RESOURCE-BASED SINGLE INDUSTRY COMMUNITIES: A UNIT OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION BASED ON THE THEORIES OF MAURITZ JOHNSON AND THE CRITERIA OF THE CANADA STUDIES FOUNDATION

LENORA PERRY FAGAN

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to develop a unit of curriculum and instruction on resource-based single industry communities using the theories of Mauritz Johnson and the criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation. The unit which has been developed could be used as a supplement to the existing social studies programs for upper high school students.

The unit is multimedia in nature and includes a student text, a teacher's manual, wall charts, overhead transparencies, an audio tape, and suggested activities. The "curriculum," or matrix of intended learning outcomes for the unit, was drawn from several areas of the social sciences -- history, geography, sociology, anthropology, and economics -- and from non-disciplined knowledge contained in magazine articles, newspapers, union records, company records, and conversations with various individuals having some knowledge of single industry communities.

At various stages in the development of the unit subject matter specialists, social studies experts and audio-visual specialists were consulted and their suggestions were incorporated into the unit. Fry's Readability Formula (1968) was applied to the student text to ascertain whether or not the reading level was suitable for upper high school students, and Anderson's "Guiding Questions" (1972) were used throughout to assure that Johnson's Theories (1967; 1969) were being adhered to. Finally, it was placed in six classrooms in the Gander area -- four grade ten and two grade eleven -- for field testing. In three grade ten classes the unit was taught in totality, and in three others only short sections

were used. Results of the formative evaluation showed that the unit was readable, teachable, and valid.

The following conclusions were drawn from the study:

1. Johnson's theories, if used in conjunction with some criteria for selection and organization, can provide a workable model for curriculum and instructional development.
2. The criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation can provide much guidance for the inexperienced developer who wishes to produce curriculum and instruction materials on Canadian topics.
3. The unit can be successfully taught in urban and rural Newfoundland classrooms by teachers who have had no inservice training or background study on the topic of single industry communities.

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INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

This study was undertaken for the purpose of developing a unit of curriculum and instruction on resource-based single industry communities using the theories of Mauritz Johnson (1967; 1969) to provide the theoretical framework and the criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation (Hodgetts, 1968; Massey, 1971; Carswell, 1972; Tomkins, 1972)[1] to provide the guidelines for selection of content and teaching strategies. This unit is to be used in social studies programs for upper high school students in Newfoundland.

PROBLEM

The main problem of this study consisted of answering a number of questions concerning the development of the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities.

Major Questions

(a) Can Johnson's theories be used as the theoretical framework on which to build a unit of curriculum and instruction on resource-based single

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[1]The writings of Hodgetts and Massey do not deal directly with the Canada Studies Foundation criteria. However, most of their recommendations for improving the state of Canadian studies in our nation's schools have been utilized by the Canada Studies Foundation.

industry communities?

(b) Can the criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation be incorporated into the development of a unit of curriculum and instruction on resource-based single industry communities.

Minor Questions

(a) Can this unit of curriculum and instruction be successfully taught to the specified population?

(b) Can this unit of curriculum and instruction be successfully taught by teachers who have had no inservice training in the teaching of this unit?

RATIONALE

The development of social studies material having an inter-disciplinary approach, a totally Canadian focus, and a solid grounding in recent curriculum and instructional development theory is a relatively new phenomenon in this country (Hodgetts, 1968; Massey, 1971; Miller and Dhand, 1973). Even after major changes had taken place in other areas of the school's program of studies, the approach to teaching and developing social studies material remained the same as it had for generations (Hodgetts, 1968; Massey, 1971). The topic, single industry communities, is only one of the many important Canadian concerns which should be studied and made appropriate for use in the social studies classroom.

In the past quarter of a century, there have been several investigations into the state of Canadian studies in our nation's schools which have shown some of the weaknesses of social studies programs. Studies conducted as far back as the middle of the 1940's showed that textbooks

were teaching prejudice and antagonism (Report of the Committee for the Study of Canadian History Textbooks, 1945). These early reports recommended wide range reforms with a view to fostering national unity. More than twenty years later when the preliminary report of Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1965) was published little had changed. It was pointed out in this report that a foreigner would have a completely different view of Canada depending on whether he read an English or a French textbook.

A study of education in eight provinces by Hilda Neatby (1953) bitterly attacked the social studies programs in these provinces and concluded that a great deal of social studies teaching was basically useless. Although she antagonized a large number of people, ten years later a study of the Toronto Board of Education and the University of Toronto reaffirmed her views. This study showed that "it is not at all self evident that much would necessarily be lost if history, as presently prescribed and taught, were dropped entirely from the curriculum" (Frye, 1962, p. 86).

The National History Project reported in 1968 that the teaching of Canadian content was particularly weak in our schools. Its findings suggested that most "administrators, inspectors, and far too many teachers, have not given serious consideration to the teaching of Canadian Studies, nor do they have a philosophical frame of reference on which to base their thinking" (Hodgetts, 1968, p. 6). As a result Canadian studies are burdened with a concentration of facts, figures and dates with little thought being given to understanding Canadian cultural development.

The criticism of Canadian studies did not end here, although the report of the National History Project perhaps had more impact on educators

than any of the earlier reports. For example, in 1971, Massey's report for the Curriculum Committee of the Council of Ministers of Education on the study of Canada, Canadians and life in Canada, supported the findings of the National History Project. In his report, Massey stated that there is scope for a much broader study of Canadian life with special emphasis on what is contemporary and significant in the lives of the students (Massey, 1971).

It appears that a country like Canada, which is multicultural, regionally diverse and divided, and almost totally exposed to external cultural and economic influences, should place severe demands upon its educational system to help its young citizens meet and understand the ways of life, attitudes, values and feelings of its diversity of peoples (CSF Annual Report, 1971).

The formation of the Canada Studies Foundation in 1970 constituted a recent attempt to meet some of the recognized needs of Canadian studies education. This organization, which grew out of the ideas publicized by Hodgetts and his predecessors, has chosen to involve educators across Canada in a process of decentralized curriculum development involving teachers, students and consultants working on what Hodgetts called "continuing Canadian concerns." Tomkins (1972) explained what is meant by "continuing Canadian concerns." He said that:

> Continuing implies both historic and contemporary (as well as future) dimensions to Canadian Studies, an approach which emphasizes historical perspective and modern relevance while avoiding the twin pitfalls of antiquarianism and a faddish presentism. Canadian is merely a descriptive geographic term. . . . Concerns include issues, themes, topics and problems that have an interest for Canadians because they relate to matters having both public and private and positive as well as negative aspects and are significant to the nature, growth and survival of Canadian society.

> Continuing Canadian concerns are not constrained by the boundaries of the academic disciplines although the latter can make essential contributions to clarifying such perennial issues as urbanization, technological change, French-English relations, regionalism, cultural diversity and Canadian-American relations, to name but a few (p. 4).

As guidelines for the development of curriculum and instruction on these "continuing Canadian concerns," the Canada Studies Foundation has suggested that certain criteria be used. The Canada Studies Foundation criteria used in the development of Resource-Based Single Industry Communities were those which suggested that the material should:

1. help young Canadians become more knowledgeable about the complexities, challenges and opportunities of modern Canada and more intelligently concerned about its future;
2. strengthen civic and cultural life by encouraging a greater appreciation in the minds of students of other regions and other ethnic groups' value systems, aspirations and views of Canada;
3. be based on individual needs of students and the needs of Canadian society;
4. be multi-media in nature;
5. develop in the students the faculties of critical thinking, analytic judgment and problem solving ability;
6. develop in the students a conceptual understanding of the complex forces which have moulded, and are continuing to mould, their society; and
7. effectively demonstrate the interrelationships of the disciplines within the social studies.

(Hodgetts, 1968; Massey, 1971; Carswell, 1972; Tomkins, 1972)

At present the Canadian Studies Foundation is sponsoring a large number of projects, all using these criteria. To date, however, there is

no published unit of curriculum and instruction on single industry communities in Canada; yet, the impact of such communities is undisputed in this country. The topic, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, applies with equal relevance to all regions of Canada. There are a large number of such towns in every province except Prince Edward Island.

Single industry communities play an important role in the lives of many Canadians. A study of single industry towns by Lucas (1971) showed that there are more than 600 such communities in Canada with a total population of approximately one million. The lives of these people are directly influenced by the way of life, the economics, and the working conditions of these towns. And there are many others who depend on the wealth and resources of single industry communities to supply some of the raw materials and manufactured goods basic to Canadian needs. These towns, then, to some extent influence the life of nearly every person in Canada. This unit, however, does not deal with all types of single industry communities -- just the resource based ones. Resource-based communities make up most of the single industry communities in Canada. Resource-based communities of single industry are those dependent upon natural resources for their existence. Such communities would be dependent upon the mining, hydro and forestry industries.

The topic, single industry communities, is interdisciplinary by nature. The unit draws from the different disciplines of the social sciences -- history, geography, economics, sociology, anthropology, political science and social psychology -- which gives the students an opportunity to learn something about the different approaches which can be taken to such a topic. Such a complex topic can only be properly understood if an interdisciplinary approach is used. The broad scope of the unit

lends itself to the use of activities which will involve the students in inquiry, critical thinking and problem solving. This in turn should help students understand and appreciate the value systems and social development of the people who live in single industry communities. It also provides the students with an opportunity to see how single industry communities contribute to the total Canadian culture and heritage. In fact the topic is one which could fully incorporate all criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation.

As well as the specific problem of producing relevant Canadian studies material, there was the crucial problem of selecting a sound theoretical basis for development of curriculum and instructional units in the social studies. A theoretical base or framework is necessary to facilitate the selection, organization, and presentation of the subject matter and content. The ideal model should be comprehensive enough to guide the developer through the whole process of development from the criteria of selection to implementation. It should be flexible enough to allow the developer freedom to choose objectives, subject matter and teaching strategies relevant to the topic being considered. An extensive review of the literature in the area of curriculum and instruction theory has shown that the theories of Mauritz Johnson (1967; 1969) meet these criteria. He is one of the few people to have come up with a workable model suitable for developmental use in all areas of the school program. He uses a systems approach to development which incorporates recent ideas in education as expressed by educators such as Goodlad (1966; 1968), Eisner (1967a; 1967b), and Beauchamp (1968). Johnson's theories are now being widely used for development of curriculum and instruction units by the various projects of the Canada Studies Foundation. It has also been

successfully used by a graduate student at Memorial University to develop a unit of curriculum and instruction on the Maritime Archaic Indians (Cowan, 1973).

DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

(a) The study was limited to developing a unit on single industry communities.

(b) Only five single industry communities in Newfoundland were used to supply specific examples on such towns.

(c) The unit is suitable for use only in the upper high school classes.

(d) There was no summative evaluation of the unit.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

(a) A limited amount of scientific research has been done on single industry communities in Canada; thus, much of the knowledge on this subject is non-disciplined and subjective.

(b) There is a severe shortage of formal research on single industry communities in Newfoundland. Most of the information used has been gathered from magazines, company records, newspapers, union records, and discussions with various individuals. This type of information is often slanted, and the subjective opinion of the investigator was sometimes the only criterion for choosing material for inclusion or exclusion.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. Curriculum -- A structured series of intended learning outcomes.
2. Formative Evaluation -- Various types of evaluation which take place

throughout the entire developmental process.

3. Instruction -- The interaction processes which take place in the classroom. It consists of two sets of action -- that between the student and the environment manipulated by the teacher, and the interpersonal one between the student and the teacher.
4. Instructional Content -- This is a term referring to the intended learning outcomes and the instrumental content taken together.
5. Instrumental Content -- The object, event or action with which the students transact affectively, cognitively, and conatively. It is content not intended to be learned but to facilitate learning.
6. Teaching Strategies -- This refers to the way in which the teaching techniques are implemented, e.g. inductive or deductive strategies.
7. Teaching Techniques -- Ways of interacting with the students in the classroom, e.g. lecturing, grouping, or individual instruction. Part of the instrumental content.
8. Unit -- An organized collection of intended learning outcomes, instructional practices, learning activities, materials, ideas, and suggestions from which a teacher may select when working with a group of students on one topic of significance.
9. Social Studies -- This is the study of man's social relationships in all their variations, both past and present, a study which draws its substance from such disciplines of history, geography, anthropology, sociology, political science, and social psychology.
10. Upper High School Grades -- The upper two grades in the high school.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to develop a unit of curriculum and

instruction based on the theories of Mauritz Johnson and the criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation. This chapter has stated the problems of the study and attempted to justify having carried out the study. It has also listed some of the limitations of the study and defined some of the unfamiliar terms used in the study.

Discussed in the remaining chapters will be the methodology used in the curriculum development process, how the unit was developed, how formative evaluation was carried out, and some conclusions reached as a result of this study having been undertaken.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

In the development of a unit of curriculum and instruction, a valid educational theory as well as various criteria and guidelines must be used. This chapter will explain methodology and give reasons for using the approaches employed in the development of the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities. This chapter includes discussions of the following: (1) Johnson's theories, (2) the Canada Studies Foundation, (3) the use of the unit approach in curriculum and instructional development, (4) the use of the multimedia approach in unit development, (5) the evaluation process, and (6) the content of the unit.

JOHNSON'S THEORIES

Although there is consensus on the importance of curriculum and instruction in the total educational enterprise, there has been little agreement on what curriculum and instruction are and how they relate to each other (Johnson, 1969). Until recently most educators accepted that instruction, as well as the means of evaluating, was part of the curricular development process (Leese and Johnson, 1971). This was so of both Tyler's (1950) and Taba's (1962) models for curriculum development, two of the better known curriculum development models in use today.

Tyler's four step model (1950) which, until recently, served as the basis for most theorizing on curriculum development consisted of the

following steps: (1) deciding on educational purposes, (2) selecting educational experiences to attain them, (3) organizing the experiences, and (4) finding ways of determining whether the purposes are attained. In the early sixties another model for curriculum development, that by Hilda Taba (1962), added three more steps to those suggested in Tyler's model. The steps in her model were: (1) diagnosis of needs, (2) formulation of objectives, (3) selection of content, (4) organization of content, (5) selection of learning experiences, (6) organization of learning experiences, and (7) determination of what to evaluate and ways and means of doing it. Neither Tyler nor Taba clearly distinguished between curriculum and instruction, although they have served the useful purpose of presenting ideas which have aided in the development of a number of curriculum projects. A similar approach was taken by Beauchamp (1961) in his original book, but his revised edition in 1968 shows a reassessment of his approach and definition of terms. Beauchamp (1968), like Maccia (1965), Faix (1966), and Macdonald (1964), tries to clarify the relationship among curriculum, instruction, teaching, and learning. Their definitions of curriculum and instruction, however, lack the preciseness accorded them by Johnson (1967; 1969).

Johnson (1967) speaks of the confusion of the term "curriculum" by most theorists in this way:

> They recognize the necessity of explicating the relation between curriculum and instruction, but in viewing curriculum cybernetically, they, too, confuse curriculum per se with the curriculum development process (p. 43).

In Johnson's opinion, these theorists are also unable to establish any coherent relationship between curriculum and instruction. In this regard, he says:

> Accepted usage identifies curriculum with "planned learning experiences." This definition is unsatisfactory, however, if "curriculum" is to be distinguished from "instruction" (p. 44).

Johnson has analyzed and utilized the theories of his contemporaries and predecessors in the field of curriculum and instructional development theory and has formulated a workable development model which can be used with equal relevance in all areas of the school program. The theories of Mauritz Johnson (1967; 1969) were chosen to provide the theoretical framework for developing the unit of curriculum and instruction, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities. He goes a step further than most educational theorists who propose methods models of curriculum and instructional development by distinguishing between "curriculum" and "instruction" and separating the developmental process into two systems -- the curriculum development system and the instructional system.

The Curriculum Development System

Johnson defined curriculum as a structured series of intended learning outcomes. This limits the term curriculum so that it refers only to what is to be learned, not how it is to be learned. It does not include the activities, the materials, or the instructional content to be used in achieving the results. In specifying outcomes to be sought curriculum is concerned with ends, but at the level of attainable learning products, not at the more remote level at which these ends are justified.

The curriculum is formulated by selecting from the teachable cultural content certain intended learning outcomes and organizing in a way appropriate for learning. The cultural content from which the intended learning outcomes are chosen are separated into two divisions -- the disciplined knowledge and non-disciplined knowledge. However, since all

available knowledge on a given subject cannot be incorporated into a unit or program of studies and because curriculum is "not a random series of items, but a structured one" (p. 45), the developer must be responsible for deciding criteria for selection and organization of the intended learning outcomes. This matrix of intended learning outcomes makes up the "curriculum." This matrix is the output of the curriculum development system and the input into the instructional system.

The Instructional System

The instructional system has three major components -- the instructional plan, the instructional process, and evaluation.

The Instructional Plan. This is an integrative plan which includes the teaching strategies, the instrumental content and intended learning outcomes. All three of these are interdependent. That is, the choice of certain intended learning outcomes will limit the kinds of instrumental content and teaching strategies which can be used. Likewise, the instrumental content will influence the intended learning outcomes and teaching strategies used, and so on. This plan may be very elaborate and give exact lesson sequences to be followed or it may, as in Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, simply present the curriculum and make suggestions for teaching. The teacher will make the final decision about how the material will be presented.

The Instructional Process. This is the implementation of the instructional plan. It is the actual classroom instruction. This process involves a number of interactions -- that between the student and the teacher, the student and the display, and the teacher and the display. All interactions are important to the understanding of instruction.

Evaluation. This aspect of Johnson's model is shown in Figure 1. There are seven points of evaluation in the full curriculum-instruction system. If the intended learning outcomes specified by the curriculum are satisfactorily achieved, it can be assumed that the entire system is functioning properly. If the output is not satisfactory, one or more of six defects may be responsible. The first step is to check the evaluation procedure itself. If it is not appropriate re-evaluation is called for. If it is appropriate, the next step would be to ask if the instructional plan was carried out faithfully and skillfully. If the execution of the plan is inadequate, the plan itself must be called into question and various parts of it must be examined as shown in Figure 1, page 16. If the instructional plan is appropriate, then the curriculum must be examined. Johnson (1969, p. 130) states, however, that it would be an oversimplification to suggest that unsatisfactory results are attributable to a major flaw in one component of the system. More likely they are due to minor deficiencies in a number of components.

Summary

Johnson's theories of curriculum and instructional planning serve to sharpen the distinction between curriculum and instruction, and clarify the relationship between them. He suggests that in the development of the instructional programs, the developmental process be divided into two systems -- the curriculum development system and the instructional system -- with each having various planning components. Briefly, the selected and organized intended learning outcomes or the "curriculum" becomes an output of the curriculum development system and an input into the instructional system. The result of instruction should, then, be achievement of the

EVALUATION		ACTION
were intended outcomes achieved?	Y	continue instruction
was evaluation procedure appropriate?	N	revise evaluation
		N 1 Y
was instructional plan adequately executed?	N	improve implementation procedures
		N 1 Y
was plan appropriate to situation	N	modify/re-schedule plan
		N 1 Y
did plan observe curriculum directives?	N	revise/re-sequence display/ control provisions
		N 1 Y
was curriculum structure correct?	N	re-arrange curriculum items
		N 1 Y
was curriculum selection valid?	N	change curriculum priorities
		N 1 Y

repeat analysis

(Y - yes; N - No)

JOHNSON'S SEVEN EVALUATION POINTS IN THE CURRICULUM-INSTRUCTION SYSTEM

Figure 1

intended learning outcomes. This is ascertained through evaluation.

CANADA STUDIES FOUNDATION CRITERIA

The Canada Studies, which is in its third year of existence, is concerned mainly with the improvement of Canadian studies in our nation's schools. Tomkins (1972) explained that the Foundation has two basic aims. They are:

> . . . to give Canadian young people a realistic knowledge and improved understanding of the urbanized, technological, multi-cultural, regionally diverse, exposed society that is Canada; to develop the kinds of intellectual and social skills and values and attitudes, in particular mutual respect and tolerance of diversity, that civilized living in a society like Canada requires (p. 1).

The Foundation, at present, has educators from all across Canada involved in curriculum development projects. They are working on a variety of topics which are of "continuing Canadian concern."

The history of the Canada Studies Foundation, the basis for its establishment, and the criteria which it has suggested for those involved in the development of contemporary Canadian social studies material, have all been dealt with in Chapter I, pages 2 to 7. Consequently, this will not be elaborated further in this chapter.

UNITS IN CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The theories of Johnson and the criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation could possibly be applied to curriculum and instructional development regardless of the type of instructional packages being produced for the social studies. It might also be equally relevant to other areas of the school program. In the case of Resource-Based Single Industry

Communities, a "unit of curriculum and instruction has been developed. The term "unit" has been with us for a long time. Yet it is still the subject of many interpretations. For the purpose of this study, however, a combination of two definitions will perhaps lend a better understanding of the word. The first is that of Hanna (1955) who defined a unit of work as:

> A purposeful learning experience focused upon some socially significant understanding which will modify the behavior of the learner and enable him to adjust to a life situation more efficiently (p. 101).

The other is that of Michaelis (1956) who defined the social studies unit as:

> A carefully developed series of childlike experiences related to a particular topic and designed to contribute to the achievement of the purposes of social studies (p. 129).

Each of these definitions emphasizes the major ingredients of a unit of curriculum and instruction. It is concerned with both content and procedure, and its relevance to society, the students, and the learning process. Furthermore, the unit might cut across subject lines and utilize content and skills from many other areas.

Units of work are generally developed so that they can be taught in a few weeks. Thus, they can be often fitted into current social studies or other programs without inconvenience. Most recent educational literature on this topic supports development of units as opposed to other types of development (e.g. textbook). McPhie (1963) expressed this wide acceptance of the unit approach when he said that:

> It is a rare methods text for either secondary or elementary school teachers that does not promote, either openly or by implication, teaching with units. It is championed as the modern way of teaching, the most effective method of curriculum arrangement (p. 126).

Edith Merrit (1966) stated that:

> In forging the link between the objectives and the content of social studies and a particular group of children, the unit of work has long been recognized as an effective means of organizing learning (p. 68).

Others, such as Kenworthy (1970), Hanna (1973), Taba (1962), Jarolimek (1967), and Joyce (1965), have also attested to the advantages of units in social studies education.

Units for learning have been classified in many ways -- subject matter units, experience units, process units, resource units, and activity units -- but basically they have the same structural characteristics. Units tend to be more functional for the learner, with emphasis upon worthwhile experiences (Moffatt, 1963, p. 91). Hanna (1973) stated that:

> the difficulties of fragmented learnings characteristic or the old assign-study-recite method of daily lessons are overcome by the units organization of subject matter and activities into a cohesive whole (p. 2).

She continued to say that "the unit is the core of the curriculum" and stresses that this is especially so in social studies" (p. 2).

The unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, has integrated most of the prevailing ideas relating to units. It draws information from various disciplines and organizes it in such a way that it should provide purposeful learning experiences. The unit has been recommended as a useful approach by the Canada Studies Foundation.

AUDIO VISUAL MATERIALS IN CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The use of a multimedia approach has been widely accepted as an improvement over the textbook approach to teaching. Johnson (1969) acknowledged the desirability of a variety of materials in unit development when he said that:

> One of the recent campaigns to improve instruction has emphasized the display function by seeking to introduce media based on modern technology. This emphasis is consistent with the view that the media is the message. Recently the importance of multi-media approach has been stressed (p. 127).

Audiovisual materials have been among the resources for teaching and learning in educational programs for many years. They have, however, been secondary to verbal presentations and were often introduced into the lesson at a whim of the teacher (Kemp, 1968, p. 3). Heinrich (1965) pointed out that:

> Materials of instruction were more often afterthoughts of curriculum planning than results of the curriculum development process. Audio visual materials usually entered the instruction process at the classroom application level, either when the teacher was casting about for materials that might aid instruction, or when the audio visual director instituted a search of catalogs for appropriate materials (p. 7).

Today social studies educators are stressing the importance of using a multi-media approach in developing and presenting material in the classroom. As Hanna (1973) expressed it:

> Audiovisual materials useful in research include many worthwhile learning media. There are motion pictures, recordings, slides, filmstrips, study prints, maps, globes, models, artifacts, graphs, charts, stereographs, exhibits, radio, 8mm film loops, diagrams, transparencies and television. While it has been stated that a firsthand experience provides the best learning situation, it is not always feasible to take children on a study trip to give the opportunity to see, hear, or feel an object or process. Audiovisual materials provide the next best type of experience (p. 216).

The unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, utilizes the multi-media approach in curriculum development. The idea of taking a field trip to a community of single industry might be very intriguing, but for most students it can never be more than an idea. Therefore, a number of pictures, wall charts, an audio tape, maps, and overhead transparencies have been included to supplement the reading material.

The developer or teacher who plans to use media in the classroom

must realize that like all aspects of educational innovation, it has both strengths and weaknesses. However, the integrated use of media, so that it may serve for its best specific purposes, seems to offer much potential for instruction. Instructional media, if carefully planned, selected, produced, and used within an overall pattern, can become key elements in such developments (Kemp, 1968; Hanna, 1973; Heinich, 1965; Kenworthy, 1970; Muessig, 1963).

EVALUATION PROCESS

Basically, there are two types of evaluation used in curriculum and instructional development. They are formative evaluation, which is ongoing throughout the developmental period and summative evaluation, which takes place at the end of the developmental period (Scriven, 1967). According to Scriven, both types are necessary before any educational program is approved for use in the school system. However, for the purposes of this study only formative evaluation was used.

The purpose of the developer was to build a unit of curriculum and instruction based on the theories of Mauritz Johnson and the criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation which could be used in grade ten and eleven classrooms. Since the purpose was not to immediately have the unit implemented into high school programs, formative evaluation was considered adequate. The type of formative evaluation used allowed the developer to assess the readability, validity, and teachability of the unit although it was not comprehensive enough to make judgments about its applicability to whole school system.

According to Cronbach (1963), if adequately carried out, formative evaluation can contribute more to education than any evaluation which is

used at the end of a program or after a product is placed on the market. The whole idea of formative evaluation as proposed by Scriven (1967) is "to identify aspects of the course where revision is desirable" (p. 42). In order to make this possible, the developer of Resource-Based Single Industry Communities used the following methods of formative evaluation:

(1) Appraisal by specialists: This allowed the developer to ascertain the internal validity of the unit, as well as to determine to some degree its teachability. Specialists from anthropology, geography, social studies, and audiovisual were consulted. As Johnson (1969) states: "Only a specialist in a discipline can assess the internal significance of its substantive content" (p. 122).

(2) Application of the "Guiding Questions": The application of the Guiding Questions (Anderson, 1972) which are based on Johnson's (1967; 1969) theories of curriculum and instructional development achieved two things. It served as a cross reference which helped the developer adhere to the theories of Johnson throughout development, and during each component of developmental process the developer was forced to avoid discrepancies by making sure that what was being done was the same as what should be done. These questions, which have been used by Cowan (1973) and by members of the Canada Studies Foundation, were found to be effective.

(3) Application of Fry's Readability Formula: This allowed the developer to determine the readability level of the student reading material.

(4) Field testing: The field testing, which was carried out in a small number of classes in the province of Newfoundland, ascertained the relevance and the teachability of the unit to students in the sample. Questionnaires used by teachers, students and the observer were

instruments contained in Formative Curriculum Evaluation by Weiss et al (n.d.). They were Teacher Questionnaire (TEQL), Student Questionnaire for Lessons (STQL) and Materials and Activities for Evaluation (MACE). A similar type of evaluation has been carried out by Cowan (1973) who developed a unit of curriculum and instruction for elementary school social studies. She deemed it appropriate for the needs of her study. Formative evaluation has been shown to be an appropriate means of evaluation during the developmental process and can be used to ascertain the initial teachability and readability of a unit of curriculum and instruction.

CURRICULUM

Johnson (1969) states that the teachable cultural content is the source of the "curriculum." He specifies that this

> Cultural knowledge is of two sorts, disciplined and non-disciplined, the former derived from deliberate inquiry and formally structured, the latter derived from ordinary experiences and structured informally (p. 116).

The curriculum content for the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, has been drawn from both disciplined and non-disciplined knowledge. The disciplined knowledge was drawn from publications in the various areas of the social sciences and the non-disciplined knowledge from certain articles in newspapers, magazines, company records, union records, pamphlets from different sources, and conversations with a large number of individuals.

Disciplined knowledge on single industry communities in Canada is very limited; very little scientific research has been done on the topic. Porteous (1970) stated that the reason for this might be related to the fact that single industry towns are often also Company towns (p. 2). This

means that one body controls nearly all aspects of life in the community and "Company town managers have often discouraged the direct attentions of social scientists" (p. 2). There are, however, a few monographs, periodicals, government reports, selected newspaper articles, and theses available on the topic, but not all of these could be considered disciplined knowledge. The non-disciplined knowledge, however, was readily available, but often the only judge of its merits was the subjective opinion of the developer of the unit who had to decide whether or not it warranted inclusion in the curriculum.

Among the most useful sources of empirical information on resource-based single industry communities were publications by The Institute of Local Government, Queens University (1953), the Center for Settlement Studies, University of Manitoba (1968a; 1969b; 1970; 1971), Lucas (1971), Robinson (1962), Parker (1963), Allan (1966), and Bradwin (1928). Other sources of information were periodicals, such as Financial Post, Chatelaine, Canadian Geographer, and Canadian Welfare.

The most difficult problem encountered in the search for curriculum related to finding local single industry community information. The literature on Canadian single industry communities is uneven in the sense that a few communities have had hundreds of articles written about them while others have virtually nothing written about them (Lucas, 1971, p. 411). Most Newfoundland single industry communities fell into the category of having "nothing written about them." After much searching somewhat suitable articles were found on Labrador City, Churchill Falls, Buchans, Grand Falls, and Bell Island. The most useful sources were found to be Maclean's, The Atlantic Advocate, the Evening Telegram, The Daily News, The Alternate Press and a number of company publications.

The curriculum was selected from the various disciplined and non-disciplined knowledge sources on the basis of certain criteria which are elaborated upon in Chapter III. This was then organized logically into a matrix of intended learning outcomes which would serve as a guide in the development of the instructional plan.

SUMMARY

The main emphasis of this chapter has been the methodology used in the development of the unit, Research-Based Single Industry Communities. It explains the theories of Johnson, the Canada Studies Foundation, the multimedia approach in curriculum and instructional development, formative evaluation and the sources of the content of the unit. The chapters which follow will be concerned with development and evaluation of the unit.

CHAPTER III

UNIT DEVELOPMENT

In order to develop the unit of curriculum and instruction, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, a theoretical framework and suitable criteria for selection of content and teaching strategies was required. As explained in Chapters I and II, Johnson's theories regarding curriculum and instructional development were chosen to provide the theoretical framework, and the Canada Studies Foundation provided the major guidelines for the selection and organization of intended learning outcomes and selection of teaching strategies.

Once a topic for curriculum development had been chosen, Johnson's theories (1967; 1969) became an invaluable aid. He pointed out that the sources from which curriculum items or intended learning outcomes should be selected are "the disciplines or organized subject matter" (1967, p. 45) available and "the body of unorganized knowledge and related skills and attitudes that lie outside the recognized disciplines" (1967, p. 45). These sources are later referred to as areas of disciplined and non-disciplined knowledge (1969, p. 116). When developing the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, both areas of knowledge were fully utilized. The disciplines, of course, provided the basic knowledge essential for determining the characteristics and theory of single industry communities. The non-disciplined knowledge provided the extras used to illustrate and explain the formal theory gathered from the empirical disciplined knowledge.

Mauritz Johnson (1967) was referring to selection from the disciplines in curriculum development when he stated:

> An educational curriculum is developed by selecting among and within these disciplines those elements which analysis identifies as having the greatest potential interpretive value. Once the disciplines considered most relevant in the interpretation of experience have been identified, internal selection criteria become dominant. Which specific curriculum items are selected depends on how fundamental and crucial they are to the discipline, how well they explicate its structure, how powerful they are in furthering its characteristic thought processes and modes of inquiry (p. 46).

He speaks of selection from the non-disciplined knowledge in this way:

> Not all cultural content is of a sort that could be incorporated into the curriculum. Only that which is teachable and available is eligible for inclusion. Artifacts and social institutions are components of a culture, but they are not teachable. Even some knowledge and skills, though teachable and very much a part of the culture, are not available for curriculum, since they are kept secret by families, craft groups, corporations, or governments (p. 45).

Because the unit being developed was intended for social studies, the disciplined knowledge was gathered from the areas of sociology, anthropology, history, geography, economics, and political science. The relevant non-disciplined knowledge was gathered from newspapers, magazines, union records, company records, and conversations with private and company individuals.

When available literature on single industry communities had been researched, the developer then decided upon criteria for selection and organization of intended learning outcomes. This matrix of intended learning outcomes is the curriculum. This curriculum, in turn, guided in the development of the instructional plan. In this chapter the procedures of development followed in the development of the unit will be explained in some detail.

INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

The intended learning outcomes refer to what is intended for the students to learn, not what they do or why they do it (Johnson, 1967, p. 43). What the students do come under the "instruction" label. Of course, intended learning outcomes guide instruction and furnish criteria for evaluation.

The primary objectives or intended learning outcomes for the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, are: (1) to help the students acquire a knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of resource-based single industry communities, and (2) to involve the students in activities which will encourage inquiry, critical thinking and problem solving.

To achieve the first general objective, information on single industry communities dealing with the following was presented:

1. characteristics of resource-based single industry communities
2. comparison of old and new communities
3. growth and development patterns in such communities
4. why Canada has so many such communities
5. social organization patterns during each phase of development
6. company control and its impact
7. economic stability of such communities
8. social structure
9. social problems
10. a view of five Newfoundland communities of single industry

To achieve the second general objective, the unit is organized to:

1. guide the students' reading for actual information (Something to

Discover)

2. give opportunities for the student to use the factual information in activity situations (Suggested Activities)
3. use communities of single industry with which the students are familiar so that they will be able to identify and appreciate the way of life of the people who live in such communities
4. have students analyze and compare these communities to their own communities
5. become involved in decision making situations such as debates and panel discussions
6. give teachers freedom to adapt the materials to the needs of their students

Furthermore, the information presented, the questions asked, and the activities suggested, provide opportunities for other desirable learning outcomes to take place. Some of these which have not been specified as intended learning outcomes but do provide an opportunity to improve certain skills are: dramatization, debating, explaining, organizing thoughts, summarizing information, questioning, making decisions, noting main ideas, drawing inferences from pictures and written material, working in groups, cooperation, judging importance and reliability of differing ideas, map study, and listening. Opportunity is provided for some or all of these to be incorporated into the unit depending upon time allocation.

Criteria for Selection of Intended Learning Outcomes

Because of the vast amount of information available on single industry communities and because this information obviously could not be

included in a four-week unit for high school students, certain criteria for selection of what was to be included had to be used. The criteria used by the developer consisted of the following:

1. The requirements of the Canada Studies Foundation -- These were elaborated on in Chapter I.
2. Recent educational thought in the field of social studies -- Emphasis is now on topics which will get the students involved in decision making, problem solving, and conceptualization.
3. The nature of the disciplined and non-disciplined knowledge upon which the unit is based.
4. The nature of the learner -- The materials and methods used were based on the particular needs of high school students in Newfoundland and the readability level of the student text has been carefully adjusted to the students' reading level.

Criteria for Organization of the Intended Learning Outcomes

Once appropriate intended learning outcomes had been selected, the problem of organizing them so that the unit would provide the best possible opportunity for achieving the objectives had to be dealt with. After considering the criteria which had been used by other developers and the views of social studies educators, the following criteria for organization were used:

1. The general pattern of empirical writings in the field -- The social science research on single industry communities have dealt with several important aspects of life and development in the communities. Generally, the ideas expressed and the pattern of organization of these studies are similar. The developer followed

the same basic pattern.

2. Logically -- The questions and activities are organized so that they will logically guide the student through analysis of the information presented.
3. Psychologically -- The psychological needs of students of the age group in question have been considered and the material is organized and written at a level suitable for such students. The unit should encourage the use of both cognitive and affective thinking skills.

The curriculum, that is the matrix of intended learning outcomes which have been selected and organized, guides the developer in designing the instructional plan for the unit. It is the input into the instructional system.

THE INSTRUCTIONAL PLAN

The instructional plan includes the structured series of intended learning outcomes discussed above, as well as the instrumental content and teaching strategies. The three are interrelated and each, to some extent, is dependent upon the other two. Intended learning outcomes influence instrumental content and teaching strategies. Teaching strategies utilizes instrumental content and intended learning outcomes. Instrumental content prescribes teaching strategies and intended learning outcomes. However, neither dictates what the other two should be, although at this point in the development of the unit the intended learning outcomes will remain relatively fixed. The instrumental content and the teaching strategies remain flexible.

The Instrumental Content

The instrumental content is that content chosen to facilitate the achievement of the intended learning outcomes. This includes the display material and activities used in the instructional process. The students' interaction with the instrumental content helps in the achievement of the intended learning outcomes.

The instrumental content developed for the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, includes both reading material and non-reading materials.

Reading Material: The unit includes a text for the students and a manual for the teacher.

The student text deals with the characteristics of single industry communities having a resource based economy.

The student text was divided into three major parts and contained ten chapters. The three parts were: (1) INTRODUCTION -- This part had only one chapter and briefly described what single industry communities are like. It also introduced the students to the communities of Buchans, Churchill Falls, Grand Falls, Labrador City, and Bell Island. These communities were used to promote an understanding and appreciation of single industry communities and their characteristics by having students deal with a number of communities of local interest. These communities were used simply to explain the theory of single industry communities, not to show anything "Newfoundlandish" about the communities. Research in the area showed that these communities are basically the same in organization regardless of where, in Canada, they are located. (2) PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT -- This section contained five chapters and explained the phases of

development of single industry communities. It also showed how behavior is organized during different phases of community development. (3) SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS -- This part contained four chapters and described the type of social structure and social problems often associated with single industry communities. It also discussed the way in which the town and its inhabitants are influenced by such factors as company control and economic stability. This section is made up of a number of readings from other sources. This section should only be taught if the teacher plans to have the students study the topic, single industry communities, in depth.

Each chapter in the text was further divided into three sections. They were: Something to Discover, which was meant to point out to the student the factual information to be concerned with when reading the chapter, the chapter body or explanatory presentation, which presented information about certain aspects of single industry communities; and Suggested Activities, which should guide the students in their use of the material. At the end of the text there was a section called Overall Questions, which should help the students view single industry communities in total perspective.

There were also a large number of pictures used throughout the text. The introductory page to each section of the book included a series of pictures illustrating general aspects of single industry communities referred to in the section. As well, there were pictures scattered through the explanatory part of each chapter to depict specific things mentioned in the particular chapter.

Although the text may appear to be fairly structured, it is hoped that the teacher would feel free to use the approach to teaching that he or she feels will best suit the particular situation and the needs of his

or her particular class.

A copy of the text is found in Appendix B, page 75.

The teacher's manual explained to the teacher the purpose of the unit, described the materials used, and made suggestions for involving the students so that they would maintain interest in the unit. The manual did not include readings for the teachers on single industry communities. Most of the general information on resource-based single industry communities has been covered in the student text. In fact, enough information should have been provided for any teacher of social studies to competently teach the unit even if no other information on single industry communities was available, and without inservice training.

The development of the teacher's manual took place after the student materials had been developed. It was not meant to be a blueprint for teaching the unit but should serve as a guide so that the intended learning outcomes could be better perceived and understood by the teacher. Consequently, the teacher should do a better job in teaching.

The teacher's manual contained the following sections: a brief introduction; a description of the instrumental content, that is, the reading and non-reading materials; an explanation of the intended learning outcomes; some background references for the teacher; and a discussion of the teaching strategies which might be employed.

Teacher materials are found in Appendix A, page 65.

Non-Reading Materials: The unit of curriculum and instruction, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, is multi-media in nature and included, as well as the student text and teacher's manual, an audio tape, sixteen wall charts, and six overhead transparencies. These were developed

to supplement and further illustrate the information presented in the text.

The audio tape had two songs which depicted different aspects of single industry communities. The songs were: (1) Sixteen Tons/Company Store, which decried the plight of the miner in a company town who owed everything to the company store; and (2) The Bell Island Song, which described what the closedown of the iron mines did to Bell Island and its inhabitants. These songs should have helped the students understand some of the social problems encountered in a community of single industry.

The wall charts depicted certain aspects of life and the physical structure of a community of single industry. They were: (1) Churchill Falls, (2) Labrador City, (3) Grand Falls, (4) Buchans, (5) Bell Island, (6) Tractors move in to start construction at Churchill Falls, (7) Recruitment of citizens, (8) Closedown -- boarded up house on Bell Island, (9) Churchill Falls town plan, (10) Housing, (11) Skidooing in Labrador City (Recreation), (12) Well-equipped school at Churchill Falls, (13) Two Buchans miners, (14) Drinking is sometimes a social problem in communities of single industry, (15) Mess Hall at Churchill Falls, and (16) Demonstration to the Confederation Building by Bell Islanders. Students should be able to use these pictures to draw inferences related to the intended learning outcomes.

The overhead transparencies should complement the information provided in the text and that given to the students by the teacher. The transparencies were:

1. A list of the phases of development in a community of single industry. The transparency also has two questions. The first asks what might take place before construction of the community starts. The second question asks what might take place after the closedown

of industrial operations. For the answer to this the teachers should refer to chapters six and seven of the student text.

2. A list of the things a student should know something about after studying the unit.
3. A map showing the location of a large number of single industry communities in Canada.
4. & 5. A blank map of the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, and a blank map of Canada. These may or may not be used depending on the teacher's approach to the topic.
6. A list of communities in Newfoundland with a question asking whether or not these are all company or single industry communities.

The non-reading material which served to illustrate most aspects of the reading material in the unit should have adequately supplemented the student text and teacher's manual. It was meant to be used to help achieve the intended learning outcomes and in conjunction with the teaching strategies.

Teaching Strategies

The teaching strategies, a third component in the instructional plan, are essential in developing a successful unit of curriculum and instruction. Inclusion of the teaching strategies within the instructional plan is another reason for adopting Johnson's theories. The implication of this is that the developer, as well as develop curriculum and display materials, must also consider the actual implementation of the curriculum and the display in the classroom.

Teaching strategies included in the unit are both expository and

inquiry oriented. However, because of the varying sizes of the classes and the different backgrounds of the students to which this unit will be taught, methods will only be suggested, not dictated. The teacher, in the classroom, should be more aware of the exact needs of the students than the developer. The teachers, therefore, should carefully plan their own lessons and choose the method they know will work best in their groups.

To aid in the expository strategies, maps, pictures, overhead transparencies, and readings are contained in the unit.

The inquiry strategies are aided by a number of questions and activities which allow students to exercise their cognitive and affective thinking skills. Students can think and perceive in a highly complex manner if guided by the teacher. The students should be encouraged to use the factual information rather than remember it. The wise use of the information presented should help them understand and appreciate a way of life different from their own. If the students already live in a community of single industry, it might help them understand better, themselves and those around them.

It is also important that the teaching strategies incorporate motivational techniques into the lessons. This is especially necessary if the teacher wants to insure that the students will learn what is being taught. It was suggested that the teacher motivate the students:

1. by the use of audio visual materials included in the unit;
2. by opening a lesson with a startling statement or question;
3. by posing a problem which you know will spark the students' interest;
4. by use of audio visual material not included in the unit but which might be borrowed, bought, or gotten free from various companies,

unions, or film companies;

5. by discussion of current events related to the subject.

These are elaborated on in the teacher's manual, Appendix A, pages 72-73.

The teacher was reminded, however, that it is no good to open the lesson with a bang and then let everything fall flat.

Questioning strategies were also very important in the development and presentation of the unit of curriculum and instruction. It can involve the students in problem solving, inquiry thinking, conceptualization, and analytic judgment. Encouraging students to think at various levels, requires considerable skill and resourcefulness on the part of the teacher. It is often necessary for the teacher to help the students by rephrasing questions, clarifying terms, and suggesting other activities than these specified.

It was thought to be worthwhile for the teacher to be reminded of the number of different types of questions which can be used in the classroom. According to Bloom's taxonomy (1956) they are:

Knowledge -- These questions would involve the recall of a wide range of material, from specific facts to complete theories, but all that is required is bringing to mind of the appropriate information. (All questions under Something to Discover are in this category.)

Comprehension -- These questions test one's ability to grasp the meaning of material. This would simply involve translating material from one form to another, explaining or summarizing. (e.g. Chapter 3, Suggested Activities, Number 1(b).)

Application -- These questions would test the ability to use learned material in new and concrete situations. This would include the application of rules, concepts, principles, or theories. (e.g.

Chapter 4, Suggested Activities, Number 1(b).)

Analysis -- These questions test the ability to break down material into its component parts so that its organizational structure may be understood. This might include the identification of parts, analysis of the relationships between parts, and recognition of the organizational principles involved. (e.g. Chapter 5, Suggested Activities, Number 2.)

Synthesis -- These questions test the ability to put parts together to form a new whole. Learning outcomes in this area stress creative behaviors, with major stress on the formulation of new patterns or structures. (e.g. Chapter 4, Suggested Activities, Number 2.)

Evaluation -- These questions should test the ability to judge the value of material for a given purpose. This is the highest level of questioning and contains all other categories. (e.g. Chapter 10, Suggested Activities, Number 2.)

Questions of all these types are included in this unit of work. However, most of the questions are based on the first four levels of Bloom's Taxonomy. Teachers may add more questions of the synthesis and evaluation type if he or she feels that the students are capable of coping with such high order thinking.

SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with the procedures employed in the development of the unit of curriculum and instruction, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities. It elaborated upon how the theories of Johnson were implemented in both the curriculum and the instructional plan. It explained how the intended learning outcomes were selected and organized; it shows how the

intended learning outcomes, the instrumental content and the teaching strategies were drawn together to make up the instructional plan; and then it further elaborates upon the instrumental content and the teaching strategies. Chapter IV will deal with formative evaluation.

CHAPTER IV

FORMATIVE EVALUATION

Evaluation is an essential part of curriculum and instructional development. Formative evaluation, which takes place throughout the development process, and summative evaluation, which takes place after the unit has been completed play equally important roles in deciding the worth of any program. However, for the purposes of this study only formative evaluation as proposed by Scriven (1967) will be used. The purpose of evaluation in the case of Resource-Based Single Industry Communities was to revise certain parts of the unit which might not be appropriate, not to make a final judgmental evaluation of its worth.

Scriven (1967) stressed the importance of using various types of formative evaluation through all stages of development. He stated:

> Unless entirely ignorant of one's shortcomings as a judge of one's own work, he is also involved in field testing the work while it is being developed, and in so doing he gets feedback on the basis of which he again produced revisions. . . . He is usually involved with colleagues, e.g. the classroom teacher or peers, who comment on the material as they see it (p. 43).

He goes on to say that the purpose of formative evaluation is "to discover deficiencies and successes in the intermediate versions of a new curriculum" (p. 51).

Throughout the development of the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, four types of evaluation took place for the purpose of discovering its deficiencies and strengths. They were: (1) Appraisal by Specialists, (2) Application of the "Guiding Questions," (3) Application

of Fry's Readability Formula, and (4) Field Testing. The remainder of this chapter will deal in some detail with each type of formative evaluation.

APPRAISAL BY SPECIALISTS

At various stages in the development of the unit, specialists in a number of areas were consulted for the purpose of ascertaining the validity and teachability of the material. Those consulted were subject matter specialists in the areas of anthropology, sociology, geography, social studies, audio visual, and members of the teaching profession.

Most of the scientific or disciplined knowledge available on single industry communities came from research which had been carried out in the fields of sociology, anthropology and geography. Consequently most of the intended learning outcomes for the unit were chosen in consultation with specialists in these fields. These specialists were aware of the criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation which was the overall guide for selection and organization for the unit. Furthermore, the first draft of the student text was carefully read and evaluated by an anthropologist who has done research in the particular area of single industry communities. The intended learning outcomes were then revised in light of his comments. Once the intended learning outcomes were selected to suit the needs of the related disciplines, a specialist in curriculum and instruction and a teacher of social studies were consulted for the purpose of determining the relevance of the material to the field of social studies and to aid in structuring the materials, questions, and activities in such a way that they would be suitable for high school students. When this had been done, a member of the audio visual department was consulted to help with the layout and design of the content material in the student text, and to

decide on appropriate illustrative material to be used in the unit. His suggestions with regard to layout and design were incorporated, although audio visual quality was not a main concern of this production. It was suggested that if this were to be implemented on a large scale, the wall pictures could be improved by having them made larger so that they could be seen better from all parts of the classroom. Also, since most of the pictures were reprints from other pictures or from pictures in magazines, the quality of some of them did not meet audio visual technical approval. It was agreed, however, that they were suitable for illustrative purposes since the quality in this respect was not a concern of the developer. When the material was field tested none of these inadequacies were noticed by either the teachers or the students.

