

AN APPROACH TO PLANNING FOR SMALL COMMUNITIES
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

DARSHAN JOHAL
B.A. (hons.), University of British Columbia

Report on a Project submitted in lieu of a thesis
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in the Department of

COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

We accept this thesis as conforming to
the standard required from candidates
for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Members of the Department of
Community and Regional Planning

The University of British Columbia

April, 1958

ABSTRACT

Growth and development of a community may be hampered, not only by lack of planning, but also by a wrong approach to planning. Hence, in order to ensure proper growth and development of a community, it is necessary to examine the underlying structure of the community as well as the proper approach to its planning.

An analysis of the current approach to planning shows that a long-range comprehensive master plan is thought to be highly desirable, if not essential, before any planning can be done in a community. The myth of the master plan has been accepted not only by most of the experts and legislators concerned with planning, but also by the people in general. Although the validity of this myth has never been clearly demonstrated, no one has seriously challenged its utility in relation to planning for small communities.

An analysis of the political, economic and sociological structure of small communities in British Columbia shows that the master plan approach is neither necessary nor desirable for planning in these communities. This discovery should serve as a warning to those who confound "planning" with "plan making" and as a hope for those who are under the erroneous

impression that before a community can do any planning, it must first have a master plan.

The alternative approach to planning for small communities in British Columbia is described by the author as "The Community Development Approach". This approach recognizes planning as a continuous process; it places greater emphasis on community organization, community participation and community action. In short, it replaces the traditional motto of planners: "Survey, Analysis and Plan" by "Organization, Planning and Action."

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representative. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Community and Regional Planning

The University of British Columbia,
Vancouver 8, Canada.

Date May 9, 1958.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	
PREFACE	
INTRODUCTION	1
 Chapter	
I The Master Plan Approach to Planning	6
II Political Difficulties Faced by Small Communities in British Columbia	23
III Financial Difficulties Faced by Small Communities in British Columbia	35
IV Sociological Difficulties Faced by Small Communities in British Columbia	52
V Planning and Community Development	61
BIBLIOGRAPHY	86
APPENDIX List of Small Communities in British Columbia with population of 200-5,000 (in 1951 or 1956)	90

LIST OF TABLES AND CHARTS

Table	Page
I Single-enterprise Communities in British Columbia with name, main activity, population and year of establishment	27
II Ratio of municipal staff to population served for five municipalities in British Columbia.....	29
III A suggested division between local and non-local functions for small communities in British Columbia	33
IV Comparison for British Columbia municipalities, per capita tax levied against property (not including the City of Vancouver)	39
V Comparison for British Columbia municipalities, current expenditures out of current revenue and capital expenditures out of current revenue	40
VI Comparison for average per capita cost of sewage treatment plants in communities of various sizes	44
VII Comparison for British Columbia municipalities Municipal Taxation as a percentage of Municipal Tax plus Provincial Grants (excluding school grants)	46
Chart	
I Suggested composition and functions of a Community Council for small communities in British Columbia	80

PREFACE

Most of the planning efforts in British Columbia have been directed towards large urban centers and very little attention has been paid to the planning problems of small communities with a population of less than 5,000. The main purpose of the present study is to deal with these problems.

What is the solution to the planning problems of small communities in British Columbia? There is no simple answer to this question and the writer makes no claim to provide a complete answer in the present study. Rather, the main intention is to analyse some of these problems, particularly the problem of long-range comprehensive planning, and to suggest an approach for solving them.

The writer is grateful to the Regional Planning Division of the Department of Municipal Affairs, Government of British Columbia, for giving him an opportunity to work in several small communities in British Columbia last summer. Thanks should also be extended to several professors at the University of British Columbia who provided the background knowledge for the present study. Among these are: Dr. R. M. Clark, Dr. D. Corbett, Dr. J. Friesen, Dr. L.C. Marsh, Professor R.I. Ruggles and Mr. J.W. Wilson of the Lower Mainland Regional

Planning Board. Most of all, I am thankful to my professors in Community and Regional Planning: to Dr. H. Peter Oberlander for assisting me in the early stages of the present study and to Professor Ira M. Robinson for giving me continuous help throughout the preparation of this study.

My thanks are also due to the staff of the University library, particularly Miss Dwyer, for helping me to find material in the library.

Darshan Johal

University of British Columbia,
Vancouver 8, British Columbia.
May 9, 1958.

"The artificiality and instability of a good deal of planning effort during the past twenty years is largely traceable to its feeble contacts with the life of the people. ... The results have been frustration for the people and disillusionment among those who suffer from continuing waste and muddle."

E. M. Nicholson

INTRODUCTION

No ideology has dominated the planning profession more than the one reflected in the familiar town planning concept, "Survey, Analysis and Plan." This indeed has been the motto of almost all the planners, especially those who are concerned with planning at the municipal level.¹ In recent years, this ideology has led to the myth of the "master plan" which is supposed to be a comprehensive document dealing with the long-range planning problems of a community.² Planning legislation throughout Canada and the United States suggests that the foremost responsibility of the municipal planner is to prepare a master plan. This attitude is clearly reflected in a recent resolution unanimously passed by the Community Planning Association of Canada:

... all urban and rural municipalities should have a plan of their long-range overall development prepared by their officials and their planning boards and then approved by their council.³

One reason why the resolution was passed unanimously and without any discussion is perhaps that everyone present had his

1 Holford, W.G., in APPR, Town and Country Planning Text Book, London, Architectural Press, 1950, pp. V-IX.

2 See Chapter 1.

3 Community Planning News, No. 6, 1957, p. 13.

own concept of the "master plan". But there is also the reason that the general idea of the "master plan" has gained such unqualified acceptance in the planning profession that to question it would have been indeed daring, to say the least. Those with a fanatical belief in the "master plan" would have looked upon such a question as being preposterous.

Belief in the master plan is not limited to experts in planning nor is it confined to large urban centers. There is a general belief in all the small British Columbia communities with which the writer is familiar, that a community cannot do any planning unless it has a comprehensive long-range master plan for its future development. It is believed that in order to do any planning, one must start with such a plan. Hence, some communities have hastily prepared dramatic and spectacular plans that have no hope of being realized, while others have postponed their development "until after we have a master plan prepared." In either case, the result is that very little planning has been accomplished.

The basic difficulty with those who have a strong faith in the master plan is that they have failed to realize that planning is not merely "survey, analysis and plan" nor is it merely "looking ahead." A community can have a thousand plans prepared and it can keep looking ahead till dooms day, but if no concrete action has been taken, no planning has been done in the community. The illusion that a community has

accomplished some planning if it has prepared a master plan is similar to the illusion entertained by a person who thinks that he has done some travelling if he has bought a railway ticket.

Planning, as distinguished from plan making, then, must be looked upon as a part of the process of community development.⁴ This process need not be delayed because of the lack of means for obtaining thoroughness. F.F. Gardiner, Chairman of the Toronto Metropolitan Council, emphasized this point when he said, "we found that if you wait until you have an overall plan for everything, you will wind up with nothing."⁵ A similar point of view was expressed by H.N. Lash when he said that according to his experience in planning for small communities in Alberta, if successful planning means the continuing implementation of a complete "general plan", then planning has been successful in only four of the twenty-five towns for which "general plans" were prepared by his department.⁶

Contrary to the general belief, planning in a small community is much more difficult a task than planning in a large city. Some of the problems which he faced in small communities

4 See Chapter V.

5 Gardiner, F.F., Metropolitan Toronto, an address given to the Annual Meeting of the Federal City Council, Washington, D.C. October 8, 1956, p. 8.

6 Lash, H.N., "Planning Administration in Small Towns," Community Planning News, No. 5, 1954, p. 6.

in Alberta were summarized by H.N. Lash in the following words:

While our experience indicates that the planning survey can be done in a smaller place more accurately and at proportionately less cost than in a larger center, the latter has the advantage over the former when it comes to the preparation of the plan. Except for the amount of time required, the preparation of the master plan is more difficult in the small center. This is due to the simple fact that it is so difficult to predict population trends and developments in the small place ... data may be scarce or non-existent. Even with the precise data available, the small town is so much affected by migration, in and out, and so sensitive to fluctuations in the local and regional economy, no population prediction is very safe. We have seen towns grow at the rate of 20 per cent a year for several years, drop to a flat zero for a couple more, then pick up again to say, 5 per cent. This sort of wild variation doesn't occur in the larger centers.⁷

Difficulties for planning in small communities in British Columbia are much the same as they are in Alberta. These are discussed in detail in Chapters II, III and IV under the categories of political, economic, and social, respectively.

In view of the political, economic, and social difficulties for preparing and implementing master plans, and in view of certain peculiarities of small communities in British Columbia, the present study concludes that a fanatical belief in the myth of the master plan must be abandoned. And a new approach, emphasizing planning as a part of the community development process, must be adopted. Such an approach, described in Chapter V, will

⁷ Lash, H.N., "Small Town Planning Problems," Planning 1955, Montreal, ASPO, 1955, pp. 178-79.

require much more organization and participation in planning than exists at present, at the local level. It will place greater emphasis on education than on legislation.

Chapter I

The Master Plan Approach to Planning

"Any city plan that is not definite, official and detailed will not permit us to coordinate our industrial building, sewer lines, parks or schools as each of these is built."

H. Bartholomew

As pointed out in the Introduction to the present study, planning in recent years has been dominated by the master plan idea¹ to such a great extent that the approach to it may well be called "the master plan approach." Almost universal acceptance of the general idea of the master plan, however, does not mean that there is a universal agreement on the precise concept of the master plan; on the contrary, it means different things to different people. Since the underlying thesis of the present study is that the master plan approach to planning is not

1 According to Bassett the term "master plan" was first used in a report called "Recent New York Legislation for the Planning of Unbuilt Areas, Regional Plan of New York and Environs, 1926." (Bassett, E.M., The Master Plan, New York, Russell Sage, 1938, p. 80.) The following terms have also been used to denote the general concept of the master plan: town plan, city plan, municipal plan, long range plan, development plan, long range comprehensive plan, general community plan, community plan, official plan, official community plan, planning scheme and plan. In Canada, community plan and official plan are preferred in most of the provincial planning Acts. Although the terms indicate greater emphasis on some aspects than on the others, there is little difference in the general concept or the idea of the master plan. Empirical investigation of various plans and planning Acts clearly bears this out.

applicable to small communities in British Columbia, it is necessary first to analyse the concept of the master plan: how it developed and what it means to various authorities concerned with planning at the municipal level.

Concepts in social sciences are constantly being revised in the light of changing circumstances. Take for example the concept of "taxation". During mediaeval times, the idea was that of a gift. The individual made a present to the government. During the second stage, the government humbly implored or prayed the people for support in order to enable the government to fulfil its responsibilities. With the third stage we came to the idea of assistance to the state. The fourth stage brought out the idea of sacrifice by the individual in the interest of the state. With the fifth stage, the feeling of obligation or duty came into existence. It is not until the sixth stage that we meet the idea of compulsion or imposition on the part of the state. Finally, the idea of rate or assessment fixed or estimated was now in the seventh stage. The function of taxation at each one of these stages is clearly reflected in the terminology that was used to denote the concept.²

The utility of an idea, therefore, may be recognized and the general idea may be accepted without first having to formulate a concise definition of its concept. In the absence of a

² For more elaborate discussion of the subject see Seligman, E.R., Essays in Taxation, New York, Macmillan, 1921, pp. 5-6.

rigid definition and official codification the contents and function of a concept, on the other hand, might be changed from time to time while the terminology denoting that concept remains unchanged. Concept of the master plan today falls in this latter category. Planning legislation throughout the world has made use of the general idea denoted by the phrase "master plan" and yet there is no universal agreement as to its precise definition, function or contents.³

As Charles Haar has recently pointed out, in the absence of a precise definition of the master plan, it is difficult to " ... appraise the appropriateness of the legal accommodation it has received."⁴ For the purpose of the present study, however, it is not necessary to go into the detailed analysis of the master plan concept, for our main concern is with the general idea and not its minute details which might be of a greater interest to the lawyer or the philologist. It would suffice, then, to have a brief outline of what are usually considered the main functions of the master plan at the municipal level.

The following classification is intended to show some aspects of the master plan which have been emphasized by legislators and experts in planning. The categories are by no means

3 For further reference see Haar, C.M., "Master Plan: An Impermanent Constitution," Law and Contemporary Problems, Duke University School of Law, vol. XX, No. 3, Summer 1955, p. 354, footnote No. 4.

4 Ibid., p. 354.

mutually exclusive. For example, a master plan may be thought of as a reference as well as a statement of the aims and objectives of the community. But the relative importance attached to each of these functions is seldom the same. The analysis does not follow a chronological sequence of development stages in the master plan concept.

1. The Master Plan as a Reference

According to E.M. Bassett, who is considered "father" of the master plan concept, a master plan should be used only as a reference. It should contain information pertaining to the following seven elements of the community: streets, parks, sites for public buildings, public utilities, public reservations, harbour lines and zoning districts. Budgeting and fixing the time for beginning various improvements are not considered to be the elements of the master plan.⁵ Furthermore, Bassett suggests that the master plan should never be adopted by any official body with the possible exception of the advisory planning commission. Its adoption by the legislative body i.e., the municipal council, is objected to on the grounds that it becomes rather rigid and difficult to change.⁶

Bassett insists that the commission and not the plan should be the advisors of the legislative body and various municipal departments. The function of the master plan is further

5 Bassett, op. cit., p. 51.

6 Ibid., p. 61.

limited in that it should only be concerned with publicly owned property. For example, according to Bassett, the master plan's functions should never be extended to include such facilities as private parking.

If the master plan is to be used only for reference purposes, it would appear that its main utility is that it contains important data on various aspects of the community. The plan is little more than an inventory of the existing community facilities or a comprehensive survey of the community -- to be kept within the forewalls of the planning commission office. Such a limited concept of the master plan is completely out of date and there are few planners today who will agree with Bassett.

