensborough toll relief", British Columbian, October 31, 1961, p.2.

72 N.W.B.T., Annual Report 1953, p.11.

73 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, June 29, 1953.

74 N.W.B.T., Executive Meeting, August 31, 1953.

75 N.W.C.C., Executive Meeting, November 6, 1961.

76 D.B.A., Minutes of a Meeting of the Directors and Members, May 3, 1966, (T.C.).

77 For a discussion of the classification of shopping centres see: Dawson (1983).

78 Jacobs (1969), p.191.

79 In Canada since 1867 these short cycles of one peak to another have lasted on average about four years, but longer fluctuations in capital formation have also been observed.

See: Richard Pomfret, The Economic Development of Canada, Toronto: Methuen, 1981, pp. 179-181.

80 The attempt by the federal government to de-index pensions in the early 1980s and the recent restrictions on the increases in transfer payments to the provinces are examples of the changes in policy which often accompany a change in government. The steady reduction in the transfer payments to the provinces over the next ten years will most severely impact upon dependent urban centres and the poor.

81 The amount of personal income which is derived from non-employment sources has been steadily increasing for Canadian since the 1960s. This process has been neither constant nor ubiquitous. As a result, some urban centres and regions derive a greater proportion of the total income of their inhabitants from non-employment sources than other urban entities.

For a full discussion see: Charles N. Forward,

"Variations in Employment and Non-Employment Income in Canadian Cities as Indicators of Economic Base Differences", Canadian Geographer, 34 (Summer 1990), pp. 120-132.

82 The precise equation is:

$$\text{Aged Dependency Ratio} = \frac{\text{percent over age 64}}{\text{percent aged 15 to 64}} \times 100$$

The term aged dependency ratio is incorrect as persons over 65 are not uniformly "dependent" upon anyone. The ratio thus should not be seen as either a positive or negative factor in itself, but just an indication of the aging trend of the total population.

See: Shirley Foster Hartley, Comparing Populations Belmont: Wadsworth, 1982, p.167.

83 $$\text{Youth dependency Ratio} = \frac{\text{percent under 15}}{\text{percent 15 through 64}} \times 100$$

As with the aged dependency ratio, "dependency" does not mean helplessness and many children under 15 have some employment.

Ibid, p.165.

84 Community values and organization are extremely

necessary for the maintenance of social cohesion and the possibility of humane city living. While strong community cohesion may not be able to supersede the impact of economic decline, the lack of a degree of community cohesion in a city will rapidly accelerate the city's decline and dissipation during adverse economic conditions.

Ted Munz, "Cities, Jobs and Community Values", Compass, 9 (September-October 1991), pp.5-8.

85 The study took a two block sample of three streets in the predominately single-family residential areas of the city. The addresses surveyed the 1400 to 1600 blocks of Nanaimo Street, the 100 to 400 blocks of Richmond Street, and the 100 to 300 blocks of Queens Avenue. By examining the various directories for each five year interval commencing in 1951 and comparing the names of the residents, a composite view of the degree of neighbourhood stability was derived.

86 The reliance upon directories is not without certain limitations. The accuracy of the information can be somewhat unreliable and the diligence of the interviewer in collecting the data will influence the number of non-respondents. Fortunately for the 1951 to 1966 period all the addresses provided a response to the directory.

87 M.V. George, Internal Migration in Canada, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1970, p.112.

88 Ibid; and Leory O. Stone, Migration in Canada: Some Regional Aspects, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1969.

89 "25,000 Celebrate Finest May Day", British Columbian, May 10, 1950; "Judge to Give Pen to Queen", British Columbian, Supplement, May 7, 1953, p.7; Bruce Smillie, "New Westminster Attendance Record Set As City Celebrates May Day", British Columbian, May 11, 1956; and James Russell, "30,000 Join in May Day", British Columbian, May 14, 1959, p.1.and p.2.

90 "2000 Kiddies Lose Parts in May Day", British Columbian, May 6, 1960, p.1.

91 "May Day Parade Response Poor", British Columbian, April 23, 1952, p.16; "Urges Merchants to Aid May Day", British Columbian, May 8, 1957, p.1.; and "Royal City merchants urged to "decorate n' donate" for May Day", British Columbian, April 30, 1963, p.10.

92 Bruce McLean, "May Day is for the Children: Saturday Parade is Out!", British Columbian, February 17, 1961, p.7.

93 "This, Our May Day", British Columbian, May 14, 1954, p. 4.

94 "Children's May Day fete must be kept to traditional level", British Columbian, February 20, 1961, p.7.

95 Ed Cosgrove, "DL 172 Girls Said to be Ineligible", British Columbian, April 10, 1958, p.1 and p.3.

96 This parochialism, although preserving the city's identity, could also close the community to any influx of new ideas or innovations, such as the modification of the crowning of the May Queen to reduce its incipient sexism.

97 "May Day Interest Lagging?", British Columbian, May 26, 1965; and "New Ideas for May Day", British Columbian, February 15, 1966, p.4.

98 Mr. J.J. Johnston was officially given the title of "Mr. May Day" in 1963. He had been the guiding force behind its continuation for thirty years.

"J.J. and May Day", British Columbian, May 16, 1966; and "Mr. May Day official now", British Columbian, February 2, 1963, p.1.

99 "Three day festival in the works", Columbian, May 20, 1967, p.1.

100 "New Ideas for May Day", op. cit..

101 The crowning of the May Queen also reaffirmed the Victorian bourgeois notions of hierarchy and obedience with the crowd of children expected to give their support to the May Queen. This was further demonstrated by the constant descriptions in the British Columbian of the May Queen addressing "her subjects" during the celebrations.

For example see: "Brave May Queen Beverley Cheered by Her Subjects", British Columbian, May 12, 1956, p.1.

102 Rae Eddie, "All Honour to the May Queen", British Columbian, Supplement, May 12, 1955.

103 N.W.C.C., Executive Council Meeting, June 6, 1960; and "2000 Kiddies Lose Parts in May Day", op. cit..

104 "Students prepare pageant", Columbian, January 16, 1967, p.1 and 2.

105 Tony Simnett, "Royal City set for Festival", Columbian, May 17, 1967, p.1.

106 "Three day festival in works", Columbian, January 19, 1968, p.1.

107 Adams (1988) pp.41-43.

108 Personal Interview with Mr. Jack Cullen, Broadcaster, CKNW, June 12, 1991.

109 Paul C. Marck, "AM Stereo brings new wave to broadcasting", Columbian, July 25, 1983.

110 Jack Cullen (1991).

111 Ibid.

112 Lori Pappajohn, "Hughes Roving Mike nears 12,000th broadcast", Royal City Record, June 23, 1984, p.10.

113 Lori Pappajohn, "CKNW celebrates its 40th year on the air", Royal City Record, June 23, 1984, p.11.

114 Jack Cullen (1991).

115 The dates chosen for the survey were January 2, 9, 16, and 23 for the period 1947 to 1962 and 1982, January 3, 10, 17, 24 for the period 1967 to 1977, and August 18 and 25 for the entire survey period.

116 Classical Content Analysis may be defined as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and

quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." The technique as employed in this research simply involves the measurement in inches of the number of lines utilized by each non-classified advertisement in the Columbian. The results were then totaled for each municipality or region and expressed as a percentage of the total non-classified advertising for each month.

Thomas F. Carney, Content Analysis: A Technique for the Systematic Inference from Communications, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1972, pp. 23-28.

117 These demographic and community components are not easily adapted to the concepts developed by Adams and Dyke because "community" cohesion is not easily reduced to pure "energy" meaasures. However, the more general concepts of stability and adaptability can be applied in a more inferential manner.

118 Chin-Chuan Lee, Media Imperialism Reconsidered: The Homogenizing of Television Culture, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984.

CHAPTER 6

DETERIORATION AND INSTABILITY
1967 TO 1985

6.1 INTRODUCTION

New Westminster experienced an absolute and relative decline in its local and regional viability from the late 1960s to the mid 1980s as measured by economic and demographic indices. Although a significant degree of social cohesion persisted, the basic processes which had integrated the community in prior decades were either undermined or transformed. The cumulative effect of all these changes was to transform the city into an unproductive and dependent "sink".[1] The slow emergence of counterbalancing forces in the late 1970s prevented a state of complete dissipation.

The economy declined partly in response to global conditions, but mainly due to the specific elements of the local environment. Indices, such as industrial employment and the number and types of firms, the volume of port traffic, and Downtown retailing, show marked levels of decline. The structure of the city's internal and regional transportation system compounded the decline. The general

economic malaise also exacerbated long standing problems, such as the presence of two competing commercial nodes in the city.

Demographically, New Westminster's population declined from 42,835 in 1971 to 38,939 in 1976.[2] The age structure of the population continued to exhibit an aging trend with consistent increases in the aged dependency ratio and decreases in the youth dependency ratio. Social cohesion declined as measured by the rate of neighbourhood change and the changing composition of the city's local and regional media profile. The transformation of the May Day celebrations into the Hyack Festival underscored this process. The city's viability and regional significance were appreciably affected by the cumulative impact of the demographic decline, social instability, and economic deterioration.

6.2 ECONOMIC DETERIORATION

The economic deterioration and dissipation of New Westminster is understandable when placed in the context of global and national economic and political transformations. The Vietnam War, the O.P.E.C. oil embargo of 1973, and the eclipsing of the United States economic pre-eminence all contributed to the emergence of high levels of inflation,

unemployment, stagflation, and social unrest.[3] Whereas inflation had been increasing at about 2 percent annually in the 1950s and 1960s, it increased to 4 percent a year during the Vietnam War from 1966 to 1971 and spiralled upwards from 1972 onwards.[4] The instability of the world economic system was especially disruptive for older industrial cities in Canada and the United States as their domestic and international competitiveness declined and the command-control multinational corporations which dominated their industrial sectors relocated their operations to more profitable locations.

6.21 Industry

New Westminster's industrial sector experienced a general decline in its economic viability and importance throughout the 1970s and 1980s as the traditionally important subsectors, such as wood products manufacturing, shipbuilding, chemical manufacturing, and food and beverage manufacturing, all declined. The selling of the Mercer (Star) Shipyards to a group of Vancouver investors in 1971 and its subsequent bankruptcy and closure in 1973 marked the end of the city's shipbuilding industry and the further narrowing of its industrial base.[5] The relatively strong dependence upon the forestry sector was to rapidly undermine the city when the external demand for B.C. forest products waned.[6] The sole major exceptions to this pattern was the

warehousing and storage subsector which exhibited some increase in terms of employment and floor space.

The total employment in the industrial sector declined from 5,526 in 1966 to 3,455 in 1985, a trend which had been underway since 1956.[7] The total area zoned for industrial use was reduced from 814.62 acres in 1966 to 652.13 acres in 1985, indicative of the declining spatial and economic importance of industry in the city.[8] The decline of the industrial sector resulted in no new work or import substitution being created. In fact, a negative multiplier effect was generated which reduced the flow of capital, information, and resources into the city and eroded its employment base. The extent of the weakness of New Westminster's industrial base is exemplified by an examination of the wood products, paper and allied products, and warehousing subcategories.

The wood products sub-sector experienced the greatest decline during this period. Table 22 indicates that both in terms of the number of firms and the gross floor space the wood products sub-sector was significantly smaller in 1985 than in 1972. The deterioration of this sub-sector was especially disruptive to the city because this was the largest sub-sector in the city's economy. The lack of industrial diversification thus left New Westminster exceedingly vulnerable to fluctuations in the external demand for

TABLE 22

WOOD PRODUCTS MANUFACTURING

Year	No. of Firms	Gross Floor Space
1972	31	1,430,754 sq. ft.
1979	22	1,445,081 sq. ft.
1980	19	1,438,037 sq. ft.
1981	19	1,438,886 sq. ft.
1982	18	1,357,848 sq. ft.
1983	17	1,316,084 sq. ft.
1984	16	1,145,955 sq. ft.
1985	16	818,083 sq. ft.
1986	16	977,926 sq. ft.
1987	18	969,736 sq. ft.
1988	20	1,092,724 sq. ft.

Source: New Westminster (1990), p.32.

forest products and the steady exhaustion of the coastal forests provided the additional incentive for firms to leave the city and relocate into the Interior of the province.[9] By 1985, several firms which had operated in the city for decades, such as Mohawk Handle, Doman Industries, Pacific Veneer and Capilano Timber, had closed or were in the process of downgrading their operations and had collectively generated a negative multiplier effect that weakened the city's economy.[10]

The food and beverage and paper and allied products sub-categories further illustrate the deterioration and vulnerability of the industrial sector. Table 23 shows that the food and beverage sub-sector had declined to one firm, Labatt's Brewery, and only approximately 270,000 square feet of floor space in 1985. The massive decline in 1979 was a result of the closure of the B.C. Distillery operation due to labour difficulties.[11] While the paper and allied products actually experienced a doubling of its total floor space from 1972 to 1985, the number of firms involved steadily decreased from six to three (Table 24). The growth in floor space was largely the result of the expansion of the Scott Paper plant in the 1970s and another major expansion in 1982.[12] As a result of these expansions Scott Paper had become the largest private sector employer in the city by the mid 1980s and was the dominant industrial activity in the West End of the city.[13]

TABLE 23

FOOD AND BEVERAGE MANUFACTURING

Year	No. of Firms	Gross Floor Space
1972	5	740,438 sq. ft.
1979	3	270,785 sq. ft.
1980	2	269,953 sq. ft.
1981	2	287,249 sq. ft.
1982	2	287,249 sq. ft.
1983	1	286,865 sq. ft.
1984	1	268,388 sq. ft.
1985	1	273,354 sq. ft.
1986	1	274,996 sq. ft.
1987	1	274,996 sq. ft.
1988	1	274,996 sq. ft.

Source: New Westminster (1990), p.30.

TABLE 24

PAPER AND ALLIED PRODUCTS

Year	No. of Firms	Gross Floor Space
1972	4	449,213 sq. ft.
1979	6	609,030 sq. ft.
1980	6	592,096 sq. ft.
1981	6	601,186 sq. ft.
1982	6	601,186 sq. ft.
1983	5	804,487 sq. ft.
1984	5	806,145 sq. ft.
1985	3	802,761 sq. ft.
1986	3	810,170 sq. ft.
1987	4	837,653 sq. ft.
1988	3	881,919 sq. ft.

Source: New Westminster (1990), p.34.

The only sub-sector which also experienced a significant expansion in terms of the number of firms and the total floor space was warehousing and storage (Table 25). Until 1982 this had been a relatively unimportant component of the city's industrial base, but with the opening of the Woodward's regional distribution centre in Sapperton near the Trans-Canada Highway in 1982 this sector surged in importance. Despite the variable nature of expansion and contraction in the different sub-sectors, the domination of New Westminster's industrial base by large multinational or regional firms was unchanged. The food and beverage, paper and allied products and warehousing and storage categories were each dominated by a single firm which accounted for most, if not all, of the floor space and production.[14] This extreme corporate concentration thus left the city even more economically vulnerable to decisions made by multilocational firms.[15] The dominance of these large organizations further impeded the development of new work and greater levels of import substitution, thereby accelerating the process of decline.

The decline of New Westminster's industrial sector was not isolated. It paralleled a similar decline throughout the entire Greater Vancouver metropolitan region. The proportion of New Westminster's labour forced in industry had declined from 43 percent in 1951 to 28 percent in 1981 and 25.8 percent in 1986.[16] Despite the decrease, the proportion of

TABLE 25

WAREHOUSE AND STORAGE

Year	No. of Firms	Gross Floor Space
1972	33	139,517 sq. ft.
1979	32	219,879 sq. ft.
1980	36	247,880 sq. ft.
1981	43	266,945 sq. ft.
1982	39	903,587 sq. ft.
1983	45	1,020,219 sq. ft.
1984	39	990,593 sq. ft.
1985	37	1,080,727 sq. ft.
1986	38	1,080,068 sq. ft.
1987	42	1,075,113 sq. ft.
1988	36	1,017,239 sq. ft.

Source: New Westminster (1990), p.26.

labour force employed in industry was still higher than for the region as a whole, with the proportion of the Greater Vancouver labour force employed in the goods producing sector (which includes the primary and construction sectors) declined from 27 percent in 1971 to 23 percent in 1981.[17] Although the absolute level of industrial employment increased, relatively the majority of the jobs being created in the region were concentrated in the service sector.[18] The fact that even in the 1980s New Westminster's labour force was still relatively more concentrated in the industrial sector than the region as a whole implies that the city was not as successful in generating service sector employment and as a consequence, had not fully adapted to the changing external environment and ambient energy fluxes.