As well as the advice of the above, the opinions of two teachers, other than those involved in field testing the material, was sought. They studied the material with a view to teachability, readability level, and how it might be implemented in the classroom.

They both thought that the materials were suitable for grade ten and eleven students and that the most suitable teaching methods would be group discussions and inquiry/discovery methods. It was also thought that the intended learning outcomes were reasonable and that after studying the course any student of average ability should have no difficulty in achieving the objectives set down by the developer.

APPLICATION OF THE "GUIDING QUESTIONS"

The "Guiding Questions to Aid in the Development of Curriculum and Instruction Units" (Anderson, 1972) were used extensively throughout unit development. Anderson explains the usage of these "Questions" in this way:

> The proposed guiding questions are designed to facilitate the development of units of curriculum and instruction. They are designed to provide a framework for formative evaluation as suggested by Scriven (1967). . . . The questions are based on one model of curriculum and instruction -- the model suggested by Johnson (1967; 1969) (p. 1).

The developer used the theories of Johnson to guide development and the theories of Scriven for evaluative purposes. Thus, the "Guiding Questions" provided much overall guidance in evaluating the developed material for the unit.

The "Guiding Questions" have been divided into five major groups. They are: (1) How were the ILOs selected from the cultural content? (2) How were the ILOs organized? (3) How was a relationship established between instructional content (ILOs and instructional content) and teaching strategies? (4) How did the teachers implement the instructional plan? (5) What process of evaluation of curriculum development and instructional planning was used?

Then each major question has been subdivided into three groups. The first group of questions are labeled designative -- meaning what is or will be; the second group of questions are labeled appraisive -- meaning what is wanted; and the third group are labeled prescriptive -- meaning what should be done.

This is the way the first major section has been broken down:

1.0 How will you select the ILO's from the cultural content?

1.01 What criteria did you use to select the ILO's?

1.02 Did you obtain the ILO's you desired?

1.11 What are desirable criteria for the selection of ILO's?

1.12 What are desirable ILO's?

1.21 If there is a discrepancy between desirable criteria and used criteria, then how should you deal with the discrepancy?

1.22 If there is a discrepancy between obtained ILO's and desirable ILO's, then how should you deal with the discrepancy?

When using these questions the developer/evaluator tried to avoid discrepancy between the three groups of sub-questions by assuring that the used criteria were the same as the desirable criteria. For example, the following criteria were used for the selection of intended learning outcomes: (1) requirements of the Canada Studies Foundation, (2) the nature of the learners, (3) the nature of the disciplined knowledge upon which the project is based, and (4) recent thought developments and approaches of the social studies. These were also considered to be desirable criteria for selecting ILO's. As a result there were no discrepancies between "what is" and "what is wanted" with respect to criteria for selection. With regard to the second prescriptive question, "Did you obtain the ILO's you desired?" the result was positive. Having consulted with subject matter specialists, methodology experts and having field tested the material for the purpose of determining the validity and reliability of the ILO's selected, it was decided that the ILO's were desirable. Again there was no discrepancy between what is and what should be. The same procedure was used in evaluating the other four major questions. If there were discrepancies in the beginning, they were eliminated before the final draft of the unit materials was completed. This being so, it was assumed that the unit had acquired some degree of validity. This, of course, was only one of several methods of formative evaluation used to determine the value of the unit.

APPLICATION OF FRY'S READABILITY FORMULA

Once the first draft of the student reading material had been written, it was necessary for the developer to make some kind of preliminary check to ascertain its readability level. Fry's Readability Graph (1968) was chosen for this purpose. The formula has been widely used, is simplistic, and is easily applied to any reading material.

The directions for using the readability formula are briefly expressed by Fry (1968):

> Directions for Using the Readability Graph
>
> 1. Select three 100-word passages from near the beginning, middle, and end of the book. Skip all proper nouns.
> 2. Count the total number of sentences in each hundred word passage (estimating to nearest tenth of a sentence). Average these three numbers (add together and divide by 3).
> 3. Count the total number of syllables in each hundred word sample. There is a syllable for each vowel sound. . . . Average the total number of syllables for the three samples.
> 4. Plot on the graph the average number of sentences per 100 words and the average number of syllables per 100 words. (p. 231).

When this information is plotted on a graph, it gives the approximate grade level of the student reading material.

This formula was applied as follows to Resource-Based Single Industry Communities:

	(per 100 words)	
	Syllables	Sentences
1st Hundred Words (p. 2)	149	4.75
2nd Hundred Words (p. 37)	146	5.75
3rd Hundred Words (p. 68)	147	3.25
	3)442(146	3)13.75(4.55

The reading level was found to be middle grade nine. Consequently, grade ten and eleven found no difficulty with reading the material. Two reasons were given by the teachers for not teaching the unit to grade nine students. They were: (1) The reading level was too high for most grade nine students. Warren (1968) stated that most high school students in Newfoundland are about a year behind their American counterparts. (2) Even if they were able to read the material, the level of comprehension required was too high for grade nine students.

FIELD TESTING

The unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, was taught in three classrooms -- Gander, Gambo and Dover. Three other classes in Gander -- two grade eleven and one grade ten -- were exposed to a small part of the unit, mainly to check the reading level and general appeal of the multimedia materials in the unit. Students and teachers in all classes were required to complete questionnaires on different aspects of the unit. The developer also observed the teaching of the unit on three occasions in each class.

Intact classes from the various schools were chosen. Gander students were considered to be urban students; Dover and Gambo were considered to be rural students. Although it was not deliberate, a preliminary check of the students' records showed a near normal IQ range. Furthermore, some of the students were in the high school academic program while others were in the general program. Those in the academic programs were in the university and college stream; those in the general programs were in the trades stream. The academic and general students were equally distributed amongst the rural and urban students. The teachers who were

chosen by the school principals to teach the unit were also considered to be representative of the Newfoundland social studies teacher population. Their main concentration of university courses were in the social sciences and all but one of them had been educated at Memorial University.

The developer did not teach the unit or take an active part in the field testing since it was necessary to determine whether or not the teachers and students could use the unit if they had no previous training or familiarity with the unit.

Classroom Observations

Observations in the classroom were carried out by the developer of the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities. Conclusions were then reached on the basis of an observation questionnaire, Materials and Activities for Classroom Evaluation (MACE) (Weiss, 1973) and subjective impressions by the observer of such things as methods, teaching strategies, teacher preparation for class, and student comprehension. MACE is one of several instruments for formative evaluation developed and printed in a field testing draft at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (Weiss, 1973).

The general purpose of Materials and Activities for Classroom Evaluation is "to provide a method of collecting information about what goes on in the classroom when a curriculum program is being implemented" (Weiss, p. 180). This collected information is then analyzed and the results are compared with the developer's original intentions.

The MACE instrument is divided into three parts which are meant to reflect the judgments of the observer, ranging from those requiring low inference rating to those requiring high inference rating. They are:

(1) An observation schedule for collecting descriptive information about the conditions, materials, and activities while the lesson is taking place.

(2) Part two is used by observers immediately after the lesson is over for rating such phenomena as conditions, materials, activities, and probable outcomes as well as classroom atmosphere.

(3) This part is used by the observers to give their further impressions about a number of different classroom interactions according to the criteria of enjoyment, understanding, encouragement and relevance.

For the purposes of this study only the third part of MACE was used. Part one is to be used only when lessons have been fully planned by the developer with conditions, materials, and activities specified. Lessons were not planned for this unit. A number of resource materials were available to the teacher, but the actual lesson planning was done by the teacher who was in a better position to know the needs and abilities of his own class. Part two is used immediately after a class to rate the conditions, materials, and activities as they were used in the classroom. Again this was not applicable to this unit for the reasons stated for part one. Part three was used to analyze a number of classroom interactions according to the criteria of enjoyment, understanding, encouragement and relevance. This instrument, found in Appendix H, page 190, was used by the observer on three occasions in each class where the unit was taught.

The results of observation as ascertained by the MACE instrument showed that:

1. The students thoroughly enjoyed working with other students, working with the teacher, working with the materials, and taking

part in the activities which were planned. The teachers planned the activities to best suit the needs of their classes and there was a large amount of interaction between the students and the teachers during the lessons. Much of the time the students worked in groups where they worked on different aspects of a topic. Some students indicated that they were writing to the Newfoundland communities of single industry discussed in the unit to find out more information about the communities. Others asked whether there were other such Newfoundland units developed which they might use.

2. The students appeared to understand the information presented and the activities which were planned for them. They listened attentively to the teacher when the lessons were being introduced and their questions and answers indicated that they were aware of the main emphasis of the lessons. Their use of the pictures, the text, and other materials indicated that they understood the purpose of using such aids.
3. The teachers seemed to be encouraged by the response of the students. Likewise the students responded to the enthusiasm of the teachers during the lessons.
4. The materials and activities seemed to be appropriate for most students.
5. The teachers appeared to enjoy working with the students and the materials during the lessons. All teachers enthusiastically involved themselves in all lessons observed.
6. The teachers understood the material being taught and encouraged the participation of the students in the class activities.
7. The materials and activities were relevant to the teachers in

connection with their methods of teaching. None of the teachers appeared to be ill at ease with the unit.

Some other observations which were not documented in the MACE observations were:

1. The schools were well-equipped for using a multimedia unit. That is, audio visual devices required for certain of the display materials were available and used for that purpose.
2. It appeared that the teachers had prepared themselves well by reading and studying the materials before they started teaching the unit.
3. It appeared that the reading level of the student text was suitable for most students.

The teacher and student evaluations which follow were also used as part of the criteria for evaluation. This is an instrument parallel to MACE, which asks the teachers and students to answer questions pertaining to enjoyment, understanding, encouragement and relevance.

Teacher Evaluations

The teachers impressions of the unit were solicited in two ways. First, they were given a questionnaire, Teacher Questionnaire for Lessons (TEQL) (Weiss, 1973); and secondly, by discussions held with each teacher on several occasions.

The Teacher Questionnaire for Lessons was constructed to aid in identifying teacher reactions in the implementation of a curriculum program. The statements in TEQL are based on the two-way interactions of the "curriculum commonplaces;" that is, teacher-teacher, teacher-student, teacher-material and teacher-milieu. It is a parallel instrument to MACE

used by the observer and measures for the same things from the teacher's point of view. It double checked the accuracy of the observer's observations. The TEQL instrument is found in Appendix J, page 202.

The opinions expressed by the teachers on the questionnaire and in informal discussions confirmed the observations made by the developer in the classroom. In substance, the opinions of the teachers were:

(1) The teachers manual was very helpful in the preparation of lessons. It explained the basic emphasis of the unit, and provided adequate suggestions for activities and strategies.

(2) All teachers considered the intended learning outcomes to be appropriate and consistent with the existing curriculum and instruction.

(3) All teachers considered the materials and activities appropriate and felt that they helped in achieving the intended learning outcomes.

(4) All of the teachers enjoyed and understood the intended learning outcomes, the instrumental content and the teaching strategies.

(5) All teachers felt that the students enjoyed and understood the unit.

(6) All teachers mentioned that the local orientation of the material made it more relevant to the needs of the students than most material which is now available for social studies.

(7) All teachers felt that the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, could contribute a great deal to the existing social studies program in Newfoundland.

(8) One teacher felt that it would have been better if a film were available on each of the communities. The developer feels that

this would constitute exceptional expenses for a unit of this type when there are a large number of pictures and readings available on each of the communities.

(9) Another teacher suggested that the readings on the Newfoundland communities be placed at the end of part two of the text rather than at the end of part one. The developer feels that it is better placed where it is because once the students have studied the communities, they can then relate the theoretical information from part two to a realistic situation. He was the only teacher to make this suggestion.

(10) All teachers agreed that it would take at least four weeks to adequately teach the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities.

Student Evaluations

The student evaluation for the unit consisted of having the students complete a questionnaire, Student Questionnaire for Lessons (STQL) (Weiss, 1973), at the end of the unit, by open class discussion about the unit, by a number of conversations with individual students, and by the administration of pre- and post-tests on the content.

The STQL is an instrument developed with the specific purpose of identifying student reactions in the implementation of curriculum and instructional program. It is a parallel instrument to MACE and STQL and collects exactly the same kind of information from the students as collected from the teachers and by the observers. That is, the major concerns are on enjoyment, understanding, encouragement, and appropriateness. The STQL instrument is found in Appendix I, page 196.

The student questionnaire (STQL) served to reinforce the opinions expressed by the observer and the teachers. That is, the unit was enjoyed, understood and appropriate for the students in the sample.

The results of the pre- and post-tests and the discussions with the students are summarized below:

(1) The pre-test showed that although the students had a vague impression of what a single industry community is, they were unable to identify any of the characteristics of such communities. Nor were they able to list more than one or two communities of single industry in the province.

(2) The post-test showed that the students had achieved the major intended learning outcomes. They were now able to identify most general characteristics of single industry communities and list several such communities in Newfoundland.

(3) The reading level of the student text was suitable for students in grade ten and eleven. Although the readability level of the reading material, as established by Fry's Readability Graph (1968), was grade 9.5, the teachers and most of the students felt that it would be too difficult for most grade nine students. One teacher was asked to teach the unit in grade nine, but after reading the student text and teacher's manual felt that the concepts, purposes and most of the reading were too difficult for either of his grade nine classes.

(4) The students enjoyed learning about resource-based single industry communities.

(5) All students felt that the instrumental content greatly added to

their achievement of the intended learning outcomes.

(6) Some of the students thought that there should be films available which they could use with the unit.

SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with the formative evaluation which took place throughout the developmental process. This formative evaluation consisted of assessment by specialists in various fields related to unit development; application of Anderson's Guiding Questions to Aid in the Development of Curriculum and Instructional Units; application of Fry's Readability Graph; and trials in the classroom. The evaluation showed the unit to be teachable and enjoyable for upper high school students.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

SUMMARY

This study was primarily concerned with developing a unit of curriculum and instruction on resource-based single industry communities in Canada using the theories of Mauritz Johnson (1967; 1969) as the theoretical framework and the criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation (Carswell, 1972; Massey; 1971; Tomkins, 1972) to guide the selection and organization of the material. This paper has explained the significance of the study, reviewed some of the literature related to such a study, and explained the development and evaluation of the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities.

This unit of work on single industry communities was specifically developed to be used in upper high school grades and incorporates much of the recent thinking in the field of high school social studies. The unit was designed to arouse the students' interest in these communities so that they might begin to understand the impact of such communities on the lives of the people who live there and the importance of these communities to the whole Canadian way of life. The variety of information, the questions and the activities for each chapter should provide the teacher with the basics to involve the students in critical thinking, analytic judgment and problem solving activities. Furthermore, it should help develop the students' conceptual understanding of the complex forces which mold and

structure our society. Information presented here has been drawn from several areas of the social sciences (i.e. economics, history, geography, sociology, anthropology, and political science) since a topic as complex as this can only be dealt with in such a perspective.

Johnson's theories for curriculum and instructional development provided the developer with a workable theory which distinguishes between 'curriculum' and 'instruction.' It was necessary to use such a framework since the development of the curriculum and the development of the instructional plan were conceived as separate entities. Johnson's theory consists of two systems -- the curriculum development system and the instructional system -- which gives details of development procedures in each area. The Canada Studies Foundation, which aims to give young Canadians a more realistic knowledge of contemporary Canada by having them become involved in what Tomkins refers to as "continuing Canadian concerns" (1972, p. 4), provided criteria for selection and organization of intended learning outcomes for the unit.

The unit of curriculum and instruction, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, consisted of a student text, an audio tape, six overhead transparencies, 16 wall charts, and a teacher's manual. It is designed so that the role of the teacher is not to tell the students everything, but to guide and stimulate them to discover for themselves.

Formative Evaluation as proposed by Scriven (1967) was employed. That is, evaluation of the material was continuous throughout the development. Evaluation consisted of assessment by specialists, application of the "Guiding Questions" (Anderson, 1972), application of a readability formula (Fry, 1968), field testing, and the use of questionnaires to students (STQL), teachers (TEQL), and an observer (MACE) (Weiss, 1973).

CONCLUSIONS

Having developed and formatively evaluated the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, the writer has reached a number of conclusions. They are presented below:

1. After taking into consideration the lack of contemporary and local social studies programs in Newfoundland and the positive feedback received from all of those involved in the evaluation of the unit, it is thought that the development of this unit was a worthwhile project.
2. Johnson's theories, if used in conjunction with some criteria for selection and organization, can provide a workable model for curriculum and instructional development.
3. The criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation, when identified, can provide much guidance for the inexperienced developer who wishes to produce curriculum and instructional materials related to 'continuing Canadian concerns.'
4. The unit, which was designed for upper high school grades, can be successfully taught in urban and rural Newfoundland classrooms.
5. The unit was found to be teachable by teachers who had been given no inservice training and who had no prior background experience with communities of single industry.

IMPLICATIONS

Considering the success of the unit, Resource-Based Single Industry Communities, in a small number of classes, a large scale investigation or summative evaluation should perhaps be undertaken to determine its appro-

priateness to other high school classes in the province. Also, since this unit has been successfully taught in some Newfoundland classes, it might be adapted for use in high schools in other parts of Canada with a minimum number of changes.

Most important, the development of other units of curriculum and instruction using the theories of Johnson and the criteria of the Canada Studies Foundation should be encouraged at both the elementary and high school levels.

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APPENDIX A

TEACHER'S MANUAL

TEACHER'S MANUAL

R E S O U R C E - B A S E D

S I N G L E I N D U S T R Y C O M M U N I T I E S

A unit of

Curriculum and Instruction

by

Lenora (Perry) Fagan

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INTRODUCTION

This unit of work on single industry communities has been specifically developed to be used in upper high school grades. It should be possible to teach the unit in two weeks. This might vary, however, depending upon the needs of the particular class and teacher.

The unit has been designed to arouse the students' interest in single industry communities so that they might begin to understand the impact of such communities on the lives of the people who live there and the importance of these communities to the whole Canadian way of life. The variety of information, the questions and the activities for each chapter should provide the teacher with the basics to promote critical thinking, analytic judgment and problem solving. Furthermore, it should help develop the students' conceptual understanding of the complex forces which mold and structure our society. Information presented here has been drawn from all areas of the social sciences (i.e. economics, history, geography, sociology, anthropology, and political science) since a topic as complex as this can only be dealt with in such a perspective.

The role of the teacher is not to tell the students everything, but to guide and stimulate them to discover for themselves. In this way the teacher can join the students in searching for answers to the problems posed.

INSTRUMENTAL CONTENT:

Student Text: The student text deals with single industry communities. These towns play an important role in the lives of many Canadians. A study of single industry towns which was done in 1971 shows that there are more than six hundred such towns in Canada with a total population of approximately one million people. The lives of these people are directly influenced by the way of life, the economics, and the working conditions of these towns. And there are many others who depend on the wealth and resources of single industry communities to supply raw materials and some manufactured goods basic to Canadian needs. These towns, then, to some extent, influence the life of nearly every person in this country.

Because of the short amount of time which can be spent on this topic, it is necessary to deal only briefly with some aspects of single industry communities. There is enough information presented, however, to give the students a general understanding and appreciation of these communities. For simplification purposes we are using this definition of single industry communities: A single industry community is a community in which the population is less than 30,000 and at least seventy-five percent of the working population serves the single industry and its supporting services. This is a very broad definition and includes many different types of towns with varied industrial bases and developmental origins. The majority of these communities are resource-based or built around the transportation industries. Only resource-based single industry communities are dealt with in this text. The

teacher should point out to the students that there are other types of single industry communities which are similar in many ways to the ones being studied.

To promote an understanding and appreciation of single industry communities and their characteristics, a number of communities, mostly Newfoundland communities, are used to illustrate points. These communities are used simply to explain the theory of single industry communities, not to show anything "Newfoundlandish" about the communities. Research in the area shows that these communities are basically the same in organization regardless of where, in Canada, they are located. Newfoundland towns are being used only because they provoke more local interest than towns located in other parts of the country.

The student text is divided into three major parts and contains ten chapters. The three parts are: (1) INTRODUCTION -- This part has only one chapter and briefly describes what single industry communities are like. It also introduces the students to the communities of Buchans, Churchill Falls, Grand Falls, Labrador City, and Bell Island; (2) PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT -- This section contains five chapters and explains the phases of development of single industry communities. It also shows how behavior is organized during different phases of community development; (3) SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS -- This part contains four chapters and describes the type of social structure and social problems often associated with single industry communities. It also discusses the way in which the town and its inhabitants are influenced by such factors as company control and economic stability. This section is made up of a number of readings from other sources. This section should only be taught if the teacher plans to have the students study the topic, single industry communities, in depth.

Each chapter in the text is further divided into three sections. They are: Something to Discover which is meant to point out to the student the factual information to be concerned with when reading the chapter; the chapter body or explanatory presentation which presents information about certain aspects of single industry communities; and Suggested Activities which should guide the students in their use of the material. At the end of the text there is a section called Overall Questions which should help the students view single industry communities in total perspective.

Although the text may appear to be fairly structured, it is hoped that the teacher will feel free to use the approach to teaching that he or she feels will best suit the particular situation.

Other Teaching Materials: This unit of curriculum and instruction is multi-media in nature and includes, as well as a text, an audio tape, sixteen wall charts, six overhead transparencies, and a teacher's guide. These materials should be fully utilized by the teacher who can use them to his or her own advantage in the classroom.

The audio tape has two songs on it depicting different aspects of single industry communities. The songs are: (1) Sixteen Tons / Company Store which decries the plight of the miner in a company town who owes everything to the company store. Many single industry towns have company stores and costs incurred by the company employees are deducted from their salaries each pay period; and (2) The Bell Island Song which describes what the closedown of the iron mines did to Bell Island and its inhabitants.

The wall charts depict certain aspects of life and the physical structure of a community of single industry. The charts are: (1) Churchill Falls, (2) Labrador City, (3) Grand Falls, (4) Buchans, (5) Bell Island, (6) Tractors move in to start construction at Churchill Falls, (7) Recruitment of citizens, (8) Closedown -- boarded up house on Bell Island, (9) Churchill Falls town plan, (10) Housing, (11) Skidooing in Labrador City (Recreation), (12) Well-equipped school at Churchill Falls, (13) Two Buchans miners, (14) Drinking is sometimes a social problem in communities of single industry, (15) Mess Hall at Churchill Falls, and (16) Demonstration to the Confederation Building by Bell Islanders.

The overhead transparencies should complement the information provided in the text and that given by the teacher. The transparencies are:
(1) List of the phases of development in a community of single industry. The transparency also has two questions. The first asks what might take place before construction of the community starts. In answering the question such things as the following might be suggested: exploration to determine the viability of the particular resource to be exploited, architectual planning for the town and the plant, surveying for the town and the plant, and sending in the equipment for construction. The second question asks what might take place after the closedown of industrial operations. For the answer to this question the teacher should refer to chapters six and seven of the student text. The answer would include such things as: attempts by the citizens to reopen the industry just closed down, attempts to find another viable industry for the town, requests for aid from the government for certain projects, many people will leave the community, and many others will have to go on welfare.
(2) A list of the things a student should know something about after studying the unit.
(3) A map showing the location of a large number of single industry communities in Canada.
(4) & (5) A blank map of the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, and a blank map of Canada. These may or may not be used depending on the teacher's approach to the topic.
(6) A list of communities in Newfoundland with a question asking whether or not these are all company or single industry communities. In fact, they may all be broadly defined as single industry communities but they would not all fall into the category of resource-based single industry communities. The resource based towns are Churchill Falls, Labrador City, Wabush, Grand Falls, Buchans, Baie Verte, Corner Brook (no longer completely dependent on a single industry), Bishops Falls, Bell Island, St. Lawrence, Gull Pond, Millertown, Deer Lake, Lower Churchill (supposed to start soon).

The teacher's guide, which you are now using, describes how the unit might be implemented in the classroom.

INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES

The two major general objectives for this unit are: (1) to help the students acquire a knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of single industry resource-based communities, and (2) to involve the students in activities which will encourage inquiry, critical thinking and problem solving.

To achieve the first general objective, information on single industry communities dealing with the following is presented:

-- characteristics of such communities.
-- comparison of old and new communities.
-- growth and development patterns.
-- why Canada has so many such communities.
-- social organization patterns during each phase of development.
-- company control and its impact.
-- economic stability of such communities.
-- social structure.
-- social problems.
-- a view of five Newfoundland communities of single industry.