2. The Master Plan as a Guide

Concept of the master plan as a guide⁷ places a greater emphasis on the positive directional force of the plan and widens its scope to include private as well as public property. Problems emerging from the "inventory" of the community's assets and liabilities are recognized and solutions for these problems are discussed in the day-to-day deliberations of the council and various municipal departments. In addition, the conclusions emerging from these discussions may themselves initiate positive

⁷ Although this concept has not been clearly isolated and defined, Alfred Bettman's views seem to approximate this concept much more than that of any other authority. See Bettman, A., City and Regional Planning Papers, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946.

planning action in the community. According to Bettman, who advocates this view:

The master plan, when properly conceived, is a plan setting forth the general location of the city or other unit for a considerable period of time. It embodies the interrelationships between the different functional classes of public improvements, streets, parks, riverfront, structures; and locations of residential, business and industrial etc. areas based on studies of the needs through a considerable period of time ... 8

Bettman does not deny the utility of the master plan as a reference. For example, according to his concept, whenever the administration department of a municipality proposes to build a street, it submits the location to the planning agency for approval. The planning agency checks it against extensive planning data to determine the economic and social justifications for the proposed street at that location. Then it sends in a report to the city council or other legislative body. The council takes the report into account in their action.

Up to this point there seems to be complete agreement between the views held by Bassett and those held by Bettman on the concept of the master plan. But a distinct point of departure is reached when Bettman argues that in order to make changes to the plan, the council can override the decision of the planning commission only by not less than two-thirds of the votes

8 Bettman, op. cit., p. 42.

of the entire membership of council (and not merely a majority of two-thirds of those who happen to be present on a given day).⁹ Bassett, on the other hand, rejects such a provision on the grounds that it gives the planning commission a potential power to thwart the policies of an elected majority in the council.

Despite this disagreement with Bassett, Bettman does not go as far as suggesting that the master plan has to be adopted by the council. He states that " ... there is no need for the master plan to be acted upon by the legislative body and, indeed, I think the better policy is that it be not so acted upon Its function is that of being a guide ... The use of the master plan as a guide and its applications are made when steps of an administrative or legislative nature, intended to have legal effect, come to be taken."¹⁰

Under the concept of the master plan as a guide, then, the main emphasis is still on the present and foreseeable future needs of the community. The results to be achieved are determined mainly by the factors and features of the present community. The end result of the planning activity is not the goals but the outcome of the planning effort of the community. Hence, this outcome is subject to change if the social, political, economic and other factors and features of the community which determine that outcome, were to be changed.

9 Bettman, op. cit., p. 9.

10 Ibid., pp. 42-43.

In addition to the factor of time that has been added to the concept of the master plan as a guide, there is another dimension that has been added under this classification. This new dimension is the comprehensiveness of the plan. Theoretically, it is possible that the nature of the problems arising from the analysis of the community may require a comprehensive solution or an overall approach for solving community problems. Provision for the building of a new road, for instance, may set up a chain process such as passing set-back regulations, controlling subdivision of land, closing some of the existing streets and construction of new community projects. In other words, a project may become fully useful on the condition that several other projects are carried out in conjunction with it. Hence, the concept of the master plan becomes a little more complex under this classification than it was in the previous one.

3. Concept of the Master Plan as a Statement of Objectives.

The concept of the master plan enters a completely new era under this classification since the emphasis is shifted from the present to the future. As a statement of objectives, the master plan sets specific goals at a definite time in the future. The need for such a shift is vaguely recognized by Bettman but he expresses it with extreme care and hesitation:

In order that planning may turn into reality we need a technique of some kind whereby the actual construction is in accordance not merely with the negative non-departure from the plan, but

also with the actual positive carrying out of the plan in the course of time in accordance with the chronology which is made part of the plan.¹¹

The credit for fully developing the concept of the master plan as a statement of objectives must go to R. G. Tugwell. According to him, "Effectiveness consists of being able to define objectives and achieve them."¹²

Almost all the master plans (see bibliography) that have been studied for the purpose of the present thesis " ... set forth at one point of time the aims and goals of the community,"¹³ to borrow a statement from a typical example. The aims and goals, of course, differ from community to community but the general idea is the same. In all cases an effort is made to visualize a desirable picture of the community in the future and that image is adopted as the goal of the community. The more ambitious the goals and the more persistent is the community, the more strenuous is the process through which the community must go in order to achieve these goals.

Setting of the goals, however, does not necessarily preclude the possibility that the goals might be in accordance with

11 Bettman, op. cit., p. 11.

12 Tugwell, R.G., The Place of Planning in Society, San Juan, Puerto Rico, Puerto Rico Planning Board, 1954, p. 20. See also Milner, J.B., "Introduction to Master Plan Legislation," The Canadian Bar Review, vol. XXXVI, No. 10, Dec. 1957, p. 1134.

13 Hayward, City of, Hayward Prepares a Master Plan for Future Development, Hayward, 1953, p. 4.

the desires and wishes of the community. Nor is the value of the preliminary surveys and community participation to be underestimated.¹⁴ But the fact remains that the "view" of the future is constantly kept in mind, and all the subsequent developments within the community are evaluated with reference to the goals of the community. Any development which takes the community nearer to these goals is thought to be desirable and is encouraged by the community and any development which delays the achievement of these goals is thought to be undesirable and is discouraged by the community. In a rather philosophical manner Tugwell states that the most important usefulness of the "development plan" lies in the fact that

... it establishes an operating harmony, a coordinative smoothness, a successfully functioning Gestalt in the present ... by picturing an objectively arrived at, meticulously examined, and generally agreed, view of the future. As new emergents are taken into account the view of the future shifts, and the new view is transmitted back as an influence on the present.¹⁵

Needless to say, excessive concentration on a "view" of the future will make the planner somewhat of a mystic -- especially when his view of the future is not seen by most of the people.

14 Tugwell, R.G., A Study of Planning as Scientific Endeavour, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1948, pp. 37-40. See also the following articles by R.G. Tugwell: "The Directive," Journal of Social Philosophy and Jurisprudence, vol. VII, No. 1, Oct. 1941; "The Fourth Power," Planning and Civic Comment, April-June 1939; "The Superpolitical," Journal of Social Philosophy, vol. V, No. 2, January, 1940, pp. 97-114.

15 Ibid., p. 41.

Under this classification, then, a new dimension enters the picture of the master plan -- a view of the community in the future and a conscious effort to materialize that view. In some cases, this may involve drastic changes in the community's way of life. It may even involve changes in the basic social and cultural values of the community. Authorities disagree as to whether such fundamental changes fall within the legitimate role of the planner. According to Tugwell, planning, to be successful, must have definite goals but according to another authority in planning

... it is a fundamental mistake to suppose that the function of planning is to supply, within five or ten years or any time limit, the ideal conditions for living either for the town as a whole or for any of its constituent neighbourhoods. The ultimate objective should be to foster the growth of a community which will possess the means to get to know and express its needs, and to direct the day to day process within it so that its purpose may be filled in adequate measure.¹⁶

Whatever the case may be on the regional or national level, it seems wrong to suppose that each community -- even the smallest village or hamlet -- should set its own goals for the future especially when it has little control over the forces and pressures which determine its future. Experience

¹⁶ University of Liverpool, Department of Social Sciences, Social Aspects of a Town Development Plan, Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press, 1951, p. 8.

in the past has shown that communities, especially the small ones, have a tendency to overestimate their resources. Hence the goals that they set are far too ambitious to be achieved with their limited means. Innumerable plans in the past have failed to achieve any results precisely for this reason. Such plans have not only brought frustration to the communities whose dreams they were supposed to fulfil, but they have also earned the ignoble title of "dreamers and visionaries" for the planners.¹⁷

4. Concept of the Master Plan as Scheduled Programme of Development

The latest stage of the master plan concept, as reflected in the Newfoundland Urban and Rural Planning Act of 1953, is its acceptance by the council as a programme of development over a period of time.¹⁸ After the plan has been approved by the Provincial Government, it becomes " ... binding upon the authorized council and upon all other persons, partnerships, associations or other organizations whatsoever to all intents and purposes ..."¹⁹ The Newfoundland Act also provides for strict zoning and subdivision regulations for the implementation of a "municipal plan". Capital budgeting has been made an

¹⁷ Wilson, J.W., "The Layman in Planning," Community Planning News, No. 3, 1957, p. 4.

¹⁸ Newfoundland, Urban and Rural Planning Act, 1953, St. John's, Queen's Printer, 1953, Sections 12, 13, 26.

¹⁹ Ibid., section 27.

integral part of the plan itself. Specific provisions regarding the nature of the "municipal plan" are stated as follows:

'Every Municipal Plan shall contain proposals for such general development of the Municipal Area as can be foreseen for a period not exceeding ten years from the date of the completion of the Municipal Plan and shall be designed to coordinate the public purposes of the authorized Council that bear upon urban development so as to achieve the common well-being of the community and to conserve the financial and material resources of the Municipal Area and without limiting the generality of the foregoing shall contain

(a) a plan illustrating

(i) the proposed network of streets sufficient to carry the volume of traffic passing over them;

(ii) the proposed disposition of public buildings;

(iii) the proposed distribution of public open spaces; and

(iv) the expected use of the streets, buildings and open spaces referred to in the subparagraphs from subparagraphs (i) to and including subparagraph (iii);

(b) a scheme for the use of all land within the Municipal Area illustrated by a plan showing in detail the general land use and a schedule setting forth in detail the use of the land and the existing regulations governing the development of land in the Municipal Area;

(c) a proposed program of public works relating to streets, public buildings, public open spaces and utilities which should be undertaken by the appropriate authorities during the period covered by the Municipal Plan in order to implement the Municipal Plan and a timetable indicating when such public works should be completed and an estimate of the capital cost thereof;

(d) a program setting forth the order in which any part or parts of the development provided for in the Municipal Plan is to be carried out and the order in which any designated parts of the area included in the Municipal Plan is to be supplied with light, water and sewerage, streets, transit and other facilities; and

- (e) a proposal showing in detail the method of financing any works and expenses to be incurred in connection with or incidental to the carrying out of the development contemplated in the Municipal Plan.'²⁰

Whether this type of legislation concerning the master plan will prove successful in Newfoundland or not, only time will show, but the success of similar legislation in British Columbia is highly questionable. It must be remembered that Newfoundland was, until 1949, a British Colony and its planning legislation is strongly influenced by the British Town and Planning Act of 1947. Historically, small communities in Newfoundland have always relied on the central (now provincial) government more than in any other province.²¹ Extreme poverty²² of the province has also made it necessary to centralize governmental functions at the cost of local autonomy. According to the Director of Urban and Rural Planning, the technical planners at present working in Newfoundland are all British and were trained in the United Kingdom. Their basic approach to planning problems in Newfoundland is almost invariably based upon United Kingdom procedure and methods.²³ for these reasons, the concept

20 Newfoundland, Urban and Rural Planning Act, 1953, sec. 13.

21 C.W. Powell states that "...the attitudes of the people of Newfoundland toward municipal government has been founded on the firm conviction that the provincial government is responsible for local services..." (See Powell, C.W., in "Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of Public Administration of Canada, 1949" p. 171.)

22 Although the standard of living has improved considerably since confederation, per capita income of the people in Newfoundland is still approximately half of what it is in British Columbia.

23 Director of Urban and Rural Planning in Newfoundland in a letter to the writer dated October 31, 1957.

of the master plan as a scheduled programme of development is much more readily acceptable to the people of Newfoundland than the people of British Columbia.

Unfortunately, the tendency towards an approach to planning in most of the Canadian provinces is towards this approach to planning. Nearly all the Acts of our Provincial legislatures, that spell out the planning duties of local councils, put at the top of the list, the making of what is usually called "The Official Plan."²⁴ The master plan is tending to become a "Master" of the community in the literal sense of the word.²⁵

The new Municipal Act of British Columbia defines a "community plan" quite broadly, as "a plan for the future physical development of a municipality, whether expressed in drawings, reports, or otherwise, and whether complete or partial with respect to the development of any area of the municipality,"²⁶ And an "official community Plan" is defined as including "any community Plan, whether complete or partial, which has been adopted under this Division."²⁷ But once an

²⁴ Armstrong, Alan, in Food for Thought, Canadian Association for Adult Education, February 1953, p. 8.

²⁵ In Newfoundland, B.C., Saskatchewan and Ontario, no developments contrary to the plan are allowed to take place once it has been duly approved and adopted.

²⁶ British Columbia, Municipal Act, 1957, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1957, sec. 692.

²⁷ Ibid., section 692.

official community plan has been adopted the council has no authority "... to proceed with the undertaking of any project except in accordance with the procedure and restrictions laid down -- therefor by this or some other Act."²⁸

To summarize, then, the concept of the master plan shows an increasing tendency towards becoming a scheduled programme of comprehensive long-term development to be completed in a period of ten or twenty years. Essentially, the master plan visualizes the desirable picture of a community at some time in the future and strives to mold the community in that image. The philosophy behind such an approach implies that the future does not only exist but that it can be created. It assumes that the future of a community can be predicted with reasonable accuracy. But predicting the future is of little use unless steps could be taken to change it. Hence, the exponents of the master plan are forced to make a second assumption: Communities have substantial control over their predictable future and it is within their power to change that future.

Is the master plan approach, as outlined above, suitable for planning in small communities²⁹ in British Columbia? If it

28 British Columbia, Municipal Act, 1957, section 696.

29 Obviously, it is impossible to say when a community is small and when it becomes big. For the purpose of this study, generally speaking, all B.C. communities with a population of less than 5,000 are considered small. No attempt has been made to differentiate among the communities that might be "small" on the basis of population but "big" according to some other criteria such as economic status, physical growth, degree of urbanization, etc. A list of these communities is given in Appendix I.

is not suitable under the present conditions, what alternative to the traditional master plan concept might be adopted in order to arrive at a more suitable approach? The answer to the first question will depend on a critical analysis of the political, economic and social structure of small communities in British Columbia. Such an analysis is made in the Second, Third, and Fourth Chapters of the present study. On the basis of this analysis we shall be in a position to answer the second question.