6.22 The Port

The port of New Westminster closed in 1981, although the volume of trade passing through it had been negligible since the early 1970s.[19] The port's inadequate size, poor access, and obsolete warehouses and machinery all made the city progressively less attractive to shipping companies and terminal operators. The high cost of modernization made both the City Council and the Harbour Commission reluctant to undertake any improvements.[20] Furthermore, there had been a slow separation between the functions of the port proper

and the city as a whole.[21] Apart from the few jobs that remained and the taxes that were generated, the city received few benefits from the port. In fact, the continual leakage of energy from the port and the blighting effect it was having on the core meant that, without modernization, the port was reducing the viability of the city. The closure of the port, while not creating any energy organizing structures, reduced the level of energy loss associated with this sector.[22]

The operation of the modern Annacis Island and Fraser Surrey port facilities did not alter this situation. In both cases, little direct employment was generated and few fo the imports or exports originated in or were destined for New Westminster. While the only transportation access to Annacis Island continued to be through New Westminster, no significant economic activities developed in conjunciton with the terminal. In essence, the city was simply a conduit for externally generated, gradient-seeking flows.

6.23 Retailing

The virtual collapse of Downtown retailing, the slow expansion of the Uptown, and the truncation of the city's market area created a high degree of instability in New Westminster's retail sector. The total retail trade volume increased from $124,500,000 in 1971 to $380,950,000 in

1980, however, much of this increase was caused by inflation.[23] By the late 1970s the general state of Columbia Street, the volume of vehicular and pedestrian traffic in the Downtown, and the pattern of shopping trips all indicated that the Downtown core was dissipating. The relative reduction in the volume of trade flowing into the Downtown inexorably resulted in a decrease in the amount of capital, information, and energy for the city to use in its self-organization and maintenance. Despite the overall decline, some organizations, such as the D.B.A., and certain events, such as the beginnings of the waterfront renewal program, were starting to reverse the deterioration.

The deterioration of the commercial viability of the downtown in the 1970s was attributable to the accessibility and attractiveness of Columbia Street. The physical deterioration of both Columbia Street and Front Street generated a negative impression of the Downtown as a declining and derelict commercial area which limited its regional influence and reduced the inflow of capital and people. The most blighted area was along Front Street near the waterfront, but the streetscape along Columbia Street experienced few improvements during the 1970s. The need for greater street cleanliness, renovated building facades, and improved traffic signing into the Downtown were some of the most important elements recognized as necessary to upgrade the area's appearance.[24]

By the late 1970s most of the department stores and motion picture theatres had closed on Columbia Street leaving a large number of vacant buildings in their wake.[25] The Downtown vacancy rate increased from 9.4 percent in 1973 to 22.8 percent in 1983, while the retailing sector declined from 38.0 percent of the floor space to only 16.6 percent over the same period (Table 26). The large number of vacant stores was a physical reflection of the inability of the core to maintain the same energy influx and adapt to the changing commercial environment.

An index of deterioration is the declining number of automobiles parked on the parking ramp (Figure 10). The number of cars parked on the Parkade provides a means of inferring the total volume of retail trade occurring in the core.[26] Although the number of cars parked increased from 1965 to 1969, a steady decline in the number of cars parked occurred from 1969 to 1976. This drop in the number of cars parked indicates that throughout the early 1970s Downtown New Westminster was increasingly unable to attract customers and capital, thereby reducing its ability to remain viable.

Another indicator is the amount of pedestrian traffic along Columbia Street. Table 27 presents the results of a series of pedestrian surveys taken in December from 1971 to 1975. The results of the survey show that the amount of pedestrian traffic declined over the early 1970s. While

TABLE 26

COMMERCIAL FLOOR SPACE

DOWNTOWN NEW WESTMINSTER

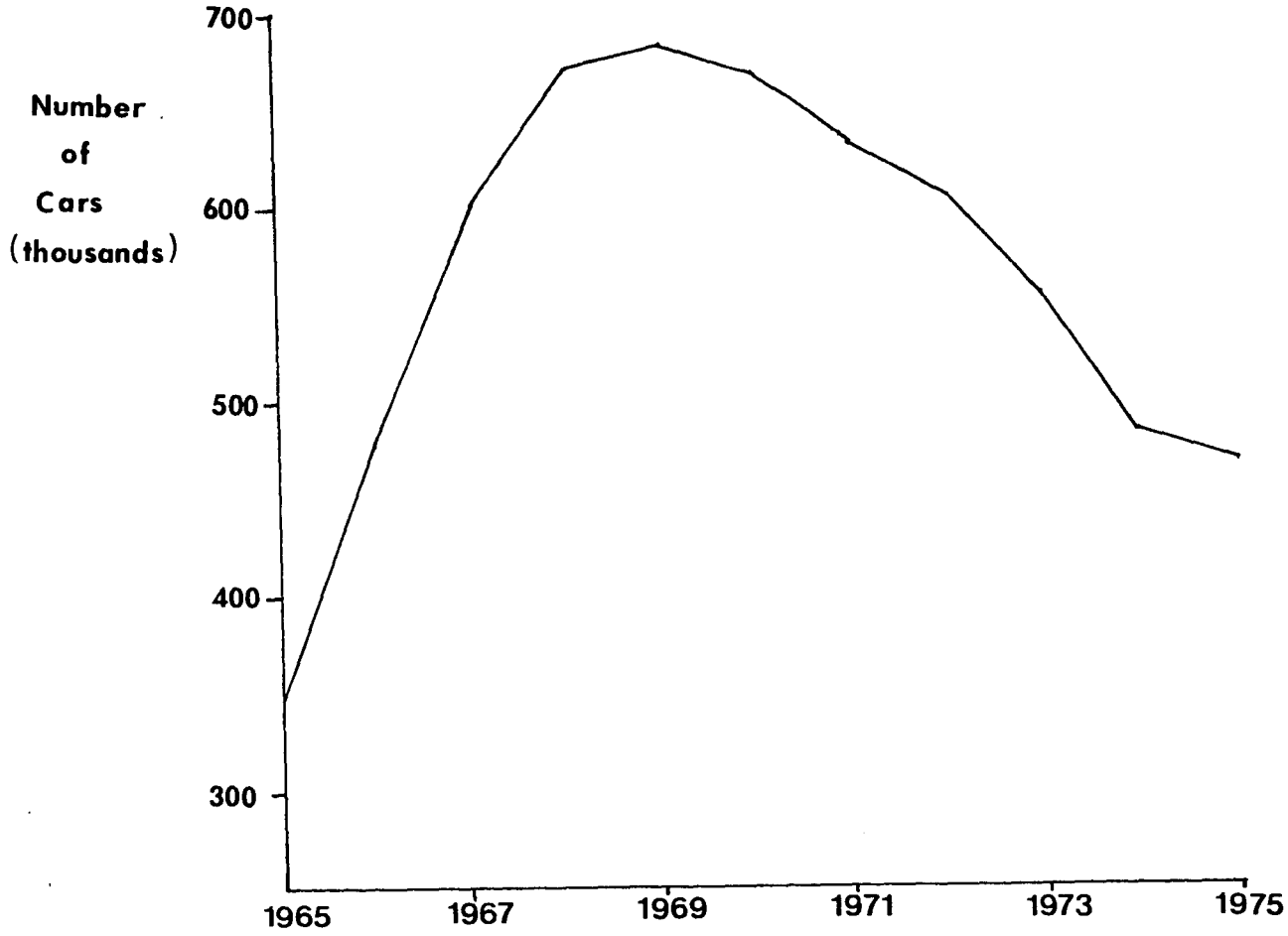
(Square Feet)

Type	1973	1983
Retail Trade	772,513	385,230
Business and Prof. Services	261,424	394,003
Auto Sales and Service	377,473	266,962
Hotels and Motels	216,571	170,440
Wholesale Trade	123,138	106,163
Trade and Repair	53,031	33,431
Commer. Recreation	22,888	73,033
Funeral Parlours	12,394	12,394
Vacant	190,786	472,765
Total	2,030,218	2,064,511

Source: City of New Westminster, Information Bulletin No. 7, Places of Work, 1973; and Linda Swaine, New Westminster: The Royal City Economic Profile 1985, New Westminster: Royal City Community Development Association, p.65.

FIGURE 10

Total Annual Parking



Source: D.B.A., General Meetings, 1966-76

TABLE 27

PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC COUNTS

1967 TO 1975

Location along Columbia St.	Sat. Dec. 4 1971	Sat. Dec. 7 1974	Sat. Dec.6 1975
"To" Parkade	3009	1172	1137
700 Block	1374	1447	1494
600 Block	2696	2304	2470
500 Block	1262	919	1003
400 Block	166	210	306
300 Block	85	134	177
Total-South Side	8592	6186	6587
700 Block	2513	1844	1772
600 Block	1705	1477	1357
500 Block	317	280	342
400 Block	307	259	261
300 Block	111	116	57
Total-North Side	4953	3976	3789
Grand Total	13545	10162	10376

Source: D.B.A. (1975).

a variety of variables, such as the presence or absence of a special sale, may have influenced the data, weather was not a factor as the worst weather conditions occurred in 1971. Thus, the data on the amount of pedestrian traffic and the number of cars parked show that the downtown core was in decline during the 1970s and that external support was necessary to prevent its dissipation.

The D.B.A., as the principal self-organizing structure in the downtown core, attempted to reverse the deterioration. The D.B.A's efforts largely fall into three general categories: the more efficient use of the core's collective resources, the physical upgrading of Columbia Street, and the lobbying of various levels of government for assistance. The more efficient use of the cores's resources was in part accomplished by the formation of the Downtown Promotional Fund in 1967.[27] This voluntary pooling of the advertising resources of 85 businesses and property owners permitted a greater range of advertising activities than could be accomplished independently.[28] While the fund could not compare to the resources possessed by the shopping malls, it did manage to bolster the image of the Downtown and engender greater cooperation on the part of its members.[29] Although there was never unanimous support for the Fund by all merchants, this pooling and efficient utilization of the available capital resources successfully created a higher form of energy organization which could adapt more easily to

the changing retail environment and preserve the integrity of the Downtown.[30]

The improvement of the physical and aesthetic appearance of Columbia Street prompted an ambitious proposal called the Columbia Street Canopy Project. The canopy project envisioned the construction of eleven feet wide permanent canopies over the sidewalks along Columbia Street from Fourth Street to Eighth Street to provide a continuous system of all-weather protection.[31] This would neutralize one of the perceived advantages of the suburban shopping malls.[32] By improving the physical appearance of Columbia Street the D.B.A. hoped to be able to recapture the trade flows which were now focused upon the shopping malls. However, the proposal twice failed to receive a sufficient amount voter support and it was abandoned due to the continuing economic decline.[33]

The D.B.A. then turned to a new strategy to improve the appearance of Columbia Street. Drawing upon the success of Vancouver's Gastown, the D.B.A. proposed the implementation of an "Old English" theme for Downtown which would be manifest in store front designs, street directional signs, bus-stops, and the streetscape in general.[34] The architectural theme would bolster the advertising profile of the Downtown and presumable attract more tourists and visitors into the city. The total cost of this upgrading was estimated at

$20,000 with $5,000 provided by the D.B.A. and the remaining $15,000 coming from the city.[35] However, as with the earlier canopy proposal the lack of support from the property owners, the passive attitude of the City Council, and the continued deterioration of the city's economy led to only a few minor improvements.

The D.B.A.'s attempts to lobby the various levels of government, especially the City Council, for financial and policy support met with limited success. The City Council largely limited its involvement to responding to proposals from the D.B.A. and other organizations. As a result, no coherent institutional framework was developed to coordinate or promote the various revitalization proposals. The lack of a significant amount of public sector support for the core exacerbated the process of decline and resulted in the wasting of the limited amount of available energy.

While the Downtown experienced deterioration in the 1970s, the Uptown continued to undergo a process of almost continuous expansion. The physical expression of this expansion was the extensive construction of new buildings. The magnet for this growing retail node was the Woodward's department store which remained the dominant commercial attractor until the construction of the Westminster Mall in 1978. This community shopping centre contained 142,000 square feet of office and retail space and forty or fifty

retail and service outlets.[36] In conjunction with the Woodward's department store, the Westminster Mall completed the transformation of the Uptown into a significant regional commercial node.

Other buildings were erected in the late 1970s which further bolstered the Uptown's commercial and institutional importance. These buildings included "a high-rise and commercial complex"[37] at the corner of Sixth Street and Seventh Avenue in 1978, the expansion of the Public Library, the erection of the Royal Canadian Legion's senior citizen's highrise in 1979, and the B.C. Telephone Microwave Tower in 1980. The cumulative effect of all this construction on the total commercial floor space in the Uptown is shown in Table 28. From 1973 to 1983 the total commercial floor space increased by 288,230 square feet or twenty-nine percent and by 1983, in large measure due to the presence of Woodward's and the Westminster Mall, there was more occupied retail floor space in the Uptown than in the Downtown for the first time in the city's history. The relatively lower vacancy rate in the Uptown (12.8 percent) compared to the Downtown in 1983 (22.8 percent) reinforces the fact that the Uptown was far more commercially viable than the Downtown.

The differing regional influence and viability of the Uptown and Downtown areas of New Westminster can be inferred from several market surveys conducted during this period. In

TABLE 28

COMMERCIAL FLOOR SPACE

UPTOWN NEW WESTMINSTER

(SQUARE FEET)

Type	1973	1983
Retail Trade	493,198	655,479
Business and Prof. Services	277,362	312,351
Auto Sales and Service	104,916	55,381
Hotels and Motels	--	--
Wholesale Trade	52,930	25,298
Trade and Repair	19,622	26,342
Commer. Recreation	11,680	25,425
Funeral Parlours	17,042	11,429
Vacant	10,178	163,453
Total	986,928	1,275,158

Source: City of New Westminster, Information Bulletin No. 7, Places of Work, 1973; and Swaine (1985), p.65.

1966, an informal survey of car and bus passengers, 200 of each, in the Downtown provided an indication of the relative attractiveness of the core.[38] Of the 400 respondents, 26 percent came from New Westminster, 32 percent from Surrey, 25 percent from Coquitlam and only 14 percent from Burnaby. These results indicate that the regional influence of the Downtown was limited to the adjacent municipalities, with a large proportion of the customers coming from Surrey. Table 29 shows the results of another market area survey conducted in Uptown New Westminster in 1978. The results of this survey conducted over a decade later indicates a different pattern of consumer attraction. Over seventy percent of shoppers and non-shoppers came from either New Westminster or South Burnaby, with only a smaller proportion of the clientele coming from the rest of the region. The results of this survey clearly indicate that the market area of Uptown, and perhaps the entire city, was severely constrained by the late 1970s. Although the two market surveys have significant comparability problems, they do provide a partial picture of New Westminster's commercial influence in the 1970s.[39]

Further evidence of the differing market areas of these two nodes is provided by Gayler's work on the variation in shopping patterns in Greater Vancouver.[40] Gayler indicates that Uptown and Downtown New Westminster, which are treated as separate nodes in his analysis, had variable

TABLE 29

CONSUMER SHOPPING PATTERNS

Place of Residence	Shoppers		Non-Shoppers	
	Number	%	Number	%
New Westminster	255	60.8	143	64.0
South Burnaby	51	12.1	22	9.9
Other Burnaby	27	6.4	9	4.1
Coquitlam	29	6.8	6	2.7
Surrey	13	3.1	16	7.2
Other	48	11.3	27	12.1
Total	423	100.0	222	100.0

Mode of transport	Percentage
Automobile	47%
Bus	18%
Walk	35%
	100%

Source: New New New Westminster Mall, Vancouver: Canadian Freehold Properties Ltd., 1978; and Brian Power, "Ceremony launches $13 million Royal City mall", Columbian, March 15, 1977.

trade areas depending upon the type of good being purchased. Nonetheless, the composite market area that emerges tends to reinforce the results of the two market surveys. Uptown New Westminster derived a greater proportion of its customers from South Burnaby and Coquitlam than the Downtown, while the Downtown attracted more consumers from Surrey.[41] However, there was still a significant degree of overlap in their trade areas, especially in Burnaby and Coquitlam. This overlap placed the two nodes in a degree of direct competition which probably further reduced the trade flows into the Downtown due to its less attractive retail environment.