To achieve the second general objective, the unit is organized to:

-- guide the students' reading for factual information (Something to Discover)
-- give opportunities for the student to use the factual information in activity situations (Suggested Activities).
-- use communities of single industry with which the students are familiar.
-- have students analyze and compare communities of single industry to their own community.
-- give teachers freedom to adapt the materials to the needs of their students.

BACKGROUND FOR THE TEACHER

Most of the general information on resource-based single industry communities have been covered in the student text. In fact, enough information should have been provided for any teacher of social studies to competently teach the unit even if no other information on single industry communities is available, and without any inservice training. The last section, Special Characteristics, should provide a wealth of information for the teacher but should not be studied by the students unless the social studies program provides a longer time period than two weeks for the study of the topic.

There are, however, a number of books, magazine articles, government documents, journals, and research papers available which would prove very helpful if the teacher intends to do an indepth study of single industry communities in the classroom. Some of the better ones are:

Center for Settlement Studies, University of Manitoba -- several publications:
-- Nature and Purposes of Single Industry Communities, First Annual Report (1968).
-- Proceedings -- Symposium on Resource Frontier Communities, Series 4 (1968).
-- Two Studies on Fort McMurray (1971).
-- Resident Perceptions of Quality of Life in Resource Frontier Communities (1970).

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

It is hoped that the teacher will be able to incorporate both expository and inquiry strategies when teaching this unit. However, because of the varying sizes of the classes and the different backgrounds of the students to which this unit will be taught, methods will only be suggested, not prescribed. The teacher, in the classroom, should be more aware of the exact needs of the students than the person developing the materials. The teachers, therefore, should carefully plan their own lessons and choose the method they know will work best in their groups.

To aid in the expository strategies, maps, pictures, overhead transparencies, and readings are contained in the unit.

The inquiry strategies are aided by a number of questions and activities which allow students to exercise their cognitive and affective thinking skills. Students can think and perceive in a highly complex manner if guided by the teacher. The students should be encouraged to use the factual information rather than remember it. The wise use of the information presented should help them understand and appreciate a way of life different from their own. If the students already live in a community of single industry, it might help them understand better, themselves and those around them.

Motivation: To make any lesson a success, the teacher must find some way to motivate the students so that they will want to learn what is being taught. There are many ways of motivating students but the most effective motivation is that which takes place at the beginning of any class or especially at the beginning of any unit of work.

Some suggestions for getting this unit on single industry communities underway might be:

(1) Use of Materials -- This might include using some of the pictures which are provided; mentioning the topic, briefly introducing it, and then playing one of the songs and discussing it; using the map transparency showing a large number of the single industry communities in Canada; or the teacher could bring some other objects to class such as ore samples, pieces of wood, etc., and ask leading questions to get the students interested.

(2) By opening with a startling statement or question. For example, "Living in Churchill Falls is more like living inside the iron curtain than living in a community in Canada." This should provoke some discussion if the teacher points out that only authorized persons are allowed to visit that community; when a plane stops there no one is allowed to get off the plane and go into the airport unless he or she has permission from the Company to do so; the first thing a new employee must have done when he or she goes into the airport is have a picture taken and is given an identification card which must be carried at all times; and children have had to leave the community because they were considered to be trouble makers in the town.

(3) By posing a problem. For example, Buchans ore reserves are likely to run out in about five years (1979). What is likely to happen there at that time?

(4) By showing films such as Power from Labrador to illustrate some aspects of life in single industry communities.

(5) Discussion of current events concerning the communities. For example, the recent strike at Buchans.

Remember, however, that it is no good to open the lesson with a bang and then let everything fall flat. Try to keep the students interested throughout if possible. This should be the joint responsibility of the teacher and the developer.

Questioning: Encouraging students to think at various levels requires considerable skill and resourcefulness on the part of the teacher. It will often be necessary for the teacher to help the students by rephrasing questions, clarifying terms, and suggesting other activities than these specified.

It might be worthwhile for the teacher to be reminded of the number of different types of questions which can be used in the classroom. According to Bloom's taxonomy (1956) they are:

Knowledge -- These questions would involve the recall of a wide range of material, from specific facts to complete theories, but all that is required is bringing to mind of the appropriate information. (All questions under Something to Discover are in this category.)

Comprehension -- These questions test one's ability to grasp the meaning of material. This would simply involve translating material from one form to another, explaining or summarizing. (e.g. Chapter 3, Suggested Activities, Number 1 (b).)

Application -- These questions would test the ability to use learned material in new and concrete situations. This would include the application of rules, concepts, principles, or theories. (e.g. Chapter 4, Suggested Activities, Number 1 (b).)

Analysis -- These questions test the ability to break down material into its component parts so that its organizational structure may be understood. This might include the identification

of parts, analysis of the relationships between parts, and recognition of the organizational principles involved. (e.g. Chapter 5, Suggested Activities, Number 2.)

Synthesis -- These questions test the ability to put parts together to form a new whole. Learning outcomes in this area stress creative behaviors, with major stress on the formulation of new patterns or structures. (e.g. Chapter 4, Suggested Activities, Number 2.)

Evaluation -- These questions should test the ability to judge the value of material for a given purpose. This is the highest level of questioning and contains all other categories. (e.g. Chapter 10, Suggested Activities, Number 2.)

Questions of all these types are included in this unit of work. However, most of the questions are based on the first three levels of Bloom's Taxonomy. Teachers may add more questions of the analysis, synthesis, and evaluation type if he or she feels that the students are capable of coping with such high order thinking.

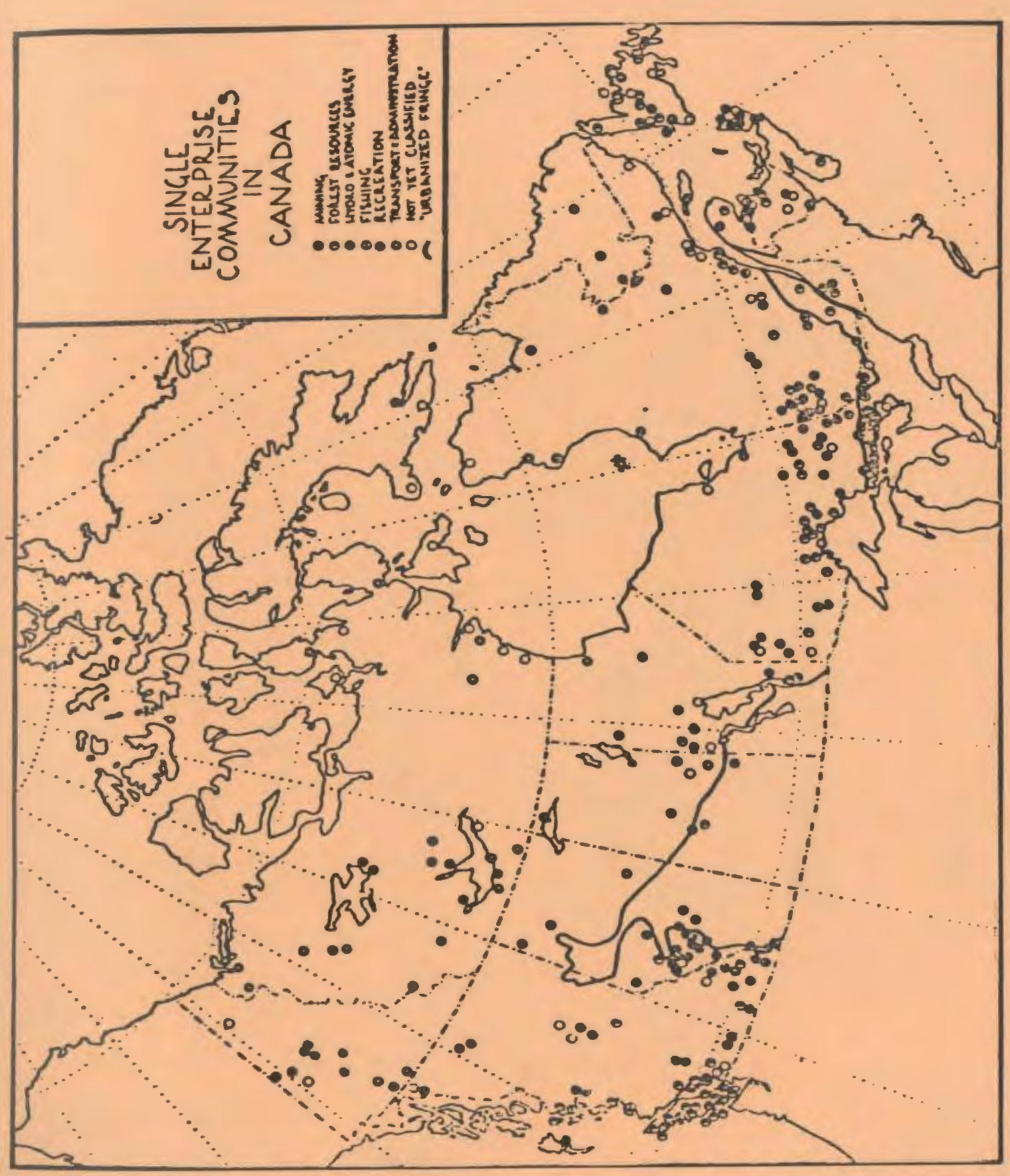
The Something to Discover, which is placed at the beginning of each chapter, should direct the student's reading for factual information only. All of these questions are in the knowledge category of the Taxonomy. The answers can be found by quickly reading the chapter. Before leaving each chapter the teacher should first ascertain whether or not the students know this basic information. This can usually be done orally and in most instances it will not be necessary to have the students answer these questions on paper.

The section called Suggested Activities at the end of each chapter provides the students with a chance to integrate the knowledge which they have already acquired. It would be too time consuming to have the students complete all activities at the end of the chapters, so the teacher must use his or her own discretion as to what should be done. There should be no questions or activities presented in these sections which should not be possible for the teacher to deal with if the student text has been read thoroughly.

APPENDIX B

STUDENT TEXT

resource-based single industry communities


SINGLE ENTERPRISE COMMUNITIES IN CANADA
MINING
FOREST RESOURCES
HYDRO & ATOMIC ENERGY
FISHING
RECREATION
TRANSPORT & ADMINISTRATION
NOT YET CLASSIFIED
"URBANIZED FRINGE"

RESOURCE–BASED

SINGLE INDUSTRY COMMUNITIES

A Unit of Curriculum and Instruction

by Lenora (Perry) Fagan

PREFACE

This text deals with single industry communities. These towns play an important role in the lives of many Canadians. A study of single industry towns which was done in 1971 shows that there are more than six hundred such towns in Canada with a total population of approximately one million people. The lives of these people are directly influenced by the way of life, the economics, and the working conditions of these towns. And there are many others who depend on the wealth and resources of the single industry communities to supply raw materials and manufactured goods basic to Canadian needs. These towns then to some extent influence the life of nearly every person in this country.

Because the amount of time which can be spent on this topic is limited, it is necessary to deal only briefly with some aspects of single industry communities. A single industry community is a community in which the population is less than 30,000 and at least 75% of the working population serves the single industry and its supporting services. This is a very broad definition and includes so many different types of towns with such varied industrial bases and developmental origins that it would take much more time than is available for dealing with this topic. For the purposes of this unit only resource-based single industry communities will be dealt with. It should be mentioned, however, that most single industry towns in Canada are resource-based; that is, they are built up around our forest, mineral, and water supplies.

To facilitate understanding and appreciation of single industry communities and their characteristics, it will be necessary to use special communities to illustrate points. Wherever possible Newfoundland single industry communities will be used. Other examples will be used only when information is not available on communities in Newfoundland. These towns will serve to explain and simplify the theory of single industry communities and will not be used to show anything "Newfoundlandish" about the communities. Research in the area of single industry communities shows that these communities are basically the same in organization regardless of where, in Canada, they are located. Newfoundland towns are being used only because they provoke more local interest than towns located in other parts of Canada. Communities elsewhere might have been used to illustrate exactly the same points.

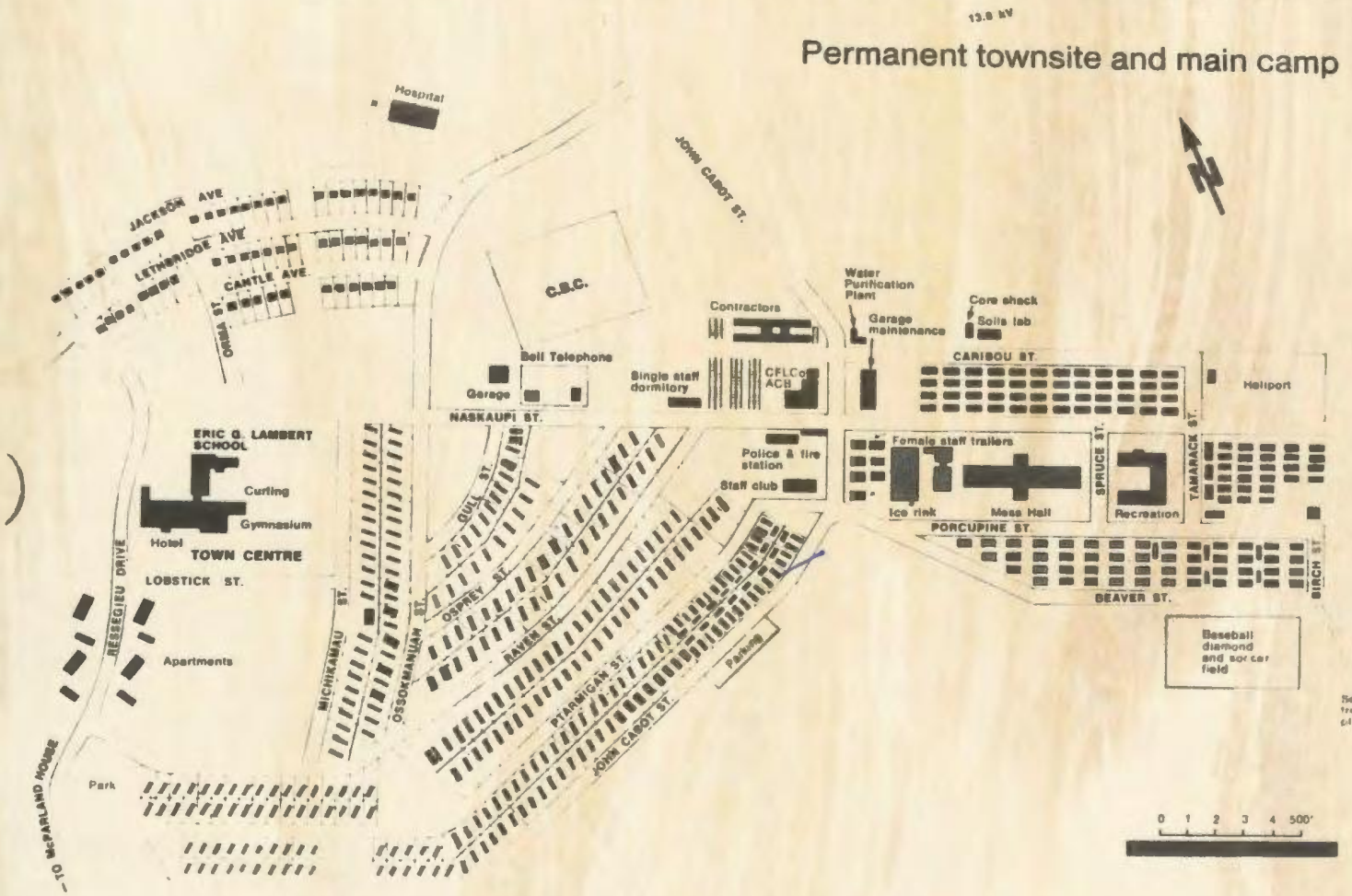
The text is divided into three major parts. They are: (1) INTRODUCTION – This briefly describes what single industry communities are like and introduces the communities which will be used for illustrative purposes; (2) PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT – This explains the phases of development and shows how behavior is organized in different phases of a community's development; and (3) SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS – This section describes the type of social structure and social problems often found in single industry communities and further shows how the town and its inhabitants are influenced by characteristics such as town planning, recreation, company control and economic stability. This section is made up of readings gathered from several different sources.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Canadian communities of single industry are twentieth-century products of an age of industry and technology. These are communities of today, relevant, with few past memories. They are new communities, and their very existence depends upon an advanced technology, a complex division of labour, and a sophisticated system of exchange."



This is the Churchill Falls town plan. How is this different from most communities?

1

SINGLE INDUSTRY COMMUNITIES

Most single industry communities grow very rapidly from an exploration site such as this into a fully equipped town.

SOMETHING TO DISCOVER

What is a single industry community?

Why does a single industry community grow so much more rapidly than other communities?

Why does Canada have so many single industry communities?

Why are single industry communities today becoming more permanent than they were in the past?

What are some of Newfoundland's single industry communities and what are some of their characteristics?

Industrial towns are scattered throughout Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Most of these communities are one-company towns and usually are concerned with only one product, such as pulp and paper or base metal mining. The emphasis of this text will be the single industry community.

Unlike ordinary communities, these towns do not grow up by a slow and gradual process. They grow up almost overnight. They 'boom' into existence and in a few months, large numbers of people find themselves concentrated in an area where a few months before no one but a few exploration crews had ever set foot. These towns have no past and often the future is not very certain.

Today nearly a million Canadians live in single industry communities. These people are directly influenced by all aspects of the communities – the type of industry, the economic stability, the town plan, the degree of company control, the ethnic and religious makeup, and the phases of development of the community. Furthermore, these communities and the life of the people who live there influence, to some extent, all Canadians. These Canadians depend upon a steady supply of raw materials and manufactured goods from the communities of single industry. It would, then, seem necessary for all Canadians to understand the problems and the things which pattern the lifestyle of the people who live in these communities.

Before it is possible to discuss single industry towns in any detail, it is necessary to define exactly what is meant when the term is used. A 'single industry community' is a community with one major industrial enterprise with a population of less than 30,000, and at least seventy-five percent of the working population is employed by the single industry and its supporting services. Most of these communities, however, have a population much smaller than 30,000 and most of them are built around the resource industries. There are other types of single industry towns than these built around a resource – for example, airport and railway towns are very often single industry communities. In this text, however, only resource based communities will be dealt with.

Canada is a relatively new country and is still in the process of settlement and development. A large part of Canada is still unsettled and unpopulated, especially in the northern regions. Thus, if a rich mineral deposit is discovered in the far northern regions of Canada and it is economically feasible to develop; it is inevitable that a single industry town will be built near the mine-site. Because Canada is so rich in natural resources and because Canadian economic growth depends to a great extent upon the wealth contained in its forests, rocks, and rivers, there has been a large increase in the number of single industry communities springing up all across the country.

Of course, this type of town is not a completely new phenomenon in Canada, although the number has increased rapidly in the past few decades. In fact, the 'company town' has been a familiar feature of Canadian history from the earliest stages in the development of our forest and mineral resources. But recently a new emphasis and new interest in these communities have come about from the realization that they are to be a permanent part of economic and national life. In Canada's early days lumber and mining camps were considered temporary settlements to be abandoned as soon as the resources were gone. These communities attracted unskilled labour which was housed in primitive and unattractive accommodation. This is now changing, although remanents of the past remain in many

parts of the country. There are two major reasons for the change in single industry communities in recent years. They are:

(1) A greater awareness of conservation has led company and governmental authorities to develop and follow policies which will give a more permanent character to these towns. Some of these policies are (i) reforestation, which will ensure that logging settlements will continue almost indefinitely; (ii) elimination of waste, and tapering off of the rate of extraction will ensure that oil or mine towns will exist for a longer time.

(2) Technological development have attracted more skilled personnel to the mining and power industries with the result that a higher standard of living must be provided if industry is to maintain its output. The companies now realize that in order to attract and hold skilled labour, it is necessary to provide housing and services as good as or better than that found in less isolated areas.

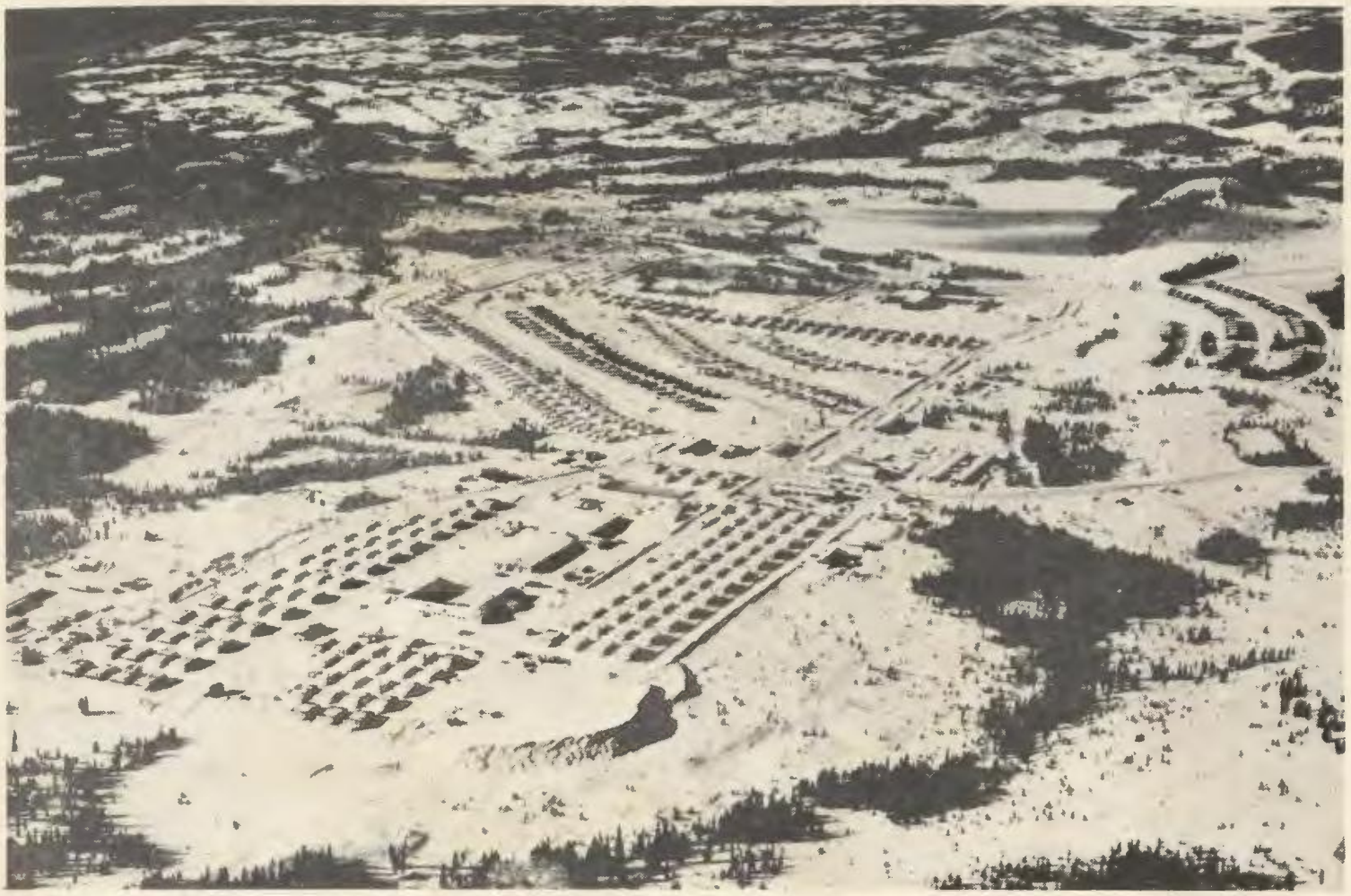
Note how well planned Churchill Falls is. The whole town revolves around a community centre.