Chapter II

Political Difficulties Faced by Small Communities in British Columbia

"A thoroughly objective analysis of the whole area of municipal government, in its relation to the overall structure of government and the resources and needs of the community as a whole, is long overdue."

Charlotte Whitton

Municipalities in British Columbia, as in the rest of the Canadian provinces, are the creations of the Provincial Government.¹ Their powers and duties can be extended or contracted at the will of the provincial legislature. However, this does not mean that the municipal governments are merely the administrative units of the provincial government for, during the course of time, certain functions have come to be closely identified with the local government. Among these functions are the collection of property taxes, provision for education, garbage collection, local recreation and certain social welfare services for the people living within the municipality. Any interference with these "local matters" by the senior governments is strongly resented.

¹ The British North America Act, passed by the British Parliament on March 29, 1867, which became effective on July 1, 1867, gave exclusive powers to the provinces to deal with "Municipal Institutions in the Province." See British North America Act, Section 92, subsection 8.

However, for some strange reason, municipalities often take upon themselves functions which are far beyond their legitimate role. An extreme example is the City of Vancouver, where a person has to be a Canadian citizen before he can vote in local elections.² Evidently, the motive behind this requirement is that it would induce people to become Canadian citizens. But surely the purpose of local government is to deal with matters which are primarily local in character and not to make more Canadian citizens.

Similarly, it is legitimate to ask whether long-range comprehensive planning should be considered a function of local government in small municipalities and whether these municipalities are in a position to discharge this function. Let us suppose that this type of planning should be considered a function of the local government: What, then, are some of the difficulties that the master plan approach is likely to face in small communities?

First of all, it should be pointed out that more than 99.4 per cent of the provincial territory in British Columbia is "unorganized." Such a huge portion of the province is under the direct control of the provincial government. In the absence of municipal government, all this territory is left unaffected if the main responsibility to prepare and implement

² B.C., Vancouver Charter, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1953, sections 8-9.

master plans is placed on municipal government. It might be argued that municipalities could extend their boundaries according to the provisions of the new Municipal Act³ and thus take care of some of the unorganized territory. Unfortunately, such an extension is not always easy because the Municipal Act requires consent of at least "three-fifths of the residents of the area sought to be included in the municipality who are of the full age of twenty-one years and who are owners of land in the area,"⁴ as well as consent of three-fifths of the owner electors within the municipality.⁵ Lower property taxes, less supervision and enforcement of regulations and cheaper land are additional factors which present difficulties in the extension of municipal boundaries.

The complexity of problems for extending municipal boundaries in British Columbia are well illustrated in a recent study by Dr. Peter Oberlander and R.J. Cave.⁶

Lack of municipal government is especially serious in the so-called "single-enterprise communities" (British Columbia has the largest number of such communities unincorporated in Canada) where a company is the employer, the landlord, the

3 B.C., Municipal Act 1957, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1957, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1957, section 21.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., Division (2), Part V.

6 Oberlander, H.P. and Cave, R.J., Should Kelowna Extend Its Boundaries? City of Kelowna, August 1957.

store keeper and the government of the town. (See Table I, p. 27, for examples of single-enterprise communities.) In many of these towns, the people think that planning is a responsibility of the company. The company, on the other hand, feels that it is already doing a favour to the people of the community by providing employment. Hence, a formal master plan approach to planning proves to be unsuitable.

Secondly, by its very nature the master plan approach tries to forecast the future needs and requirements of a community. But the future of small communities in British Columbia is extremely difficult to forecast since it depends more on developments in the region than on developments within the community. For example, in order to forecast the future of a community whose main economic base is a pulp mill, it is far more important to study the future of the pulp industry, government policy towards issuing forest management licenses within the region and the policy of the company, than the land-use pattern of the community or its future aims and objectives.

The future of small communities is so much dependent on uncontrollable factors that even a relatively small development such as the location of a highway, arrival of a new industry or the building of a bridge could change the whole picture of the community. To mention just a few examples: the village of Keremeos was moved to its present location when the Canadian Pacific Railway was built near the village in 1908; Morssey, Corbin, Anyox, Cambourne, Cassidy, Moyie, Phoenix, Stanley and Hedley became ghost towns when the mines supporting them closed

Table I.

Single-enterprise Communities in British Columbia

Name of Townsite	Main Activity	Population	Year Established
Blubber Bay	Limestone processing	--	1908
Bralorne	Gold mining	2,000	1931
Britannia Beach	Copper mining	1,600	1900
Caycuse	Logging	346	1927
Ceepeecee	Fish packing	200	1926
Copper Mountain	Copper mining	1,500	1923
Emerald Mine	Lead-zinc mining	500	1947
Field	National Park Admin.	375	1905
Gordon River	Logging	--	--
Holberg	Logging	300	1942
Honeymoon Bay	Lumber	750	1943
Ioco	Oil storage	320	1922
James Island	Explosives	300	1915
Kitimat	Aluminum smelting	--	1953
Michel	Coal mining	2,000	1898
Namu	Fish processing	950	1893
Nickel Plate	Gold mining	250	1904
Nitnat	Logging	250	1928
Ocean Falls	Pulp and Paper	3,000	1919
Pioneer	Gold mining	600	1928
Port Alice	Pulp manufacturing	1,000	1917
Port Edward	Fish processing	500	--
Port McNeill	Logging	400	1937
Port Melon	Pulp manufacturing	222	1918
Powell River	Pulp and paper	2,700	1910
Radium Hot Springs	National Park Admin.	50	1927
Sparwood	Coal mining	180	1939
Tadanac	Ore smelting	479	1922
Torbit Mines	Silver mining	150	1947
Tulsequah	Copper-lead-zinc mining	274	1951
Wood Fibre	Pulp manufacturing	850	1912
Youbou	Sawmilling	2,025	1919
Zincton	Gold mining	125	1941

Source: Queens University, Institute of Local Government, Single-enterprise Communities in Canada, C.M.H.C., 1953, Appendix I.

NOTE: The above table does not include all the single-enterprise communities in British Columbia.

-- Information not available.

down. Hence, to plan twenty years ahead of time for the future over which a community has so little control, is indeed a difficult task.

The impact of a hundred new families to a medium-size town was worked out as follows by Dennis O'Harrow, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials:

To begin with, it means about 450 new people. They will include about 100 children, 67 in grammar school, 33 in high school. This calls for 22 new rooms in grade school, 1.65 new rooms in high school, which will cost about \$120,000. Four new teachers will have to be hired. The 100 families will add about \$30,000 a year to the school budget.

Besides teachers, the city will need four-fifths of a new employee in the police department and two-thirds of a new fireman, upping the police budget by \$4,510 and the fire department budget by \$2,820.

All sorts of extra jobs will have to be done, too, from collecting taxes to collecting garbage. Add four new city employees at a total price of \$12,000 to \$15,000.

The water department must pump 10,000 gallons more each day. Traffic will be increased by 140 cars and trucks. And the city may have to add 500 new volumes to the city library, part of a visiting nurse and a fraction of a cell in the town jail.⁷

Now, a large city can absorb such changes quite easily, but not so in a small village. Therefore, when such changes occur in a small village, a master plan, no matter how good it is, would have to be completely discarded: a revision would not do.

7 O'Harrow, D., Quoted by Marx, H.L., Community Planning, New York, Wilson, 1956, p. 79.

Thirdly, a long-range comprehensive master plan requires continuous supervision for its successful implementation. But none of the small municipalities in British Columbia has a permanent planning staff to perform this function. As a matter of fact, the total staff of most of the small municipalities is limited to a clerk and a municipal works superintendent. A survey of 25 Canadian cities having a population of 25,000 or more showed that for every 81 residents, there was one municipal employee, but in smaller centers (with average population of about 6,000) there was one for every 175.⁸ The following table indicates the shortage of municipal staff in some of the British Columbia municipalities:⁹

Table II

Municipality	Population	No. of Employees	Pop. per employee
Prince Rupert	9,800	119	82
Vernon	8,400	52	116
Kimberly	6,100	22	277
Revelstoke	3,018	24	126
Duncan	3,000	14	214

A comparison between the villages, districts and cities also indicates that the smaller municipalities (mostly villages) spend much less per capita on general government.¹⁰

⁸ Canada, Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, "A Brief submitted by the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities," Ottawa, 1956, p. J6.

⁹ Ibid., Table II (J).

¹⁰ University of B.C., Dept. of Extension, Extension Course in Municipal Administration, II Year, Vancouver, Best Mimeograph, 1953, Fin. II.

<u>Municipality</u>	<u>Median per capita expenditure on General Government</u>
Cities	\$6.05 per year
Districts	\$4.13 per year
Villages	\$0.86 per year

Not only is the competence of the municipal administration inadequate in many cases, but also the municipal council does not attract the ablest men of the community.

Fourthly, several important municipal functions such as education, administration of justice, assessment of property, building and maintenance of main roads, are no longer under the exclusive control of the councils of small municipalities. Education is under the control of the School Boards whose jurisdiction extends over the whole School District. With a few exceptions, the School District boundaries do not coincide with the municipal boundaries. According to the new Municipal Act the provincial government is responsible for the administration of justice,¹¹ assessment of property¹² in all villages and local areas. The provincial government is also responsible for the building and maintenance of main roads in all municipalities with the exception of cities with a population of more than 15,000.¹³ But these are some of the most important elements

11 B.C. Municipal Act 1957, Part XX.

12 Ibid., sections 316-17.

13 It is interesting to note that certain large urban district municipalities (e.g., Burnaby, Oak Bay) do not have to pay for their main traffic arteries. Vancouver, Victoria, New Westminster and North Vancouver are the only cities in B.C. which have a population more than 15,000.

which make up the master plan.

In order to carry out an effective programme of comprehensive long-range planning, the activities of these bodies must be co-ordinated. Obviously, the powers and resources of the municipal councils are far too limited to perform such a co-ordinating function in a formal way. The School Boards, for example, like to think of themselves as independent bodies and strongly resent any interference from municipal councils.

Much has been said on the subject of local autonomy and the preservation of municipal government as a "Bulwark of Democracy." But, the history of municipal government in Canada clearly shows that there is nothing sacred about the rights of municipalities. The province has delegated certain powers and responsibilities to them not because of constitutional compulsion but simply because certain functions could be best administered at the local level. "Conversely, if at any time it is evident that a matter delegated to the municipalities could be better administered by the province, the province has the right, indeed the moral duty to reserve the power."¹⁴ Once it is clear that individual municipalities are not capable of carrying out a function which has somehow come to be regarded as a function of municipal government, there is no reason why it should not be taken away from them and assigned to a different level of government which is more capable of administering

¹⁴ Lane, W.T., Planning and the Law in B.C., Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 1952, p. 29.

it. Speaking about the local authorities in Great Britain, W.A. Robson states:

Instead of everything being left to them, regardless of their capacities and resources, they should be given only those planning functions which are truly local. Moreover, local planning powers should be conferred only on those local authorities whose size, population and rateable value are sufficiently large to give them a reasonable chance ... in place of the evasion, neglect and half hearted attempts which have characterized local authorities' efforts in the past, we may hope to see a sustained tripartite effort with a proper degree of discipline from below and guidance from above.¹⁵

The general rule for ensuring the success of local government, then, seems to be that it should be given only those functions which it can effectively carry out. In this category are the functions that are of direct and immediate concern to the people living within the municipality. Individual projects, such as the development of a park, building of a municipal hall, construction of an arena and the provision of sidewalks on a local road are some of the projects that a small community may carry out without having to wait for a complete master plan.

Although it is difficult to draw a definite line, Table III may serve as a basis for differentiating between the local and non-local functions. Some of these functions of course will overlap and could be best carried out by the joint effort

¹⁵ Robson, W.A., quoted by McCallum, I.R.M., Physical Planning, London, Architecture Press, 1945, p. 58.

Table III

A Suggested Division Between Local and Non-local Functions for Small Communities in British Columbia

Local functions	Non-local functions
Local water distribution	Wholesale water supply
Local sewerage collection	Wholesale sewerage disposal
Local streets	Main traffic arteries
General licensing of business	Education
Building codes	Health and welfare
Garbage collection	Regional planning
Tax collection	Mass transportation
Detail studies and data collection	Assessment for tax purposes
Small parks and flower beds. etc.	Housing and slum clearance
Fire protection	Grants to cultural bodies
Playgrounds and community Halls	Libraries and museums
Co-ordination of local and non-local functions within municipal boundaries	Industrial and tourist developments
	Smoke control
	Civil defence
	Inspection of food products
	Police
	Maintenance of justice
	Parks and recreation
	Capital financing

of local and non-local bodies. One such example is parks and recreation. Others such as libraries and museums could be more useful if they were established as branches of larger libraries and museums located outside these communities rather than being independent and self-sufficient in themselves. Such an arrangement would enable small communities to borrow books and paintings etc. from the main libraries and museums, use them for a few months and then replace them with new ones.

If local autonomy is to be valued in our small communities, its purpose and function must be reconsidered in view of the changing conditions from time to time. The present responsibilities of municipal government outrun their financial resources. Hence, formal planning cannot be expected to flourish in these communities. In the next chapter an attempt will be made to point out some of the serious financial limitations of small communities in British Columbia.

Chapter III

Financial Difficulties Faced by Small Communities in British Columbia

Community planning in British Columbia has been recognized as a function of municipal government.¹ Hence, the main financial burden for preparing and implementing master plans falls upon individual municipalities.² With the exception of a few large municipalities such as Vancouver, West Vancouver, Victoria, Richmond, Kelowna, Penticton, Nelson, Trail and Powell River, long-range comprehensive planning is still looked upon as a luxury. While discussing the need for planning with the officials and employees of several small³ communities during the summer of 1957, the writer was constantly reminded of the city engineer who once wrote to Sir Patrick Geddes regretting that " ... as both water and drainage schemes are in contemplation, the city must deny itself the luxury of town planning."⁴

1 The Municipal Act provides that "the Minister may upon request by a council furnish advice or assistance in community planning matters" (B.C. Municipal Act 1957, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1957, sec. 697). But until now the role of the Regional Planning Division which deals with community planning matters, has been limited to the preparation of draft zoning bylaws, furnishing advice on boundary changes and specific matters of detail. No comprehensive master plans have yet been prepared by the Regional Planning Division.