Building permits and assessment values in the city from 1970 to 1984 provide evidence of the dynamic nature of this situation. Figure 11 indicates the fluctuations in these indices plotted against the metropolitan consumer price index, all in constant (1961) terms. The value of building permits, although fluctuating, tended to increase, despite the city's economic deterioration. Even in the severe recession years of 1983 and 1984, the value of building permits far exceeded its 1961 levels. The assessed value of property also increased throughout this period, exceeding the rate of increase of the C.P.I.. This increase in the assessed value of property implies that New Westminster was still an attractive place for people and businesses to locate and is a useful corrective to the indices of economic decline identified earlier. While the economy of the city

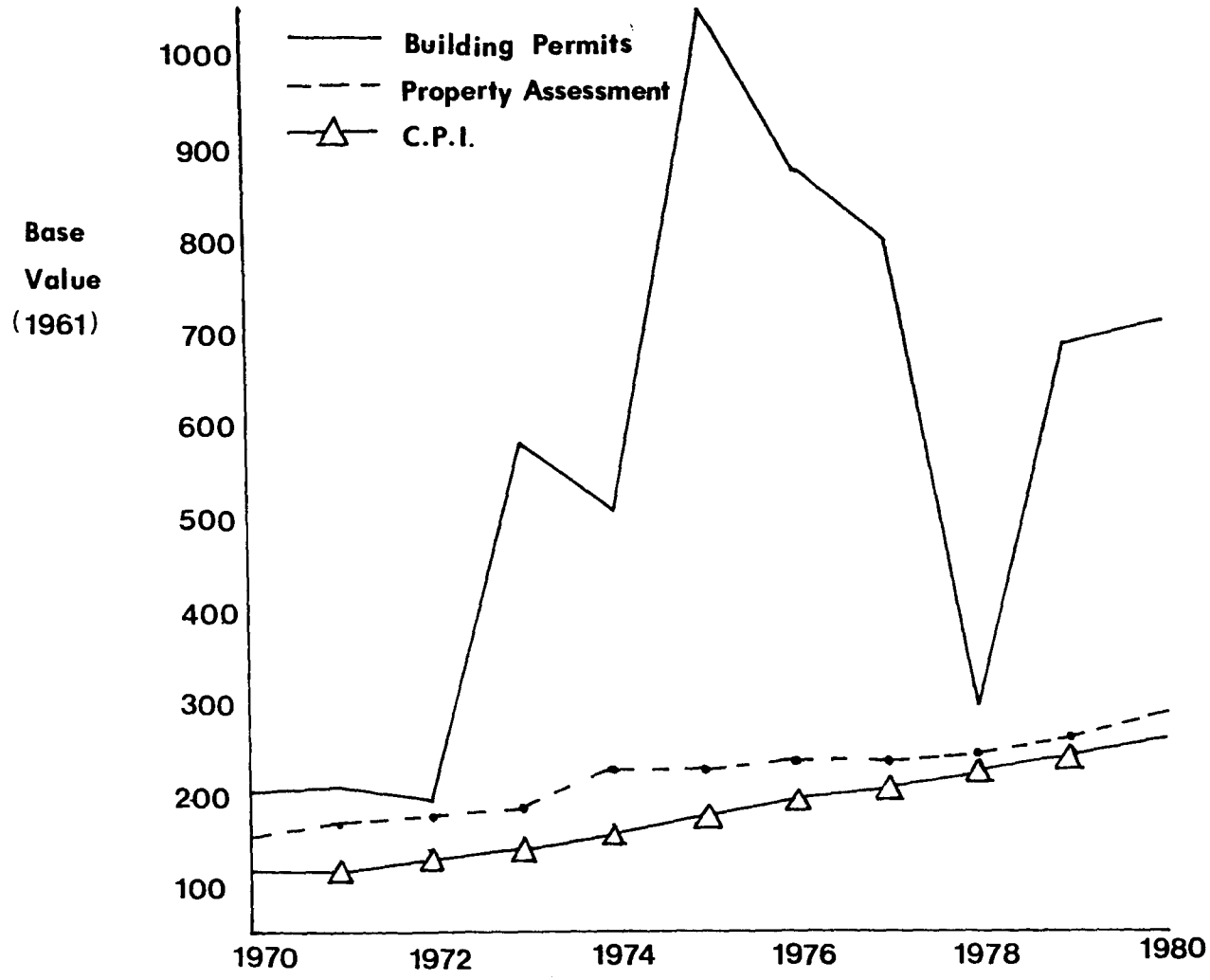

Building Permits
Property Assessment
C.P.I.
Base
Value
(1961)
1000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
1970
1972
1974
1976
1978
1980

FIGURE 11

was deteriorating, other internal and external forces were acting to bolster its attractiveness and viability.

The continued attractiveness of the city was in part a consequence of the continued expansion and development of the other areas of the city, such as Uptown and Sapperton. Overall, it appears that the expansive forces which maintained the viability of these areas were able to counteract the negative impact of the declining Downtown core. The rapid increase in assessed values also implies that New Westminster was emerging as a more important regional information centre within the metropolitan region.[42] The other main cause for the acceleration in building permits and assessed property values was the slow implementation of the Downtown waterfront revitalization program in the late 1970s, but due to the complexity of this issue it will be dealt with separately in Chapter 7.

6.24 Transportation

The viability and regional importance of New Westminster continued to be adversely affected by the state of the regional transportation system. The city's relative accessibility was reduced by the construction of new Fraser River crossings, highways, and interchanges in the late 1950s and 1960s. Access problems were compounded by a relatively

inadequate transit service provided between the city and the surrounding municipalities. The dismantling of the Interurban railway and tram service throughout the 1940s and 1950s had limited the region's transit system to motor buses. Although the city was serviced by three bus companies, B.C. Hydro, Pacific Stage Lines, and Sabina Transit, the frequency of the service was insufficient to meet the demands of passengers or Downtown businesses.[43] The rerouting of several bus routes to focus upon the Lougheed Mall in 1969 reduced the city's relative accessibility for Coquitlam residents and thereby exacerbated the city's economic deterioration.[44]

In order to counter the Downtown's declining accessibility, a Shop N' Ride program was promoted. This program reduced the cost of using public transit for Downtown customers.[45] The reduced cost of using public transit made it easier for customers and capital to flow into the core, but the program by itself could not overcome all of the time and cost impediments.[46] Despite its benefit to the core, the program ceased in the late 1970s due to its increasing cost.

6.3 DEMOGRAPHICS

The city's population exhibited both an absolute decline and, later at the end of the period, slow growth (Table 30). New Westminster, after experiencing a thirteen percent increase in its population between 1966 and 1971, suffered a ten percent decrease between 1971 and 1976. Although Vancouver also had a four percent decrease in its total population during the same period, its drop was less precipitous and by 1986 it had regained all of its losses, while New Westminster was still approximately seven percent below its 1971 population. The continued rapid increase in the populations of the surrounding municipalities further eclipsed the city's regional influence. By 1986, New Westminster was smaller than all the adjacent municipalities, with the exception of Port Coquitlam, and the faster rates of population increase in these municipalities meant that New Westminster's demographic importance in the metropolitan region fell significantly during this period.

There was a continued transformation of New Westminster's age structure. Table 31 presents the aged dependency ratio for New Westminster and the surrounding municipalities from 1971 to 1986. The aging trend which had become apparent in the 1950s and 1960s continued and accelerated. New Westminster had one of the highest ratios of the region, exceed-

TABLE 30

POPULATION CHANGE

1966 TO 1986

Region	1966	1971	1976	% change 1971-76
Vancouver CMA	892,286	1,082,352	1,166,348	7.8
Vancouver	410,875	426,256	410,188	-3.9
New Westminster	38,013	42,835	38,393	-10.4
Burnaby	112,036	125,660	131,599	4.7
Coquitlam	40,916	53,073	55,464	4.5
Port Coquitlam	11,121	19,560	23,926	22.3
Surrey	81,826	99,966	116,497	16.5

Region	1981	1986	% change 1966-86
Vancouver CMA	1,268,183	1,380,729	54.7
Vancouver	414,281	431,147	5.1
New Westminster	38,550	39,972	5.1
Burnaby	136,494	145,167	29.6
Coquitlam	61,077	69,291	69.3
Port Coquitlam	27,535	29,115	161.8
Surrey	147,138	181,417	121.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada, 1966-86.

TABLE 31

AGED DEPENDENCY RATIO

1971 TO 1986

Region	1971	1981	1986
New Westminster	19.1	25.9	26.0
Vancouver CMA	15.6	16.6	17.4
Vancouver	20.1	21.7	21.1
Burnaby	11.9	16.9	18.7
Coquitlam	10.9	9.8	11.0
Surrey	13.2	12.4	14.2
White Rock	56.9	63.8	65.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada, 1971-1986.

ing even Vancouver by 1981. Only White Rock, the quintessential retirement community, had a vastly larger proportion of its population aged 65 or above. The steady increase in the aged dependency ratio implies a general aging of the city's population and, as a consequence, a greater dependency upon external transfer payments to maintain the city's viability and coherence.[47]

Table 32 shows the youth dependency ratios for these urban areas. A comparison of the youth dependency ratios for the various urban areas indicates that New Westminster continued to witness a steady decline in the proportion of children in its total population until 1986 when a small degree of recovery was registered. Nonetheless, New Westminster still had the lowest youth dependency ratio for the entire metropolitan region, exceeded by both Vancouver and White Rock. New Westminster's relatively low youth dependency ratio, coupled with its increasing aged dependency ratio and its declining and stagnant population, means that the city was incapable of replacing its population without a constant influx of new inhabitants. The increasing age of the population also had an impact upon the city's economy as older persons are both relatively less mobile and less financially secure than the population aged 15 to 64.[48] Thus, these demographic trends compounded the poor economic performance of the city in the 1970s and early 1980s.

TABLE 32

YOUTH DEPENDENCY RATIO

1971 TO 1986

Region	1971	1981	1986
New Westminster	28.7	17.4	17.9
Vancouver CMA	39.3	27.5	26.5
Vancouver	29.4	20.5	19.5
Burnaby	38.3	23.2	21.9
Coquitlam	54.2	29.6	28.5
Surrey	53.6	36.9	36.6
White Rock	32.1	20.0	19.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada, 1971-1986.

6.4 COMMUNITY, SOCIAL AND PERCEPTUAL SHIFTS

New Westminster's community and social cohesion also underwent significant changes. Several indices, focusing on the pace of neighbourhood change, the transformation of the May Day celebrations, the deterioration of the Farmers' Market, and the decreased emphasis the city received from its principal media outlets, demonstrate the pervasiveness of these changes. Collectively, these indices trace the degree of social integration occurring. The decline in these indices of the city's community cohesion implies that New Westminster became increasingly dependent upon external agents, institutions, and processes to promote its revitalization.

6.41 Neighbourhood Change

The degree of neighbourhood stability in different areas of New Westminster is measured by an examination of the changing residences along the same three streets described in Chapter 5 to infer the degree of stability or change which occurred in the city from 1966 to 1986.[49] Although each selected street may not be completely typical of the city, the general trends are ascertainable from the results. From 1966 to 1971 there is an extremely high degree

of neighbourhood stability (Table 33). Only twenty-five percent of the inhabitants changed their addresses in this five year interval, the lowest percentage recorded over the entire postwar era. This is a continuation of the high levels of neighbourhood stability exhibited during the 1950s and 1960s.

However, by the 1970s and the 1980s the degree of neighbourhood change had increased significantly. From 1971 to 1976, the number of addresses having new residents increased to almost thirty-six percent (Table 34) and, after slowing slightly to thirty-three percent from 1976 to 1981 (Table 35), increased to a postwar high of thirty-nine percent in the 1981 to 1986 period (Table 36). One can infer that this higher degree of neighbourhood change made the maintenance of community cohesion more difficult than in the earlier periods. The community cohesion was not completely undermined due to the continued presence of a substantial proportion of long-term residents. For each of the time intervals, approximately forty percent of the population lived in the same address for fifteen years or longer. This nucleus of residents helped to stabilize the city's internal cohesion and promote the maintenance of its sense of place.

The degree of movement was significantly below the national average. "Nearly one-half (45%) of reporting Canadians... changed their places of residence at least

TABLE 33

NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

1966 TO 1971

Streets	No. of Addresses	No. of New Addresses	% change	No. of Residents Present for 15 years or more.	%
Nanaimo	34	4	11.76	14	41.2
Queens	28	7	25.00	14	50.0
Richmond	25	11	44.00	7	28.0
Total	87	22	25.29	35	40.2

Source: City Directories, 1966 and 1971.

TABLE 34

NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

1971 TO 1976

Streets	No. of Addresses	No. of New Addresses	% change	No. of Residents of 15 years or more	%
Nanaimo	34	17	50.00	11	32.35
Queens	28	5	17.85	14	50.00
Richmond	25	9	36.00	10	40.00
Total	87	31	35.60	35	40.23

Source: City Directories, 1971-1976.

TABLE 35

NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

1976 TO 1981

Street	No. of Addresses	No. of New Addresses	% change	No. of Residents of 15 years or more	%
Nanaimo	35	12	34.28	15	42.85
Queens	28	10	35.71	13	46.43
Richmond	25	7	28.00	8	32.00
Total	88	29	32.95	36	40.90

Source: City Directories, 1976-1981.

TABLE 36

NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

1981 TO 1986

Street	No. of Addresses	No. of New Addresses or No Return	% change	No. of Residents of 15 years or more	%
Nanaimo	35	15	42.85	13	37.14
Queens	28	7	25.00	12	42.85
Richmond	25	12	48.00	10	40.00
Total	88	34	38.64	35	39.78

Source: City Directories, 1981-1986.

TABLE 37

CUMULATIVE CHANGE

1966 TO 1986

No. of Addresses	No. of New Addresses	% change
350	116	33.14

once between 1966 and 1971,"[50] while in New Westminster only twenty-five percent of the households moved in the same period. Although not directly comparable due to its inclusion of apartment residents, the mobility of the national urban population was even higher at forty-eight percent. These figures indicate a consistently high degree of geographic mobility within the Canadian population, a degree of mobility which was not present in the New Westminster neighbourhoods which were surveyed. The lower mobility is in large measure attributable to the absence of apartment dwellers in these neighbourhoods and the steady aging of the population throughout the period.[51] Thus, the greater degree of mobility in the 1970s and 1980s implies a reduction in the cohesiveness of the city.

6.42 Community Integration

By the 1970s the Farmers' Market was an obsolete remnant of the city's past when it was the centre of a large agricultural trade area. In 1969, the proportion of farmers selling goods at the Market had substantially decreased and over fifty percent of the stalls were occupied by home and hobby workers.[52] The social role of the Market had all but disappeared and it was operating at a loss financially. However, the Farmers' Market was still an important tourist attraction for the city and this fact, coupled with its long

history, encouraged the City Council to continue supporting it with subsidies.[53] The financial insolvency of the Market continued throughout the 1970s and in 1972 it was proposed to relocate it onto Front Street as part of a scheme to promote the revitalization of the waterfront.[54] The revitalization proposal was never implemented and as a result the Farmers' Market remained in an increasingly aged building and its importance as a tourist attraction waned in the late 1970s.

The transformation of the May Day celebration into the Hyack Festival in 1972 had a significant impact upon the most consistent element of community cohesion and identity in the city. Since 1967, the May Day celebrations had evolved into a week long event as a result of the many centennials being held in the city. Old traditionalist members were replaced by new community leaders, such as Alderman and later Mayor Muni Evers. This process was continued into the 1970s. However, a combination of civic concerns about the loss of traditions and the mounting costs of the event provoked a crisis in 1970. In that year, due to the rejection by City Council of a request for additional funding to stage a more "professional-type, money making event", the Royal Agricultural and Industrial Society, which held the charter for all fairs and celebrations in the city, declared that it would no longer support the celebration.[55] In order to maintain the tradition, the City purchased the charter back

from the Royal Agricultural and Industrial Society and supported the creation of the Royal City Society to oversee the event in 1972.

The creation of the Royal City Society was a direct result of the philosophy of the same community leaders and politicians who had advocated the expansion of the celebrations since the mid 1960s. Among the benefits stated by Mayor Muni Evers by the placing of all the responsibility for the celebrations in the one organization was the "taking it out of the hands of the bureaucrats".[56] The society was founded with responsibility for the promotion of all social, cultural and sports events in the city and had four basic objectives including attracting "regional, national and international attention", to offer a venue for the expression of local talent, abilities or wares and to stimulate the economy of the city.[57] The society was financially supported by a one percent increase in the business tax but was a fully autonomous organization. Thus, the City Council had delegated some of its authority and decision-making ability to an autonomous, unelected organization which would determine the nature and structure of these events so important to the cohesion of the city.