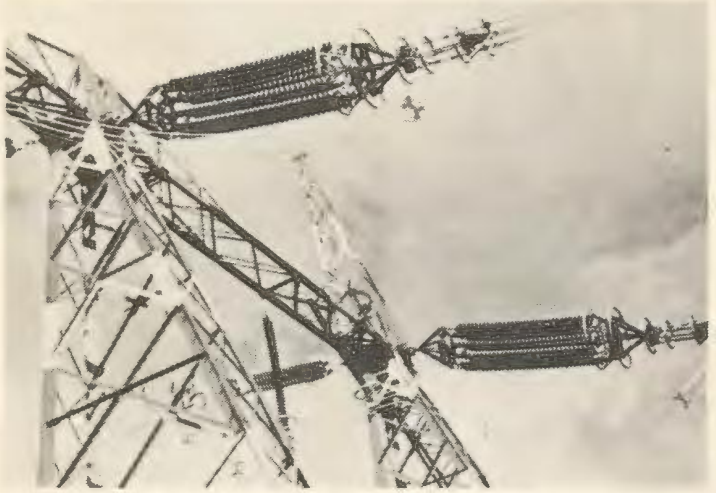
Single industry communities are very different from communities of comparable size elsewhere in Canada. These communities have, in most cases, grown up very quickly and the residents are almost all strangers to one another when they enter the community. The communities are young and have short histories. There are no community norms or set of traditions on which all people can base their actions. The many different cultural and ethnic backgrounds of the population are reflected in the behaviors, the activities, and the patterns of interaction of the people. Single industry communities are noted for having an unusually high number of clubs and associations. These characteristics, plus other special conditions such as isolation, lend to their uniqueness.

The descriptive readings which follow will aid in understanding some of the general factors which influence and dictate the lifestyle of the people of these communities.

The readings which follow are from various sources and are on the towns of Churchill Falls, Labrador City, Grand Falls, Buchans, and Bell Island, respectively.

CHURCHILL FALLS





CHURCHILL FALLS

(This article, taken from Macleans magazine, describes the community of Churchill Falls up until 1969. The town was then in the late construction or possibly the early recruitment phase of development.)

POWER

by Alan Edmonds

At 6:05 p.m. on Wednesday, May 21, at about the time two Appollo 10 astronauts were preparing to buzz the surface of the moon, Eddie St. Armour and Jean-Yves St. Pierre tucked the last of 165 sticks of Forcite explosive into the 13th bore hole drilled that afternoon, then slowly rode their clanking hoist back 1,193 feet down the blackness of the shaft they had spent three months digging.

That shaft is properly described as Penstock No. 1 of the $950-million Churchill Falls hydro-electric power project in mid-Labrador. It is the biggest civil-engineering project under way in North America, the biggest single-site hydro-power job in the world and the efforts of around 4,500 men and 407 women living in luxury halfway to nowhere are dedicated to making sure that on November 1, 1971, the falls will have run dry and the diverted water will pour down these penstocks, or chutes, past generators producing enough power to run Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver as well.

Eleven penstocks are being cut from the bottom up, the bottom being a cavern burrowed about a mile inside the young mountain of dun-grey Labrador rock that forms one wall of the Churchill River gorge. Each penstock is one fifth of a mile high and 32 degrees off the vertical, so that it is a major engineering achievement to come out on the surface at the prescribed point. It is the more vital to do so because they are building the water intake structure on the surface simultaneously, and if the penstocks come through a foot or so out it could cost $100,000, $500,000, a million, two: in the heady figures of Churchill Falls' financing, no one seems to know for sure. Penstock No. 1, therefore, was the most visible of all the milestones reached thus far in the Churchill Falls project. That afternoon of Wednesday, May 21, everyone at the camp knew the miners were nearing the surface.

At 6:09 p.m. Eddie and Jean-Yves reached the foot of the shaft. Eddie took the cable that runs up the shaft to the electric fuse igniter near the top, stripped off the insulation and jammed the bared wire into a live electric-light socket. Above, a spark lit the Thermalite fuse. It spluttered along at seven seconds to the foot for one minute and 10 seconds before reaching the 10 feet of actual explosive fuse that just hissed a little before setting off the Forcite, which is a mixture of nitroglycerin and conventional dynamite.

On the surface, a surprisingly small piece of rock bobbed six feet into the air, along with a puff of dust and smoke. Underground, clattering boulders tumbled out of the bottom of the hole. Eddie St. Amour walked to the hole, felt a draft and happily slapped Jean-Yves, his friend and neighbour from Val d'Or. They were through. It was 6:14 p.m. Later, they heard that the breakthrough was within two inches of where it should have been.

Eddie and Jean-Yves both say they are interested in cash, not prestige – but both stayed on after their shift ended at 5 p.m. to rob their night-shift colleagues of the nonor of breaking through the last eight feet of rock and make the shaft 1,201 feet from bottom to top. That evening, and the next day, a lot of people – engineers, construction bosses, cat drivers, a tavern waiter – went to inspect the jagged two-by-three-foot hole. It is at the base of the wall carved by explosives in the top of the Churchill River gorge to make the water intakes. They stood near it in their mandatory hard hats, smoking, grinning, saying little. But when asked, none of them would concede that it was much of an achievement. Even Ulric Sherman Shakespeare Hodgins, a John Wayne character who bosses the multimillion-dollar mining part of the project and is not by nature reticent, would only mumble something about its being "what we're here for."

It was a puzzling modesty, until a couple of days later when Bill Steele, the didactic chief surveyor, pointed out over his fifth beer that just a few hours after the breakthrough two Apollo astronauts had flown to within nine miles of the moon. If the spacemen make us all feel puny, that particular feat was even more humbling to the men of Churchill Falls. "If you measure what we've done down here against what they've done up there, it doesn't seem to amount to much," said St eele.

It does, though. Like reaching the moon, harnessing Churchill Falls has been one of the few clearly discernible technical goals of this century. In 1894 government geologist A.P. Low trekked to the central-Labrador basin, gazed upon the bellying, boiling waters of the then-named Grand Falls – at 245 feet, they're 85 feet higher than Niagra – and reported in awe that there was "several millions of horsepower" in them. Every Canadian politician who ever had a Vision of The North (and they have been legion) has had half hidden at the back of his mind the image of Churchill Falls crowned by a plume of spray shot with eternal rainbows. But until now there has been neither the technical ability to transmit the power out to where it was needed, nor men with guts enough to risk the millions and reputations involved.

But in this decade the engineers have been quietly remaking Canada's northland. While the politicians are still brewing up northern visions, engineers who hardly know the meaning of the term are damming rivers, building inland seas, erecting mountains, changing the face of the land many prefer to believe is the quint-essential Canada. The Peace River dam; the Columbia River project; the potash mines of Saskatchewan; Kettle Rapids in Manitoba; Manicouagan in Quebec; Churchill Falls – above all, Churchill Falls.

The proportions are Homeric. The falls sit on the edge of a saucer-shaped piece of Labrador that is part of the land author Hammond Innes described as **Land God Gave to Cain**. Those who know it say that Cain promptly passed it on to someone else: even the Indians have never lived

there.

To reach the falls and begin work on the project men built 120 miles of boulder-pitted road from the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway, itself an engineering wonder, through the sub-Arctic forest of mangy, stunted spruce and birch. In winter the temperature hovers around 30-below. It begins to snow in September and by the time it ends the next May about 150 inches of the stuff have fallen. Through June a local breed of mosquito as big as a quarter and the ubiquitous blackfly infest a land still piebald with patches of glacial snow, pockmarked with the footprints of moose and caribou and the occasional wolf.

The magnitude of it all is hard to grasp. Andy Liljefors, a veteran of construction jobs from Africa and Latin America through to the Toronto subway, says with a shake of his head, "It's too big for a man to get his mind around. It is an enormous job, impersonal and compartmentalized and you can only do what you can do, and not see it all." Most of the work is scheduled and monitored by computers in Montreal. The efforts of public relations men to reduce the project to people-size have been frantic, and sometimes ludicrous. A seven-page fact sheet cheerfully given to anyone who cares tells you that the central-Labrador saucer will eventually be flooded to make a reservoir more than a third the size of Lake Ontario; that 9,780,000,000,000 gallons of water from an area almost twice the size of The Netherlands will flow through the penstocks every year into the largest underground powerhouse in the world; that it will produce more than 34-billion kilowatt hours of electricity a year, increasing Canada's hydro-power output by 20 per cent. In one of the more desperate flights of fancy, public-relations man Langevin Cote calculated that one underground chamber would always contain enough water to fill six million bathtubs "without people in them." They are presumably still working on the calculations of how many with people in them.

The bathtub analogy is singularly, if accidentally, apt because the tiled bathroom could easily stand as one of the symbols of what the Churchill Falls developers have done to the hardy old myth of life in the raw in northern construction camps. At Churchill Falls men have bathtubs. And showers. And automatic washers and dryers in most 10-room, 20-man bunkhouses. And sheets on the bed and maid service (though the maid is a man, and called a janitor). And first-run movies. And a choice of dishes in the massive mess hall. And a ski-run and a library. And. . .

To reach Churchill Falls Main Camp, perched on the edge of the river gorge, you fly 250 miles from Seven Islands, Quebec, or 650 from St. John's, Newfoundland, (only freight comes by rail and road) over tedious expanses of bush and water, and think that the only thing more staggering than the million of people in North America is the amount of room left for more, and you reach the main crossroads in the middle of the little city they call Main Camp. There you see a 50-ton behemoth of a truck, with tires worth $3,000 apiece, churning up a dust storm that settles to reveal two little French-Canadian secretaries in miniskirts and high-fashion boots tripping across to a tin-hut office for all the world as it if were Place Ville Marie at lunchtime.

"We brought the females in earlier than on most projects as part of our policy to make the camp as normal a place to live as possible – let's face it, living away from women isn't normal – and when they arrived last summer the men immediately began turning up to meals shaved and washed and tidy, much more spruced up than before," says Elmer Squires, the management-relations expert who is site manager for the Churchill Falls (Labrador) Corporation.

It was a shock to both men and women. "At first, to eat in the mess hall with hundreds of men, I wore my slacks, but one of the men said that they liked to see a woman in skirts, so I wear my mini because if it pleases them to see us in skirts, then it isn't much to ask," says Claudette Lebrun, who is 25, pert, a little plump and has good legs in a mini. "I have two very mini skirts – they're 10 inches above the knee – but I don't wear them to the mess hall because although I want to be feminine I don't want to provoke the men."

There are 127 single women and girls who use the 920-seat mess hall and are thus thrust into the view of, if not into contact with, the construction workers. Sixty-four girls work in the hangar-sized mess hall and the snack bar; 63 are office girls, teachers and nurses. They are there for as many reasons as there are girls, but it's mostly the money. A waitress in the mess hall gets more than $400 a month, plus generous tips if she works in the snack bar; a secretary earns $500 and the school librarian, who is 25 and tries to hide the fact she is very pretty behind horn rims, brown stockings and a bun, gets $11,000 a year.

All the mess-hall girls are from Newfoundland. The office girls are about half and half French and English Canadian, and to these a trip to the mess hall is an occasion. The English-Canadian girls regard it as an ordeal: "All those hungry eyes, stripping you naked," says one. The French-Canadian girls almost enjoy it: "At first I kept my coat on in the hall, but then I found the men are more gallant than I have ever known, and if a man looks at a woman and enjoys what he sees, then it is good for him," says secretary Helene Tiernan, formerly an MP's aide in Ottawa.

The presence of women in a construction camp is not in itself remarkable. For the past five years increasing numbers of engineers' wives have been going north with their husbands (there are about 280 wives and families at Churchill Falls). But they usually live sequestered lives, so that the workers – the men northern legend says are rude and brutalized – are less likely to be inflamed by a glimpse of swirling hair or swelling calf. Nor are unattached women total strangers to bush construction, because in the past couple of years they have appeared in places such as the Kettle Rapids hydro development in Manitoba – but only when the permanent community brought in to run the installation had begun to take shape. What is unusual about the girls of Churchill Falls is that they should have been there in the early days of the job, and be expected to eat with all those hairy workers. As such, they are a little like the cows put into a bullring to gentle a snorting bull.

They are also the most visible demonstration of just how man has learned to pack his civilization with him to the wilderness. For several years, the hellhole bunkhouse camp has been slowly giving way to a sort of broadloomed exurbia that has culminated in the lonely splendors of

Churchill Falls, and now the Canadian north will never be the same again.

This summer there were 2,700 of the 4,500 work force at Main Camp, living in "bunkhouses" clustered about the recreation centre. This houses a movie theatre whose three movies a week are those on current release in Montreal, a barber shop, a laundry, a commissary where the big sellers are work shirts, sexy books and toys to take or send home to the kids, a pool hall, darts room, TV lounge, snack bar and seven telephone booths – which must be one of the Bell's most profitable installations ever, since there's a constant queue of men waiting outside each booth to call home on "the outside".

The recreation centre also houses the entertainment officer's quarters and the men-only tavern, which is open from 9 a.m. to 11 a.m. so the night shift can have an after-breakfast beer, and from 7 p.m. to 11 p.m. for the day shift – "just long enough to get the taste, and no longer," says one man. The tavern sells around 25,000 bottles of beer a week at 50 cents a bottle, and the biggest problem is keeping the supply flowing during opening hours. Each Saturday night the five "pourers" open 120 bottles of beer before the doors are unlocked, knowing the seven waiters will have distributed them all within five minutes. "We have hardly any trouble here, but if the customers' thirst gets ahead of the pouring it could be dangerous," says assistant manager Norman Clyde, an improbably dapper figure in winkle-picker shoes and stovepipe trousers.

There are several reasons why the accommodation and facilities at Churchill Falls are so civilized, and are becoming more so: a new permanent town center, complete with hotel and cocktail bar, is due to be opened this fall. The biggest reason may be that Donald McParland, the 40-year-old president of the British Newfoundland Corporation, parent of the Churchill Falls company, once worked in the old-style construction camp helltowns both as a student and a miner, and didn't like it much. The other is the kind of man involved in the project. Construction boss Ulric Sherman Shakespeare Hodgins, or "Shake" in the construction business, says that most of the men working in northern construction are "up north escaping family problems, money problems or drinking problems." By his definition, the Northern Vision of Canada is being brought to fruition by the rejects of urban society. But in the case of Churchill Falls, many of the men are there simply because there is no work in Newfoundland that pays as well as Churchill Falls, not because they have problems. "To get and keep these kind of people you've got to provide decent facilities," says camp boss Elmer Squires.

All jobs must be offered first to Newfoundlanders, then to Quebeckers. A basic laborer can earn $700 a month and pays only $60 a month for room and board. A heavy-truck driver makes as much as $1,200 a month. Eddie St. Amour, who blew the charge that opened up the first penstock, got $1,380 for two weeks' work just before the breakthrough. And the 200 lumberjacks clearing a path through the forest for the power lines can – and sometimes do – gross $2,000 a month in pay and bonuses.

The pay and living conditions are similar at the string of nine out-camps, between 15 and 140 miles from the falls, where men are mostly engaged in building dykes to contain the reservoir floodwaters. Life is lonely, and harder, for them – but still they get two-man rooms, janitor service, a choice of meals and the latest movies shown on $1,500 projectors usually operated by the camp cook.

All this, however, is life in the Camp Site as opposed to the Town Site. The Town Site is where the management workers – top foremen, engineers, draftsmen, managers, school teachers, policemen – live in furnished trailers, which provide about the same accommodation and space as a two or three bedroom apartment. There's a duplicate-bridge club, university extension courses, a supermarket that sells marjoram and avocado pears, and what one man says is the biggest mobile coffee klatch east of Prince Rupert. The Town Site is where the school is, and the library, and the club where the bar is open to management men seven hours a day (nine on Saturdays) and where you see that a draconian caste system is part of the civilization in microcosm that man has shipped north.

The Camp Site and the Town Site are physically separated by a road officially called Ninth Street, and known to the men as Dollies' Alley because the mess-hall girls' bunkhouses are on one side. The staff club is on the other.

The men qualified to use the staff club all wear white hard hats; the workers' hats are colored. The tavern is for men only, but on Saturdays management men can take wives and girl friends to the staff club to drink and dance. The office girls and teachers and nurses all live in the Town Site in a hostel but, unlike the mess-hall girls, they have a lounge for entertaining boy friends. The mess-hall girls have an 11 p.m. curfew, the office girls don't. The workers can't entertain women in their rooms; the young engineers, a lot of whom live in former portable motel units designed for Expo 67, can entertain whom they like, usually the office girls who are rendered more attractive by the fact they don't have a curfew. "There's incredible snobbery and class distinction," says 25-year-old Barbara McKeown, the school librarian.

The mess-hall girls have always had to kiss boy friends good-night on the bunkhouse doorstep at 11 p.m. Not long ago there was an office-girl's rebellion because they were suddenly denied the right to actually entertain men in their rooms. It seems they had done so quite freely until one day management put up a notice in the lobby, which said: "No Men Past This Point." An outraged deputation of three girls stomped into the management office, but were sent packing. "I resent being treated like an amoral schoolgirl," says Barbara McKeown.

The class distinctions are traditional and may be needed for on-job discipline; the rules about drinking and girls and other kinds of antisocial behaviour are, says security officer Dick Vessey, an ex-Mountie sergeant, "the sort of code you've got to have because, after all, 100 girls and a few thousand men are a potentially a...well, a volatile mixture." Camp boss Elmer Squires says, "The key to the project is the comfort and well-being of the men, because without them we won't be able to build the project in time and on budget, and everything, rules included, is designed to make this as attractive and convenient a place to live as you might expect in the middle of the bush."

To that end, each man is expected to take a couple of

weeks off to go "outside" every six months: after three months the company pays his fare out, and after six it also antes up the fare back again. Drinking instead of working, being a cardsharp or a homosexual, fighting, stealing or being caught in a compromising position with a member of the opposite sex – all lead to a seat on the next flight out. A man caught leaving a girl's room and the second man then caught in her room a few minutes later were sent out next morning. So was the girl.

The result of all these rules is that Churchill Falls is something of a disappointment to the romantic who goes there expecting to find rugged life in the raw. On Saturday nights the place is quieter than a town of the same size in the south.

I was there one Saturday when the big excitements were the showing of a movie about Catherine the Great, and the semi-final of the darts championship. A prodigious quantity of beer was drunk, and when the bar closed not everyone found the road to the bunkhouse straight and narrow. But at the same time there was a constantly replensihed queue of about 50 men at the phones. Two groups of men played scratch games of football and volleyball in the arena built for ice skating, and when one footballer was kicked in the shin he described his assailant only as a "clumsy fool" – there was a young waitress on the volleyball team next door. Outside, in the car park, three guitarists, a fiddler and a man playing the spoons entertained for an impromptu open-air dance. They played Newfoundland folk songs and sang them in a dialect incomprehensible to the English-speaking world.

In the Town Site a surveyor who had worked on Penstock No. 1 held a party for the hard-rock miners who had cut the shaft. For the occasion, the miners had crossed Ninth Street from the Camp Site. Eddie St. Amour sat in a corner of the trailer, listening to Sinatra on the stereo, sipped a Tom Collins and said that he had never worked in a northern construction camp before and that it was very surprising to find pleasant rooms and washing machines and bathrooms and girls in miniskirts. "The girls, it doesn't seem right," he said. "But altogether it is very, very. . .tres agreeable."

Outside an animal howled. It might have been someone's pet poodle, but it was probably a timber wolf.

"Up here is the last place I know where your enemy isn't the guy at the next desk or office or car; it's the land around you and the climate and the difficulties of the job. Up here men work together against them because they're everybody's enemy anyway. Down south. . .well, as they say, it's a nice place to visit but I wouldn't want to live there."

The bush begins 122 paces from Gordon Stibbards' front door on 12th Street in the Town Site of Churchill Falls, and last winter when it was 30-below and the snow congealed into walls on either side of the front path, he and his wife Marge put on snowshoes and took a .22 rifle to hunt ptarmigan, which is a delicious Arctic grouse.

They found bird tracks just a few trees in, and followed. Soon, they came across the tracks of a fox, which was also following the ptarmigan. Then the tracks ended: either the bird had flown or the fox had had dinner. They turned back to camp, and saw some addiional tracks. A wolf had been following them.

Gordon Stibbards is 30, a small, wiry man with difficult hair and unlovely knees, which may be why he doesn't talk much about his activities as Scoutmaster of the First Churchill Falls Troop. He is a mining technician, which is somewhere between a foreman and an engineer, and at Churchill Falls he inspects contractors' work on behalf of the development company. He and Marge are the kind of people who are changing the north.

They have been married for six years, but were separated at first while Gordon worked in the north. Then, at Manicouagan hydro-power project in norther Quebec, junior-management people were permitted the privilege that on most jobs had been available only to top brass: they, too, could have their families with them. Marge left a tidy suburban villa in Welland, in southern Ontario, and moved to the middle of nowhere to set up housekeeping in a three-bedroom trailer pretty well interchangeable with the one they have occupied for the past year at Churchill Falls. For this one, they pay $60 a month rent out of Gordon's $14,000-a-year salary. Their neighbors include many couples they worked and lived with at Manic.

In northern construction, a man's reputation precedes him, and it is beginning to be so with the wives. Gordon is known to be good with boys (he has two, James and Terrence), which is why he is a Scoutmaster, and Marge is known as someone you can dragoon into good works. She collected $103 for the Heart Fund and $117 for the CNIB last winter, and says that "considering the salaries up here, my neighbors are damned mean."

These activities are their modest contribution to creating an instant community. "Somehow," says Marge, "it comes together without strain. The men are drawn together by the job, and the women by the isolation." There's a peewee hockey league, university extension courses, musical groups, bridge clubs, sewing circles and the library, run twice a week by Nora Rosso, wife of the safety director. Gordon says every engineer has probably read Gibbon's **Decline and Fall**, "whereas down south you'd have to wait until you broke your leg or something to get through it." Marge says that in Churchill Falls the unisex cult of the cities is a joke. "Here, men are very masculine, and women pretty well obliged to be very womanly. Most wives sew and knit and embroider and can bake bread and make berry wines and do otner things you'd never dream of in the city."

There are also lots of parties, supplied with liquor by a twice-monthly "milk run" in which the crew of a company plane on the run to Wabush fills liquor orders from management people only. Midway through one such party Gordon stepped outside to look at the Northern Lights, and said, "Life in the north is fun because of the money and the people and the country. But to stay in a place like this you have to be able to feel you have built something, or are helping build something, that is useful and permanent and worth leaving behind. How much longer? Oh, I've got another 15, maybe 20 years on this sort of job. By then, you won't recognize the north country – not after what we've done to it."

Edmonds, Alan. "Power", McLeans, 82:42-47, 49, September, 1969.

LABRADOR CITY

LABRADOR CITY

(This article published by the Board of Trustees of Labrador City discusses its growth from 1959 to 1969. At the present time it might be considered that Labrador City is going through the transition phase and is rapidly nearing maturity.)

DECADE OF GROWTH

Labrador City, Newfoundland lies near the base of the Wapussakatoo Mountains in southwestern Labrador. During the past ten years the town has grown to include a population of eight thousand, five hundred – mostly of English and French origin, with English being the predominant language spoken.

By 1969, Labrador City has grown to become the largest town in Labrador and the fourth largest in Newfoundland.

Incorporated on June 27, 1961, the Local Improvement District of Labrador City is governed by a five member 'Board of Trustees', appointed by the Lieutenant Governor of Newfoundland.

As one of a group of a new towns in Canada's "Near North," Labrador City is in fair proximity to major cities in eastern Canada. One hundred and ninety miles to the South is Sept. Iles, major port and service centre for towns along the Quebec-Labrador boundary. Seven hundred miles to the Southeast is the provincial capital, St. John's while to the Southwest lies Montreal – a distance of five hundred and ninety miles.

The town is situated in a sub-arctic climatic region, characterized by long, cold winters and short, cool summers. Total annual precipitation is approximately forty inches with a maximum occurring during the winter months. Precipitation, as snowfall, attains a yearly average of one hundred and seventy inches and a maximum depth of sixty inches. Snow cover usually last two hundred days.

Growth

Labrador City has grown at a rapid pace since Townsite construction began in early 1959. Within a year sixteen houses, single men's quarters, a six hundred and forty-five seat cafeteria, and ladies' and men's staffhouses, had been built. During the initial construction period all materials were flown into the area by Iron Ore Company planes. In May of 1960, Labrador City was connected to the main line of the Quebec North Shore Labrador Railway. Now accelerated growth in housing was assured.

By 1969, the town had grown to include twelve hundred housing units and fifty trailers and two hundred and seventy apartment units.

During the ten year period, 1959-1969, the population of the town increased steadily. In early 1960, Labrador City contained twenty-seven families, four hundred and forty-seven men living in Company accommodations and twenty-seven single ladies. In 1969, the population was eight thousand five hundred, twenty-five per cent of whom were under the age of sixteen. The language composition of the town is eighty per cent English speaking, with the remainder being mostly of French extraction.

Commercial facilities also increased greatly during the sixties. Residents who settled in the town during the early years relied heavily upon outside mail order houses for most of the necessities and amenities of life.

In 1962, a thirteen unit "Carol Shopping Centre" was completed, followed by an additional thirteen unit extension in 1965. By 1969 the number of commercial firms operating out of Labrador City was approximately seventy.