2 B.C. Municipal Act 1957, Part XXI.

3 Although no hard and fast line can be drawn between large and small communities, for the purpose of this essay "small community" means a community with a population of less than 5000.

4 Bauer, Catherine, "Economic Progress and Living Conditions," Town Planning Review, vol. XXVI, 1953-1954, p. 311.

Lack of long-range comprehensive planning, however, is not entirely due to lack of appreciation for planning on the part of municipal officials. On the contrary, the writer was surprised to find that there was a genuine desire "to do something" in every community that he visited. The degree of planning consciousness that small communities have achieved during the past few years is often underestimated by professional planners. This is probably due to the fact that planners have a tendency to judge the planning consciousness of a community by the extent to which their proposals and recommendations are carried out. Little consideration is given to the fact that the financial resources of small communities are so limited that it would be virtually impossible for many of them to carry out master plans.

Many of the financial embarrassments of local governments in Canada, large and small, are due to the fact that real property continues to be their major source of revenue whereas their responsibilities encompass much wider spheres of expenditures today than they did at the time of Confederation.⁵ The problem is especially acute in small municipalities where the quality of services required by senior governments and demanded by the tax payers is far too expensive to be financed by a limited economic base. Thus, small municipalities face an unfortunate paradox: any attempt to raise local taxes discourages

⁵ Crawford, K.G., Canadian Municipal Government, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1954, p. 59.

new business and industry and, on the other hand, prospective industries give considerable weight to the extent and quality of municipal facilities available before deciding to locate in a particular municipality.

In British Columbia there are several examples where industries chose to locate outside the limits of existing municipalities (thus avoiding municipal taxes which are often higher than those levied by the province), but depending on the municipality for services and facilities.⁶ To mention just a few, Trail, Fraser Mills, Prince Rupert, Powell River, Fort St. John, Campbell River and Cranbrook are some of the examples. The location of business and industry outside municipal boundaries, of course, distorts the balance between residential and non-residential assessment within the municipality in such a way that the proportion of residential assessment becomes much greater than the proportion of non-residential assessment. This has serious implications on the municipality concerned. According to a recent article by J.S. Brown, " ... general belief in the investment circles is that the industrial and commercial categories should comprise at least 40 per cent of the total, if an unduly heavy burden of taxation on residential taxpayers is to be avoided."⁷ Although no complete study

⁶ Robinson, I.M., Planning for Urban Development in British Columbia, (unpublished Ph. D. thesis).

⁷ Brown, J.S., "Financial Planning for Capital Works," Community Planning News, no. 2, 1957, pp. 14-15.

has been made to determine the ratio of residential to non-residential assessment in small British Columbia communities, it is obvious that the imbalance created in a small community would be much greater than the imbalance created in a large city if a particular business decides to locate outside the municipal boundaries.

Another trend of physical development which places small municipalities at a financial disadvantage is the menace of sprawl in the "fringe areas" where a municipality has to supply services to the dwellings scattered at a considerable distance from the compactly built-up central area. Although a municipality does not collect revenues from these areas the cost of supplying services to these areas is unusually high and represents a severe drain on the local revenues.

It can be shown that per capita tax levy in small municipalities (usually villages) is lower than in larger cities.⁸ But it should be noted that despite a greater percentage increase in population, the percentage change in per capita tax levy has been greater in small municipalities between 1941 and 1951. This is shown in Table IV on the following page.⁹ In view of this greater increase, it would be difficult for small municipalities to increase their tax levy much further.

8 University of British Columbia, Department of Extension, Extension Course in Municipal Administration, II Year, Vancouver, Best Mimeograph Co., 1953, Fin. 11-1.23.

9 Ibid., p. 23.

Table IV

Comparison for B.C. Municipalities, Per Capita Tax Levied
Against Property (not including the City of Vancouver)

	Median computed for No. of municipalities	Pop. 1941	Pop. 1951	% Pop. increase	% increase per capita tax
Median - Cities	34	2322	3472	42.8	48.4
Districts	27	4287	6701	61.7	87.2
Villages	19	446	785	82.9	113.1

Another limitation on the current revenues in small municipalities is the amount of property exempt from local taxation. The median percentage of provincial property wholly exempt from municipal taxes for the year 1953 was as follows:¹⁰

Cities	2.09
Districts16
Villages	4.25

The municipalities that have a greater proportion of provincial property have a disadvantage not only because they do not collect taxes from it but also because they have no control over the use of this property when it comes to zoning or subdivision.

¹⁰ Univ. of B.C. Extension Course in Municipal Administration, p. 25.

On the other hand, the amount of property over which municipalities have a greater control, i.e. municipally owned property, is less in villages than in cities or districts as shown in the following figures.¹¹

<u>Municipalities</u>	<u>Median percentage of municipally owned property</u>
Cities	12.73
Districts	3.27
Villages	1.09

Limited as their current revenues are, it is not surprising that village municipalities spend much less per capita, out of current revenues, on current expenditures, than either cities or districts. This is shown in the table below.¹²

Table V

Current expenditures out of current revenue
(median per capita)

Cities	\$60.01 per year
Districts	47.12 per year
Villages	16.01 per year

But per capita expenditures out of current revenue on capital expenditures are greater in small municipalities:¹³

11 Univ. of B.C. Extension Course in Municipal Admin: p. 25.

12 Ibid., Table A.

13 Loc. cit.

Table V (cont.)

Capital expenditures out of current revenue
(median per capita)

Cities	\$4.83 per year
Districts	2.42 per year
Villages	7.40 per year

Greater per capita expenditure out of current revenues on capital expenditures, however, does not mean that villages are in a better position to implement long-range comprehensive plans which include major capital projects. The real reason why they spend more is that municipal budgets must be balanced every year. They cannot operate on a deficit basis nor can they pile up surpluses from year to year. Funds spared from current revenues in a small community are hardly enough to pay for the cost of a major project. Hence, it would be reasonable to conclude that greater portions of this go either as payment for a debt incurred to finance a capital project or as payment for interest on the sum borrowed to finance a capital project.

One might argue that if the current revenues of small communities are limited, why don't they borrow money for implementing a comprehensive master plan? But it must be realised that in the long run debts have to be paid through current revenues, which in the case of small communities, are very limited as explained above. Secondly, there are statutory limitations on the borrowing powers of small municipalities.

Every money bylaw has to be approved not only by the owner electors but also by the provincial government through the Inspector of Municipalities.¹⁴

According to the new British Columbia Municipal Act, a city, town or district municipality may borrow up to twenty per cent of the total of: (a) average assessed value of the taxable real property within the municipality computed for three years immediately preceding the year in which the debt is created, and (b) value of the utility systems and other municipal enterprises. A village municipality, on the other hand, is allowed to borrow only up to ten per cent of: (a) average assessed value of taxable real property within the municipality computed for the three years immediately preceding the year in which the debt is created and (b) twenty per cent of the value of the utility systems and other municipal enterprises.¹⁵ Thus, the village municipalities have a triple disadvantage under this provision. First, their borrowing limit is lower (ten per cent); secondly, their total assessment is lower; and thirdly, the amount of "utility systems and other municipal enterprises" is less than it is in the large cities.

Borrowing for local improvements in village municipalities is likewise restricted. For instance, the Municipal Act

14 B.C. Municipal Act, 1957, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1957, section 253.

15 Ibid., section 246.

not only restricts the purposes for which a village municipality may borrow but it also states that a village municipality may undertake local improvement projects on petition only. The council of a city, town or district municipality, on the other hand, may do so on its own initiative. Furthermore, even the local improvement bylaw has to be approved by the Inspector of Municipalities before it can come into effect in a village municipality.¹⁶

Looking from the investor's point of view, the small municipality is again at a disadvantage when it comes to long term borrowing.¹⁷ First, small municipalities are relatively unknown to many investors. Hence, the market for their debentures is very limited; whereas, larger cities may borrow from foreign markets at a lower interest rate. Secondly, from the investor's point of view, safer debentures are those which are used to finance a capital expenditure that will earn a profit. Due to the initial high cost of installation, a municipality has to be sufficiently large to be able to make profits on a project. A village of 400 people, for example, could not be expected to operate a \$100,000 water system or a sewerage system. A recent survey of the cost of sewage treatment plants showed that per capita costs increase rapidly as the size of communities becomes smaller. This is well illustrated in the following table:¹⁸

16 B.C. Municipal Act, 1957, sections 581 and 591.

17 Univ. of B.C. Extension Course in Munic. Admin. Fin. III.

18 International City Managers' Assoc., Municipal Public Works Administration, Chicago, 1957, p. 326.

Table VI

Population Served	Primary Treatment Plants		Secondary Treatment Plants	
	No. of plants surveyed	Avg./capita cost	No. of plants surveyed	Avg./capita cost
1,000-2,500	36	\$34.90	57	\$66.70
2,500-5,000	22	31.80	37	44.80
5,000-10,000	16	29.70	37	35.40
10,000-25,000	12	19.30	22	22.30
25,000-50,000	3	14.10	8	35.40
50,000 +	1	11.50	4	40.60

Thirdly, the investor would prefer a sound, diversified economic base which he can depend on. This, however, is not the case with most of the small communities in British Columbia. Dependability on strike-prone, seasonal and uncertain economic bases such as mining, sawmilling, fishing, and heavy manufacturing industries, is anything but inviting for the investors.¹⁹

One example of the difficulties created by large scale debenture borrowing is the village of Campbell River. Between September 1948 and July 1956, the village has borrowed \$845,000 for water and sewer systems. At the end of December 1956,

¹⁹ Robinson, op. cit.

\$737,500 was still outstanding and within that year, at 4 per cent interest rate, the village had to pay something like \$29,000 for interest charges! Despite a large sale of water, there was a deficit of \$2,005 on water works alone; the interest on water works being \$5,900 for the year.²⁰

Apparently, similar difficulties for municipal borrowing exist in other provinces, too. Realizing these difficulties the provinces of Ontario, Alberta and Nova Scotia have set up loan funds which enable local municipalities to borrow for capital improvements. The problem has been further alleviated in some provinces (including British Columbia) by providing provincial guarantees on municipal borrowing, but such guarantees are usually limited to water and sewerage systems.

The result of the limitations on borrowing is that small communities continue to draw on their current revenues for whatever minor capital projects they feel are most urgently needed. Problems are solved as they come, without much thought for the comprehensive development of the community.

Having considered current revenues and debenture borrowing, let us briefly analyse another major source of municipal revenue; namely, municipal aid. Provincial sharing of the costs of services which are traditionally considered municipal

²⁰ B.C., Department of Municipal Affairs, Municipal Statistics, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1957.

varies from province to province. According to a recent brief submitted to the Gordon Commission, in assuming 80 per cent²¹ of the costs of social assistance, about 60 per cent of current school costs and 50 per cent of the approved costs of school construction, in addition to the payment of an unconditional per capita grant for several municipal purposes, the province of British Columbia has gone furthest in this direction.²² As a result, provincial grants have become an important source of revenue -- second only to the property tax. This is particularly true in small communities as shown in the following table.²³

Table VII

Municipal Taxation as a percentage of Municipal Tax plus Provincial Grants (excluding school grants):

Year	Cities	Districts	Villages
1931	94.1	87.5	59.7
1941	89.8	87.9	85.4
1951	73.4	68.8	50.0

Grants in aid, however, are not to be regarded as unmixed blessings. From the point of view of the recipient municipalities, they have distinct disadvantages. First, they are generally accompanied by greater supervision and control from the

21 This has now been raised to 85 per cent. See Vancouver Sun, February 7, 1958.

22 Canada, Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, pp. 0-14.

23 Univ. of B.C., Extension Course in Munic. Admin. Fin. II -1. 8-9.

"donor" level of government. For example, when the provincial government (as in British Columbia) pays for the cost of a major arterial highway, it also decides where that highway should be located. Municipal governments are likewise losing control over hospitals, schools, assessment, administration of justice and various other matters financed largely through provincial funds. Secondly, the desirability of financial aid from senior governments is questioned on the grounds that it disregards one of the basic principles of public finance which states that it is not desirable for one level of government to raise revenues to be expended by another level of government. A system of government which disregards this principle was once described as a "thoroughly vicious system" by the late President F.D. Roosevelt. And the late Prime Minister of Canada, W. L. MacKenzie King once stated:

Anyone interested in financing whether of a municipality, a province, a Dominion, an Empire, or a League of Nations will, I think, admit it is unwise, an unsound, a wrong principle for one body to have to do with raising the taxes and another to be concerned with the spending of the money so raised, that other body, not having to account to the representatives of those who have paid the taxes.²⁴

Actually, provincial aid with certain strings attached can do more harm than good as far as the interests of small municipalities are concerned. Provincial aid on a matching basis, for example, often tempts municipalities to undertake

²⁴ Mackenzie King, W.L., in Canada, House of Commons Debates, April 30, 1930, p. 1237.

projects which are neither necessary nor urgent. Carl Goldenberg, recognizing that the municipal revenues are inadequate to carry out responsibilities of municipal governments foreseen for the next twenty-five years, recommended readjustments in provincial-municipal relations in order to enable the municipalities to finance present and prospective requirements for basic municipal services.²⁵ If by "readjustments" he means greater financial aid to municipalities, as the implication seems to be, he too is guilty of transgressing a fundamental principal of public finance.

Thirdly, grants in aid in British Columbia are not based upon any definite policy of the provincial government nor is there any guarantee, as Dr. R.M. Clark pointed out in a recent discussion,²⁶ that such aid will be continued when the provincial government itself is in financial difficulties.