The first modification the Royal City Society made to the May Day celebration was to change its name to the Hyack Festival. The reason for the change was to find a truly dis-

tinctive name for the expanded ten day event.[58] However, there was some opposition to the name change, most notably from the D.B.A. who worried the new name may not have the wide recognition of the older May Day celebration.[59] The opposition was not sufficient to reverse the change and the Society assured the city's residents that "this will not end the traditional May Day Celebration, but rather will incorporate it as part of a larger festival which will include parades, a carnival, attractions, and other events...".[60] The core of the Hyack Festival was to be the traditional May Day celebrations with other events added to improve its attractiveness.

While a policy to keep the May Day celebrations unmodified was dominant in the 1950s and 1960s, the dominant policy of the 1970s was "bigger is better".[61] The 1972 Hyack Festival had a carnival, high wire acts, and roving Western singers throughout the city. Despite the expanded events, only about 25,000 people witnessed the parade which was approximately the same number who, on average, viewed the parade in the 1960s.[62] The emphasis upon grander spectacles and more elaborate events, while not completely displacing the symbolic and community integrative elements of the Festival, inevitably resulted in a greater degree of commercialism. The older traditions of the May Day celebrations were increasingly maintained only if they could be incorporated into the new format. For example, the decision to

hold the 1973 Hyack Festival in Mercer Stadium adjacent to the New Westminster Secondary School was strongly criticized due to its explicit rejection of the traditional location in Queens Park.[63]

The pinnacle of this increased emphasis upon larger events and stronger boosterism was the 1973 Hyack Festival. The 1973 Festival was unique because it preceeded the Canada Summer Games which were held in New Westminster in August of that year. The Festival was held over a ten day period and had numerous sporting events, such as softball tournaments, lacrosse games, and Olympic training swim meets, in addition to the May Day celebrations and a carnival.[64] The Summer Games and the Hyack Festival greatly enhanced the city's regional and national profile, at least for the short term, and the fact that both spectacles were run with largely volunteer organization indicates that a significant degree of community mobilization and cohesion still existed.[65] Apart from its tourist potential, the Canada Summer Games also provided the city, with federal and provincial funding, with a new Olympic-sized swimming and recreation complex, called the Canada Games Pool, and a new Lacrosse Hall of Fame.[66] These facilities have been heavily utilized by the community and bolstered the variety of recreational amenities present in the city.

Another significant change in the former May Day

celebrations was the re-routing of the parade in 1974. The annual May Day parade, which had been separated from the official May Day event and incorporated into the Hyack Festival in 1972, had always started in the Downtown core and marched either up McBride Boulevard or First Street into Queens Park. However, the parade was permanently re-routed to Uptown New Westminster and thence down Sixth Street and along Queens Avenue into Queens Park.[67] The re-routing of the parade had significant symbolic and economic ramifications. In symbolic terms, the choice of the Uptown as the starting point was further recognition of its importance as the dominant commercial area in the city by the 1970s. The economic vitality of the Uptown was bolstered by the large numbers of visitors and tourists which usually watched the parade, customers who in earlier years would have stayed in the Downtown. Thus, this re-routing contributed to the shifting balance of economic vitality between the two nodes.[68]

The scale and character of the Hyack Festival followed these broad outlines for the remainder of the 1970s and the early 1980s. The only significant addition to the Festival was the promotion of a two person canoe marathon from Hope to New Westminster in 1975 which became an annual component. The canoe marathon down the Fraser River grew in popularity and eventually involved a total of thirty-six canoes in the 1982 Hyack Festival.[69] The maintenance of a greater degree

of community cohesion and a definite sense of place was accomplished not only by the traditional events of the May Day celebration and the Hyack Anvil Battery, but also by the conscious promotion of the city's local history through special lectures and exhibits at the Irving House historical centre.[70] By these means a greater appreciation of the city's origins and transformations were instilled in its residents.

Despite all the changes which did occur to the May Day celebrations in this period, there were limits beyond which the citizens were not prepared to tolerate. The most dramatic example of this was the controversy over the crowning of the May Queen which occurred in 1983. In 1983 a group of teachers complained about the explicit sexism associated with the crowning of a May Queen and asked that the event either be dropped or changed to allow all academically qualified students of either gender to participate.[71] Although school board initially supported some increased participation by boys, a series of community groups, citizens and the City Council opposed any changes to the tradition of the May Queen.[72] As a consequence, the crowning of the May Queen has continued without any modification to the present. The intensity of the opposition to the proposed changes also demonstrated the parochial and conservative attitudes which existed in the city.

6.43 NEW WESTMINSTER'S MEDIA PROFILE

The city's residents sense of community was built through the exchange of information, including advertising, in local the local media. As well, the city's presence in the region was expressed through its media outlets. By the 1970s, CKNW had become the dominant radio station in the province and its ties to New Westminster, apart from the location of its main offices in the city, were extremely tenuous. Simultaneously, New Westminster's prominence in the Columbian newspaper was eroded as measured by the amount of non-classified advertising originating from city merchants.

CKNW's policy became to serve the entire metropolitan region and most of the province. New Westminster, and its local events and news, was only rarely mentioned in its broadcasts. The upgrading of the station to A.M. stereo format in 1983 to directly compete with the F.M. radio stations was a reflection of the desire of the station management and the parent corporation, Western International Communications, to be the "voice of the province", an ambition which made an affiliation with a small city like New Westminster irrelevant.[73] This process of metropolitanization culminated in 1986 when, as part of the Expo 86 celebrations in Vancouver, CKNW opened a new broadcast studio on the Expo site and instituted the Western Informat-

ion Network to link all areas of the province with the station.[74]

The proportion of local advertising present in the Columbian newpaper declined throughout this period. A quantitative content analysis of the Columbian for selected days in the months of January and August from 1972 to 1982 provides evidence for this trend. The results are further supported by data provided by a content analysis of the advertising in the Columbian in the last two weeks of August 1969 and August 1970 by the D.B.A. (Table38).

The amount of New Westminster non-classified advertising in the Columbian declined from approximately forty-nine percent in the D.B.A. analysis in August 1969 and forty-three percent in January 1972, to thirty-nine percent in August 1982 and thirty-one percent in January 1982 (Tables 38-41). Advertisers in surrounding municipalities consistently increased their coverage. Vancouver based firms also accounted for a significant percentage of the advertising. By 1982, New Westminster's coverage had declined to the point where it was just one centre among the many commercial nodes in the region. The eclipsing of New Westminster's coverage by Burnaby in 1970 indicates the degree to which the city had lost its commercial pre-eminence (Table 38).

The declining advertising originating was both a re-

TABLE 38

ADVERTISING COMPETITION IN THE COLUMBIAN FOR THE LAST TWO WEEKS OF AUGUST 1969 - 1970

Source	1969 (Inches)	%	1970 (Inches)	%
Downtown New Westminster	1,485	40.7	1,500	16.5
Woodward's (Uptown)	330	9.1	990	10.8
Lougheed Mall	---	---	4,093	44.8
Simpsons Sears (Burnaby)	288	7.9	758	8.3
K-Mart (Surrey)	1,542	42.3	1,816	19.6
Total	3,640	100.0	9,157	100.0

Source: Preliminary Report on Downtown New Westminster Back to School Sale and Promotion, September, 1970 (D.B.A, Personal Collection of Mr. M.G. Thomson)

TABLE 39

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE

COLUMBIAN 1972

Region	January (Inches)	%	August (Inches)	%	Total	%
New Westminster	391.0	43.2	178.0	30.4	569.0	38.2
Surrey	80.0	8.8	170.0	29.0	250.0	16.8
N.E. Sector (Coquitlam, Port Moody, Port Coquitlam)	43.5	4.8	76.0	13.0	119.5	8.0
Burnaby	267.0	29.6	62.0	10.6	329.0	22.1
Vancouver	53.0	5.9	40.0	6.8	93.0	6.2
Rest of the Lower Fraser Valley	12.5	1.4	27.0	4.7	39.5	2.7
Rest of the Province	37.5	4.1	10.0	1.7	47.5	3.2
National or Unknown	20.0	2.2	22.5	3.8	42.5	2.8
Total	904.5	100.0	585.5	100.0	1490.0	100.0

TABLE 40

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE

COLUMBIAN 1977

Region	January (Inches)	%	August (Inches)	%	Total	%
New Westminster	452.5	45.5	160.0	24.8	612.5	37.3
Surrey	86.5	8.7	106.5	16.5	193.0	11.8
N.E. Sector (Coquitlam, Port Moody, Port Coquitlam)	77.5	7.8	74.5	11.6	152.0	9.3
Burnaby	145.5	14.6	104.5	16.2	250.0	15.3
Vancouver	103.0	10.5	41.0	6.4	144.0	8.8
Rest of the Lower Fraser Valley	11.5	1.1	113.5	17.6	125.0	7.6
Rest of the Province	43.0	4.3	37.5	5.8	80.5	4.9
National or Unknown	75.0	7.5	7.0	1.1	82.0	5.0
Total	994.5	100.0	644.5	100.0	1639.0	100.0

TABLE 41

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE

COLUMBIAN 1982

Region	January (Inches)	%	August (Inches)	%	Total	%
New Westminster	376.5	30.7	207.0	39.6	583.5	33.4
Surrey	191.5	15.6	133.0	25.5	324.5	18.5
N.E. Sector (Coquitlam, Port Moody, Port Coquitlam)	99.0	8.1	20.5	3.9	119.5	6.8
Burnaby	190.5	15.5	41.0	7.8	231.5	13.2
Vancouver	150.0	12.2	54.5	10.4	204.5	11.7
Rest of the Lower Fraser Valley	94.0	7.7	52.0	10.0	146.0	8.3
Rest of the Province	102.0	8.3	---	--	102.0	5.8
National or Unknown	24.5	1.9	14.5	2.8	39.0	2.3
Total	1228.0	100.0	522.5	100.0	1750.5	100.0

flection of the city's economic decline and a contributing factor. The loss of its regional media profile inexorably contributed to the city's stagnation and decline. The inability of the residents and businesses to maintain a constructive two way flow of information isolated the city from its traditional market area and prevented its full participation in the regional information flows. This isolation was complete in 1983 when the Columbian newspaper declared bankruptcy and closed. The loss of the Columbian removed New Westminster's last continuing media link with the metropolitan region. All local reporting of news and events was relegated to the single community newspaper, The Royal City Record, and the Burnaby community newspaper, the Burnaby Now. Thus, New Westminster was no longer a major media and information centre in the region.

6.5 SUMMATION AND ELABORATION

New Westminster in the period 1967 to 1982 was a generally deteriorating and dissipating urban centre within a growing metropolitan region. In Jacobs's terms it had become a "sink", increasingly dependent upon external fluxes to maintain its population and economy. The decline was most evident in the industrial sector, the port, and retailing in

the Downtown. This was only partially counter-balanced by the expansion of the Uptown. Stability was seen in such institutions as the Royal Columbian and St. Mary's hospitals, the Woodlands mental care facility, and the B.C. Penitentiary. These institutions, while not growing very rapidly, provided stable employment and tax transfers which helped the city to survive.

New Westminster's market area was reduced. The decline of its commercial influence in South Burnaby, Coquitlam, and North Surrey was a direct consequence of the earlier encirclement of the city by the various suburban regional and community shopping centres, the physical degeneration of the built fabric in the Downtown, and new transportation systems. The City Council and the D.B.A. failed to substantially halt or reverse the deterioration because of their collective inability to implement many of the proposals for revitalization, such as the "Old English" theme, and to react to the various external forces. The city's dependence upon a few economic sectors created the grounds for the economic dissipation of the 1970s and 1980s.[75]

The city's population decline and the increased degree of instability in its social and community elements contributed to its malaise. The absolute decrease in population from 1971 to 1976, coupled with the relatively slow increase from 1976 onwards, contributed to an eroding of the

the city's commercial viability. The greater degree of neighbourhood change in this period, although still far below the national average, further strained the city's internal coherence. Only the persistence of a large number of long-term and aging residents provided the continuity necessary to maintain any of the city's cohesion. The transformation of the May Day celebrations into the larger Hyack Festival preserved some of the older traditions while simultaneously modifying others to pander to regional opportunities. Preservation of the city's identity and community integration continued to be important goals.

The loss of the local orientation of the two principal media outlets in the city was a significant blow to the city's external influence and internal coherence. The reduction in the amount of firm and resident advertising and local news coverage eroded the city's regional profile and peripheralized it in relation to the metropolitan information flows. The closing of the Columbian newspaper in 1983 was the culmination of this metropolitan peripheralization as it concentrated all the daily print media on Vancouver.

The economic dissipation, demographic decline and social and community instability of the 1970s and the early 1980s severely eroded the regional importance and internal cohesion of New Westminster. Nevertheless, the City Council, various civic and business organizations and individual

Muriel Armstrong, The Canadian Economy and Its Problems, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1982, p.477.

4 Cy Gonick, Inflation and Wage Controls, Winnipeg: Canadian Dimension Publications, 1976, p.3.

5 Barrie Wall, "Provincial government assistance could have saved Star shipyards", Columbian, July 7, 1973.

6 The degeneration of the industrial sector to a far smaller range of industries is characteristic of the simplification process entites undergo as they dissipate and lose their internal coherence.

Adams (1982), p.18; and Jacobs (1984), p.34.

7 New Westminster (1990), p.29.

8 Ibid, p.52.

9 Randall (1983), p.91.

10 "Royal City plant in receivership", Columbian, December 13, 1977; and New Westminster (1990), pp. 32-34.

11 Brian Wilford, "Bargain-hunters roll out barrel", Columbian, February 23, 1978.

12 Paul C. Marck, "Scott Paper's big sales jump smoothing out", Columbian, July 21, 1983, p.A6; and Albert Sigurdson, "Scott Paper will undertake program to expand mills", Toronto Globe and Mail, September 24, 1981, p.B1.

13 Linda D. Swaine, New Westminster: Royal City Economic Profile 1985, New Westminster: Royal City Development Group, 1985, p.44.

14 The dominant firms were, respectively, the Labatt's Brewery, The Scott Paper Company, and the Woodward's Distribution Centre.

15 Most of Scott Paper's research and development is conducted in the United States and the new machinery installed during the last major expansion was built in Sweden by A B Karlstads Mekaniska A Werkstad. As a result there is little information linkage to the local economy and no indigenous innovation is promoted.

"Scott Paper unveils new plant", Royal City Record, April 28, 1984, p.19.

16 Swaine (1986), p.1.

17 Although the figures are not directly comparable they do provide an indication of the regional trend in terms of employment.

Baxter (1986), p.27.

18 The growth and concentration of service sector jobs in the Lower Mainland has recently provoked some researchers to speculate that the provincial economy is becoming polarized between a vibrant and independent Greater Vancouver region and the rest of the province.

See: H. Craig Davis and Thomas A. Hutton, "The Two Economies of British Columbia", BC Studies, 82 (Summer 1989), pp. 3-15.

19 Although the material and energy flows through the port had not appreciably augmented the city's viability since the 1950s, the lack of activity on the waterfront increased the perception of the Downtown as a derelict and blighted area. The loss of the port illustrates the vulnerability of a city which depends upon equilibrium seeking trade flows.

Dyke (1988), p.188.

20 Norman Lidster, "An Historian sets the record straight on the New Westminster waterfront", Columbian, October 15, 1971, p.B4.

21 Robert J. McCalla, "Separation and Specialization of Land Uses in Cityport Waterfronts: The Cases of Saint Johns and Halifax", Canadian Geographer, XXVII (1983), p.48.

22 Fraser River Harbour Commission, Annual Reports 1974-1976.

23 George Mitchell, "Massive redevelopment program underway in Royal City", Trade and Commerce, 76 (May 1981), p.56; Lower Fraser Valley (Vancouver Suburban) Directory 1970, Vancouver: B.C. Directories ; and Lower Fraser Valley (Vancouver Suburban) Directory 1977, Vancouver: B.C. Directories.

24 Downtown Business and Property Owners' Association (hereafter referred to as the D.B.A.), Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Directors, July 29, 1976, (Personal collection of Mr. M.G. Thomson, hereafter abbreviated as T.C.).

25 The list of department stores which left Columbia Street for suburban shopping malls in the 1970s and early 1980s includes Eaton's, Zellers, Fields, and Rigby's. Both of the theatres in the core, the Columbian and the Paramount, and other stores such as Wosk's furniture store also closed.

26 It was estimated that approximately 85 percent of the people visiting Downtown New Westminster arrived by private automobile.

D.B.A., Proposed Budget and Ramp Management Fee, 1968 (T.C).

27 Godfrey J. Mead Advertising Ltd., "The Marketing of Downtown New Westminster", 1977 (Report prepared for the D.B.A., T.C.).