Recreation

Recreation activities plays a major role in the life of Labrador City with extensive facilities and organized programs available to both the youth and adult segments of the population.

Located in the Northeast section of the town, Labrador City's main recreational area includes, the Labrador City Arena, Carol Curling Club, two softball diamonds, two tennis courts, soccer pitch and a cricket field.

In the centre of the town is the Centennial Playground – a landscaped tree-lined park – equipped with children's slides, swings, shoots and other facilities. Three school gymnasiums, a nine hole golf course, skiing slopes, and several swimming, picnic and camping areas are located either in or on the periphery of the town.

The physiography and drainage pattern of the area affords excellent hunting and fishing. The birch and fir-clad hills are roaming grounds for many caribou, moose and other animal life. Trout and salmon are the main fish caught in the many lakes of western Labrador.

Catering to the night life of the adult population are five clubs: The Ashuanipi Social Club, The Royal Canadian Legion Club, The O'Brien Hall, Carol Curling Club and the Smokey Mountain Ski Club.

The town's two main cultural groups are the Community Concert Association and The Carol Players, a local amateur acting company.

In 1969, Labrador City had approximately fifty organizations catering to all facets of life in the town – commerce, industry, health, education, religion, social, cultural and athletics.

Education

Labrador City's system of education is the product of cooperative planning by the Iron Ore Company of Canada, the governments of Newfoundland and Quebec and the religious denominations.

Growth has been rapid since September 1960 when thirty-eight students enrolled in the "Carol Project School" – located in a temporary trailer-staffhouse building.

In 1961 the town's first permanent school was opened – the ten room C.E. McManus School – with a population of two hundred and fifty-seven students and eighteen teachers. This was followed two years later by the completion of the much larger, Labrador City Collegiate.

Latest addition to the school complex is Notre Dame Academy, opened in 1966.

By 1969, Labrador City had a tri-system of education: an Amalgamated Elementary School, a Roman Catholic elementary school – both feeding into the Labrador City Collegiate high school.

All three schools have modern facilities. Both Labrador City Collegiate and Notre Dame Academy contain 'French Sections' where francophone students are taught in their native tongue. Specialized programs are offered in physical education, business education, guidance English, French, home economics, art, and remedial instructions.

In 1969, seventeen hundred students were enrolled in Labrador City Schools taught by approximately one hundred and twenty teachers.

Religion

Six religious denominations have permanent houses of worship at Labrador City – Anglican, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostal, Roman Catholic, Salvation Army and United Church. Early church services date back to the construction era of the late 1950's when missionary Anglican, Roman Catholic and United Church priests held infrequent services in various camps, homes and trailers.

As the population grew the Churches became directly involved in the life of the town resulting in the stationing of permanent pastors, the construction of church buildings and the growth of other denominations.

In May of 1960, the first Pentecostal service was held while in July of the following year, the Salvation Army began administering to its followers.

The Salvation Army Citadel, opened in early 1962, was the first building erected in Labrador City solely for church purposes. Later that year, the Carol United Church was completed. In 1963, Glad Tidings Pentecostal Tabernacle, Our Lady of Perpetual Help Roman Catholic Church and St. Paul's Anglican Church were completed. In September 1968 the Congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses began holding worship meetings in their newly built Kingdom Hall.

One of the more significant events in the religious life of the town was the completion of a 'one-church building' in 1968 to serve both the Anglican and United Church congregations.

Communication

Ten years ago western Labrador was devoid of any tangible forms of communication with the outside world. From the beginning steps were taken to combat isolation. In the area of transportation, a forty-two miles spur rail-line was completed in May of 1960, linking the town with the main line of the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway. In 1969, six freight trains and two passenger trains departed from Labrador City weekly, enroute to Sept. Iles. In 1960, both Eastern Provincial Airways and Quebec Air began air service into the 'Iron Ore Country'. In 1969 both airlines began daily jet service to Labrador City.

In the Fall of 1960, the Newfoundland Labrador Telephone Company opened a communications building in the town providing complete automatic telephone service throughout the city and to all parts of the world. By 1969, Labrador City had two thousand, seven hundred telephones plus unlimited telex and private teletype circuits.

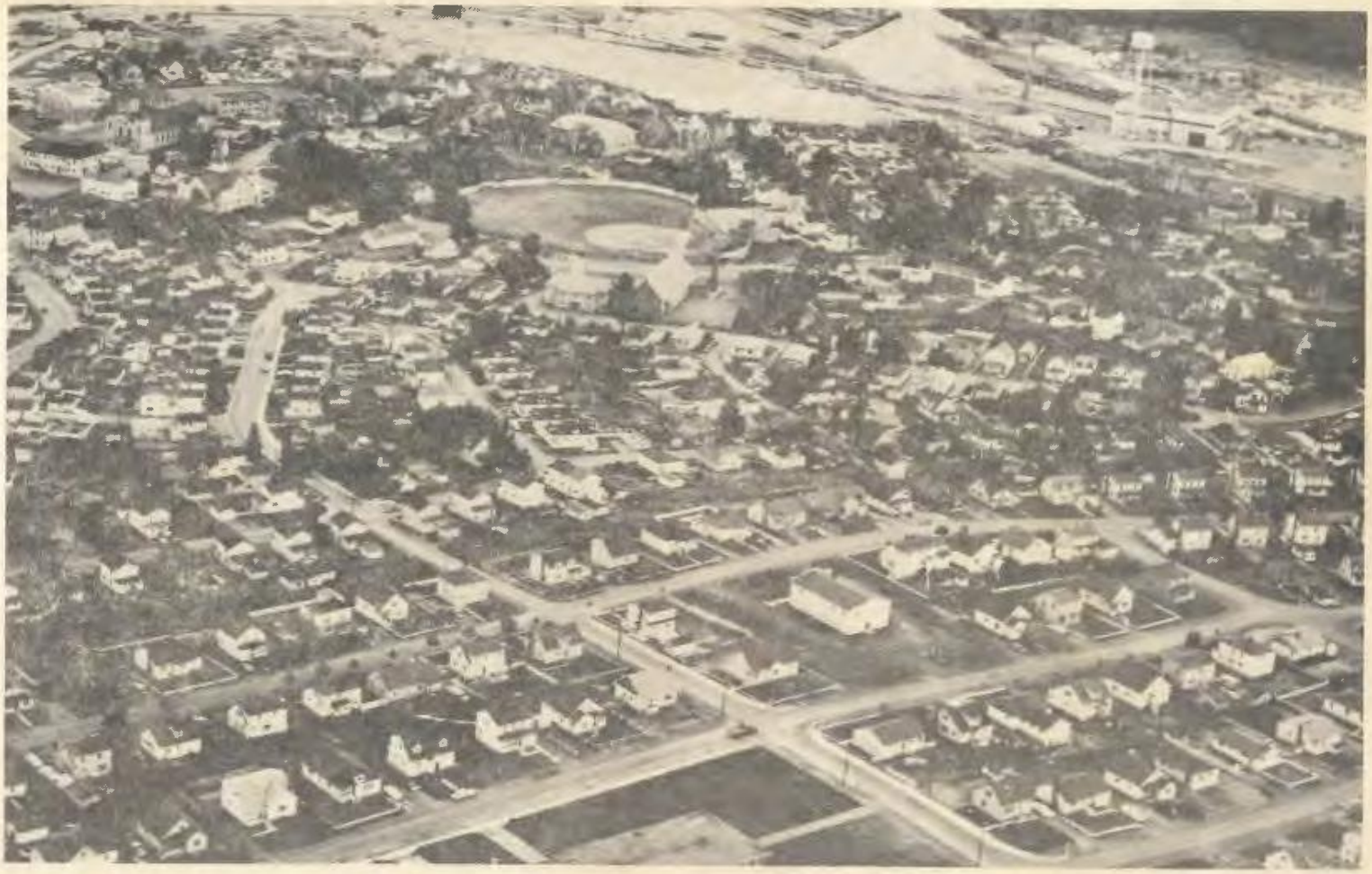
In 1964 two low power broadcasting stations were installed in the area transmitting live radio broadcasting in both French and English. The following year saw the inception of television. Owned and operated by the Iron Ore Company of Canada, the local television station provides viewers with eight hours of film and video-tape programs daily.

Outside Newspapers have been sending copies to Labrador City since the early part of the decade. Major Newfoundland dailies sold are the Evening Telegram and the Daily News while major Quebec dailies include the Montreal Gazette and the Montreal Matin.

Besides these outside Newspapers, the area produces its own weekly newspapers; the Aurora, and Carol Link.

Labrador City Board of Trustees. "Decade of Growth" (I.O.C. Publication), 1969.

GRAND FALLS



GRAND FALLS

(This article, taken from the Atlantic Advocate, outlines the colourful beginnings of the town of Grand Falls. It also briefly traces the history of the town through to 1968. Grand Falls might be considered a mature single industry community.)

ONE BOLD VENTURE

by

John Braddock

Grand Falls, Newfoundland, was founded in controversy.

Artificially created amidst a storm of abuse, centred around a paper-making plant that experts predicted would be impractical, attracting men said to be good only at fishing, the community proved the critics utterly wrong.

It quickly became a place of international importance and the crowning triumph for one of the most influential publishers of the world.

So I can't get too dismayed when I hear talk of temporary recessions in the paper-making industry, and cut-backs and similar difficulties just when the Grand Falls paper-making company – Price (Nfld.) Pulp and Paper Limited – is about to operate one of the biggest paper-making machines in the world.

Somehow the coincidence is too appropriate.

And the company is going ahead with its plans. In fact the new machine, nicknamed Moby Joe after the whale stranded in Burgeo, will receive full attention at the special "starting-up" ceremonies to be held.

To say this machine is one of the biggest ever made, that its output is equivalent to four of the existing machines, that it will produce up to 3,000 feet of paper per minute, that the sheets will be twenty-seven feet wide before the trimming; that it will be in operation twenty-four hours, seven days a week; and that it will consume 625 cords of solfwood a day is impressive enough for the statistician. But a layman has to see it to realize what it means.

To start with, the company had to construct a new building almost as long as its plant and offices combined, to house this mechanical mammoth.

To use other analogies, the machine is as long as a ten-car train. Throughout this length it is as high as a three-storey house. It is as wide as the Trans-Canada Highway, recently constructed past the town. It consists of a series of fifty rollers or dryers almost large enough to run a Volkswagen through.

Its roar, when it comes into operation will be louder than the thunder of the original Grand Falls, and louder than all the tumult and cheering that accompanied Lord Northcilffe throughout that momentous day, sixty-three years ago, when he started the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited – and the new community of Grand Falls.

It is impossible not to sense the ghosts of Lord Northcliffe and his brother, Lord Rothermere, in the place.

Go up to Grand Falls House, a dark beamed and gabled home set back from the road away from the clamour of the factory, and by tricks of light slanting through the silver birches you can easily imagine The Chief, as he was known, still standing by himself while the important guests retired to the house, and townspeople continued their festivities.

Apparently he had stood there in the evening looking remarkably like the Napoleon he had always secretly wished to emulate. He had the Napoleonic nose, the backward tilt of the head, the habit of holding his right hand in the fold of his suit, and the liking for the use of the initial "N" whenever possible; but now, in middle age, as publisher of his vast newspaper empire in Britain, a realm that included **The Daily Mirror, The Evening News, The Daily Mail,** and shortly to acquire the prize of them all, **The Times,** he had lost the aestheticism – and his looks – of youth. He had become jowly, rather stout, harder, ruthless when necessary, but retaining still a bold, clear insight of things to come.

He foretold the coming technology, emancipation of women, war with Germany.

At the time of the opening ceremonies at Grand Falls he was attacking the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Winston Churchill, on his attitude to the American declaration of their three-mile-limit fishing rights off Newfoundland, which had come about through an agreement between Britain and the United States without any consultation with Newfoundland.

Sir Robert Bond, then the Premier, had hurried to London to tell Lord Elgin, the Colonial Secretary, that if Newfoundland lost the fishing industry it had lost everything. Lord Northcliffe had supported his case.

"Had one of the larger colonies been dealt with as Newfoundland had been," roared the **Daily Mail,** "there would have been a protest strong enough to shake the empire."

Winston Churchill accused the **Daily Mail** of fabrication. He said he was surprised so recently created a peer should let a newspaper under his control use methods of such "transparent mendacity".

Lord Northcliffe replied: "It is for the old Motherland to which Newfoundland appeals, to show the world that the interests of the smallest daughter states are as dear to her as those of the greatest."

As he turned from his quiet reverie on that evening of October 9, 1909, and went back into Grand Falls House to look after his guests – it is likely that Lord Northcliffe, until recently Alfred Harmsworth, was reflecting on his extraordinary career – a succession of events that were ultimately to have a profound effect upon the inhabitants and the economy of what was to become Canada's tenth province.

By 1903 they had become increasingly anxious over the supply of newsprint. Since the South African War they had kept a year's supply on hand, but with Alfred's certainty of a war in Europe the need for a supply other

than from Scandinavia was becoming urgent.

Yet it was a Halifax, Nova Scotia, newspaper, the **Halifax Morning Chronicle**, that first suggested in print that timberlands should be used, and a paper-making industry located, in Eastern Canada.

Harold Harmsworth, and "one or two other Londoners" visited Grand Falls, New Brunswick. What happened to this survey is not clear, for later Mayson Beeton, a former correspondent who was destined to become the first president of the Newfoundland paper-making company and be knighted, reached Newfoundland with a small party and camped in a tent on the banks of the Exploits River. He had authority to negotiate timber rights.

You can see the Exploits River winking away below the trees as you stand outside Gr and Falls House.

To Mayson Beeton the 135-mile river, studded with lakes, swift with rapids cascading down to a navigable section of the coast, and surrounded by forest, seemed a perfect location for their dreams of a paper mill.

On the guidance of Harold Harmsworth, who from then on became concerned about the details of the project, he bought the estates of a Mr. Lewis Miller, together with the saw mill and small community at Millertown.

He also selected the watersheds of the Red Indian Lake and the Exploits River for the timber and the power; and travelling by canoe through the lakes he was impressed by the great potential, and reasoned that the timber would be sufficient for a hundred years.

Lord Northcliffe went to Grand Falls the following year. He agreed with Mayson Beeton that the situation was ideal.

An application was made to Newfoundland's Liberal government, under Sir Robert Bond, for timber rights to about 2,000 square miles and to water rights on the Exploits. (The area has since been increased to over 4,000 square miles).

The agreement was signed January 12, 1905.

In London the Harmsworths had already been ridiculed for their idea.

Various "experts" had told them the project was impossible. Newfoundland was covered in fog most of the year. . .it was too damp for paper-making, or, even if paper was made, it would be of inferior quality. . .it would be impossible to obtain labour. . .Newfoundlanders would never learn another trade.

So the Doubting Thomases kept up a barrage of ill-tidings.

A more serious opposition arose in Newfoundland itself. The agreement, requiring the consent of the Legislature, came under heavy attack.

The House of Assembly opened in April of that year, 1905. In the Speech from the Throne, Sir William MacGregor said his ministers:

> have entered into an agreement with English capitalists to establish in this Colony the manufacture of wood pulp and paper on an extensive scale. The new industry will afford employment to a large number of operatives and will provide the initial step towards the settlement of a fixed population in the interior of the country. . .

The Premier, Sir Robert Bond, then rose to explain the agreement, describing at the same time the increasing world demand for paper and the concessions Canada had given to attract such industries.

Newfoundland too, he said, would have to make concessions.

He suggested the government should undertake to lease to Messrs. Harmsworth Crown lands and waters for a period of ninety-nine years. . .renewable at the option of the lessee. . .the lessees would have to pay an annual ground rent of two dollars per square mile. . .and fifty cents for every thousand board-feet measure of trees cut for other purposes than pulp. . .the leasees would have all mineral rights. . .the lessees would have to expend not less than $250,000 on the building of one or more pulpmills within four years, and a further sum of $750,000 within twenty years. . .

His voice droned on throughout the morning.

The Opposition, however, was far from happy. The main attack came from A.B. Morine, who blasted all sections of the bill.

The agreement, he said, was only drawn up to protect the Harmsworths — "to give them 2,000 square miles and to persecute the people. It is a case of building a ring fence around the interior and excluding Newfoundlanders. It is a disgrace to this Legislature. It is designed to cripple the Railway and give the advantage to the Harmsworths."

"The arrangements with the Harmsworths," retorted Sir Robert Bond, "would be of incalculable benefit to the Colony and the people's interests have been safeguarded. . ."

The furor, rising in crescendo, continued in the press:

> Surely it is not true that the Government comtemplates giving Harmsworth power to corral all the deer; also exclusive water power. . .
>
> Henceforth, no Newfoundlanders need apply. The land and fulness thereof belong to Harmsworth. . .Now the facts are that during twenty years, one million will be spent and two thousand square miles of land are to be given away. . .
>
> The taxpayers have been bled to pay in hard cash millions of dollars for bungling legislators.
>
> We are plunging a large part of this country back at a single stroke to three hundred years ago. . .
>
> Where is Archbishop Howley, Dr. Curtis and Canon Pilot? Have these men no opinion of the Harmsworth contract?
>
> Let us have a public meeting. . .
>
> Awake countrymen and protest against these despoilers of our native land!

However, the bill did pass the Assembly, due to the government's majority. It was sponsored in the Upper

House by Hon. John Harvey – which increased the criticism when it was pointed out that Harvey and Company were agents for the A.N.D. Company.

Tempers were short in St . John's.

The heads of various businesses approached the Governor to see if he would hear a deputation from those who opposed the bill. The Governor refused; such a move would be unconstitutional, he said.

So two public meetings were called. One was conducted by Sir William V. Whiteway. He called the deal a curse, and shouted that the time had come for rebellion.

The controversy, if not actual danger of insurrection, continued throughout the following months with the opponents utterly unaware of the Harmsworths' intentions.

The Opposition were afraid that after the A.N.D. had paid $1 million over the twenty years it would have the 2,000 square miles of territory without further commitments – i.e. this vast area would have been sold for only a million dollars.

They visualized the development of a "closed town", and even the Prime Minister's amendment, in the final stages of the bill, for Newfoundlanders to hunt and fish over the Harmsworth estates did little to ease their concern.

Yet when the bill became law, and the Governor in his closing speech of the session said "the establishment of a paper and pulp industry appears to fully safeguard the Public interests, while extending liberal concessions to the British investor", the opposition fell off.

A month previously a public meeting had been called. It was a flop. Reported the St. John's **Evening Telegram**:

> The promoters of this agitation against the Harmsworth Deal are sick men today. The hall last night was only half-filled. There was a lack of enthusiasm. They had died in their tracks.

It soon became apparent the Harmsworths meant no evil. The town, far from being "closed", was very open. Labour was invited at good rates, construction started immediately, people swarmed in not only from Newfoundland but from Britain and America as well.

The names of these original pioneers – for that is what they were – can be found in Grand Falls today. For example, the Saunders, the Irelands, Burkes, Rowsells, Goodyears, Holletts, Pikes, Colbournes, Carters, Dackers, Sheppards, Christians, Pitchers and others.

The dam was built under the eye of an American engineer H.F. Lincoln. In the first year, 1905, men set to, under the guidance of Mayson Beeton and William Scott, the resident engineer. They cleared the swamps, cut trees, built a saw mill, staff house, school, office, a few dwellings and a bunkhouse. It was that primitive.

Construction on the mill buildings started on June 3rd, 1907, with Lady MacGregor pouring the first batch of concrete.

Within a brief four years a gigantic manufacturing plant and extensive townsite had sprung out of the primeval forest.

Engineers, architects, constructors had been sent in by rail. A huge labour force had penetrated the interior. Heavy equipment and materials had been sent from half way around the world by ship and train. And local Newfoundlanders had been taken off the bread-line and retrained to operate the complex, designed and engineered by the American engineer Geo. F. Hardy.

Small wonder the official opening ceremonies of that summer day of 1909 were long and revelry.

There were flags and streamers and bunting displayed throughout the town.

On a huge arch were the words: WELCOME TO THE CHIEF. Under this, in a motorcade, the Napoleonic Northcliffe rode like a conqueror. By his side was his wife; and in attendance was the Governor, Sir Ralph Williams, and the new Prime Minister, Sir E.P. Morris.

Lord Northcliffe – or the organizers – didn't believe in a token dinner. Four hundred and twenty-seven people were treated to: soup, boiled fresh salmon or lobster mayonnaise; vol-au-vent of chicken; roast turkey with sausage or roast beef horseradish and glazed tongue, each with boiled potatoes and green peas; then they had partridge; ice pudding; anchovies on toast, fruit, chocolates, nuts, raisins, cake, tea, coffee and aerated water.

Although the records don't say so, the water was probably from one of the Harmsworth brothers – St. John or "Bonchie" as he was called – who had been sent to France to work on the **Continental Daily Mail** to improve his French. But he had left, to the family's great surprise, sold all his shares and used the money to bottle and sell some water he found bubbling from a spring near Nimes. The owner of the surrounding land was a Dr. Perrier. Within a few years "Perrier Water" became world famous. Such is the luck of the Harmsworths.

The large dinner was followed by the usual long speeches. A similar dinner was later given for the thousand employees, at the conclusion of which each man was given a plug of tobacco. Then on to the Log House Field for the sports program.

The mill was officially opened with Lady Northcliffe, Lady Williams and Mrs. Beeton actuating the machinery; and the evening became one of great jollity with bands playing, a presentation of a Punch and Judy show by a group from Halifax, and another variety show by a troupe from Canada.

The revelries continued until 2 a.m., when a special train took Lord Northcliffe to St. John's. Three days before Christmas the first newsprint rolled from the machines.

When the mill opened in 1909 it has three machines which produced 30,000 tons of paper annually.

Three years later two new machines were added, which doubled the total production.

Lord Northcliffe died on August 14, 1922, (and left in his will the equivalent of three-months pay for every employee at Grand Falls who had worked there over three years) and Lord Rothermere took complete control.

By 1925 the sixth machine was running, so bringing the total output up to 100,000 tons annually.

More power was needed and in 1927 a new dam had been built at Red Indian Lake to provide water storage.

In the meantime Lord Rothermere became interested in the founding of a pulp and paper mill in Quebec – the Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd. – and experience

with it led him to modernize the Grand Falls Plant which now had been in operation for twenty years.

This was accompanied by an overhaul of the finances. To set up a more flexible system, he liquidated the A.N.D. company and set up a new company – with the same name – in 1933. As part of this reconstruction it was agreed that Associated Newspapers in Britain would use the entire product.

The intention was disrupted, however, by outside events. Soon Europe was plunged into war once more. By then Lord Rothermere had bought two freighters for the company – but these were requisitioned. The British Government put a limit on the amount of newsprint to enter the country. In 1942 Lord Rothermere died.

While the mill at Grand Falls continued to operate on a reduced output, with many of the staff fighting overseas, it was apparent that the old arrangements with Associated Newspapers Limited would not be the same when peace returned.

This was borne out in fact.

Post-war economy was in a different gear. Britain found it cheaper to import from Scandinavia than to ship across the Atlantic. Although the mills of Canada continued to supply some of the European demand, increasing sales were being made to the States. And the whole marketing pattern changed.

It was because of this change in markets that the merger took place in April, 1961, of Price Brothers and Company Limited, with Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited, and its subsidiaries, among which were Gaspesia Pulp and Paper Company Ltd. and Terra Nova Properties Ltd., the latter controlling a valuable mining operation at Buchans on the banks of Red Indian Lake. The resulting group of companies is one of the world's largest newsprint producers, with markets in the United Kingdom, Europe, North America, South America, Central America, Australia, Africa, Ceylon, India and elsewhere.

In April 1965 the company changed its name. The Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company now became known as Price (Nfld.) Pulp & Paper Limited – and thus acquired the power and prestige of the Price name.

The merger brought some instant results. 1965 saw the start of the first phase of a $23-million expansion program, which includes the installation of "Moby Joe" and further modifications throughout the plant.

"Moby Joe" will produce over 500 tons of newsprint a day at peak efficiency. The power to run the machine will be generated at the new hydro-electric development at Bay d'Espoir. This was the first contract to be signed for power from Bay d'Espoir with the Newfoundland and Labrador Power Commission. Price (Nfld.) has agreed to take 20,000 kilowatts for thirty years. This is about ten per cent of the power to be generated in the first phase of the d'Espoir project. The company may also purchase secondary power if, and when, it becomes available.

Today the town has a population of over 7,000, and in the brief sixty years of its existence has built a history and a tradition that has shaped its present character.