In view of the difficulties discussed above, there is a growing awareness on the part of several authorities on municipal government that the solution to municipal financial problems will require fundamental changes in the concept of local government. In a brief entitled "Not By Grants Alone", Charlotte Whitton presented "some submissions to the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects made, solely, as a matter of personal

²⁵ Goldenberg, Carl, "Problems for Municipalities," Financial Post, November 16, 1957, p. 16.

²⁶ Clark, R.M. at a Forum on Municipal Affairs sponsored by the Vancouver Board of Trade at the Georgia Hotel, Vancouver, B.C., February 24, 1958.

responsibility from observation and experience in the field of Municipal Government ..." . In that brief she states that any redistribution of taxing powers or of transfer of payments from other governments without much fundamental re-examination and adjustment within local government itself, will only slow, not solve, the recurring and increasingly critical problems of municipal finance.²⁷ A similar point of view has been expressed by the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities. They have stated:

The grants in aid are not gifts by the provinces to their municipalities and school bodies. They are partial compensation for the provision of services which are no longer of purely local concern but of province-wide interest and importance.²⁸

Rather than try to maintain an obsolete division between the functions of municipal government and functions of the provincial and federal governments, it would appear that the basis of division should be to allocate to each level of government those functions which it can carry out most effectively and most efficiently. The sources of revenue could then be adjusted to make each level of government financially strong to carry out its functions without too much interference from the others.

If effectiveness and efficiency were made the bases on which functions are assigned to each level of government,

27 Canada, Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, "A Brief Submitted by Charlotte Whitton," Ottawa, February 29, 1956, p. 5.

28 Ibid., "A Brief Submitted by the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities," pp. 0-14.

rather than an obsolete tradition which exists today, long-range comprehensive planning would certainly be the responsibility of the provincial government. Long-range comprehensive planning recognizes no municipal boundaries -- physical or financial. As a matter of fact, growth and development of small communities in British Columbia are more dependent on developments outside of their boundaries than on developments within. Since small municipalities have little control over the developments outside of their boundaries, it would be a mistake to think that long-range comprehensive planning is a responsibility of the municipal government. Instead of trying to undertake everything that concerns local communities, municipal governments must resist expansion into new activities and at the same time press senior governments to undertake responsibilities which transcend municipal boundaries.

It is not being suggested, however, that local governments should become merely administrative units of the provincial government and carry out plans which are handed over to them by the provincial governments. What in fact is being suggested is that the planning activities of local governments should consist of those projects and short term programmes which are directly related to real property and affect the day to day life of the residents. Individual projects such as local streets, parks, playgrounds, civic centers, municipal buildings and small utility systems could be developed in such a way that the ultimate pattern of development will be a harmonious one. Such an

approach will mean greater emphasis on active current work on the part of a small community rather than undertaking long-range planning commitments.

Chapter IV

Sociological Difficulties Faced by Small Communities in British Columbia

"Rural society is complacent, it lacks dynamics,
it is content to follow along traditional grooves
-- in short ... rural folk are ultraconservative."

T.L. Smith

Some of the major obstacles to planning in small British Columbia communities are entirely due to sociological factors and features of these communities. Even if the economic and political obstacles outlined in previous chapters could be overcome, there remains the task of overcoming these social difficulties.

It is true that under the new Municipal Act, even a small municipality has power to prepare community plans, pass zoning bylaws, enact subdivision regulations and foster planning through a number of legislative controls at its disposal. But anyone who has lived in a small community would agree that legislation alone is not enough. Laws are useful only in so far as they can be enforced. In most of the small communities, where people address each other by their first names, imprisonment, fines and police action to enforce planning legislation is out of the question. However unpleasant it may be, this is a problem that the planner must face and accept as a reality. To give just one example, the fire-chief of a small municipality, who was also the building inspector, was "showing me around" in

his town. A man came to the chief and after talking about a recent fishing excursion for about ten minutes said, "Oh, by the way, Joe, I am building a shack there. Wonder if you could make a slip -- I'll pick it up sometime next week." What this somewhat vague request meant was that the man was building a house and required a building permit. We went to see the "shack" and found that the four bedroom house was half-built already! The fire-chief explained to me later that it was a common practice in that community to start working on a building without first obtaining a building permit which is required by the local zoning bylaw. No legal action had ever been taken against those who did not comply with the bylaw. In his unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Professor I.M. Robinson of the University of British Columbia has made the following observation on this point.

Small towns may often be reluctant to prosecute offenders and enforce proper procedure. This, of course, weakens administration, and often leads to a situation where, for example, most building permits are applied for long after the building has been commenced. Individuals follow this procedure not necessarily because of any deliberate attempt to flout the town's by-laws (in some cases, as noted, these by-laws may not even exist), but simply out of habit built up over the years as a result of the town's failure to insist on prior approval.

In another small community, a new subdivision of ten acres could not be opened because the lot which provided the only suitable access to this subdivision was owned by a man who swore that he would not sell this lot "at any price, to anybody", as long as he lived. Not only the owner of the subdivision

and prospective buyers but also the village commission were deeply concerned over the matter. When I pointed out to the Chairman of the village commission that the lot in question could be expropriated under the provisions of the new Municipal Act, he shook his head and said "No, no. Expropriation is out of the question. The guy built this village. Even today he owns half the village as well as the water works. We have to keep good relations with him." From this example it is clear that expropriating property for the Granville Bridge in Vancouver by writing an impersonal letter through a lawyer is one thing; and expropriating property in a small village is quite another.

As Charles Merriam once said, "At the root of all authority ... lie basic customs which authority cannot successfully contest."¹ It is these basic customs, traditions, and habits of the people of small communities that the planner must understand before he can hope to achieve any concrete results in the community. No matter how good a plan is, it will not work in a small community unless the people of that community themselves think that the plan is good. They must feel that in fact it is their own plan -- an idea which grew out of their own realization of various problems over a period of time. It is precisely for this reason that in a small community the expert is looked upon with suspicion and mistrust. Hence, the planner, in so far

1 Merriam, C.E., Systematic Politics, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945, pp. 213-

as he is an outsider, cannot fully anticipate the reaction of the rural people nor can he fully comprehend why they behave in a peculiar way. In his Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town, Stephen Leacock, speaking about a Canadian town wrote, "That's the trouble with people in Mariposa, they are all so separate and so different -- not a bit like the people in the cities -- that unless you hear about them separately and one by one you can't for a moment understand what they are like."² This is still true in many of the "little towns" in British Columbia. Hence, any attempt by an expert or by a small planning group to superimpose or to "sell" a plan is bound to be resisted by the people. And yet the tendency today is to make planning an executive function of the municipal council without much heed to the participation of the people. As an eminent authority on rural sociology has stated, "The naive assumption that any group of persons will fall in with any plan about which they have not been consulted and which has not taken into account has been proved false so often, in history, that its survival is one of the world's mysteries."³

Another difficulty in most of the small communities in British Columbia is that a large proportion of the labour force

2 Leacock, Stephen, Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town, Toronto, McLelland, 1953, p. 52.

3 Kolb, J.H. and Brunner, E., A Study of Rural Society, New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1952, p. 3.
See also: Mead, Margaret, "Common Grounds in Community Development Experiments," Community Development Bulletin, vol. II, No.3, June 1951, p. 45.

in these communities is transient. This is especially true where employment is temporary or seasonal. Since the transient workers never settle down in one community, they are seldom accepted as a part of the community. Naturally, they are little interested in the long-term comprehensive development of the community. This attitude is not only confined to the temporary residents but is also shared by those who came to the community some fifty years ago with the intention of working for a "couple of years" but stayed in the community without ever fully claiming it as their own. The unfortunate consequences of such an attitude are clearly reflected in the relative lack of social organization in the small British Columbia communities. A random selection of nine small Canadian communities shows that British Columbia communities are lacking in a large number of voluntary associations.⁴

As pointed out in the previous chapter, financial resources of many of the small communities are extremely limited. Hence, they often have to rely on voluntary contributions for carrying out various projects such as swimming pools, parks, playgrounds and civic auditoriums. Almost in every community there is to be found at least one such project which has been successfully carried out and yet there are memories of many more which were not completed because of insufficient organized support. To give a concrete example from the writer's own experience again: The chairman of a village commission invited me

4 Queen's University, Institute of Local Government, Single-Enterprise Communities in Canada, Toronto, 1953, p. 170.

to his house last summer. While talking about recreation facilities in that community, the chairman's wife said to me, "I have always wanted to have a golf course in this community. But I can't build it alone. There's not a single club or organization in this place which I could go to." Since most of the people went to a nearby city for recreation, the idea of the golf course never materialized. This despite the fact that the city golf course was often overcrowded, and a new one in the small town could have been useful not only for the local people but also for people from outside.

In another community, of approximately the same size, a village park was badly needed. There was an excellent site of four acres available by the riverside. Although many people in the community favoured the idea individually, it could not be realized because there was no organized group which would undertake to develop the park. Fortunately, last year a committee was organized to take care of the B.C. Centennial celebrations. At one of the meetings of this committee, suggestions were invited for an appropriate centennial project. Someone suggested the development of the village park. After some discussion, the idea was enthusiastically adopted and a Park Committee was appointed to look after the matter. With the help of the Church groups, the school, and various organizations in the community, the park was developed and a retired pensioner was granted his wish "to look after the park and serve the community." Had it not been for the Centennial Committee, I have no doubt that the project would have been delayed by many

years, if not abandoned altogether.

The community organization movement which started as a recognition of community problems and wartime difficulties was abandoned soon after the war but no one can deny the valuable contribution made by various organizations during their lifetime. A similar approach to solving community planning problems could be useful in small communities today. This idea is further discussed in the concluding chapter. Suffice here to say that many small communities in British Columbia are lacking in effective community organizations which could initiate planning action in the community and thus contribute towards the development of better communities.

Another difficulty encountered in small communities is that the rural people as a rule are used to solving their problems "as they come." They seem to be almost incapable of looking twenty years ahead of time. They like to have immediate satisfaction out of their work and there are few today who are content with a "wait and see" philosophy.⁵ Thus, there is likely to be a good deal of dissatisfaction with long-term projects; projects which require considerable amounts of work and the result of which would not be seen for some time in the future. As Murray Ross has pointed out, it is not unusual for the community, like the patient in therapy, to be primarily concerned with

⁵ Ross, M.G., Community Organization, New York Harper, 1955, p. 189.

See also, Lynd, R.S., Knowledge for What? Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1948, p. 91.

the immediate problem, and for the professional worker, like the therapist to be primarily concerned with long-term objectives of adjustment and integration.⁶ A municipal council elected on a two-year basis likes to point its finger to the projects which it has completed at the end of this short term.

Long-range comprehensive planning suffers even more in small communities if we recognize that "one of the personal difficulties of planners is that they itch to plan something they will live long enough to see ..."⁷

The last difficulty in the way of long-range comprehensive planning which must be recognized is that few people are aware of the needs of their community. This is especially true in British Columbia where there has been a decade of unprecedented prosperity as far as the individual residents are concerned. People have been virtually intoxicated with the spirit of the present boom and it seldom occurs to them to prepare for the future. One of the necessary conditions that Elliot Jaques lays down for any successful process of working through of group problems is the presence of a group with a problem severe and painful enough for its members to wish to do something about it.⁸ Long-range comprehensive planning, of course, is not a problem of this nature. The pain is not felt as clearly and

6 Ross, M.G., op. cit., p. 50.

7 Bettman, Alfred, City and Regional Planning Papers, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946, p. 8.

8 Jaques, Elliot, The Changing Culture of a Factory, Tavistock Publications, 1951, p. 310.

obviously at the present time. Or to put it in medical terminology, long-range comprehensive planning is more of a preventive rather than a therapeutic treatment. As such, it does not provide sufficient motivation for action.

Murray Ross, who has had extensive experience in community organization, suggests that "the most significant opportunity for successful action planning arises around those problems, about which the planning group feel greatly disturbed -- about which they are deeply convinced, about which they feel something must be done."⁹ He further states that "dominating motives in action planning should ... stem from dissatisfaction with conditions as they now exist, and with the desire to change these conditions."¹⁰

The above analysis explains why people in small communities are used to thinking in terms of individual projects such as a road, a park, a gymnasium or a city hall rather than in terms of long-range comprehensive planning to be accomplished in a formal way. Rural people not only in British Columbia but all over the world have shown their willingness to carry out projects which have meaning for the group but the government seeking cooperation for large impersonal objectives finds resistance to its ideas.¹¹ What is tragic in British Columbia,

9 Ross, op. cit., p. 136.

10 Ibid., p. 135.

11 Mead, Margaret (ed.), Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, Paris, UNESCO, 1953, p. 309.

and on the North American Continent in general, is not that the people of small communities show no aptitude for planning, but the fact that public officials and planning experts have not fully appreciated the attitude of the rural community towards planning. The planner's approach has been and continues to be focussed on the future. Rural people, on the other hand, concentrate their attention on those problems which face them at present or in the immediate future; what is needed is an approach to bridge this gap. But any attempt towards this end raises several fundamental questions in planning: What is the planner's role in society? Is the planner's job done if he presents a "good" master plan for a community or is he responsible for its implementation as well? Is he responsible to the municipal council or to the community?

A detailed analysis of these questions is beyond the scope of the present study but an attempt will be made in the concluding chapter to answer them in relation to the implementation of a planning proposal -- be it a complete master plan or just a minor recommendation.

Chapter V

Planning and Community Development

"In community organization we are coming to realize that the community itself must struggle and strive to deal with its own conception of its needs, and that in doing this the community can increase its capacity to deal not only with these problems but with many other problems as they arise.

M.G. Ross

We began this study by asking the question whether the traditional master plan approach, as described in Chapter I, is suitable for planning in small communities in British Columbia. Our reply to this query, based on the analysis in Chapters II, III and IV of the political, financial, and social difficulties faced by these communities, is an unqualified "No". The question before us now is: whether, in view of these difficulties, it would be better to leave these communities alone and let them follow the so-called "natural" process of growth (or stagnation), or, is there an alternative approach to planning for these communities?