28 D.B.A., Request for Additional Funding by Members, 1970 (T.C.).

29 D.B.A., Annual General Meeting, January 26, 1970 (T.C.)

30 For example see: Ibid; D.B.A., Annual General Meeting, January 31, 1972; and D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, September 25, 1972 (T.C.).

31 D.B.A., The Columbia Street Canopy Proposal: Final Report on the Engineering Study and A Summary of the Details of the Canopies, Costs, the Financing and other Factors, March 1971, p.3. (T.C.).

32 D.B.A., A Report on the Columbia Street Canopy Proposal to Provide Weather Protected Shopping, July 1972 (T.C.)

33 Ibid.

34 Mr. Bob Calis, "New Westminster "Old English" Theme",

Presentation to the D.B.A. Board of Directors Meeting, June 20, 1977 (T.C.).

35 D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, May 16, 1977.

36 Canadian Freehold Properties, New Westminster Mall, Vancouver: 1978, p.3.

37 "New Westminster Second Century Development Key to Future", B.C. Business, (March 1978), p.33.

38 D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, January 24, 1966 (T.C.).

39 The large time interval between the surveys, the variable nature of the weather, and the differing locations of the surveys all could affect the results.

40 H.J. Gayler, "Social Class and Consumer Spatial Behaviour: Some Aspects in Variation in Shopping Patterns in Metropolitan Vancouver, Canada", Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series, 5 (1980), pp. 427-445.

41 The single greatest exception to the general shopping patterns occurred in the case of groceries because the Uptown had two supermarkets, Woodward's and Super-Valu, while the Downtown had none.

Ibid, p.432.

42 Camagni and Pompili (1991)

43 D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, September 22, 1969; and D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, January 19, 1970 (T.C.).

44 D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, July 21, 1969 (T.C.).

45 D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, September 19, 1966 (T.C.).

46 D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, April 13, 1977 (T.C.).

47 Jacobs (1984), p.191.

48 For example, in 1981 male and female households aged 65 or over earned $19,700 and $17,300 respectively as compared to $30,400 and $28,400 for male and female households aged 15 to 64.

Statistics Canada, The Elderly in Canada, Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1984, p.20.

49 For a discussion of the difficulties andl limitat-

ions of this research see Chapter Five. The only substantial difference is the existence of seven non-responses scattered throughout the study period. A comparison was made with the next 5 year interval in each case and where a move was indicated, the non-response was taken to be the moving date.

50 Leroy O. Stone, The Frequency of Geographic Mobility in the Population of Canada, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1978, p.23.

51 Ibid, p.30.

52 New Westminster City Market Study Committee, A Report on the Studies and Findings of a Committee Activated to Investigate the Present Operation of the New Westminster City Market and to Make Recommendations Regarding the Same, October 25, 1969, p.3. (T.C.).

53 Ibid, p.2.

54 D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, September 25, 1972 (T.C.).

55 "Professional approach needed to keep Royal City May festival alive", Columbian, February 3, 1970.

56 "Hyack turns 20, volunteers needed", The News, April 10, 1991, p.4.

This philosophy of reducing the role of civic government in certain areas of the city's economic and social environment was a consistent theme for much of Mayor Muni Evers's administration. This would become especially obvious in the limiting of the city's involvement in the waterfront renewal project of the 1980s.

57 The four objectives were:

a) To attract local, regional, national, and international attention to the Community.

b) To provide citizens of the community with co-operative endeavors in which they can participate and take pride.

c) To offer individuals and organizations an opportunity to display their talents, abilities or wares through festival, cultural and related events.

d) To stimulate and sustain the economy of the Community by implementing these objectives.

Hyack Festival Association (New Westminster Public Library Pamphlet File, 1975).

58 The name Hyack Festival was chosen because it was related to the New Westminster Hyack Anvil Battery which traditionally gives a 21 anvil salute to the Queen on Victoria Day.

"New Hyack Festival", Vancouver Sun, February 17, 1972.

59 D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, February 21, 1972 (T.C.).

60 President Mal Hughes quoted in New Westminster Hyack Festival Association: A Brief History (New Westminster Public Library Pamphlet File, 1982).

61 These were the actual words used to promote the 1978 Hyack Festival.

"Choice for Festival followers", Columbian, May 18, 1978.

62 "25,000 see big parade", Columbian, May 29, 1972.

63 "Festival site rapped", Columbian, May 8, 1973.

64 Ibid.

65 The housing and support for the 3,000 athletes who participated in the Summer Games was accomplished by a variety of volunteer and community groups in New Westminster and Burnaby. Apart from increasing the city's national profile the Summer Games also provided an influx of tourists which helped the weakened city economy.

"Summer Games to host over 3,000 athletes", Columbian, February 23, 1972.

66 The largest new building constructed as a result of the Canada Summer Games was the Canada Games Pool, a $1.2 million dollar Olympic sized facility. Two-thirds of the funding for the Canada Games Pool was provided by the federal and provincial governments and the remainder was provided by New Westminster and Burnaby.

Alan Jay, "Mayor tries the deep end on Games Pool inspection", Columbian, November 14, 1972, pp. 12-13; and New Westminster Parks and Recreation Department, Annual Report, 1973.

67 "Parade's new route", Columbian, December 1, 1973.

68 The re-routing was largely defended on the grounds that it was easier to walk down Sixth Street and that there was less enthusiasm on the part of Downtown merchants for the parade. See:

Ibid; and Maggie Leech, "Hyackers Plan Repeat on Junior Parade", Columbian, April 19, 1974.

69 "Sun brings out the crowds to Hyack holiday weekend fun", Columbian, May 24, 1983, p.A11.

70 "Irving House Display to Honour Pioneers", Columbian, Hyack Festival Supplement, May 15, 1980, p.18.

71 "Board Committee against changing May Day traditions", Columbian, February 9, 1983, p.A2.

72 "May King would kill tradition", Columbian, February 9, 1983, p.A4.; and George McLaughlin, "City Will Keep Its Traditional May Queen", New Westminster Today, March 2, 1983, p.1.

73 Paul C. Marck, "AM Stereo brings new wave to broadcasting", Columbian, July 25, 1983.

74 The Western Information Network and its open line talk shows are carried throughout the province via satellite linkages and affiliated stations. New Westminster is now just one point on a very large communications network.

75 As Jacobs and Dyke had theorized, the inability of the city to diversify its economic base, its inability to adapt to the changing external "energy" fluxes and the stalling of its economic expansion led to the steady dissipation of the city. Only the influx of external capital and information flows in the 1980s due to the actions of other levels of government and the determination of its residents prevented the complete collapse of the city.

CHAPTER 7

RENEWAL

1983 TO 1991

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Although New Westminster had experienced a degree of economic deterioration and physical decline in the 1970s the process was not experienced equally by all economic sectors and areas of the city. The Uptown and Sapperton remained either stable or experienced some expansion in the early 1980s. There was a marked degree of stability, and occasionally expansion, in the automotive, health, legal and banking sectors. Administrative, service, and professional sectors increased their relative share of the city's total employment. The cumulative impact of this tertiary and quaternary sector employment growth was to reorient the city more closely to the economic characteristics of the metropolitan region.

This was insufficient by itself to halt or reverse the economic deterioration of the Downtown. The Downtown required an active public-private partnership to stimulate its economic recovery and physical rehabilitation. The scale

of the redevelopment in the 1980s has permanently altered the city. It has given rise to a variety of new neighbourhoods, and business and community associations which seek to either promote a greater pace of change or preserve the character and traditions of the city. Together, these organizations have begun to reinvigorate the city and strengthen its internal cohesion and viability.

7.2 ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

The transformation and reinvigoration of New Westminster's economy occurred in a period of continuing economic and political instability in the urban region, the province, and the world. British Columbia did not fully recover from the recession of the early 1980s until about 1986 and the city had been more severely affected than other municipalities in the Vancouver metropolitan region.[1] The continuing automation and computerization of industry and a shift in retailing from mass merchandising department stores to specialty retailing and more unique shopping left the city disadvantaged.[2] These disruptive external trends, although contributing to the decline of the two traditional "engines of growth", opened up new possibility spaces in which New Westminster's residents and firms could readapt to the changing metropolitan and world contexts.

These new possibility spaces were focused around the establishment of a post-industrial society based upon information and service activities. The associated tertiary and quaternary sector activities had bypassed cities, such as New Westminster, which had derived a significant proportion of their stability from industrial production and trade flows.[3] The transition to a metropolitan information economy produced some elements that enabled the city to successfully readapt to the new metropolitan context.[4] This process was achieved in large measure due to the active initiatives of the various levels of government.

7.21 Automotive Retailing

Automotive retailing had been the most stable retail subsector throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Automotive retailing had continued to provide an influx of capital and employment into the city which helped to counterbalance the general retail decline in the core. By 1973 the automotive sales and service sector accounted for 667,232 square feet or 18.5 percent of the commercial floorspace in the city.[5] This was the second largest component of the city's commercial sector. The extensive nature of this sector prompted the President of the Fogg Motors dealership to claim that the city was "the automotive headquarters of not only the Fraser Valley, but of Metro Vancouver as well."[6] By 1981

there were 103 outlets, consisting of 21 dealerships and 82 automotive support firms, and these firms accounted for 36 percent of all outlets and 70 percent of the floor space in the city's retail sector.[7] The extensive nature of the automotive sector made New Westminster an important destination for automobile purchases.

The persistence of the automobile retailing sector strengthened the city's economy during the early 1980s.[8] The spatially extensive area occupied by this sector provided the city with stable tax revenues and employment at a time when large areas of the city, especially in the Downtown were vacant. While some competing automobile strips had emerged in Surrey, Burnaby and Coquitlam in the 1960s and 1970s, Twelfth Street was still the dominant automobile row outside of Vancouver until the early 1980s. Then the completion of the Richmond Auto Mall with 9 dealerships on a 27 acre site increased the competition for New Westminster firms a the Richmond complex permitted easier comparison shopping and greater show space than could be achieved in New Westminster.[9] Despite the increased competition, the Twelfth Street automobile row is still an important element of the city's commercial structure, although in recent months several dealerships have closed.[10]

7.22 Health

The institutional elements of the city's economy, which had formerly just expanded with the population, were transformed into the most dynamic sectors of the economy in the 1970s and 1980s.[11] New work, which had ceased to be created in industry or retailing, was now emerging in the growing institutional and governmental activities.[12] The resulting influx of capital, information, and employment triggered an improvement in the viability of the private sector firms. Among the various institutional elements, the health care sector was the most obviously expansive throughout the period.

The greatest expansion of health care employment and facilities occurred in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1972 the New Democratic Party won the provincial election and New Westminster MLA Denis Cocke became the Minister of Health. He authorized $21.7 million of new construction for the Royal Columbian Hospital, including the Health Care Centre completed in 1978.[13] The expansion and modernization of the Royal Columbian Hospital continued under the Social Credit government with the completion of a new Emergency Building in 1987 and the current construction of a new nursing tower. The aging of the population has created a market for the services of various personal, intermediate, and extended care facilities throughout the city.[14] The

importance of the health care sector is indicated by the fact that in 1981 some thirteen percent of the city's resident labour force was employed in this sector and the two largest employers in the city were the Royal Columbian Hospital (1,700 employees) and the Woodlands School (1,200 employees).[15]

The expansion of the health care sector has had a positive multiplier effect on the city and encouraged the development of new work. For example, the commercial stability experienced by the East Columbia strip in Sapperton is in large measure a consequence of the presence of the Royal Columbian Hospital which provides a significant proportion of the customers for the various florists, restaurants, and medical supply stores which exist in the area. The importance of the health care sector to Sapperton has intensified in the 1980s with the construction of several medical office complexes near the hospital. Although little direct medical research occurs in the city, the existence of such a complex network of facilities has meant that many of the medical professionals graduated from Douglas College in New Westminster are retained in the local economy.[16]

7.23 Business and Personal Services

Banking and ancillary services is another "growth sector.[17] New Westminster has traditionally been the most

important banking centre for the Lower Fraser Valley communities. The banking sector in New Westminster includes not only all the major Canadian chartered banks, but also the Canadian Development Bank and several credit unions, such as the Westminster Credit Union and the I.W.A. Credit Union. This sector has remained vibrant despite the city's declining regional influence.

New Westminster has the second most comprehensive banking system in the Vancouver metropolitan region.[18] Apart from the direct employment created, a large number of accounting and notary public firms are in the city, including branch offices of larger firms such as Peat Marwick Thorne and Deloitte and Touche. The strength of the banking sector was complemented by the expansion of legal and law enforcement services after the new Provincial Court House was opened in Downtown New Westminster in 1981. The expansion of these two sectors has propelled the growth of a complex network of ancillary services, such as office supply firms, printing and photocopying services, and cafes. The slow economic recovery of the Downtown has largely been due to the growth of these activities.

The professional service sector has steadily increased in its proportion of the total number of jobs. In 1971, professional services accounted for 24.6 percent of all jobs in the city as compared to 26.4 percent for manufacturing.

However, in 1981 31.7 percent of all jobs in professional services as compared to only 19.7 percent in manufacturing.[19] By 1986 34.7 percent was in professional services and only 18 percent in manufacturing.[20] This shift in the city's employment composition is even more significant given that the total number of jobs available in the city actually fell over the same period.[21] Although the industrial sector continued to be an important element in the city's economy, by the 1980s New Westminster was no longer a mainly industrial centre. The transformation to a service or post-industrial economy had not been either easy or stabilizing, but it had been aided by the efforts of the Council, business, and residents to reinvigorate the city, especially the Downtown.

7.3 THE DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION

The economic instability of the 1970s and 1980s, which severely eroded the city's viability, deterred any large scale private reinvestment in the core. Recovery would therefore depend upon massive public investment to redevelop the decrepit waterfront. The subsequent infusion of capital and the creation of a new public sector organization, the First Capital City Development Corporation, significantly improved the city's viability. The city's Downtown renewal

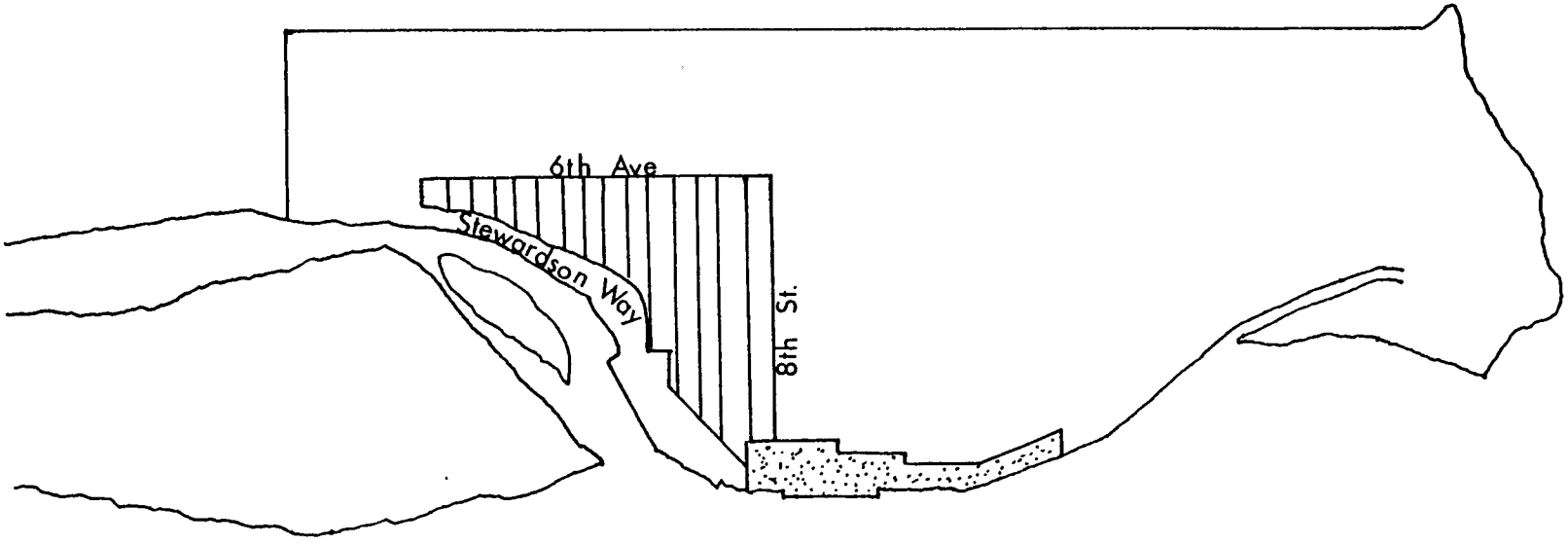
program and its results and consequences provide a case study of the complexities of redevelopment.