For instance, as you climb the hills, you are likely to come across school children wending their way home. They are dressed, unexpectedly in dark blue blazers and grey flannels for the boys; blue blazers and grey skirts for the girls – a copy of the older British uniform.

The townsite was laid out in the British manner. But this is less clear. It is true Main Street is unusually wide – about 100 feet – and other streets tend to turn and twist in a manner far more interesting than the conventional North American rectangular block pattern. And that Lord Northcliffe called Grand Falls House "a little bit of England".

But it would be as wrong to think of modern Grand Falls as "a little bit of England" as it is to think of Newfoundland as only being "a little bit of Canada".

And one of the strongest characteristics you find in the people of Grand Falls is that of loyalty – a tremendous pride in their community, in their company (over seventy-five per cent work at the mill) and in their province.

The recent completion of the Trans-Canada Highway across Newfoundland has suddenly changed the town – not only in its crop of motels and tourist facilities but also in the outlook of its people.

Despite the old road to Gander, the train, and the coastal boat, Grand Falls has been isolated. Talk to the older residents about the early conditions, and it is the community functions that are most likely to be remembered.

Captain George Hicks, M.C. and Bar, for instance, for many years the school principal, a local historian who has written two volumes (unpublished) of the history of the old Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, and who supplied me with much of this information, began talking about basket parties when we met.

"The girls would make up lunch baskets, you see," he said. "And these would be on display – with the girls – in the hall. And there would be an auctioneer, and you'd bid for the basket. And the highest bidder would get the basket – and the privilege of walking the girl home."

"There were debates and things like that," Ken Goodyear of Goodyear Construction, told me. "But I can remember shooting caribou before going to school. And we started our own boxing club. I was a heavyweight, and we had Mike Shallow who was champion of the New England States. Had some pretty good fights too!"

"We had many dances, and we put on shows, and we had actors come in," said Tom Howell, once the town manager, "and it was a funny thing. We had so much to do that we hardly had time to do it all!"

In those days, the town was run and managed by the company. Up to 1931 nearly all the houses were owned by the company; then it was decided to offer the older houses for sale.

This policy continued until the last of the company houses were sold in the latter half of the 1940's. And by 1961 Grand Falls received its own charter.

The Coat of Arms was presented by the Hon. Vere Rothermere on behalf of his family. You can see it in the Town Hall – which was once a theatre but is now modified to include offices, council chamber and auditorium.

The Coat of Arms consists of two caribou either side of a shield. They each have a hoof on a fish – the animals and the fishes denoting bountifulness. Between them is a wigwam denoting the Beothuck Indians; on a shield

between the caribou is a wavy line for the Exploits River; two paper scrolls, which depict the importance of paper, come from Harmsworths' escutcheon; and an irradiated star denotes progress.

Beneath is the motto: E SILVA SURREXI.
"I arose from the woodlands."

Braddock, John. "One Bold Venture", Atlantic Advocate, 58:12-14, 31, January, 1968.


ASARCO


LOCAL 974
IBEW
ON STRIKE
LOCAL
USWA
ON STRIKE

BUCHANS

(These excerpts, taken from the Evening Telegram, takes into account different aspects of the community of Buchans. The American Smelting and Refining Company started operations in Buchans in 1926, so it might be considered an old fashioned company town. This community has never transferred ownership of houses and services from Company to citizens. At the time these stories were written the employees of ASARCO were out on strike. The strike lasted from March to October.)

You load 16 tons and what do you get?
Another day older and deeper in debt.
Saint Peter don't you call me 'cause I can't go,
I owe my soul to the company store.

There is no company store in Buchans, though there once was. Nor is any Buchans miner likely to load 16 tons in a single day.

But that doesn't mean all is well in the central Newfoundland mining town. It isn't, and too many workers there feel they own something much more tangible than their souls, namely most of their pay cheques before they are even received.

Buchans is behind the times. Even the term pay cheque is imprecise for the company, the American Smelting and Refining Company, still pays its wages in cold cash, mainly crisp $50 bills. As it was in the 1930's, the new $50 is still the mark of the Buchans miner in central Newfoundland.

Buchans is behind the times in more ways than one. In labor-management relations, for example, it is something of an industrial aberration.

The first shipment of lead came out of Buchans in 1926. That makes the operation 47 years old. In the past two years in Buchans there have been three general strikes. And that is exactly 50 per cent more strikes than occurred there in the previous 45 years.

It is no surprise that the current strike, now in its third week, seems to be something more than the usual periodic, run-of-the-mining town walkout. More than a labor strike, it is a symptom of the accelerated pace of the community's social, and political evolution.

Until 1956, Buchans only 55 miles from Grand Falls as the crow flies, was more isolated than any other Newfoundland town of comparable size.

The only access was by a company railroad which left the main line at Millertown Junction and parallelled Joe Glodes Brook to Buchans Junction and on to Buchans itself.

The company train ran when the company decided; and it carried to and from Buchans only those people who had company-sanctioned business in the mining hinterland.

Today, Buchans is not so much a mining site caught in an industrial dispute as a community in the throes of a dying lifestyle.

The old lifestyle was an insular one, grounded in the paternalistic and thrifty attitude of a large, foreign company. And if the lifestyle was founded on paternalism, it was cemented by the boundless gratitude of Newfoundland workers who, in the circumstances of the day, were delighted with any job, and almost any wage.

And that's not surprising either.

The alternative, you see, was poverty.

For the stranger, the greatest thing about a visit to Buchans is the trip there.

The access road is paved but bumpy. It leaves Badger and meanders through some of the finest country on the island, 48 miles to the inland mining site.

For half that distance your travelling comrade is the majestic Exploits River. The river flows in the opposite direction as you drive towards Buchans.

It is swollen this time of year and the ebony-black water flows strong and clean through shaded valleys before reaching Grand Falls where it takes on the load of industrial dung that befouls the rest of its course to Bay of Exploits.

It is also timber territory, and for much of the way the road tunnels through stands of lush and lanky spruce, owned by Price (Nfld.) Pulp and Paper Co. of Grand Falls. There is even the occasional pine-clad hill, a rarity in Newfoundland, Sir Cavendish Boyle notwithstanding.

If the drive through this woodland splendors is the high point of the trip, the arrival is the low point. Buchans is not a pretty town.

It is mainly company-owned, composed of drab bungalows and dingy duplex apartments. For single workers, there are half a dozen company bunk houses, squalid both inside and out.

The Company owns about 80 per cent of the buildings in Buchans. They are almost uniformly dull and depressing. The town's only real physical bright spot is a parcel of private homes on the edge of town, known as the Buchans subdivision or the Townsite, an adjunct to the main community where more than 100 families have built their own homes.

The Townsite, where most of the houses are small but bright and clean, got started in a roundabout way.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, a shortage of company houses combined with general distaste for such accommodation prompted about 50 Buchans families to move out of the town altogether.

They moved about three miles, crossing the Buchans River or the "Mucky ditch" as it was known until a few years ago when expanding awareness of pollution prompted the company, with some government pressure, to rechannel its industrial effluent out of the river enabling its murky grey waters to flow clear once again.

But the new community, called Pigeon Inlet, had a short life. Even as other Buchans families were planning moves the provincial government began making its resettlement program money available to the Pigeon Inlet people to tote their new homes back closer to the town where services were more readily available.

Brief candle though it was, the founding of Pigeon Inlet was a milestone in the development of Buchans. The spark of independence it kindled presaged a quest for even more freedom. And in large measure that quest is what the Buchans strikes of recent years are about.

Most Buchans families still live in company housing and pay only $30 a month for rent. But the workers claim the housing deal is not all it's cracked up to be.

When a person moves into a company house it is an empty shell. The tenant must provide flooring, furniture and storm windows. The houses aren't heated and the tenant must also provide his own heating system. Most homes in Buchans have oil stoves, while some still have wood and coal stoves.

The company accepts responsibility for maintenance of the housing but in the past couple of years, in part because of the labor disputes, maintenance work has fallen behind and many of the homes are shabby, in need of paint or repairs.

Many workers consider company housing more of a liability than asset, and would like to be able to afford private housing in the townsite. The most comfortable and best-maintained housing in Buchans is clearly the privately-owned homes.

A related but important problem is the fact that when a person no longer works for the company, but wishes to remain in Buchans, he cannot get into company housing. The problem is especially acute for older, retired people.

"It literally kills some old guys to have to get out," a union official says. "Right at the age when a person needs his friends he has to leave them."

The physical make up of Buchans still leaves much to be desired. But a community is more than bricks and clapboard. It is also its people, and here Buchans shows more promise.

What is Buchans like to live in? The question was put to perhaps a dozen people. None had major complaints, many had a good deal of praise.

"Most people hate Buchans first," says Sandy Ivany, one of the younger strikers in Buchans who works for the company's geology department.

"It's dingy. When you come in first it's enough to turn your stomach. The company owns everything and nobody gives a damn about it. But the town spirit is good. You know everybody. Nobody drinks by himself here."

It's a nice town to live in, says Cyril Rideout who has lived there for 32 years. "You know everyone and it's nice to visit Red Indian Lake." The lake is about five miles from the town.

If there is a rift in Buchans it is between the town proper, the section owned by the company, and the more independent Townsite, which now has its own local improvement committee.

There is a split, says Rev. Raymond Hawco, Roman Catholic Parish priest, but it is not a serious or bitter one.

It could hardly be very serious. For in Buchans today there is a force which transcends such petty differences. The force, of course, is the union; there is a sense in which the union has become the town.

The fact that there have been more strikes in Buchans in the past two years than in the previous 45 is perhaps the best clue to the reasons why the strikes have occurred.

What is taken for the accepted way of doing things there today might have been considered heresay by Buchans miners even 15 years ago.

There is little doubt that the American Smelting and Refining Company ran a tight ship in Buchans in the years before the road link.

Ivan Hodder, vice-president of the Steelworkers Local 5457, recalls the days when the company train was the only way out.

"You'd sometimes get off work at four o'clock Fr iday only to discover that the train had left at three. Then you were suck there until the next weekend."

Even J.R. Hart, ASARCO's general manager in Buchans, admits that things were tight. "We lived behind the iron curtain, the railway track. If you didn't have a job here you generally didn't get in."

When Buchans started in the late 1920s, a job there was considered a Godsend. Not only was the job itself extremely valuable, but the wages, by the standards of the day, were good.

In fact until 1940, when Buchans miners were drawing down 45 cents an hour and surface workers 39 cents, ASARCO wages were the best on the island.

The mining operation was one of the very few in North America to stay alive during the depression and workers employed there in those days felt they owed the company no small debt.

The fact that ASARCO paid its Buchans employees lower wages than it paid its people anywhere else in North America was not an issue, probably because most Buchans workers didn't know about it.

Throughout the 1940s Buchans began to fall behind. And with the opening in the lates 50s of the lucrative mining frontier in Western Labrador Buchans miners became the poor cousins of the province's booming mining family.

Yet until the road opened in 1956, Buchans remained isolated and, for one reason or another, relatively calm.

In 1941 there had been a five-week general strike for recognition of Buchans' first union, the Buchans Workers Protective Union. It was the first blush of union militancy, but it was soon to wane.

Unions proliferated thereafter but their economic impact on the town was not profound. In 1946 the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers organized the electricians and in '54 the miners became disgruntled with the BWPU and separated to form their own union, the Miners Protective Union.

The first major strike after 1941 came in 1955 when the new miners' union went out for three weeks to improve their contract. But the other unions, the BWPU and the IBEW local, did not support the strike and the opportunity for a unified assault on the company was lost.

Into this relative chaos in 1957 came the United

Steelworkers of America which organized all the Buchans workers except the handful of electricians. With the new, homogenous union and the road link that revolutionized both transportation and communication, labor consciousness began to blossom in Buchans.

But there were drawbacks. The company still owned the town, the company still has its forboding forecast that the mines could close any day and, more significant still, many of the Buchans miners, their attitudes molded in the lean years, remained their own worst enemies, reluctant to openly challenge the company's accepted authority.

Improved communications, however, eventually brought with them the awareness that things could be better. In 1926 the alternative to a job Buchans, for many who had one, was almost deprivation.

Today the alternatives are different. The burgeoning Canadian welfare state makes unemployment, when unavoidable, a tolerable way of life.

The opening up of the town, with the accompanying taste of independence, has made the Buchans people yearn for even more economic freedom and the expanded union consciousness has made that hope a real possibility. It was a revelation, one worker suggesed, to discover that the company doesn't have to follow you home after work.

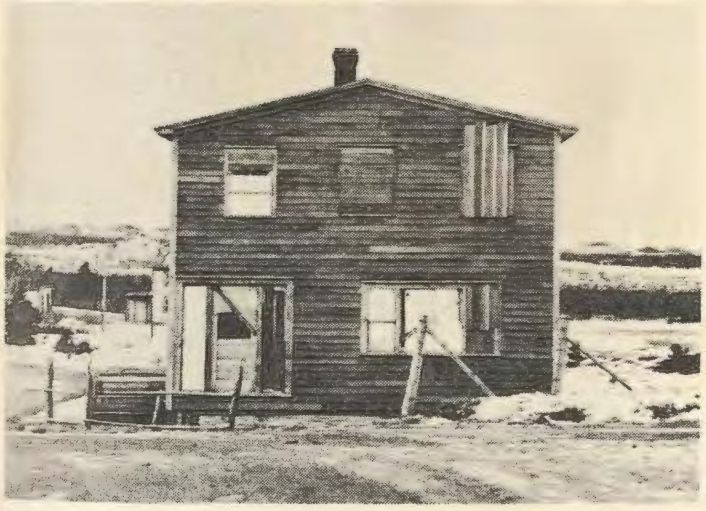
Then, too, there have been changes in the make-up of the Buchans work force. The average age of Buchans workers is dropping swiftly and the original miners, whose need to safeguard their jobs precluded any serious challenges to the company, are retiring, dying or merely loosening their control of union activities.

Younger men and women are asserting more influence. And they are much less patient.

"The young people are bringing the change," Ivan Hodder said. "But we're still 15 years behind the times. This all should have happened in the '50s." (Evening Telegram)

Evening Telegram, March 31, 1973

BELL ISLAND



BELL ISLAND

(Bell Island was a community of single industry in which the major industry closed down operations. This article from the Alternate Press gives some history of the island and further describes the situation during the closedown period. When the mine on Bell Island closed many people left to seek employment elsewhere, some stayed and continued working for the service industries, while others stayed and managed as best could on small welfare payments. A few others have since started doing some marginal farming, and an attempt was made by the government to employ people by growing mushrooms in the mines.)

by Dave McCurdy

The community of Bell Island situated in Conception Bay about 15 miles from St. John's, has always been somewhat of a mystery to most Newfoundlanders. Even though it is so close to St. John's, few city residents have ever been there; and even fewer people from the rest of the province know anything about the island.

The island thrived since 1895, when the Dominion Steel Company (Dosco) started mining iron there. It reached a population peak of 14,000 in 1959, but in that same year a fateful event took place; the number 3 mine was closed due to depressed market conditions and spiralling costs. Of the company's 2200 employees, 650 were laid off. Between 1959 and 1966 a further 700 men were laid off, and then in 1966 the mine closed down for good and the last 850 men joined the unemployment rolls.

The problem with the Bell Island ore was its impurities, which are hard to remove due to the hardness of the ore. It was cheaper to use recently discovered Labrador ore, especially since the mines in Bell Island were going further out into the sea, and the cost of getting it to market was skyrocketing.

Since 1966 a number of attempts have been made by the provincial government to either reopen the mine or else bring in another industry to get Bell Island on its feet again. To date all these attempts have failed, thousands of people have left for greener pastures, and those who remain are trying to call attention to their plight in order to obtain more assistance from the various levels of government.

The population of Bell Island declined steadily from the peak of 14,000 in 1959 to about 5,000 in 1970; it has since risen to about 7,000.

At first glance, Bell Island appears to be better off now than it was in the Dosco days: the houses are in better repair; there are modern schools, a new hospital and a vocational school; and more of the roads are paved. But the island lacks the most important thing of all - employment. Consequently its people have been leaving for years. Says one former Bell Islander: "I know more people in Toronto than on Bell Island now."

Steve Neary, who has been the provincial member since 1962, says it was never the intention of the old Liberal administration to resettle the people of Bell Island. Instead, they preferred to have make-work projects on the island and to this end the Bell Island Development Association was formed. So far the association has sponsored a clean-up of the Dosco yards and the various beaches around Bell Island, and the building of two greenhouses.

Neary himself has suggested a couple of ways in which Bell Islanders could be employed, but for the most part his ideas have not been taken seriously. He caused nation-wide hysterics when he suggested that unemployed former miners could be put to work digging a tunnel from Bell Island to Portugal Cove using only manual tools. Despite all the ridicule he has received for that proposal, Neary stubbornly insists it's a good idea. "There's a man-made tunnel on Bell Island already," he says. "A short while ago some fishermen decided to build a tunnel through some rock so they could have easier access to a beach which was better than the one they were using but harder to get to. They built the tunnel using only picks and shovels and a couple of dynamite blasts - through 175 feet of solid rock.

"I'm not concerned with how long it would take to build a tunnel to Portugal Cove - what I am concerned with is providing the men with a work alternative to welfare, doing something they know how to do from their mining days." Of course, extensive tests would have to be made first to make sure the tunnel didn't collapse on the workers -- but nobody has taken the idea seriously enough to check into this.

Another idea Neary has come up with is to make Bell Island a pilot project for the Guaranteed Annual Income proposal. When he was Minister of Welfare, Neary was a strong advocate of replacing the current welfare system with a guaranteed annual income system; he claims Bell Island would be a good place to experiment with GAI, since it is a restricted environment. With Ottawa paying a hefty portion of the bill, the residents of Bell Island could be offered a better deal than the present welfare system, and at less cost to the Newfoundland taxpayer, he said.

But when it comes to a permanent solution to the Bell Island problem, Neary, like most other people, has little to suggest. Like a true politician, though, he claims that as long as the PC's are in power, there's no hope for Bell Island.

And to add to the island's woes, they may be about to lose Neary as their member. Neary's integrity was recently called into question in the House of Assembly by Social Services and Rehabilitation Minister Tom Hickey, who charged that Neary "bought" his seat in the last election. Hickey said that during the time Neary was Social Services minister $240,000 was spent for building materials on Bell Island, and 90 per cent of this money went to one goods supplier on the island. A judicial inquiry will be made into this situation; out of it either Neary or Hickey will have to resign.

But even though Neary may not have done much to help Bell Island, it doesn't seem the PC's have any better ideas for the island.

Community and Social Development Minister Aubrey Senior says the PC government has no plans to discontinue resettlement (as was reported in the local media a short while ago), but a lot of the applications for resettlement from Bell Island's can't be acted upon because the applicants don't meet the requirements for assistance set down by the Liberals when they were in power. "Meanwhile," said Senior, "we're going to wait until a thorough re-evaluation of resettlement has been made before we take any action on applications that are pending."

"I don't think resettlement is a bad idea," added Senior. "In fact, I think it's a good idea. In Iceland, for example, the entire rural population has been resettled into 80 communities, and it's been a huge success. People think resettlement means breaking down the rural areas; but if it's done right, resettlement actually means a building up of rural areas, because it puts the communities on solid economic ground. We're hoping this will happen in Newfoundland, but I don't know exactly where Bell Island will fit into this."

Senior may not know where Bell Island fits into resettlement, but a draft regional plan presented to his department in January of this year has some very definite suggestions in this area. The report, prepared by Proctor and Redfern, recommends a program of specially assisted resettlement to reduce the population of Bell Island to a number that can be supported by local resources (agriculture is suggested as the only viable development possibility). And it recommends that no further public expenditures be made on Bell Island until maximum resettlement has taken place.

The plan suggests that Bell Islanders resettle on the shore of Conception Bay south of Topsail, and recommends that the government provideserviced lots in this area for relocated houses. The relocated people would then, presumably, find jobs in and around St. John's. And even if they didn't, the plan points out with blatant disregard for social factors that welfare costs would be cheaper.

One of the popular misconceptions about Bell Island is its actual physical appearance. Most people who have never been there tend to think of it as only a rock with a few dingy shacks and the iron mines being the only signs of life. However, the island is a lot bigger than one would expect from looking at it across the Tickle (the 3-mile-wide stretch of water between Bell Island and Portugal Cove). There are meadows, forests and beaches in addition to the well-known rocky shore and incredibly steep cliffs; and the homes look like those in any other typical Newfoundland small town.

Actually, Bell Island is better off now in terms of living conditions than ever before; the houses are in better repair, there are modern schools, a new hospital and a vocational school; and more roads are paved than during the Dosco days. Also, in 1959, the year of the first big layoff, a new ferry, the John Guy, was introduced to run between Portugal Cove and Bell Island. (Strangely enough, during the height of the tourist season in July, the John Guy goes on vacation for awhile and is replaced by old boat, which is smaller, slower, and less comfortable.)

Frank Pendergast, the mayor of Wabana, the largest town on Bell Island, says one of the main problems is that the island is getting no special recognition from the Federal Government. It hasn't been designated as a special Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) area; and there are no Local Initiatives Program (L.I.P.) grants operating there. This is not for lack of trying, says Pendergast. For example, recently some Bell Islanders applied for a DREE grant to build a new water and sewerage system on Bell Island to replace the old one now operating but it was turned down. "As far as the politicians in Ottawa are concerned," complains Pendergast, "we might as well not even exist."

At the present time there are about 200 people working at one thing or another on Bell Island itself, and an additional 90 or so working in St. John's and commuting every day. The rest of the population is on either unemployment insurance or welfare. Yet, Pendergast claims, morale has never been better. "The only people I can think of who might be demoralized these days are the middle-aged former miners with little education and no trade. They know that chances are they'll never have another job, and it must be very depressing. Aside from those people, though, the people here are in great spirits."

Pendergast pointed out that there are a lot of advantages to living on Bell Island in addition to the excellent facilities. "Property tax does not exist on Bell Island," he said. "Homeowners have to pay only $10 annually for municipal services plus $2 a month for water and sewerage. That's very cheap compared to most towns. Also, a businessman on Bell Island has to pay only one-sixth of one percent of his gross turnover for business tax."

Pendergast had many suggestions for the future of Bell Island, but there was little indication of any action being taken.

He suggested that Bell Island could be an excellent spot for a federal penitentiary. There's lots of room there, and the steep (almost perpendicular) cliffs and 3-mile-wide Tickle make escape virtually impossible. Such a project would provide at least 300 jobs for Bell Islanders and give the local economy a real shot in the arm.

Pendergast also sugggested that the tourist industry could help Bell Island. "This is a great place for tourists." he said, "we have beautiful weather in the summer; no mosquitos; meadowland, forests and ponds with trout; good traffic conditions, and lots of places for entertainment as well as cheap beer and liquor. In addition, Bell Island is very close to St. John's, and land here is very cheap. All in all it adds up to an excellent place for, say, summer homes. I don't see why more people don't have summer homes here."

The people of Bell Island seem to have finally adjusted to an industry less and jobless community. Everywhere business carries on normally. Charles Cohen, a dry goods dealer who has been in the business for 50 years, said that business on Bell Island is "fair" these days. "It's not bad when you consider

the fact that there's no industry here anymore." Cohen, like any normal businessman, resents any siphoning off of customers to his rivals, so he isn't too pleased with the booming business the taverns on Bell Island are doing. "As soon as they get their money they're off to the club to drink it all away."

The bars start to fill up around 10 each morning, and everywhere the scene is the same: middle-aged, idle men with nothing to do spending the day settled on their favorite stool. Yet morale in the bars seems to be fairly high. Certainly the patrons aren't afraid to speak their piece.

One former miner, who was laid off in 1959 and has been unemployed ever since, described Bell Island as being "like a ship without a rudder. We're just drifting aimlessly and going nowhere.

"All we're living on right now is hope," he continued. "We just hope that somehow things will again be like they were before the shutdown. Bell Island workers always were well paid – 15 years ago I was making $90 a week in the mines. and that was good pay for those days."

He said he's become pretty disillusioned with government promises to "save" Bell Island. "They kept telling us a deal for a new industry was 'almost certain,' but it never materialized." He described Steve Neary as a man of "a lot of talk, but not much action."

Another man, who has been in the meat market business for over 40 years, commented that there's "no fishing, no farming, no nothing" going on in Bell Island these days. "I figure that within 100 years everyone will have forgotten about Bell Island."

Ed Kirby, a Memorial student whose parents moved over to St. John's two years ago, noted that most young people on Bell Island either have already decided to leave for the mainland or are thinking about it. "All the guys I grew up with are gone to the mainland. I know more people in Toronto than on Bell Island now."