We feel that there is an alternative approach, and refer to it as "Community Development,"¹ the emphasis being on the process of community development rather than on the plan for community development. Here, instead of starting with a plan, the community, or rather the planning process, ends up with a

1 Professor I.M. Robinson has suggested the term "Master Planning" for the approach to planning described herein. While this term is appropriate in that it moves the emphasis from "plan" to "planning", I do not see why the word "Master" should be placed in front of it. Without this, however, "Planning Approach to Planning" does not seem to be appropriate, either.

plan. Projects are completed "as they come," but they are integrated and interrelated within a framework of general principles of planning, acceptable to the community.

The planning process under such a concept can be compared to a chess game where the player moves his "men" on the chess-board as the game progresses. All the moves of the game are never determined before the game starts. Nevertheless, the moves of the game are not entirely devoid of logic and reasoning. First, the player has to abide by the rules of the game and, secondly, he is guided to some extent by the anticipated moves of his opponent. The more competent the player, the less are the chances that he takes on his opponent's anticipated moves. For most of the game he concentrates mainly on the next three or four moves ahead of time, and what is even more important, he has alternatives in mind just in case his expectations fail to materialize. Similarly, the planner helps to build up the pattern of the future community as time goes by, concentrating for the most part on the problems of the immediate future. He "knits in" the individual projects as they come so that they do not conflict with the existing assets of the community and are in conformity with the accepted principles of planning. His aims and objectives are as broad as the chess-player's aim: winning the game.

In the framework of such a concept, the primary function of planning is not "survey, analysis and plan" nor is it just "looking ahead", but rather to help a community to organize itself (for action on various projects) and to remove conflict and inconsistency. By doing this, planning achieves harmony and integration in a community but it leaves the way open to

free and creative initiative. It guides, unifies and inspires; but it does not command, regiment or thwart the development of a community.

The approach to planning as outlined above is not altogether new. On the municipal level it has been suggested in somewhat similar form for Edmonton, Alberta.² But perhaps the most successful application of this approach is found on the regional level -- in the case of the famous Tennessee Valley Authority. A brief description of the planning aspects of this project might be useful as an illustration.

The Tennessee Valley Authority was created by the President (Franklin D. Roosevelt) on May 18, 1933. As an administrative agency the TVA was charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory for the general, social and economic welfare of the nation. Soon after the TVA was established, the first Chairman of the Board of Directors, Dr. A. E. Morgan, considered it necessary to disclaim comprehensive planning powers for TVA.³

2 See following articles on the experience in Edmonton: Wiesman, B., "Interim Development," Community Planning Review, vol. III, No. 1, May 1953, pp. 21-26; Dant, N., "Edmonton: Practical Results of Planning Measures Since 1950," Community Planning Review, vol. IV, 1954, pp. 31-41; McDonald, H.R., "Edmonton Plans for the Future," Western Construction and Building, Dec., 1951; Dant, N., "Interim Development Control," Western Construction and Building, Nov. 1952; Dant, N., "How Edmonton Plans," Western Construction and Building, Dec., 1952.

3 Menhinick, H.K. and Durisch, L.L., "Tennessee Valley Authority: Planning in Operation," Town Planning Review, vol. XXIV, 1953-54, p. 144.

These powers were disclaimed not because of lack of authority but because of the firm belief that such an approach would be less fruitful for the harmonious development of the TVA area. The preparation of a master plan for an area of 40,000 square miles and affecting 3,000,000 people in seven states, would have been indeed difficult, if not impossible. Hence, the mammoth task of developing the TVA area, from its beginning to the present day, proceeded without ever having a master plan, in the sense of an overall "blueprint" for shaping the course of its economic and social development. David Lilienthal, one time chairman of the TVA, explained the absence of a master plan in the following words:

The reason the TVA plan is not available is that there is no such document. Nor is there one separate department set off by itself, where planners exercise their brains. This does not constitute our idea of planning ... Unified development as I have described the idea in action, is, in substance, the valley's synonym for planning ...⁴

And he continues:

Not one goal, but a direction. Not one plan, once and for all, but the conscious selection by the people of successive plans.⁵

It might be argued that the aims and objectives of TVA were so simple (as first stated in the President's message) that there was no need for a complete master plan. But such

⁴ Lilienthal, D.E., TVA: Democracy on the March, New York, Harper, 1953, pp. 207-208.

⁵ Ibid., p. 212.

an argument is easily refuted by considering the wide range of activities encompassed by the TVA. The following are some of these activities.⁶

1. Instituting a supergovernment, superior to the state and local authorities;
2. Taking over certain police powers;
3. Manufacturing (some for war purposes): Fertilizer (phosphates), ammonia, ammonia nitrate, calcium phosphate, calcium silicate, dehydrators, alumina, laminated wool;
4. Directing operation on a large area of farmland;
5. Promoting food processing and marketing associations;
6. Processing fish;
7. Constructing and operating river terminals;
8. Operating flood-control facilities;
9. Operating a malaria-control program;
10. Operating farmlands;
11. Lumbering;
12. Operating recreational facilities, including tourist cabins;
13. Readjusting families;
14. Renting houses;
15. Producing and selling electric power and energy;
16. Regulating electric rates of resale customers;
17. Loaning money;
18. Quarrying limestone;
19. Doing engineering work outside the TVA area, including Russia;

⁶ This list was originally compiled by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on May 29, 1944. See Taylor, J., Business and Government, New York, Barnes, 1952, pp. 211-12.

20. Experimenting with socialized medicine;
21. Engaging in freight-rate hearings;
22. Carrying on a wide variety of research, part of which is outside the TVA area;
23. Operating grocery stores and service stations;
24. Operating drugstores;
25. Operating domestic water-supply systems;
26. Operating schools;
27. Directing forestry, commercial, agricultural and health activities;
28. Doing construction on a large scale;
29. Operating navigation facilities;
30. Directing a plan for the unified development of the area, including the moving of industries in other areas to the TVA territory.

The successful carrying out of such complex and inter-related activities by the TVA which resulted in the harmonious development of the area, has clearly broken the myth of the master plan on a regional level.

In a sense, then, the Tennessee Valley does not represent a planned region, but rather, a planning region; an area in which forethought, guidance, and development is applied by many groups and communities to the problems of the region. In the words of Durish and Lowry:

A significant TVA decision with regard to regional planning was to reject the concept of a 'planned' region in favor of the idea of a 'planning' region ... to encourage the development of the planning function by scores of agencies and institutions in the region. TVA in effect rejected the idea of

itself providing a regional plan and sought to find its place in a region where 'planning' is the democratic task of many institutions and countless individuals.⁷

There is no reason why the TVA approach to regional planning cannot prove to be equally fruitful for small communities. But, for such an approach to be successful community planning at the local level must be thought of as an integral part of the total process of community development which, in turn, requires community organization. Seen in this context, community planning becomes a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Although it is difficult to draw a thick line between community organization, community planning and community development, it may be helpful to define these terms and outline what they stand for. Community organization can be defined as a process by which a community identifies its needs or objectives, orders (or ranks) these needs or objectives, develops the confidence and will to work at these needs or objectives, finds the resources (internal or external) to deal with these needs or objectives, takes action in respect to them, and in so doing extends and develops cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community.⁸

In order to take any concrete action in a small community, the need for effective organization cannot be over emphasized.

7 Durish, L.L. and Lowry, R.E., "The Scope and Content of Administrative Decision -- the TVA Illustration," Public Administration Review, vol. XIII, Autumn 1953, p. 225.

8 Ross, op. cit., p. 39. For further elaboration see pp. 39-50.

Before going into further discussion on this point, it is important to define the second aspect of the community development process, i.e., community planning. According to one definition, community planning in its local aspects is an activity of organized and representative community bodies that can act on behalf of the whole community or major segment of it. It is essentially a "matter of deliberately selecting goals and systematically implementing them."⁹ According to another authority, "... planning means exploring and studying together cooperatively. ..."¹⁰

Greater emphasis on the efforts of the community suggests that at the local level, planning is not merely the work of the "master artist" which the myth of the master plan seems to imply. One is dealing with human beings with all their strengths and weaknesses, habits, attitudes and a variety of peculiar characteristics. The planner's primary task is not to make a plan for the local community but to encourage its members to decide for themselves what in their opinion is most important. The production of a paper solution, if any, must come after and not before the people of a small community are convinced of the needs, and if possible, agree upon the appropriate course of action to be taken.

9 Hillman, Arthur, Community Organization and Planning, McMillan, 1950, p. IX. See also Sanderson, D. and Polson, Rural Community Organization, New York, Wiley, 1939, p. 6; Johns, R., and De Marche, Community Organization and Agency Responsibility, New York, Association Press, 1951, pp. 77-80.

10 Weil, F.L., quoted by Johns, R. and De Marche D., op. cit., p. 76.

Definition of "community development" is a highly controversial matter but it is generally agreed that social change is one thing and social development another. The former is natural and spontaneous and the latter is conscious and deliberate. This, however, does not mean that the planner could be justified in determining the goal of a community (even if he could persuade the people to adopt these goals). Speaking about the underdeveloped countries, H.S. Frankel states:

... development depends not on the abstract ... goals of and the more or less enforced decisions by, a cadre of planners, but on the piecemeal adaptation of individuals to goals which emerge but slowly and become clearer only as those individuals work with the means at their disposal; as they themselves become aware, in the process of doing, of what can and ought to be done next.¹¹

Unfortunately, community development is more often thought of as a problem of promoting material changes rather than as a problem of values and human relations. Part of the reason for this attitude is the materialistic nature of our society; in addition it is due to the concept of formal planning which is considered much more closely related to physical sciences, such as engineering and psychology. What is even more deplorable is that even if the material goals are recognized as desirable, little thought is given to the possibility of achieving these goals by means of social sciences.

¹¹ Frankel, H.S., The Economic Impact on Underdeveloped Societies, Blackwell, Oxford, 1953, p. 95.

See also Ruopp, Phillips (ed.), Approaches to Community Development, The Hague, Hoeve, 1953, pp. 16, 18 and 19.

What, then, is the role of the planner in community development? Is the planner's job done if he provides a community with a "good" master plan? The answer to this question surely must be a negative one. As an employee of the community (not merely the council) and as a member of a recognized profession, the planner has a moral responsibility to get things done and not merely to produce paper plans. Now, this puts the planner in an unfortunate position if the community for which he is planning is not ready to adopt and implement his proposals. Hence, the planner has a legitimate and, in some cases, necessary role to play in helping the community to prepare for planning action. But as Louis Wirth once said, "the sociological studies that have accumulated during the last few decades should have taught us that communities, like personalities, are living individualities and hence resist the attempts that are so often made to squeeze them into arbitrary molds."¹² Furthermore, "consistent use of highly specialized bodies to deal with problems of the community moves the citizen farther and farther away from the point where he can have anything effective to say about the conditions under which he is to live and work. The result of this process is, of course, disintegration of the community as an association to which one belongs in a meaningful way and for which one feels responsible."¹³ It would appear, then, that the primary responsibility for planning

¹² Wirth, Louis, in "Preface" to Hillman, A., Community Organization and Planning, MacMillan, 1950, p. XVII.

¹³ Ross, op. cit., p. 32.

action must remain in the community. The planner's role should be a secondary one of helping the community to discover and define its goals. The will of the people must precede initiation of a programme of action directed towards achieving planning aims. The aims, of course, will differ from community to community but in general terms may be defined as achievement of "optimum use of resources and the rational integration of community life."¹⁴

Having defined, in general terms, the process of community development, it is necessary to discuss the approach which might be taken to it in small British Columbia communities.

One of the first requirements for effective community action is some incentive for greater participation of the local people in community activities. The municipal council usually is too busy with the day to day problems of the community and hardly has the time to deal effectively with planning matters. Besides, there is often a huge gap between municipal responsibility and municipal power, and even if planning has been accepted as a responsibility of the municipal council, this does not mean that the council is the best body to solve planning problems. This is especially true in a rural community where the ablest and most devoted members of the community are not often found in the municipal hall.

¹⁴ Wirth, Louis, "Human Ecology," American Journal of Sociology, May 1945, pp. 483-488.

While studying the American democracy, more than a hundred years ago, Tocqueville was greatly impressed by the voluntary aspects of American life, especially the way people complete projects "without a single reference to any bureaucracy or to any official agency." He concluded that "the health of a democratic society may be measured by the quantity of services performed by its citizens."¹⁵ This statement is still valid in many small communities. In every community there are people who never sought a municipal office but who have done a great deal of work for the community. Allowing people to carry on with voluntary activities gives them a sense of power and worthwhileness in the community. Most of the voluntary work is likely to be done through clubs and organizations but there might be some individuals who prefer to work alone. According to Murray Ross, "... the community itself must struggle and strive to deal with its own conception of its needs ... in doing this the community can increase its capacity to deal not only with these problems but with many other problems as they arise."¹⁶

Small communities, as a rule, are very poorly organized, although individual residents may be highly appropriate potential community workers. Hence, some kind of organization is necessary. And in so far as the responsibility of the planner is

15 Tocqueville, Alex, quoted by Lindeman, E.C., in "The Volunteer, Democracy's Indispensable Asset," Current Trends in Community Organization, Ottawa, Canadian Welfare Council, 1946, p.21.