7.31 Origins

The present Downtown revitalization program had its origins in a variety of past failed schemes and proposals . It is necessary to review these proposals in order to comprehend the formation of the First Capital City Development Corporation. The first urban renewal survey conducted in 1965 discovered that while there were blighted buildings throughout the city, no one census tract had totally deteriorated.[22] Among the problems identified were the old age of the buildings in the core, the high percentage of the population having little or no education, the steady aging of the population and the lack of adequate parking in all parts of the city.[23] After further examination, the Urban Renewal Committee identified an area immediately adjacent to the Downtown core called Area 4 (Figure 12) be given the highest priority for redevelopment.[24]

Despite the detailed planning, the urban redevelopment project for Area 4 was never implemented. A reduction in federal government financial support for such large scale urban redevelopment and the high degree of community activism exhibitted in Vancouver against similar projects in the

FIGURE 12
URBAN RENEWAL



Key

Area 4

Downtown Core

Source: City of New Westminster (1965), p.37

Downtown Eastside and Strathcona neighbourhoods led the City to abandon the proposals. Of even greater importance was the fact that the attention of the City Council and the business community had shifted to the Downtown core itself which was obviously deteriorating in the late 1960s and 1970s.[25] The reorientation of the city's efforts to an exclusive focus upon the Downtown core spared Area 4 the widespread disruption that had been experienced by other communities which had undergone urban redevelopment. However, the emphasis upon the utilization of public funds to clear and improve an area for private businesses remained a central feature of all of the city's subsequent proposals.

In 1972 the City and the D.B.A. discussed a proposal to redevelop Front Street into a tourist or "wharfside" shopping complex. The Wharfside project envisioned a joint city-private sector venture which would redevelop Front Street by relocating the Farmers' Market onto Front Street, build- a convention centre along the waterfront, and encouraging greater residential development in the Downtown.[26] The private sector investment which was seen as necessary for the proposal to be enacted never transpired and the City Council ultimately displayed little active support, but some of the elements which were seen as crucial for the Downtown's redevelopment, such as the need for a convention centre and the desire to emphasize greater residential development, were accepted by the City Council and the D.B.A. as being vital for any redevelopment scheme.[27]

The election of the New Democratic Party government in 1972 also held out the promise of provincial assistance for the redevelopment of the Downtown. In 1973, partly at the urging of Mr. Dennis Cocke, MLA for New Westminster, it was proposed that the Insurance Corporation of British Columbia relocate its head office to New Westminster to act as a catalyst for the private sector.[28] The NDP proposal would have brought approximately 1,500 jobs into the Downtown, encouraged the relocation of ancillary services such as lawyers, underwriters and publishers, and increased the overall attractiveness of the city.[29] Despite the active support of the provincial government, the City Council took no action to aid in the implementation of the proposal.[30] The City Council was mainly preoccupied with rejuvenating Columbia Street and as a consequence, the proposal received only passive support from the city and no direct action to insure its implementation.

The re-election of the Social Credit government in 1974 eventually resulted in the I.C.B.C head office being built in North Vancouver as part of that municipality's waterfront renewal project. The earlier passive attitude of the City Council continued with no sustained effort to oppose the relocation. Despite the lost opportunity, the British Columbia Development Corporation had been steadily assembling land in New Westminster for the office. As a result, a

large amount of vacant industrial waterfront land was held by the provincial government. By the late 1970s, the City and the provincial government had become significant property owners in the Downtown and this control would greatly ease the redevelopment of the waterfront in the 1980s.

The present waterfront revitalization scheme thus had its origins in the past failed endeavors and two important regional planning decisions. In 1975, after a prolonged period of discussion and consultation, the Greater Vancouver Regional District adopted the Livable Region Strategy. The Livable Region Strategy had several principal goals,[31] the most important of which from New Westminster's perspective were to decentralize jobs from Downtown Vancouver so as to "help balance population and employment in the various parts of the region"[32] and create regional town centres. New Westminster was declared the first Regional Town Centre in 1977 and a joint effort between the City, the Greater Vancouver Regional District and the provincial government began to take shape to revitalize the waterfront.[33]

7.32 The First Capital City Development Corporation

The First Capital City Development Corporation was formed in 1978 as a joint partnership between the City of New Westminster and the British Columbia Development Corporation.[34] The instigator of this partnership was the

British Columbia Development Corporation. The concept of creating a crown corporation to promote the redevelopment of the Downtown was presented in 1977.[35] The First Capital City Development Corporation (F.C.C.D.C.) was envisioned as a crown corporation which would oversee the staged redevelopment of the waterfront according to the guidelines established for a Regional Town Centre and the official community plan for Downtown New Westminster.[36] The F.C.C.D.C. program would "capitalize upon the ability to redirect and package a combination of public projects currently being planned with a municipal financing program and to offer lands assembled from the public and private sectors through syndication to developers on attractive lease terms."[37] Thus from the onset the F.C.C.D.C. was seen as a means to promote the development but not actually undertake the revitalization itself.

The F.C.C.D.C. was to act as the major catalytic organization in New Westminster's revitalization. The F.C.C.D.C. would "perform the function of holding the land, of implementing the Community Development Plan and of entering into leases with prospective developers... ."[38] The F.C.C.D.C. would also act as the central agency responsible for coordinating the various activities of the different levels of government and to arrange for the provision of services, financing and any required public capital projects. The overall role of the F.C.C.D.C. was most clearly spelt out by

Premier William Bennett when he said at the announcement of the New Westminster Justice Centre that "we believe that development should be carried out in the way it has always been carried out in British Columbia - by the private sector."[39]

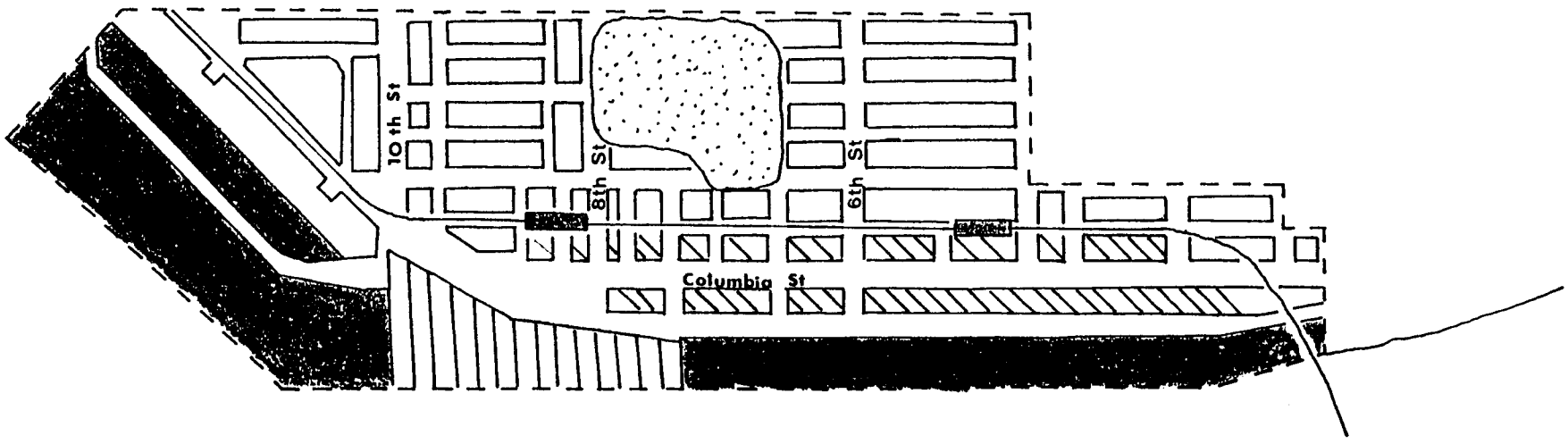
In order to facilitate the revitalization, the F.C.C.D.C. was given the ability to ignore many approval steps as long as they adhered to the official community plan.[40] City Council was limited in its direct influence on the revitalization process to the position of the Mayor as a "shareholder" and the issuing of building permits.[41] These special abilities were seen as beneficial to the city by then Mayor Muni Evers who said the Enabling Act "gives First Capital City a positive basis to approach developers without bureaucratic interference".[42] The F.C.C.D.C. was thus allowed an "arms length" approach to promote the redevelopment of the derelict waterfront land and was granted an independence not enjoyed by many other public-private sector corporations.[43] As well, the passage of the Enabling Act in the B.C. Legislature granted special expropriation powers to expedite the land assembly and to reduce the land speculation so it would be easier to attract developers.[44] Thus, the City gave up its ability to effectively control the development of a significant part of its core. This loss of responsibility and authority was the ultimate consequence of the City Council's passive redevelopment efforts.[45]

The formation of the F.C.C.D.C. in 1978 and the completion of the official community plan for Downtown New Westminster thus established the framework for the waterfront revitalization. However, the redevelopment of the waterfront did not occur in a very rapid fashion. A variety of schemes were proposed for the waterfront area, such as the Westminster Steps which would have been a large ten acre apartment leading to the waterfront.[46] The early proposals for the waterfront by private developers were quickly shelved with the onset of the world recession in 1981.[47] Although the various levels of government continued to focus their developmental efforts on Downtown New Westminster, the private sector hesitated until the economy began to strengthen in the late 1980s.

7.33 The Revitalization Strategy

The waterfront revitalization strategy, as it had developed by the 1980s, consisted in essence of four stages (Figure 13). Stages one and two involved the construction of the Provincial Law Courts and an urban plaza called Begbie Square in 1981 and the permanent Douglas College campus in 1982. These two structures, along with the relocation of some government offices like the Land Titles Office, were expected to attract a large number of related and ancillary services and professionals, such as lawyers, accountants and clerks, to New Westminster. The various levels of government

FIGURE 13
DOWNTOWN REDEVELOPMENT



Key

Boundary of Plan Area

Hotel and Public Market

Institutional Anchors

Residential

Columbia St. Redevelopment

Source:

City of New Westminster (1987), p. 26

also expressed their firm commitment to the construction of a rapid transit link to Downtown Vancouver from Downtown New Westminster. Although Skytrain was not actually completed until 1986, these efforts were seen as a means of reassuring developers of the commitment of the different levels of government to the waterfront revitalization.

Stage three involved the total redevelopment of the waterfront area. Although private sector development was minimal in the early years of the scheme, by 1986 a construction boom had started on the waterfront. Since that time, the waterfront redevelopment has been further subdivided into three components. The first component, Quayside I is now largely completed. Quayside I consisted of 1,324 residential units in thirteen projects, including seven highrise towers, the 126 room Inn at the Quay Hotel, a lowrise office complex, the Westminster Quay Public Market, and a small marina.[48] All these developments commenced or were finished in 1986, the year that the Skytrain station opened and Expo 86 began in Vancouver.

The second component is the Quayside II development being completed by Andre Molnar. This development lies to the west of the original limits of the waterfront revitalization area (Figure 13). The Quayside II, or Renaissance, development seeks to create an additional 1,411 units, including eight 20 storey towers. The entire development is

being built in the style of renaissance Venice with lagoons, courtyards and fountains.[49] This is a luxury condominium project oriented primarily to the "empty-nester" and "yuppie" markets.[50] The majority of the buyers have come from the West End of Vancouver, Burnaby, and other parts of New Westminster, although some units have been sold in Hong Kong.[51] The first part of this project, The Lido is now nearly complete with unit prices ranging from $155,900 to $345,900 in 1989 and the adjacent Rialdo development is now on sale with unit prices starting at $250,000.[52] The final component of the waterfront revitalization lies to the east of the Public Market. This is the Westminster Pier project which will consist of eight highrise towers providing an additional 812 units of condominium accommodation. Although no construction has been started, the project will eventually spread along the length of the waterfront to the eastern end of Front Street near the Pattullo Bridge.

The fourth and final stage in the revitalization plan is the improvement and redevelopment of Columbia Street. This program, is still ongoing, involves the physical upgrading of the buildings and the streetscape in order to present a more favourable appearance while at the same time trying to preserve the historic character of the area. Columbia Street has been widened to four lanes by eliminating the former angle parking and replacing it with parallel parking. Columbia Street has also had its sidewalks widened

and ornamental lighting and furniture have been added to "pedestrianize" the area. The restoration and renovation of the various buildings along Columbia Street is being encouraged by the Heritage Area Revitalization Program (H.A.R.P.) which was implemented in 1990.[53] Ironically, Columbia Street itself continues to be the slowest part of the Downtown to experience an economic recovery. Despite the addition of the Columbia Street Skytrain station at the intersection of Fourth Street and Columbia Street, there are still many vacant stores and offices along the length of the commercial strip.

7.34 Assessment

The New Westminster waterfront revitalization presents a curious mixture of results and consequences which underline several of the weaknesses of this type of urban redevelopment program. In many respects this development parallels similar accomplishments around the world. The mixed use emphasis of the waterfront revitalization is, on a far smaller scale, a copy of schemes implemented in other larger urban centres like Baltimore and Toronto.[54] New Westminster has a hotel, a "festival" Public Market, residential housing, a marina, offices, and a historic site in the form of the Samson V floating museum.[55] The universally reiterated idea of "making the waterfront accessible to the public" is achieved by the construction of the 1.3 mile

long esplanade along the length of the Quayside I project. In fact, very little in this entire revitalization project is entirely unique or new, as the basic elements can be observed in almost any similar waterfront revitalization.

Despite the lack of originality in the design, the F.C.C.D.C did fulfill its mandate. The formerly derelict waterfront landscape has been redeveloped by private sector developers. The F.C.C.D.C and the City of New Westminster have created a highly successful high density residential development supported by various institutional anchors and public amenities. The construction in 1990 of a new 165,000 square foot shopping mall with an attached 80 unit senior citizens residential tower at the corner of Tenth Street and Columbia Street marks a potential resurgence of the Downtown's commercial viability. The focusing of public investment in the form of Skytrain, Douglas College, the Provincial Law Courts and the McInnes Street Overpass all provided a stable environment for the developers and given the slow response by the private sector before 1986, it is conceivable that the progress achieved to date would not have been possible if the public-private partnership had not been established.[56]

Despite the unquestioned economic success, the present revitalization scheme has not successfully addressed several key issues. One of the most important of these issues is the

provision of social housing. Apart from two cooperatives which were built early in the redevelopment, the entire orientation of the residential development is focused upon luxury condominiums for "empty nesters" and "yuppies", particularly those who were being dispossessed from Vancouver or Burnaby by rising housing costs in the late 1980s. The lack of any provision for social housing stands in sharp contrast to the older False Creek South waterfront redevelopment which was designed to house one-third low income, one-third middle income, and one-third high income residents. At a time when housing affordability was a serious regional problem, the addition of more upper middle class accommodations did little to benefit the poorer segments of the city's population.[57]

New Westminster's revitalization strategy also ignored the provision of "soft" infrastructure in addition to the large amount of physical improvements. The waterfront revitalization program has physically transformed most of Downtown New Westminster but no effort has been made to deal with any of the social problems which exist. Downtown New Westminster still has a large number of single parent households, a significant amount of drug-related street crime and a number of hotels which cater to an unemployed or retired single male population. These marginal groups are especially vulnerable to rapidly rising property values and rents and the tearing down of older apartment buildings and rooming

houses to permit more condominium construction. At the present, the social dimensions of waterfront revitalization have been almost completely ignored by the developers and the various levels of government.[58]

7.4 COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

The redevelopment of the Downtown and the continued expansion of the Uptown provoked the formation of a variety of neighbourhood, business and cultural organizations in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The increased variety of organizations dealing with a large number of issues has significantly enriched the internal information environment in the city. Although these organizations may have strongly differing viewpoints, collectively they have increased the degree of community participation and integration.[59] The complexities and differing effectiveness of these organizations is illustrated by an examination of some of the more prominent new organizations which have emerged in recent years.

As with the Fairview Slopes area in Vancouver,[60] the impact of the redevelopment extended beyond the boundaries of the plan area into a traditionally single family neighbourhood. From 1988 onwards, a series of development applications for low and high rise structures were received and

approved for the area directly north of the waterfront called the Brow of the Hill. The Brow of the Hill is generally bounded by Sixth Avenue, Sixth Street, Royal Avenue and Stewardson Way (Figure 12). The Brow of the Hill has traditionally been a single family neighbourhood, but as a result of the 1965 urban renewal study, significant parts of the area had been rezoned for higher density residential. However, due to the poor business climate in the Downtown, little high density development had occurred. These same high density areas became extremely attractive to developers in the late 1980s once the waterfront redevelopment was proven to be economically successful.