16 Ross, op. cit., p. 60. See also p. 36.

to "get things done" (and not merely to produce paper plans), he has a legitimate role for strengthening existing organizations, and if necessary, creating new ones in order to promote planning. The need for organizational work was stressed by Catherine Bauer when she said:

... in a restless democracy it is far more important to have strong friends than not to have enemies ... the progressive planners ... had better learn how to do a little organization and education at the neighbourhood level themselves.¹⁷

What type of organization would be best suited for the development of a particular community, again, will vary from community to community but it is safe to say that everyone who has a stake in the community should be given an opportunity to express his opinion and take part in the development of the community. Although planners in general seem to recognize the importance of allowing local people to participate in the decisions affecting them, too often their idea of "participation" is limited to answering questionnaires or attending public hearings. This is neither the true expression of the interests of the people nor an effective motivating force to encourage greater participation in the activities of the community. Every group and every individual is, at some time, discontented with something specific in the community, e.g., the lack of a school, poor condition of roads or unsatisfactory sewer service. It is better from the standpoint of the health of the individual and the

¹⁷ Bauer, Catherine, "Good Neighbourhoods," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 1945, 252:114.

community for discontent to be specific rather than general¹⁸ if an opportunity could be taken to remedy the situation soon after the discontent reaches its peak because at that time the individual or the group is willing "to do something about it." Furthermore, some organizations may find it more convenient to follow the pattern of "withdrawal and return." They may prefer to complete one project, take time to celebrate it, to relax and meditate before returning to another one. Such a pattern may prove to be more practical in a small community than a steady process implied by a long-range master plan. "The important thing is in the beginning to get the various organizations to work together in joint community projects, rather than to spend too much time in trying to work out the best type of organization or to give much attention to long-time planning. The need for long-time planning may better evolve out of the situation, when it will be felt as a real need and will have better support."¹⁹

Effective support for community developments may, thus, be obtained only by satisfying the interests of each group. Development of cooperative action among various groups is not a problem which could be solved overnight. It must be solved at a pace which various groups find acceptable and comfortable.

Completed projects, however small, can be used as corner stones for future action in the community, for a community can

¹⁸ Ross, op. cit., p. 162.

¹⁹ Sanderson and Polson, op. cit., p; 234. See also Lash, H.N. Community Planning News, November 5, 1954, p. 6.

learn a great deal by working on small projects and is often able to extend the scope and range of the problems with which it can deal in the future. Communities in underdeveloped countries have often proven this point by using "pilot projects" with modest and attainable goals for the immediate future. Here again, the planner plays a critical role in coordinating the activities of various groups. It is very unlikely that his efforts will be entirely successful in achieving a complete integration of the projects and programmes. But that is hardly to be regretted for, as Henry Churchill once said, a reasonable amount of confusion and the opportunity for freedom of action will probably do more good than harm to the community. ²⁰

Nevertheless, it is important that an attempt should be made to coordinate the activities of various groups in order to avoid chaos and confusion in the community. The planner alone, of course, cannot hope to perform this task. He must work in conjunction with an influential group in the community. In this connection, British Columbia has a great deal to learn from the experience of communities in other areas and countries that have achieved their planning aims through voluntary organization and cooperation on the community level. Perhaps it would be useful to discuss some of these examples. Although the examples discussed here are not necessarily of small communities, the need and opportunities for such an approach is just as important in small communities as it is in large ones.

²⁰ Churchill, Henry, quoted by Marx, H.L., in Community Planning, New York, Wilson, 1956, p. 85.

An interesting example is found in Cleveland, Ohio, where the Post-War Planning Council of Greater Cleveland emerged as a result of a meeting of about 200 community leaders representing government, business, labour, professional and other special interests agencies. The 17-member executive community includes the president of the city council, chairman of the county board, chairman of the Cleveland City Planning Commission, and other public officials as well as representatives from labour, business, and other fields. The council operates through a small staff assisted by panels of citizens and officials on public works; on transportation, traffic and transit; on the needs of returning servicemen; on housing and blighted areas; on social services; on labour-management relations; on interracial relations; on public finance and taxation; on education and culture; and on private enterprise.

Examples of similar councils are found in Louisville; Syracuse; Sunflower, Kansas; Manitowoc, Wisconsin; Pittsburgh and Greendale.²¹

On a smaller scale, there is the example of Alexandria, Ohio, where a community of only about four hundred and fifty people organized a group called "The Alexandria Community Council." It represents various organizations in the community with an aim "to further through cooperative enterprise any plan for community betterment." Without preparing a "master plan", the

21 Hillman, op. cit., pp. 102-129.

council has contributed a great deal towards the development of the community.²²

Another example is found in Modesto, California. Late in 1953 the city council appointed a "Forward Modesto Committee", 53 local citizens representing a cross-section of the community. Its job was to answer two questions: what kind of community do we want? What must we do to get it? The answers provided to these questions were far more practical, realistic and acceptable to the community than the municipal council could ever hope to produce if it had gone ahead on its own.²³

An extreme case of community development, through the voluntary effort of the citizens, is found in the underdeveloped countries. In many of the Indian villages, for example, there has never been a local government. The whole business of the village is carried by the village Panchayat (usually a voluntary organization representing diverse interest groups and influential individuals in the village) with some assistance from the senior governments. This assistance is based upon the firm conviction that more lasting progress in the villages can be achieved by building upon existing institutions, making full use of the local techniques and giving maximum recognition to the

22 Hillman, op. cit., p. 51.

23 Marx, Community Planning, pp. 12-14.

habits, attitudes, customs and traditions of the people rather than by attempting to transplant spectacular but unfamiliar methods. An excellent illustration of this approach is found in the creation and operation of community development projects in India. Under this programme some 120,000 villages, about a fourth of the rural population, are designated for community development. In 70,000 of these villages, extension services are being established for 49 million people as part of an intensive programme. Thirty-four centers have been organized to train extension workers who are being chosen from the village people.²⁴

The essential point to keep in mind while dealing with small communities, is that loyalty of the individual is more likely to be given to the special interest groups to which he belongs and not to the community as a whole. Having recognized this, the individual should be given an opportunity to contribute to the development of the community in his own way. For this purpose, the coordinating council should welcome groups even if they are only remotely related to community planning. One group, for example, may be primarily concerned with the problem of juvenile delinquency, but if it could be shown to this group that there is a relationship between juvenile delinquency and poor housing conditions, it may be willing to give support to a

24 For an excellent summary of one of the projects in United Provinces, India, see Goswami, U.L. and Roy, S.C., "India" in Ruopp, P., Approaches to Community Development, The Hague, Bandung, Hoeve, 1953, pp. 299-317.

campaign for the improvement of housing conditions in the community.

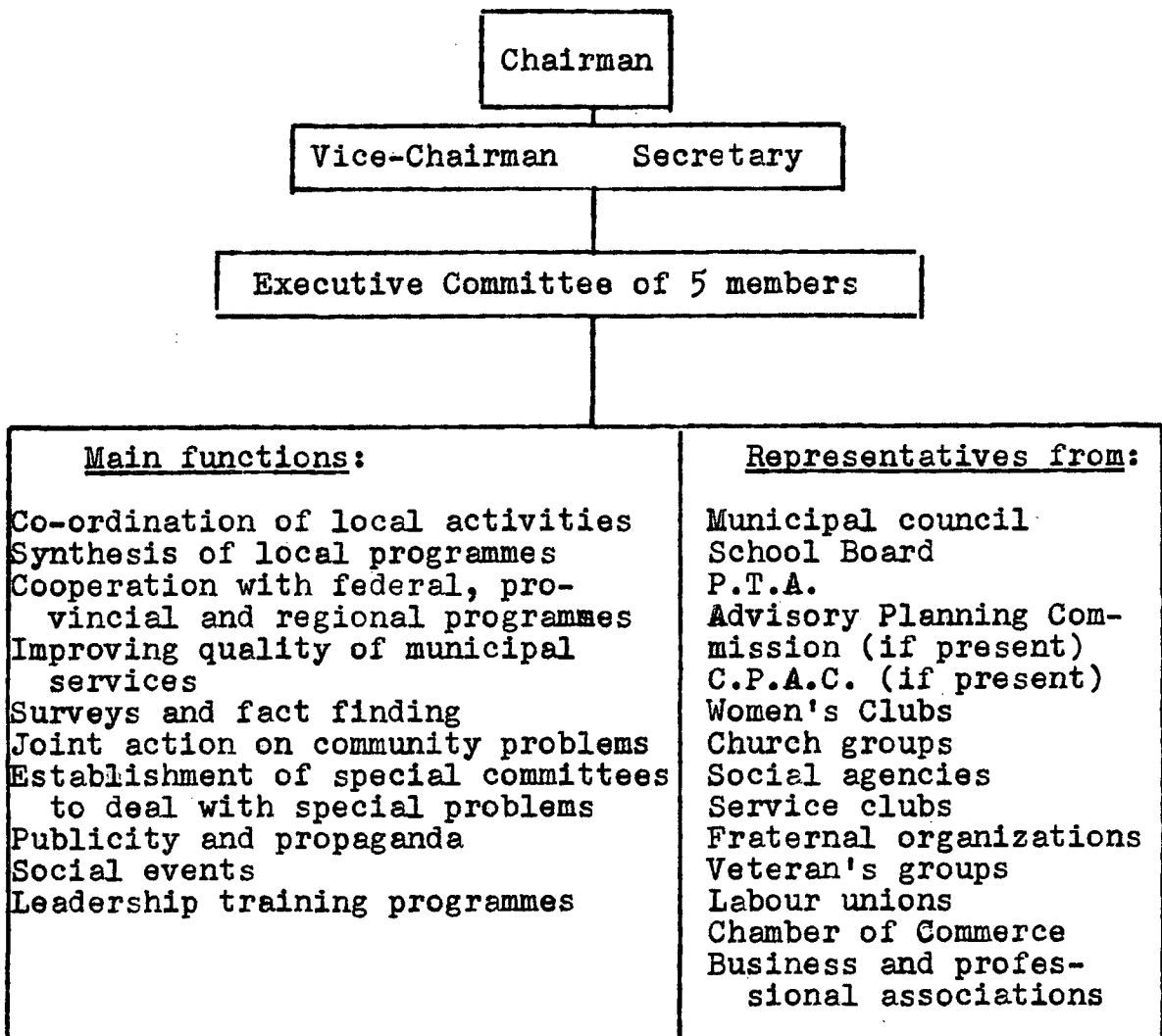
Local community councils can prove to be helpful not only through their own efforts but also by creating proper atmosphere for the expert to deal with special problems. Experience has shown that services of the expert could be much more useful for the community if an informal serious study has been made by the community previous to his visit. The motto found in many books and bulletins on community planning: "First get an expert and have him make a study", is not only expensive but it is also of doubtful wisdom. "It makes a community feel that what it needs is to have something done to it, rather than to work at its own problems; unless some understanding of community issues exists in the community before the expert comes, he will take most of his knowledge away with him, and the community will be little better off. If expert guidance is secured at the beginning of a community study, its aim should be to help the community study their own problem."²⁵

A suggestion as to what the composition and functions of a community council for small communities in British Columbia might be is shown in Chart I. Since such a community council is a voluntary body, representing diverse interest groups, its emphasis should be on education rather than legislation and

²⁵ Morgan, A.E., The Small Community, New York, Harper, 1942.

CHART I

Suggested Composition and Functions of A Community Council for Small Communities in British Columbia



compulsion. Participation in regional conferences and sending delegates for short training programmes has proven to be highly useful in many cases. In British Columbia, a start has already been made by the Extension Department of the University of British Columbia. Seminars on community leadership, human relations and short courses in Community Planning sponsored by this department have stirred a spirit of planning consciousness in many communities.

The benefits to be derived from the short course in Community Planning (held for one week every spring at the University of British Columbia under the sponsorship of the Department of University Extension, The Community Planning Association of Canada, the School of Architecture and Graduate Course in Community and Regional Planning) may be cited as an example. This course is designed to provide persons working in municipal government, members of advisory planning commissions, architects, engineers and others concerned with community development, with some knowledge of the approach, principles, methods and problems of community planning. One municipal employee who attended one of these courses returned to his municipality and successfully worked out a traffic pattern for his community. His approach was indeed simple but useful. Traffic congestion and automobile accidents at several points in the municipality had become a matter of deep concern not only to himself but to several other members of the community. But nobody in the community knew what to do about it. After a few days training

at the University he developed a keen interest in the problem of traffic direction and did some research on the subject. In a few days after his return, he got permission from the municipal council "to play around" with the idea. He plotted the trouble spots on a map with the help of the local police, took traffic counts on strategic points with the help of the local school children and made a detailed land use survey of the community with the help of the municipal assessor. After a careful analysis of this information, he worked out a practical solution for traffic control and traffic direction in the community. His proposals included a traffic light at one intersection; several stop signs, "slow" signs and "no entrance" signs; and a proposal for a one-way street. Not only was this a useful contribution to the community but it was also a "fascinating hobby" for the man who did all the work without charging the community a cent for his services!

Important as the role of the University is, its programme for helping small communities needs to be expanded to cover a much wider range of subjects and a much greater emphasis on community organization and development. What an expanded programme for the participation of the University can do in small communities, is well illustrated in the experience of several communities in the United States.²⁶

Under a programme called "The Citizen and the Community", Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa, offers a summer course every

²⁶ Tate, H.C., Building a Better Home Town, New York, Harper, 1954, pp. 85-158.

year. The first twelve meetings are devoted to a series of orientation lectures dealing with community development. Next, the students are "farmed out" to various community organizations such as the Community Chest, the Boy Scouts, the Local Chamber of Commerce and the Planning Commission. During the last few weeks of the course, the students are brought back into the classroom to compare the different types of community training they received.

In addition, members of the college staff, in cooperation with the Mid-American Foundation, carry out various types of surveys. Some of the recent examples include: "Survey of the Midwest," "Small Business," "Agricultural Economy," and "Rural Sociology."

The community development programme of the Illinois College at Jacksonville, Illinois, is another remarkable example. The purpose of the programme is (1) to assist communities to develop their resources and to meet their problems and needs through group action; (2) to provide a means by which the youth of the communities may have the interest and help of their neighbourhoods in becoming useful citizens; (3) to develop an awareness in students of community problems and the problems of individual persons in the community and to train students in the methods and techniques of meeting these problems as responsible citizens.

The college sets forth its philosophy underlying the programme in these terms: (1) The conviction that the revitalization of small communities is essential to the preservation of

democracy; (2) the belief that people in the neighbourhoods and communities can solve more of their problems if the situation is provided in which individual initiative can assert itself; (3) the actual interconnection of the basic problems of any society, which is seen most clearly at the level of the community and met most effectively through the primary group; (4) the realization that in the face of basic problems, trained persons are needed to work closely with groups and individuals to stimulate, discuss, and share with them the resolution of those problems; (5) the conviction that the participation of persons in a neighbourhood group is essential to a programme of delinquency prevention in the neighbourhood; (6) the belief that a major educational responsibility of a college seeking to serve its constituency is to make students aware of the importance of the community, and for the sake of providing continuing leadership to train them in the methods of solving basic social problems, since the dynamic approach to personal and group relations is the essential task of education.

The method used by the college is to send students out into the various surrounding communities to work with local groups. The individual student's efforts are concentrated in the small community and his ultimate aims are toward a more wholesome, unified, independent community. He works in conjunction with any group that is interested in solving some of its basic problems.

The college has had community development programmes of this character in nine communities. Students have dealt at first hand with problems in street improvements, recreation, community directory development, city hall renovation, acquisition of school band uniforms, fire house construction, economic development, park district planning, recruiting physicians, enforcing traffic laws, establishing public dumping grounds, instituting clean-up days, procuring playground equipment, organizing fire districts, setting up youth centers, and helping procure a community center building. In each case the students have worked in the community with the citizens in coping with these problems.

Once we have recognized that planning to be successful must be concentrated at the grass-roots, and that the grass-roots of a democracy are the people, we must set ourselves to cultivate and organize the grass-roots. Such an approach involves education and cooperation as described above. Translated into the language of the present thesis, it means: unless drastic changes are made in the fundamental political, financial and social conditions of small communities in British Columbia, the traditional approach of "Survey, analysis and plan" must be replaced by a new approach of "Organization, planning and action."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Armstrong, Alan, in Food for Thought, Canadian Association for Adult Education, February, 1953.
- British Columbia Department of Municipal Affairs, Municipal Statistics for the Year Ending March 31, 1956, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1957.
- British Columbia Municipal Act 1957, Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1957.
- Bassett, E.M., The Master Plan, New York, Russell Sage, 1938.
- Bauer, Catherine, "Economic Progress and Living Conditions," Town Planning Review, vol. XXVI, 1953-54.
- Bend City Planning Commission, The Bend Area, Bend, Oregon, 1956.
- Bettman, A., City and Regional Planning Papers, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946.
- Black, R., Planning for the Small American City, Public Administration Service, 1944.
- Bland, John, Planning Suggestions for Canadian Communities, Montreal, Canadian Chamber of Commerce, 1949.
- Bristol City Planning Commission, Report of the Bristol Civic Development Committee, Bristol, Conn., 1956.
- Canada, British North America Act.
- Canada, Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects, Ottawa, 1956 (Preliminary report).
- Crawford, K.G., Canadian Municipal Government, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1954.
- Chelsea Planning Board, First Report on a General Plan for Chelsea, Chelsea, Mass., 1955.
- Community Planning Association of Canada, Community Planning News, no. 6, 1957.
- Haar, C.M., "The Contents of the General Plan: A Glance at History," Journal of American Institute of Planning, vol. 21, nos. 2-3, Spring-summer, 1955, pp. 66-70.

- Haar, C.M., "The Master Plan: An Impermanent Constitution," Law and Contemporary Problems, Duke University Press, School of Law, vol. XX, No. 3, Summer 1955.
- Hayward, City of: Hayward Prepares a Master Plan for Future Development, Hayward, 1953.
- Hillman, A., Community Organization and Planning, New York, McMillan, 1956.
- Johns, R.E., and De Marche, D.E., Community Organization and Agency Responsibility, New York, Association Press, 1951.
- International City Managers' Association, Local Planning Administration, Chicago, Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, 1950.
- Kolb, J.H. and Brunner, E., A Study of Rural Society, New York, Houghton, 1952.
- Lane, W.T., Planning and the Law in B.C., Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 1952.
- Lash, H.N., "Planning Administration in Small Towns," Community Planning News, no. 5, 1954.
- Lash, H.N., "Small Town Planning Problems," Planning, 1955, Montreal, ASPO, 1955, 178-81.
- Lepasky, A., Administration, New York, Knopf, 1952.
- Lillienthal, D.E., TVA: Democracy on the March, New York, Harper, 1954.
- Lindeman, E.C., "The Volunteer, Democracy's Indispensable Asset," Current Trends in Community Organization, Ottawa, Canadian Welfare Council, 1946.
- Marx, H.L., Community Planning, New York, Wilson, 1956.
- McCallum, I.R.M., Physical Planning, London, Architecture Press, 1945.
- Mead, Margaret (ed.), Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, Paris, UNESCO, 1953.
- Menhinick, H.K. and Durisch, L.L., "Tennessee Valley Authority: Planning in Operation," Town Planning Review, vol. XXIV, 1953-54, pp. 116-45.

- Milner, J.B., "Introduction to Master Plan Legislation," The Canadian Bar Review, vol. XXXVI, no. 10, December 1957, pp. 1125-1175.
- Morgan, A.E., The Small Community, New York, Harper, 1942.
- Nelson, L., Rural Society, New York, American. 1955.
- Newfoundland, Urban and Rural Planning Act, 1953, St. John's, Queen's Printer, 1953.
- Oberlander, H.P., and Cave, R.J., Should Kelowna Extend Its Boundaries? Kelowna, 1957.
- Quincy Planning Commission, Comprehensive Plan for Quincy, Quincy, Washington, 1956.
- Riesman, D., "Some Observations on Community Plans and Utopia," Yale Law Journal, vol. 57, December 1947, pp. 174-200.
- Robinson, I.M., "Planning for Small Communities in B.C.," Community Planning Review, vol. 5, No. 1, March 1955, pp. 10-16.
- Ross, M.G., Community Organization, New York, Harper, 1955.
- Ruopp, R. (ed.), Approaches to Community Development, The Hague, Hoeve, 1953.
- Sanderson, E.D., and Polson, R.A., Rural Community Organization, New York, Wiley, 1939.
- Seligman, E.R., Essays in Taxation, New York, MacMillan, 1921.
- Selznick, P., TVA and the Grass Roots, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949.
- Smith, T.L., Sociology of Rural Life, New York, Harper, 1953.
- Tate, H.C., Building a Better Home Town, New York, Harper, 1954.
- Taylor, J., Business and Government, New York, Barnes, 1952.
- Tugwell, R.G., The Place of Planning in Society, San Juan, Puerto Rico Planning Board, 1954.
- Tugwell, R.G., A Study of Planning as a Scientific Endeavour, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- University of British Columbia, Department of Extension, Extension Course in Municipal Administration IInd Year, Vancouver, Best Mimeograph, 1953.

University of California, Department of City and Regional Planning, Interim General Plan for Berkeley, Berkeley, California, 1952.

University of Liverpool, Department of Social Sciences, Social Aspects of a Town Development Plan, Birkenhead, 1951.

Walker, R.A., Planning Function in Urban Government, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941.

Wirth, Louis, "Human Ecology," American Journal of Sociology, May 1945, pp. 483-88.

APPENDIX

List of Small Communities in British Columbia --
with population of 200-5,000 (in 1951 or 1956)

A. Cities

1956		1956	
<u>Name</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Population</u>
Alberni	3,947	Kaslo	669
Armstrong	1,197	Ladysmith	2,107
Courtenay	3,025	Langley	2,131
Cranbrook	4,562	Merritt	1,790
Cumberland	1,039	Port Coquitlam	4,632
Duncan	3,247	Port Moody	2,713
Enderby	965	Revelstoke	3,469
Fernie	2,808	Rossland	4,344
Grand Forks	1,995	Salmon Arm	1,344
Greenwood	815	Slocan	326

B. Districts

1956			
<u>Name</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Population</u>
Central Saanich	2,477	Pitt Meadows	1,652
Coldstream	1,613	Salmon Arm	3,100
Fraser Mills	216	Spallumcheen	1,937
Glenmore	1,287	Sumas	4,505
Kent	1,989	Summerland	3,893
Mission	4,711	Tadanac	325
Peachland	705		

/continued

APPENDIX - cont.

C. Villages

<u>Name</u>	<u>1956 Population</u>
Abbotsford	830
Alert Bay	695
Ashcroft	805
Burns Lake	1,016
Campbell River	3,069
Castlegar	1,705
Chapman Camp	567
Comox	1,151
Creston	1,844
Fort St. James	615
Fort St. John	1,908
Fruitvale	870
Gibsons Landing	990
Harrison Hot Springs	613
Hazelton	279
Hope	2,226
Invermere	543
Keremeos	457
Kinnaird	1,305
Lake Cowichan	1,949
Lilloet	1,083
Lumby	786
Lytton	329
McBride	582
Marysville	930

<u>Name</u>	<u>1956 Population</u>
Mission City	3,010
Montrose	707
New Denver	736
North Kamloops	4,398
Oliver	1,147
Osoyoos	860
Parksville	1,112
Pouce Coupe	585
Princeton	2,245
Qualicum Beach	726
Quesnel	4,384
Salmo	846
Sechelt	439
Sidney	1,371
Silverton	347
Smithers	1,962
Squamish	1,292
Stewart	435
Telkwa	580
Terrace	1,473
Tofino	389
Ucluelet	520
Vanderhoof	1,085
Warfield	2,051
Williams Lake	1,790

D. Unincorporated Places

<u>Name</u>	<u>1951 Population</u>
Aberdeen	233
Agassix	218
Albert Head	306
Aldergrove	276
Allenby	279
Allison Harbour	304
Anutz Lake	322
Bamfield	324
Bankhead	380

<u>Name</u>	<u>1951 Population</u>
Beaverdell	271
Beaverfalls	203
Bella Coola	286
Black Creek	271
Blainey	229
Blewett	272
Blubber Bay	263
Blue River	286
Bonnington Falls	233

D. Unincorporated Places (cont.)

Name	1951 Population	Name	1951 Population
Boston Bar	290	Fernie Annex	238
Bowen Island	269	Field	522
Bradian	279	Fort Langley	403
Braefoot	214	Fort Nelson	353
Bralorne	643	Fort St. James	319
Brentwood	609	Fort Steele	349
Bridesville	240	Fruitova	478
Brilliant	746	Gabriola Island	326
Britannia Beach	1,366	Galiano	291
Broclehurst	674	Galloway	233
Canal Flats	311	Giscome	377
Canoe	359	Glen Lake	313
Cawston	338	Goat River Bottom	206
Caycuse	326	Golden	831
Celista	233	Gordon River	275
Centre Fort George	514	Grandview Heights	282
Chase	597	Grantham	225
Chase River	364	Great Central	592
Chemainus	1,661	Grindrod	374
Christina Lake	220	Hagensborg	260
Clinton	377	Halfmoon Bay	341
Cloverdale	756	Halston	271
Coal Harbour	216	Hammond	649
Colebrook	282	Haney	1,522
Columbia Gardens	246	Happy Valley	333
Colwood	608	Harrison Lake	235
Coombs	401	Hatzig	291
Copper Mountain	1,061	Hedley	641
Cordova Bay	720	Hillier's	242
Cowichan	461	Holberg	440
Crescent	274	Honeymoon Bay	602
Crescent Valley	492	Houston	535
Crofton	329	Ioco	333
Dashwood	250	James Island	265
Decker Lake	254	Kaleden	269
Deep Cove	522	Kelsey Bay	339
Deroche	262	Kersley	229
East Creston	259	Ladner	663
East Kelowna	428	Lamming Mills	207
East Wellington	233	Langford Station	964
Edgewater	383	Langley Prairie	660
Elk Lake	359	Lantzville	286
Erickson	608	Lasqueti Island	212
Errington	270	Lorne	464
Falk Land	348	Malkwa	226
Fanny Bay	242	Mara	293

Name	1951 Population	Name	1951 Population
Masset	227	Rosemount	331
Matsqui	241	Royal Oak	465
Mayne Island	234	Royston	372
Meschie Lake	438	Rutland	1,976
Metchosin	479	Sahtlam	237
Michel	593	Sandspit	257
Middletown	232	Sandwich	629
Midway	239	Saseenos	301
Nakusp	1,036	Sayward	277
Namu	257	Selm Park	281
Nanoose	400	Shoreacres	200
Naramata	614	Sicamous	371
Natal	1,302	Silver Creek	219
Nickel Plate	213	Sointula	404
North Bend	305	Sooke	814
North Creston	337	South Kelowna	248
Northfield	280	South Revelstoke	220
Notch Hill	205	South Slocan	304
Ocean Falls	2,825	South Wellington	324
Akanagan Falls	209	Sproat Lake	376
Okanagan Mission	648	Stillwater	277
O.K. Center	272	Tahsis	231
Oyama	398	Telkwa	466
Oyster Bay	399	Thrums	218
Pass Creek	338	Tulsequah	217
Peardonville	481	Tynehead	305
Penny	249	Vananda	365
Pineview	503	Wardner	340
Port Alice	1,038	Wellington	365
Port Edward	388	Wells	231
Port Hardy	369	Wesbridge	299
Port Kells	248	West Fernie	433
Port McNeil	299	West Grand Forks	327
Port Mellon	250	West Quesnel	1,076
Port Renfrew	470	Willwood Heights	818
Powell River	2,074	Willow Point	342
Premier	204	Willow River	271
Proctor	216	Wilson Creek	311
Quamichan	207	Windermere	237
Quarterway	251	Winfield	1,231
Quathiaski Cove	271	Woodfibre	548
Queen Charlotte	246	Woss Lake	401
River Jordan	305	Wynndel	501
Roberts Creek	556	Yale	239
Rock Creek	323	Yarrow	1,301
Rocle Addition	342	Youbou	846
Rosedale	315		

Sources: (1) B.C. Dept. of Municipal Affairs, Municipal Statistics Year Ending Dec. 31, 1956. Victoria, Queens Printer, 1957
 (2) Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Special Tabulation for Unincorporated Places, 1941 and 1951.