From 1988 onwards, the Brow of the Hill area witnessed a series of low and high rise development applications.[61] The pace and scale of change was so significant that the residents formed the Brow of the Hill Residents Association to protect "family living" in the area.[62] The organization was at first unsuccessful in stopping any of the proposed developments, largely because the proposals conformed to the existing zoning regulations.[63] The steady growth in the Association's membership to 120 by June 1989 gave it increased power to deal with the City Council and by July 1989 the organization had managed to stop a proposed 24 storey twin tower development for Twelfth Street.[64] Although the Association was unable to stop the majority of the developments, with the result that the southern part of

the area was largely redeveloped, it did force the City Council to draft a community plan which would preserve the single family character of the neighbourhood north of Queens Avenue.[65]

The Queensborough Citizens Association has been another vocal, if less successful, community organization which formed in 1989 in response to MacMillan Bloedel's development plans for Queensborough. In 1989 MacMillan Bloedel applied to City Council to seek approval to redevelop 70 acres of industrial land at the eastern tip of Queensborough into a mixed density, residential development called Port Royal. The Queensborough Citizens Association opposed the massive redevelopment and actively campaigned against the proposal.[66] The Association argued the development would raise assessments and property taxes, accelerate the de-industrialization of the city and erode the local community cohesion.[67] However, the proposal was approved by the City Council, in part due to the pro-development stance taken by the Queensborough Ratepayers Association, the traditional community group in Queensborough.[68] Despite the defeat the Queensborough Citizens Association has continued to be active in promoting greater environment and community awareness in the city.[69]

The adaptation and emerging stability of the city's internal structure was explicitly illustrated by the contin-

ued success of the Hyack Festival. The Hyack Festival was relatively unchanged during the 1980s and 1990s, with its principal elements being the May Day fete, the Victoria Day celebrations and the Saturday parade. The Festival continued to be a community organized event which promoted the unique identity and cohesiveness of the city. The only significant addition to the ten day festival was the steady increase in the number of events occurring in the Downtown from 1986 onwards. In 1991, there were tugboat races, street entertainers and a sidewalk sale along the length of Columbia Street. This increasing emphasis upon the Downtown and the waterfront is a reflection of the growing vitality of these areas after years of dissipation.

The city's internal coherence has been bolstered by the emergence of several new cultural organizations. The most successful has been the Vincent Massey Theatre Improvement Society which was formed to upgrade the aging 1949 theatre in the New Westminster Secondary School. The Vincent Massey Theatre is the third largest theatre space in the Lower Mainland, but it had begun to suffer deterioration due to neglect by the 1980s.[70] The Vincent Massey Theatre was often used by community groups and professional touring companies and the upgrading of the theatre's facilities was seen as a necessary first step to a resurgence in local cultural activities.[71] The Improvement Society at first had to depend mostly upon B.C. lottery funds and private and

business donations as the City Council did not want to give any significant amount of money to the theatre because it was legally the School Board's responsibility.[72] However, in 1991 the jurisdictional dispute was resolved and the city granted $50,000 to the Improvement Society.[73]

Despite the jurisdictional problems, the Improvement Society received a great deal of local support. By 1991 the theatre had modernized both the lighting and sound systems, constructed an event sign to notify residents of coming performances, and the Society was actively upgrading the backstage facilities. The new Vincent Massey Theatre has attracted a variety of national and regional cultural groups, such as the Vancouver Symphony Orchestra and the Royal Canadian Air Farce, and served as the setting for many local theatre productions.[74] The theatre has enjoyed a significant degree of local patronage in recent years and has emerged as one of the city's principal cultural facilities.

The success in upgrading the Vincent Massey Theatre provided the impetus for the formation of the most recent cultural organization, the Royal City Musical Theatre Company, a non-profit organization which " seeks to promote the performing arts and bring large-scale musical productions to the city."[75] The company was largely the initial inspiration of Mrs Evelyn Benson, a local teacher and historian, who

wanted to bring back the large musicals which had been performed in the Massey Theatre until the early 1980s.[76] The Company was formed in 1989 and had many established members of the community on its Board of Directors. Although the Company has had constant financial problems, its activities have provided a means by which the city's residents can cooperate upon and enjoy the artistic talents of the community. By supporting local productions and actors the Company has bolstered the city's cohesion and provided the opportunity for local perspectives to emerge in contrast to the regional, national, and international views of the mass media and theatre.[77]

7.5 SUMMATION

New Westminster in the 1980s is recovering its viability as a consequence of a combination of economic growth in a few sectors, government intervention, and community activism. The economic sectors which have either recovered or stabilized are largely the same tertiary and quaternary sectors which have been the principal propellants of economic growth in North American society since the 1960s.[78] The continued loss of industrial lands coupled with the erratic recovery of the retailing sector, has made

the city's economic revitalization a slow process. While New Westminster continued to register an excess of jobs over the labour force in the 1980s, the slow growth in both the size or the resident labour force and the number of jobs has resulted in a continuation of the city's declining regional importance.[79] By 1991, New Westminster's commercial and demographic vitality had been surpassed by the continually expanding municipalities of Burnaby, Surrey, and Coquitlam.

The revitalization of Downtown New Westminster has also substantially aided the city's economic and demographic recovery and indirectly promoted a greater degree of community activism and awareness. The F.C.C.D.C. has successfully fulfilled its mandate by providing the necessary governmental support and infrastructure to catalyze the waterfront redevelopment. The waterfront revitalization scheme has been a general success, although its failure to consider either the provision of social housing or "soft" infrastructure is one of the reasons for the persistence of the constant crime problems near the New Westminster Skytrain Station at Eighth Street and Columbia Street. However, the waterfront revitalization and the more recent renovations along Columbia Street are a marked improvement over the deteriorated landscape of the 1970s and early 1980s and offers the prospect for further improvements in the future.

The emergence of a larger number of community, business and cultural groups since the mid 1980s has contributed to the city's renewal. The proliferation of these differing groups has permitted a reintegration of the city's community coherence which was strained by the economic and demographic decline. Although the various neighbourhood associations, with the exception of the Queens Park Residents Association,[80] have had limited success in halting or modifying many of the most controversial projects in the city, their very existence has created a more "information rich" civic environment. The emergence of several new cultural groups also indicates a growing re-emphasis upon the city's identity and internal cohesion. The modernization of the Vincent Massey Theatre by the community with only belated assistance from the local government demonstrates the continuation of a indigenous sense of place and community activism. The weakness of this community cultural activism was demonstrated by the Royal City Musical Theatre Company which financially over-extended itself in 1991. Despite the setbacks and failures the city's internal coherence seems to be relatively stable and offers the prospect for further community development in the future.

NOTES

1 Unemployment in New Westminster peaked at approximately 18 percent in 1985, compared to only 13.3 percent for the region as a whole. This was also demonstrated by the fact that the average income in 1983 for New Westminster residents was $17,798. This figure was lower than the provincial average of $18,480 and the Greater Vancouver Regional District average of $19,890.

Dean Rohrer, New Westminster: The Royal City Economic Profile Update, 1986, New Westminster: Royal City Community Development Association, 1986, pp.2-3.

2 The increasing fragmentation of the retailing market and the concurrent increase in shops catering only to specific needs, lifestyles or socio-economic groups has generally eroded the economic viability of many mass market department stores.

K.G. Jones and J.W. Simmons, Location, Location, Location: Analyzing the Canadian Retail Environment, Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1987.

3 The necessity of all cities constantly readapting to their changing internal and external contexts is a constant theme in all of the works of Jacobs and Dyke.

Cities which specialize in too small a range of functions or activities and do not undergo periods of innovation and transformation will inexorably decline.

Jacobs (19690, p.49; and Dyke (1982), p.360.

4 A bifurcation is a "point far from equilibrium where we cannot tell which of two (or more) entries (events) will occur." In other words, a bifurcation point is a state of maximum chaos in the ultimate outcome is unpredictable.

Dyke (1988), p.115.

5 City of New Westminster, Places of Work, Information Bulletin No. 7, 1973, p.2.

6 "Fogg's President predicts bright future for Royal City", Columbian, March 17, 1977.

7 Swaine (1986), p.32.

8 Although the automobile retailing sector was being to decline to a gradient-seeking, equilibrium form of trade flow, it still was making a significant contribution to the city's stability.

Dyke (1988), p.118.

9 Swaine (1986), p.33.

10 Recently some of the automobile dealerships. like Wheaton Pontiac Buick G.M.C. Ltd., have relocated to other suburban locations. As well, many of the properties along Twelfth Street are being redeveloped into higher density residential use. Thus, this automobile row may be completely replaced in the next few years.

11 Although not as prominent as the private sector, the public sector is also capable of creating new work to diversify a city's economic composition and of promoting new structures or organizations which are able to more effectively modify and utilize the ambient "energy" fluxes.

12 The development of the nursing program at Douglas College and the associated teaching and research activities is an example of new work.

13 125th Anniversary Committee of the Royal Columbian Hospital, People Making History, Royal Columbian Hospital: 1862-1987, New Westminster: 1987, p.9.

14 The largest of these facilities are the Kiwanis Intermediate Care facility and the Queens Park Extended Care Hospital.

15 Swaine (1986), p.16.

16 The development of the extensive nursing program at Douglas College is an example of integrated development. The nursing students not only provided a large consumer population for merchants, but many subsequently get employment in one of the city's health care facilities.

17 Apart from the employment and ancillary services generated by the presence of a large and diverse banking system, the accessibility of capital for small and newly emerging enterprises is an important constraint on the city's potential viability. The presence of only a few sources of capital for new enterprises will limit the scope for innovation and the development of new work in cities because the most efficient way to invest capital is in a few large loans and not in the the many small loans which are required by a dynamic city economy. Thus, while the presence of an extensive banking system will not by itself result in a vibrant urban economy, its absence can restrict a city's development.

Jacobs (1969), pp.99-100.

18 Councillor J. Francis, Public Meeting, January 8, 1991.

19 Swaine (1986), p.16.

20 Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1986, Catalogue #94-720, p.335.

21 Swaine (1986), p.1.

22 City of New Westminster, Urban Renewal Study, Vol. 1, New Westminster: 1965, p.2.

23 Ibid, p.39.

24 Ibid, p.45.

25 The failure to implement the urban renewal scheme was in part a result of the loss of federal government funding for such projects after the Hellyer Report and, more importantly, the result of a high degree of inactivity on the part of the City Council. In fact, some residents had actually received notices informing them that there dwellings were slated for demolition, but the Council never followed through. The creation of elaborate plans and the failure to actually implement them has been a characteristic feature of the City Council. The situation was described by Alderman (sic) Joe Francis when he said "For years we have felt the downtown businesses should show more initiative and they felt we should, which resulted in both of us sitting down and doing nothing."

"Royal City revitalization needs reviving", Columbian, March 3, 1976, p.2.

26 D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, October 23, 1972 (T.C.)

27 Ibid; and D.B.A., Board of Directors Meeting, January 25, 1971.

28 Gerry Bellett, "New Westminster showing signs of revival", Columbian, December 30, 1976; and Brian Power, "City's sagging downtown shows signs of recovery", Columbian, January 15, 1977, p.1.

29 The other major component of the NDP plan was the completion of a conventional Light Rapid Transit line from Downtown Vancouver to Downtown New Westminster which would improve the city's accessibility and complete its integration into the metropolitan region.

Personal Interview with Mr. Dennis Cocke, former MLA for New Westminster, September 16, 1991.

30 Cocke (1991).

31 The goals for the Livable Region Plan were to:

1) Achieve residential growth targets in each part of the region.

2) Promote a balance of jobs to population in each part of the region.
3) Create regional town centres.
4) Provide a transit-oriented transportation system.
5) Protect and develop regional open space.

32 J. Douglas Spaeth, Regional Town Centres: A Policy Report, Vancouver: Greater Vancouver Regional District, 1975, p.20.

33 Joint Action Committee, A Regional Town Centre for New Westminster, New Westminster: 1977.

34 One of the factors which contributed to the active participation of the provincial government in the city's revitalization was the close personal and political ties between Mayor Muni Evers and Premier William Bennett. These personal ties were recently stressed by ex-Mayor Evers as being important for the partnership's formation.

Interview with Muni Evers, People Link, Community Channel Four, July 3, 1991.

35 Despite the afforementioned personal ties, the partnership was instigated by the British Columbia Development Corporation which made the first proposal

to the City Council in February 1978. Once the partnership was formally signed and the F.C.C.D.C was formed the City became only a minor player in the Downtown redevelopment with all the land sales and negotiations being conducted by the F.C.C.D.C. and only revealed to the city after they were complete.

New Westminster City Council, Regular Meeting of City Council, May 8, 1978; New Westminster City Council, Regular Meeting, June 12, 1978; "3 firms join Royal City renewal", Vancouver Sun, June 16, 1980; and Cocke (1991).

36 City of New Westminster, Community Plan for Downtown New Westminster, 1987.

37 British Columbia Development Corporation, The First Capital City, 1977, p.13.

38 Ibid, p.v.

39 This position was generally supported by the City Council and was in definite agreement with the personal views of Mayor Evers.

Ibid, p.11.

40 Norman Provencher, "FCC powers give Royal City pause", Columbian, February 24, 1981, p.A2.

41 For a critical interpretation of the powers granted to the F.C.C.D.C. see: Terry Glavin, "New Westminster: Giving the City Away", City Magazine, 4 (April 1979), pp.17-19.

42 Provencher (1981).

43 First Capital City project director Ken Wright stated that "I don't suppose there is any other place in North America where a quasi-private corporation has such a say in things".

Quoted in Glavin (1979), p.17.

44 Although the expropriation powers were sweeping in their potential, they were apparently never used as the F.C.C.D.C was able to buy all the private property that remained within the redevelopment area.

45 Within this framework, the City was largely a passive agent. As long as the proposals developed by the F.C.C.D.C. and the developers conformed to the community plan, the City was limited to approving building permits. When the City objected to certain aspects of the redevelopment, such as the decision by F.C.C.D.C. to expel the King Neptune Restaurant from the waterfront, it had no ability to force the corporation to modify its plans. Thus, the present waterfront

is largely the creation of private developers and the F.C.C.D.C. with only minimal infrastructure support from the City.

46 "The Future: First Capital City", Royal City Magazine, 1 (December 1981), p.16.

47 The first proposal for a high density, stepped development from the corner of Eighth Street and Columbia Street to the water was abandoned in 1982 due to the deteriorating economic conditions in the province. The site was subsequently purchased by Bosa Brothers Construction Ltd. which built the first co-operative development.

Evers (1991); Cocke (1991); and Brian Wilford, "Royal City well on its way to a full recovery", Columbian, April 7, 1978, p.2.

48 Nick Rebalski, "New Westminster", Vancouver Sun, December 2, 1989, p.E3.

49 Ibid.

50 An "empty nester" is a single person or couple, usually aged 45 to 64, who own their own home, but with there children gone no longer require a large amount of accommodation.

"Yuppie" is a slang term for young, urban professionals.

51 Arlene Redekop, "Andre Molnar: The King of the Condos recreates the waterfront", New Westminster Now, July 18, 1989, p.7.

52 Rebalski (1989), p.E3; and Rialto radio advertisement, October 5, 1991.

53 HARP is a voluntary cost sharing program that will cover up to fifty percent of the cost of sympathetic facade upgrading for 27 prioritized historic buildings in the Downtown.

Foundation Group Design Ltd., The Columbia Street HARP Guidelines, New Westminster: 1990, p.1.

54 For a discussion of Baltimore's redevelopment see:

Roberto Brambilla and Gianni Longo, What Makes Cities Livable?: Learning From Baltimore, New York: Institute for Environmental Action, 1979; and Christopher M. Law, "Urban revitalization, public policy, and the redevelopment of redundant port zones: lessons from Baltimore and Manchester", Hoyle et al, (1988), pp. 146-166.

55 The Samson V is a sternwheeler which once

conducted dredging operations along the Fraser River. It is presently being promoted as a floating museum. There are also plans underway to incorporate the Samson V in a series of waterfront kiosks which would explain various aspects of the city's history as part of a larger project of creating an eco-museum on the river.

56 The federal government has had a more indirect role through the Fraser River Harbour Commission, the relocation of the former federal dock at the foot of Eighth Street, the funding of the A.L.R.T. system and the construction of a new Agriculture Canada office building near Douglas College on Royal Avenue in 1990.

57 In fact, the stock of affordable housing is constantly decreasing in the Downtown as new condominium developments replace older, cheaper apartments and rooming houses. The most recent example of this process was the demolition of an older apartment building at 10th Street and Royal Avenue by a higher density condominium tower which forced the former tenants out without any support, many of whom have had difficulty in locating a new residence.

Cocke (1991).

58 The increasing socio-economic status of the Down-

town has been seen as a positive trend by the City Council. As a result, the provision of social housing or other welfare services has not been an important civic priority.

Conversation with Mr. Graham Farstad, City Planner of New Westminster, January 16, 1991.

59 Community groups and organizations are just as important in maintaining the viability of cities as economic organizations. Community organizations provide the means by which the disparate residents of a city can interact in a constructive fashion to promote the integration of the city's various elements and aid in the formation of a common identity which is crucial to the survival of any human place.

See: Munz (1991).

60 Caroline A. Mills, "Interpreting gentrification: Postindustrial, postpatriarchal, postmodern?", Vancouver: University of British Columbia, PhD dissertation, 1989.

61 Among the developments were a 19 storey highrise on Tenth Street, a 15 storey highrise in the 200 block of Eleventh Street and a 10 storey condominium on Mowat Street.

62 "Brow Announces its own Birth", New Westminster Now, February 7, 1989, p.5.

63 "Brow gets another tower", Royal City Record, June 3, 1989, p.5.

64 Karen Tankard, "Patient Opposition: Brow of the Hill residents keep coming back to say no again", Burnaby and New Westminster News, June 14, 1989, p.9.

65 All candidates meeting, New Westminster Secondary School, November 15, 1990.

The Association has recently been active in getting City Council to examine transportation patterns in their neighbourhood.

66 Bessie Brown and Lori Pappajohn, "Council Passes Port Royal", Royal City Record / New Westminster Now, September 12, 1990, p.1.

67 "New Citizen's group formed", New Westminster Now, November 15, 1989, p.1.

68 Bessie Brown, "Queensborough project battle looms", Royal City Record / New Westminster Now, September 3, 1990, p.3.

69 The Queensborough Citizen's Association, and in particular its chief spokesperson, Hilda Bechler, made a presentation to the British Columbia Roundtable on the Economy and the Environment on June 20, 1991, in which the Association advocated greater wetlands conservation in the Fraser Delta in general and in the Queensborough area in particular.

70 "Massey upgrading boosted by grant from lottery fund", New Westminster Now, March 15, 1988, p.3.

71 Marjorie MacDonald, "Vincent Massey Theatre gets money from the City", Royal City Record, July 12, 1986, p.15.

72 The city feared that they could eventually be held responsible for the continued operation of the theatre.

Lori Pappajohn, " City hedges on request for Vincent Massey Theatre grant", Royal City Record, May 9, 1987, p.1.

73 Martha Wickett, "Massey Money Historic", Royal City Record / New Westminster Now, February 6, 1991, p.2.

74 Michael Ajzenstadt, "Massey close to big time with VSO series", New Westminster Now, November 1, 1989, p.25.

75 Royal City Musical Theatre Company, Official Program for the Wizard of Oz, April 1991, p.10.

76 "Benson heads company", Royal City Record / New Westminster Now, October 11, 1989, p.18.

77 "Musical Lovers Launch Theatre", New Westminster Now, August 23, 1989, p.11.

78 Ley (1980), p.241.

79 G.D. Hamilton and Associates Consulting Ltd., Living Closer to Work: A Policy Review, Burnaby: Greater Vancouver Regional District, 1990.

80 The Queens Park Residents Association was recently successful in convincing City Council to downzone the east side of Sixth Street in order to prevent high density commercial development adjacent to their neighbourhood.

CHAPTER 8

NEW WESTMINSTER, DISSIPATION, AND ENVELOPMENT

New Westminster, the once stable city overlooking the Fraser River and commanding the trade of the Lower Fraser Valley, exhibited signs of instability in the 1945 to 1991 period. The theoretical framework, which utilized concepts from the works of Jacobs, Adams, Dyke, and Blumenfeld, has provided a useful metaphor for an interpretation of this period. The theoretical framework utilitzed is effective interpreting the economic viability, demographic stability, and community coherence of cities, but it is less capable of handling the complexities of political decisions. Nonetheless, the theoretical framework does provide a better understanding of New Westminster's decline and transformation.

The envelopment of New Westminster also demonstrates both the disruptive and the potentially supportive effect this process can have on the captured city. The consequences of greater metropolitan integration are not ubiquitously felt by all parts of the region. Places, like New Westminster may initially be disrupted as a result of the external transformations. Thus, any simple view of the viability of the metropolitan region being dependent upon the health of

the dominant core is inadequate for the contemporary urban system.

The usefulness of the theoretical framework is evident in the close relationship which exists between Jane Jacobs's urban commentary on the viability and organization of cities and the economic deterioration of New Westminster. Of the two processes identified by which cities maintain their viability, neither the creation of new work nor import substitution were present in the period 1956 to 1983. The citizens, businesses, and politicians were unable to develop any new work from its older, pre-existing industrial base and, as a result, New Westminster was unable to adapt to the new encapsulating environment. The rapid physical deterioration of Columbia Street once the traditional industries and businesses, such as the port and the major department stores, closed or relocated demonstrated the weakness of specialization. Conversely, the recent slow recovery of the Downtown has resulted in part from the creation of new work centred on the legal, medical, and administrative sectors, and the emergence of a new dormitory function for the Downtown due to the city's complete integration into the metropolitan region.

The city's economic deterioration was also due to its inability to achieve any significant degree of import-substitution. New Westminster's industrial sector was, and

continues to be, dominated by the wood products and paper and allied products subsectors, with very few forward or backward linkages with the local economy. The inability of the city's industrial base to diversify itself led to its increasing maladaptiveness and deterioration. As the principal component of the city's economy, the declining industrial sector reduced New Westminster almost to the status of a "passive economy" or "sink".[1] The loss of the Mercer-Star Shipyards, Heaps Engineering, Seagrams Distilleries, and numerous other firms was a direct result of the lack of import substitution and adaptability. The reasons for this economic disruption were not only contained in the external environment, such as the increasing competition from the Third World, technological change or the global economic disruptions of the late 1960s and 1970s, but were in part a consequence of the city's domination by externally-controlled firms in its major sectors.

The prevalence of large, regional, national, or multinational firms in the key sectors of a city's economy has been identified by Jacobs and others as a significant impediment to diversification and adaptability.[2] Large multi-location firms have their own goals and strategies which are not tied to any specific place, thus leaving urban centres which depend heavily upon one or more corporations extremely vulnerable.[3] As well, very little indigenous innovation or invention occurs in these cities, thereby leaving them with-

out the necessary "soft" infrastructure of experienced entrepreneurs, academics or community innovators to develop new work. The recent expansions of the Scott Paper Company in New Westminster explicitly demonstrate this tendency, with the new machinery built and imported from Sweden and all research and development on new product lines being conducted in the United States.[4] Apart from the local construction jobs generated by the expansion, virtually no additional entrepreneurial or innovative expertise was created in the city. This lack of indigenous innovative and entrepreneurial skill was one of a complex series of factors which resulted in the bankruptcy of the employee-owned Lamford Cedar Products Ltd. in 1989.[5]

Jacobs's work is more ambiguous on the equally important issue of the public sector. While Jacobs tends to view most forms of external governmental intervention in urban and regional economies as being "transactions of decline" which weaken strong cities while not providing any permanent development in depressed centres, most of her comments focus upon the national government.[6] Thus, Jacobs's views on the role of the public sector are not directly applicable to the local level and tend to underestimate the importance of the public sector in promoting new work and import substitution. The success of the First Capital City Development Corporation in revitalizing the waterfront has proven the ability of public-private partnerships to

accomplish objectives that neither the public nor the private sector could achieve alone.[7]

The use of concepts derived from non-equilibrium thermodynamics counterbalances Jacobs's weaknesses. All cities are seen as dissipative structures, thus their stability is dependent upon the influx of capital, resources, information, people, and other forms of "energy" into the city to maintain its internal coherence and adaptability. Politics and the public sector may therefore be interpreted in terms of the degree to which their decisions aid or hinder the continual influx or transformation of "energy" flows. As Adams's work on Britain indicates, the public sector may act as a regulatory structure which inhibits or releases certain energy fluxes into the state or city.[8] Both roles were demonstrated by the public sector in New Westminster. In the period form 1956 to 1975, the City Council provided little leadership and instead often opposed many proposals to rejuvenate the city, thereby inhibiting the influx of energy into the city. The intervention of the provincial government and the formation of the F.C.C.D.C. in the late 1970s redirected into the city capital, employment, and information flows which would have largely by-passed the city. The Downtown was thus redeveloped as a result of the intervention by a higher level of government which could create an environment which later attracted private investment.

Although the theoretical framework is effective in interpreting the decline and recovery of New Westminster, a couple of shortcomings remain. The framework, by its nature, cannot interpret the complex political debates and decisions which led to the revitalization program. The operationalization of the concepts derived from non-equilibrium thermodynamics is also difficult due to their quantitative nature and the absence of readily available data on information or capital flows between New Westminster and the rest of the region. The examination of such data would have permitted a more analytical examination of New Westminster.

The holistic nature of this theoretical framework permits the utilization of a complex variety of surrogate measures which overcomes the data problems. The economic viability of New Westminster is readily identifiable by using such measures as the number and types of industrial and retail firms, the total industrial and commercial floor space, the amount of port traffic, the physical appearance of the core, and property values. Although data for some of these measures was not available throughout the study period, the breadth of variables used assured the effectiveness of the framework. The use of property values was an especially significant measure of the city's overall attractiveness in this period.

The demographic and community surrogate measures were also effective in indicating the fluctuating coherence of New Westminster. The city's changing demographic structure was traced using census data and the aged and youth dependency ratios. The two dependency ratios provided a means to assess the city's changing demographic composition and infer the economic and community repercussions. The measures of community stability, such as the rate of neighbourhood change, the May Day festival, and the content analysis of the Columbian newspaper, permitted an examination of the degree of social cohesion and interaction. The continuation of the May Day celebrations and the marked degree of neighbourhood stability indicates that despite its economic decline New Westminster was able to maintain its internal identity. However, as the content analysis indicates, the city's regional influence continued to decline due to the loss of it local media outlets. Thus, the surrogate measures utilized are capable of indicating the changing economic, demographic, and community viability of a city.

Captured Cities

The principal strength of this theoretical framework is its emphasis upon a dynamic and stability oriented interpretation of urban centres which in turn permits a more flexible model of the transformations of captured cities. The traditional view of the North American city as being

composed of a single dominant core has been questioned in the past but not in a dynamic context. The Multiple-Nuclei Model proposed by Harris and Ullman in 1945 explicitly recognized the fact that "in many cities the land-use pattern is built not around a single center but around several discrete nuclei".[9] The multi-nuclei nature of urban centres was also apparent in the extreme political fragmentation experienced by American, and to a lesser degree Canadian, cities.[10] Despite the recognized complexity of metropolitan regions, the predominant concern of most urban research was upon either the central city or the suburbs. The transformation of captured cities in a metropolitan region, although explicitly recognized as a component of the larger metropolitan area, was generally ignored.

The concept of the urban field and the recent research on the transformation of the suburbs has reestablished a greater appreciation for the complexities and interrelationships between the various nodes, areas, and "communities" within the metropolitan region. The North American suburb has been transformed in the last few decades from a "bedroom" community largely subordinate to the central city into "a self-sufficient urban entity, containing its own major economic and cultural activities...".[11] The decentralization of industrial, retailing, office, cultural, and leisure activities to these suburban nodes has created a highly complex metropolitan region in which it is increasingly no

longer necessary for substantial proportions of the population ever to visit the central city.

A dynamic model of the transformation of a city as a consequence of its envelopment by a larger metropolis cannot be universally valid in all instances. A captured city must be conceptualized as one dissipative structure contained within a much larger metropolitan entity. Both the internal coherence and the external interconnectivity and influence of the captured city must be interpreted over time for a broad range of economic, demographic, social, cultural, and political elements. The interpretation of the special case of a captured city is a necessary pre-requisite to the development of a more comprehensive model of the North American urban system.

The dynamic nature of such an interpretation and its origins in only a single case study limit the scope for the development of a definitive model. Nonetheless, the case of New Westminster can be utilized to suggest three broad phase spaces in the envelopment and transformation of captured cities. The first phase space may be described as the Phase of Relative Autonomy. This preliminary phase is the stage when the eventually captured city is still a generally autonomous urban entity although it has discernible interactions with the emerging metropolis. The degree of autonomy will vary significantly depending upon the relative internal co-

herence, external influence, and rate of growth of each city. For example, the City of London and the Borough of Westminster were largely equal centres in the sixteenth century, while New Westminster was the second most important industrial and commercial centre in the region, after Vancouver, until the postwar period.

The second phase space may be termed the Envelopment Phase. In this instance the regional influence, economic viability, demographic stability, and community coherence of the captured city are increasingly disrupted and transformed as a consequence of its growing interrelationship with and dependency upon the metropolis. In the case of New Westminster this phase witnessed the external control of its industrial sector, the declining importance of the Port, the loss of its commercial hinterland in the Lower Fraser Valley, and its by-passing by the regional transportation system. This process of envelopment is not necessarily completely negative, however, as the continued community integration and increasing property values and building permits demonstrate. In fact, in some instances the envelopment might actually result in an increase in external investment, thereby revitalizing a stagnant urban area. Although the process of envelopment generated mainly negative ramifications for New Westminster, the opposite conditions may prevail in a different spatio-temporal context.

The third phase-space is the Metropolitan Integration Phase. This phase is characterized by the complete economic, political, and demographic subduction of the captured city into the metropolitan region. The relative autonomy of the captured city has being largely lost and the city is transformed into one of several urban nodes scattered throughout the metropolitan region. In the case of New Westminster, this integration resulted in the rapid loss of its industrial base and the reduction of the commercial importance of the Downtown.[12] In fact, in certain respects the city has begun to resemble a dormitory suburb for the surrounding municipalities.[13] The integration has not been completely negative, however, as the public-private partnership that has revitalized the Downtown with the growth and public resources of other jurisdictions is also a consequence of this process.

The envelopment and transformation of captured cities is a dynamic and continuous process. The theoretical framework and the model of a captured city provide a means of interpreting this process, although more research on other captured cities is necessary to elaborate upon these results. The case of New Westminster eludicates the applicability of these concepts. The experiences of the city's residents and businesses demonstrate the necessity of adaptability, new work, and import substitution. While the revitalization of a deteriorating urban centre will not

always require a public-private partnership like F.C.C.D.C., the leadership and vision of one or more organizations or individuals is necessary for any process of rejuvenation to occur. The failure of the City Council, businesses, and residents to effectively respond to the city's decline in the 1950s and 1960s exacerbated the process. The present recovery may not continue unless continuous efforts are made to encourage continued growth and diversification in the tertiary and quaternary sectors and to promote the physical rehabilitation of Columbia Street.

NOTES

1 Jacobs (1984), p.34.

2 Jacobs (1969), p.71; and Ray and Roberge in Lorimer (1981), pp. 14-24.

3 The recent news broadcasts are full of stories of single industry towns throughout Ontario which are being severely impacted by the closing and relocation of their dominant industrial employer.

4 "Scott Paper unveils new plant", Royal City Record,

April 28, 1984, p.19; and Albert Sigrudson, "Scott Paper will undertake programs to expand mills", Toronto Globe and Mail, September 24, 1981, p.B1.

5 Bessie Brown, "IWA members file pay grievance", Royal City Record / New Westminster Now, April 22, 1990, p.7.

6 Jacobs (1984), p.183.

7 Jacobs's urban commentary is far too biased towards the private sector as the only source of innovation and development.

Ibid, p.191.

8 Adams (1982), p.78.

9 Harris and Ullman (1945), in Mayer and Kohn (1959), p.283.

10 See: Edward W. Soja, The Political Organization of Space, Commission on College Geography Resource Paper No. 8, Washington D.C.: American Association of Geographers, 1971.

11 Muller (1981), p.4.

12 The latest consultant's report on the Downtown

which has been accepted by the City Council states that the Columbia Street commercial area is only capable of acting as a community shopping area and even in this reduced role its economic viability is still far from certain.

Barker McGarva Hart, Downtown New Westminster Urban Plan, New Westminster: City of New Westminster, 1991.

13 The redevelopment of industrial and institutional land for residential use has helped to lower the city's employment base and resulted in a twenty-five percent decrease in the proportion of the labour force living and working in the city.

G.D. Hamilton and Associates Consulting Ltd., Choosing Our Future: Living Closer to Work, Burnaby: Greater Vancouver Regional District, 1990, p.23.

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