Commenting on Pendergast's suggestions regarding tourism on Bell Island, Newfoundland Tourist Development Director P.J. Henley stressed that "initiative must come from the community itself. I would be most happy to listen to and encourage any group from Bell Island who came over to see about the summer home situation on Bell Island.

Henley said that there's another problem about the possibility of attracting boaters to Bell Island: there's really not much to do during the day,although it does pick up at night. Henley pointed out there have to be places with things to buy, good places to eat, and activities for the tourists.

What's going to happen to Bell Island? No one is sure. Aubrey Senior said simply, "I don't know." Steve Neary was also unable to answer the question. Henley and Pendergast had a few ideas, but they were quite limited in scope. It seems that the provincial government will be forced to continue subsidizing Bell Island to the tune of millions of dollars.

Perhaps the most appropriate comment was made by Pendergast: "All we need is an industry."

Bell Island has its structure, now all it needs is a foundation.

McCurdy, Dave. "Bell Island", Alternate Press, Vol. 2, No. 5, July, 1972.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Draw a map of Newfoundland and Labrador and point out on the map as many communities of single industry as you can.

2. Watch the film "Power From Labrador" and discuss how a community like Churchill Falls is different from most other communities.

3. Divide the class into groups of five or six people and appoint a chairman for the group. Record what your group feels to be the advantages and the disadvantages of living in a community or single industry. Each group should present their ideas to the rest of the class. (Keep a record of your ideas.)

4. Divide the class into five or six groups. Again appoint a chairman. Each group should choose a community of single industry (need not be one studied) and start a scrapbook which can be presented at the end of this unit of study.

PART TWO

PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT

Although certain general patterns of behavior are characteristic of single industry communities, these patterns are influenced by the stage of development that the community is going through. Patterns are bound to be different when bulldozers are still clearing the townsite from when the community has been established.

1959

1961

Labrador City

1967

1970

2

PHASE ONE – CONSTRUCTION

SOMETHING TO DISCOVER

What takes place during the construction phase of development in a single industry community?

What kinds of people make up the working population of a construction site?

How do the differing backgrounds of the workers influence the behavior at the construction site?

The bulldozer is one of the first visitors to the site of any planned single industry community. Why?

Because of the geographical location of the resource to be exploited, the company is often forced to provide a fully serviced community in addition to building an industrial plant. The company is obliged to provide houses, streets, waterworks, sewers, power, telephones, landscaping, stores, schools, churches, offices, theatres, hotels, and all other services. The construction of the plant and the town becomes a major phase in the development of the town of single industry.

In contrast to the early days of company towns, companies today must bear excessive costs to attract people to the new communities and keep them there. In the old days, single industry towns consisted of nothing more than a few simple houses with few services other than electric lights and perhaps running water. Even what might have been considered model towns of those earlier days would be quite unacceptable today. The expectations of people today are quite different from the expectations of people twenty or thirty years ago. Today, more than ever before, companies are becoming involved in constructing facilities far removed from their expert knowledge in industry. At this stage of development all details of planning and building is the direct responsibility of the company.

So regardless of what the plans for the community are, each community must begin with construction; the first people in each single industry community are the construction workers. The work habits of these men and the nature of construction work affect behavior patterns during this phase of development.

The Construction Workers

Once plans move from the offices of the architects and town planners, work on the town and industrial site is ready to begin. Contracts are awarded and construction begins. All construction requires a variety of skills; the site becomes the focal point for many men with differing career and work patterns. Workers converge upon the area for diverse reasons and with many different ideas. We shall look briefly at ten classifications of construction workers and their influence upon the life of the project.

Mobile Construction Workers: These men work exclusively on construction and move on as the job is finished or when they can get a higher paying job elsewhere. Their lives are characterized by long hours and high pay, with periods of unemployment, as construction is often a seasonal type of employment. These men will only have a fleeting contact with the community of single industry since they hardly ever stay to take up permanent residence in the community.

The Get-Rich-Quick Worker: This is a different type from the mobile construction worker in that he has not worked in construction in the past and in all probability will not do so again. He works on construction for a brief period in order that he might make enough money to invest in some other type of occupation. Construction makes this possible because it requires such a wide variety of skills and the pay is high for the long hours worked. The nest-egg worker may spend several years of his worklife in construction before returning to a quite different occupation. These people often work up to sixteen hours a day so that they

can go home and buy a farm or start their own business. While there, these men have to resist the temptation of playing poker and talking holiday-binges if they are to be successful in attaining their goals.

Tradesmen and Skilled Workers: These workers differ from the first two categories in their level of skill and their work patterns. They are such men as plumbers, electricians, and welders, and work entirely within their skill range. They are usually brought in from the city and are attracted to the construction site by the higher rate of pay.

Immigrant New-comers: These are people carrying out their first jobs in Canada. Their new job provides room, board, high wages and an opportunity for the new worker to integrate into Canadian society. They are often trapped into construction as a way of life even if they prefer something else. There are some of these who spend the summer working on construction in Canada and their winters living at home in Italy or Portugal or wherever they come from. Some of these immigrants are working on the construction site in order to save enough money to bring their families to this country.

Unemployed Tradesmen: During periods of unemployment in their own trades, these men appear at construction sites. They are attracted to construction on a temporary basis and move in and out of the construction work force. They are different from the mobile construction worker because they have skills and they are different from the tradesmen contract team because construction is not an integral part of their general work pattern. During periods of high employment very few of these part time construction workers are available. Thus, no construction firm depends upon them.

Marginal Farmers: Each province has a large number of such workers. Their work needs are seasonal and they work at farming or fishing but find it necessary to work elsewhere part of the time to augment their small income. They do not seek a full time job and their season often coincides with the peak construction period.

Unemployed, Unskilled Speculators: This is the group of chronically unemployed who appear at construction sites or get as near as they can to them hoping to pick up some kind of job. If there is a period when there is high employment and it is difficult to get suitable workers, this large reservoir of bodies is tapped, but they are seen as poor, unskilled, and unreliable workers who pose more problems than answers for the construction industry.

The Local Labour Force: A new construction site creates a boom in the immediate area. And since most of the sites are isolated most of the population nearby lives marginally. Many of these people have an opportunity to work on a regular basis for the first time in their lives. This causes problems because the people are not used to working for an employer where they have to work specific hours and punctuality is important. But because it is necessary to maintain good relations with the local population, it is necessary that the company hire many of them.

Bunkhouse-Based Workers: This group differs from all other groups of workers in that their work lives are linked forever with frontier construction work. These men are unskilled and usually spend their lives doing menial work on the construction site. They are loners who talk little of their past; it is impossible to tell how many of them are single, divorced, or separated. Their lives are spent in the bunkhouse with the simple pleasures of cribbage and tobacco. They work to save and talk about what they will do when they get outside. They swear they will never come back, but when they do leave they are back in a week or two with all their money spent. They tell a story of women, liquor, and robbery. Many of these men are illiterate and periodic alcoholics; all have a low level of skill and make the bunkhouse their only real home.

The Mess Hall at Churchill Falls.

Construction Behavior

As shown, construction workers represent a wide range of backgrounds, socio-economic levels, skills and work patterns. Despite the diversity, they all hold two things in common: they are all male and they share a desire to work long hours and earn overtime pay; and they all share the construction job, which involves long hours of work, distinctive types of behavior, and the insecurity of seasonal work.

With the variety of career lines which come together, however, many problems are raised that are not so important in an ordinary work situation. Conflicts regarding rate of work, the ethnic backgrounds, religion, working consitions, and pay arise. The variety of work expectations, the type of work itself and its location in a sprawling construction site requires careful supervision. Because it is difficult to coordinate and integrate the work on a large construction site where there are several sub-contractors, many workers attempt to take advantage of the situation by moving from one job to another, or by claiming that they have skills which they do not.

The construction world is a man's world. This world is usually isolated from ordinary society and the social behavior takes on a number of unique characteristics. Behavior of the men here is different from that of the same

men in mixed company. They are often more forward and rowdy and most of their leisure time is filled by talking of sex and past experiences. Because these men are apt to be influenced by the special isolated environment in which they live and their behavior is not always predictable, the company maintains tight control over the men off the job as well as on the job. The use of liquor is controlled by the company and it is usually only available at a company run club or tavern. The drinking time is almost always limited.

There are very few women in new single industry communities. Notice all the eyes are on this young lady.

The men are for the most part aware of their unique social environment and they themselves criticize their own leisure time activities. Their behavior and the amount of conflict depends upon a number of complex factors including ethnic make-up of the camp, the local customs, the control of liquor, the hours worked, the quality of the food, the accommodation, and the recreation. There are a noticeably larger number of arrests and drunken brawls on sites where there is a great deal of dissatisfaction or where there is a greater variety of backgrounds. In fact, there are always more arrests and more conflict when the workers come in contact with a settled community which might be nearby. This is because their behavior is different from that of the settled community – construction workers versus the local inhabitants so to speak.

Stealing is another problem of the construction site; perhaps because this is a quickly changing, highly mobile, unstable world where all are strangers to each other. Thus, this is a difficult problem to cope with. There is always the threat that the men will steal from each other or from their employer. The workers, in fact, do not consider taking tools or the like from the employer as stealing. This is 'scrounging'; removing things from the company is fair game.

Most men who live in the bunkhouses on the construction site live in social isolation and their work is performed in comparative obscurity. The worker turnover at these sites is unusually high ranging usually from fifteen to fifty percent and sometimes it's even higher. It has been said that leaving the townsite is catching. If one person decides to go in the morning, before the day is out five or six others will be gone.

However as unstable as the construction workers are, they are the first inhabitants of the community of single industry. They are essential to the establishment of the community. It should be remembered that the men who work the construction sites give a good deal of their lifetime to dependable service at these sites. It would seem that Canada has a lot to thank these men for. If he isolated conditions of the construction site are understood, it should not be difficult fo understand the occasional drunken sprees of the workers.

The construction workers affect the young single industry community in two ways. First, some of them are still living in the community when the permanent citizens arrive. This period of overlap may possibly last for a number of years. And secondly, some of the construction workers stay on as permanent citizens of the new town.

This is a typical construction site. Is it surprising that there is a high turnover of staff?

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Answer the following questions:

(a) What community services are likely to be built during the construction phase?

(b) Why is construction a necessary phase of development?

(c) Why is it usually necessary for the company to provide all town services?

(d) Why are so many different types of people involved in the construction phase?

(e) What causes so many social problems during the construction phase?

(f) Choose one of the communities studied in Chapter One and tell how its construction is similar or different from the description in this chapter.

2. Divide the class into three or four groups. Each group should decide on some topic or idea relevant to the social situation at a construction site and act out the situation for the class.

3. Try to find out about the early days in your community and compare that to the construction phase in a single industry community.

3

PHASE TWO – RECRUITMENT OF CITIZENS

SOMETHING TO DISCOVER

What takes place during the recruitment phase of development of a single industry community?

How are the people recruited for permanent residence in the community of single industry?

What factors influence whether or not the residents who are recruited will or will not stay in the community of single industry?

Even before construction ends, the recruitment of citizens for the emerging community begins. Key professional and other expert personnel have to be attracted to the new town. All workers must be brought in. The first of the incoming permanent employees and future citizens of the community begin to arrive long before the roads, street lights, and homes are completed, and often before the industrial plant is finished. It doesn't take long before townspeople outnumber the construction workers.

Recruitment

When the company starts recruiting citizens they have to select them based on type of work available. In this initial selecting and sorting process, two broad categories of employees are involved. They are **transferred employees** and **new employees.**

Transferred employees are those already in the service of the company and are asked to transfer to the new community. These are usually of two types: (1) the experienced people in administrative positions who are transferred and promoted. These employees generally accept mobility as part of their agreement to work for that company. To them moving from one place to another is a way of life. (2) the non-professional employees who are transferred. These are unused to moving, and often present a problem. The companies usually put this move on a voluntary basis since the intellectual, emotional, and social unacceptability may be so severe as to cause serious difficulties for both the employees and the employer.

The second major group – new employees – are personnel in roughly the same categories as the other two, that is, professional and non-professional, but they are not at present employees of the company. They are the new administrative engineering and scientific personnel and the new semiskilled personnel who carry out the bulk of the work of the new industry.

The sifting and sorting of these personnel and their families is responsible for the peculiar social characteristics of the community of single industry in the second stage of development. The new personnel in an isolated single industry community has many of the characteristics of construction workers. People from various religious and ethnic backgrounds, with differing educational attainments and social status are brought together in an isolated community. At the beginning they are all strangers to each other.

The transferred employees who have been with the company for some time are usually less mobile than the new employees of the company. There is a very high turnover rate amongst new employees. Only about one out of every three recruited stays. And furthermore, nearly every person sees himself as living in the town temporarily. No one wants to stay.

New citizens deplaning at Churchill Falls. There will be many people coming and going during this phase of development.

Mobility

Salary and Isolation: Many citizens account for the high turnover and unrest as being the result of a quest for quick money. The majority come to save money; they don't, so they stay but always have the feeling of

temporariness. It is therefore difficult to build up a town spirit. Most of the citizens of this period admittedly hate the town.

A great many of the social difficulties are attributed to isolation. This is often linked with salary to the extent that the living costs are very high because of the distances from which commodities come and because of the large amount of money required to travel out of the community for holidays or for other reasons. Even a very high salary often does not compensate for the extra costs of living in such a community. People will get fed up with the isolation and spend every cent they have saved in the last year or so to take a three week holdiay to Mexico. Some companies now offer paid trips out of the community once or twice a year.

All residents share isolation and its influence on net earnings but its impact on particular individuals vary considerably. Special characteristics such as, marital status, social and ethnic background, career expectations, and personal qualities all deeply influence contentment of the individual and the length of his stay in the community.

Single Employees: Both the single men and the single women in the community live in company dormitories – separate buildings, of course. The women's quarters are usually more elaborate than that of the men and there are always many fewer women than there are men in the new single industry community.

Nearly all the single men are discontented with accommodation and the social situation. They generally do not like sharing their room with others, as they almost always have to do. And there is never enough female companionship because there are so few women. As a result, they are often unable to attend social functions, such as, dances and parties. In some towns of single industry there are as many as 100 to 1000 men to each woman in the community. This includes all females, not just the eligible ones. This sometimes causes problems when unattached yearning males are in mixed company without a date. Most of these young men will eventually leave the town to get married. Many, however, will return and settle there once they are married.

This is the female staff house in Labrador City. The rules by which these first young ladies must abide are often quite stringent. Why?

Married Employees: This group does not have as high a turnover rate as the single group, but mobility is still very high during this stage of development. This have been attributed to such things as housing shortage, lack of educational facilities for children, and discontent of some members of the families.

Most single industry communities are proud of the educational facilities they provide. This is a language lab at the school in Churchill Falls.

Social Background and Expectations: It is not only marital status which affects the mobility patterns of the employees. If an employee comes from a small town there is a greater probability that he will stay than if he comes from a city. Urban citizens have higher expectations of what a town should be than the rural citizens. Ethnic and cultural differences make a difference too. The ability to make friends may be hampered if there is not a number of people of the same ethnic group. The past kinship ties of the employees will also often affect the decision to stay or leave. If a person has always lived near his relatives and is very close to them, he is not likely to stay away from his home town for a very long period of time.

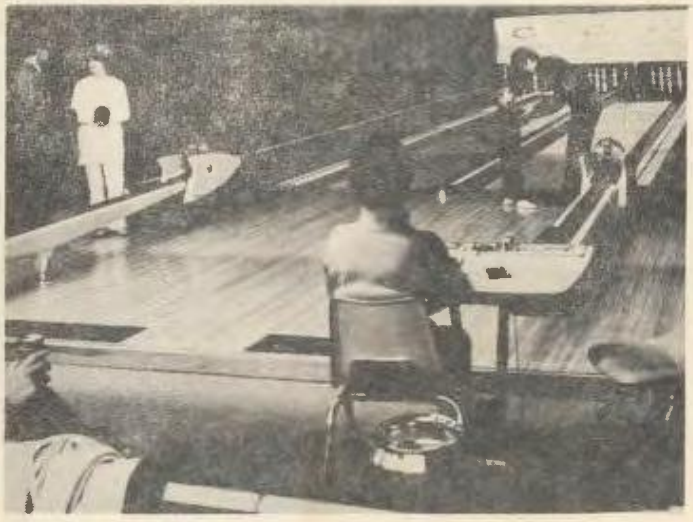
Physical Facilities: The most crucial physical facility, other than housing, is a place of recreation. People want a place to get together. When recreation areas are not provided for all levels of people in the community there will soon arise a feeling of discontent.

Other Factors: Company and trade union policy, industrial and community discipline, and company control are other factors which influence during this phase. They will be discussed more fully in a later chapter.

Community Feeling

During this hectic period of adjustment, when potential employees come and go, some stay and take employment with the company, settle in a house, and make it a home. People begin to interact in ways conducive to community life. Several important processes begin to operate which will affect the town throughout its existence.

Why is it so important that companies provide adequate housing during this phase of development?



Next to housing, recreation is the most crucial physical facility in a community of single industry. Why?

Almost all the population, supervisory, professional, and semi-skilled, are young and those who are married begin to raise a family. There is always a very large number of small children. Birthrates and the proportion of pre-school and primary children is much greater than elsewhere in the country. This characteristic population-age cycle has important social ramifications for the community.

During this phase a particular ethnic and religious sorting takes place which will characterize the community from that time on. This is usually an accidental sorting in the beginning but it rapidly hardens and consolidates into a permanent characteristic of the community.

At this stage in the life of the community, there is still confusion and uncertainty, but general patterns are beginning to develop which will be reflected in all later phases of development.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Answer the following questions:

(a) Why, in your opinion, is mobility greater among new employees than among transferred employees?

(b) Why do people who live in single industry communities often feel that they are only living in the community temporarily?

(c) How are people's decisions about whether to leave or stay in the community influenced by the following: isolation, salary, marital status, background, community facilities, and company control?

(d) Most citizens who are recruited to the new community of single industry are relatively young. How will this influence the community during this phase?

2. Write one or two papagraphs explaining why you would (or would not) like to live in a new single industry community.

3. Make a list of all the likely jobs for which people would have to be recruited during this phase of development. This might be done on a large wall chart.

4

PHASE THREE – TRANSITION

SOMETHING TO DISCOVER

What takes place during the transition phase of development of a single industry community?

Why do the companies in some single industry communities transfer responsibility for services and property to the citizens while others do not?

How do citizens in the single industry community react to transition?

Once a single industry resource community becomes well established and begins to take on some of the characteristics of a permanent community, authority and responsibility are usually transferred from the company to the population. Housing, recreation, and services which were in the earlier stages the direct responsibility of the company are made the responsibility of the people in the community. Usually, at this time, a community council of some kind is formed. This body and the company together attempt to insure an orderly and efficient transfer. The people living in the houses are given an option to buy privately from the company and the services will be taken over by the community council or some community club or association.

Sometimes this shift of authority is gradual and sometimes it is very rapid, but it is always accompanied by a great deal of controversy. When all control of community services is in the hands of the company there is discontent and criticism of this authority. However, once this control is discontinued there is the realizaion, on the part of the people, that the new arrangement will require more work and more money from them. The new situation lacks the convenient scapegoat on which all problems and difficulties can be blamed.

During the transition phase of development, town halls, such as this one, are often built.

As a town nears maturity, the houses will become more suburban in nature. This is a new housing development in Labrador City.

Transfer

The general pattern in the transition from company control to citizen control is to first dispose of the houses at a nominal price, usually paid on a rental-purchase basis. Other assets are transferred to the new authorities in various ways. Some companies sell services to the community council when it is formed. Others simply write the entire physical services off their books but stipulate certain conditions for the running of these facilities.

A total transfer of authority in the community of single industry is difficult to accept by both the company and the citizens. It is difficult for the company to realize that it is no longer the chief administrative body in the town and it is difficult for the people to accept the responsibility for all community services. It should be pointed out, however, that although the company is no longer the chief administrative body in the town, it still exercises a great deal of power over what goes on in the community. It is still the major taxpayer and employer, and still maintains a few houses and may have made arrangements to buy back houses if requested.

Social Implications

During this transition phase there is much conflict and social change in the community of single industry. However, as this phase nears completion many issues are clarified, many widely held values are confirmed and many other widely held norms are proven not to be valid.

Conflict of interests often arise when members of newly elected councils are also employees of the company which still wants a say in what is happening around the community. The employees often feel obliged to represent the ideas of the company although they may sometimes feel differently about the situation.

When transfer of housing takes place there are a number of people who lose their jobs. Those people who work in house maintenance are no longer required because the individual families are now responsible for maintenance of their own homes. These people will have to leave the community or find jobs in some of the service institutions in the community.

The supermarket which was once the domain of the company, now becomes a private business.

Before the transition, people complained about the undue authority held by the company over such small details as colour schemes and lawn upkeep. But once the change of status is announced there are many objections. People living in company towns get all municipal services free and without any responsibility on their part. Consequently there are many who object to the change. In spite of this reluctance, however, it has been found that transition is usually good for the town. The citizens now begin to look upon the community in a new way. It is now seen as a viable community. There is usually a greater feeling of permanence as the citizens invest in property in the town. Now interest in the care of property is enhanced and people take pride in making their property look good.

Once company control is relinquished, there is usually much more freedom in the town. The people, as bona fide property holders, are no longer as inhibited about approaching the company to present their views about how things should be done. The community council is free to make plans for such things as expanded housing and commercial builders are likely to move in. The citizens now make major decisions regarding the future of their community.

It is a generally accepted view that once control passes into the hands of the people the community becomes a more pleasant place in which to live even though the new arrangement requires more work and money from the people. It should be realized, however, that not all single industry towns go through this transition phase where all control of housing and services are passed over to the people of the community.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Answer the following questions:

(a) What would be some advantages of the company maintaining control of all services and property? What would be some disadvantages?

(b) Why does the transfer of authority make a community more permanent in nature?

2. Arrange a debate on this topic: Be it resolved that it is better for the community and all concerned if authority is placed in the hands of the people as soon as possible.

5

PHASE FOUR – MATURITY

SOMETHING TO DISCOVER

What are the two types of mature single industry communities?

How do the two types of mature communities of single industry differ?

What would be the age distribution most commonly found in a community of single industry which has reached maturity?

Maturity is quite different in a single industry community which has gone through the transition phase from that in a community which has not gone through such a phase.

Maturity After Transition

After the single industry community has been established for several years quite different characteristics emerge. The community faces different types of problems and is characterized by a different type of interpersonal relationships than found in any of the earlier phases of development. The people have become less mobile and few families leave the community; older people retire and live out the rest of their lives in the community; and, unlike in earlier phases, youth are forced to leave the community if they wish to find a job.

In marked contrast to the first three phases of community development, the mature community is characterized by the lack of mobility of the major part of the work force. People have their own homes and they have invested a large percentage of their work life into the company. Thus, they have an advantage in terms of work, seniority and fringe benefits.

When the people who were first recruited into the community begin to retire the community for the first time takes on the age distribution of a normal community. For the first time since its inception, the community has the very young, the middle aged and the very old. In fact, now the older people are over represented since most of the citizens when they were first recruited were in the twenty-five to thirty age bracket. Now the people, most of whom were nearly the same age when recruited, are all in the older category with some retired and others near retirement age.

The large number of older people greatly influence community life. Because they were the first permanent citizens of the community and because during the earlier phases they played such a major role in the community decision making, they still expect to have some say in what goes on. Their disproportionate numbers allow this to happen. In some cases their influence is good – in other cases it isn't. Older people perform baby sitting chores, provide role enrichment within the family, and share their knowledge and experience with their children. However, in some cases they might prevent some community service from being provided because it will be of too great a cost to the pensioners.

As the town gets older the family or kinship ties are built up in the community. There is a tendency for a number of individuals in the same family to work for the single industry. Stability and occupational inheritance is part of the life style but it is not without its problems. When the company cannot employ all the youth, parents get upset with the company, sometimes causing conflict between families within the community. But regardless of how hard parents try the company is unable to hire all of the youth of the community. However, there are enough of the members of the same family working with the company to give the community some semblance of an ordinary community with regard to kinship ties.

In most single industry communities, maturity does not come until the community is at least twenty years old. It is during this phase that the town takes on the characteristics of any ordinary community of comparable size elsewhere. Norms have been established and a definite class structure is observable and many of the differences in attitudes and values have been ironed out. The town has taken on a permanent character and residents no longer look forward to getting out of the town. The community has become their home.

Most houses and other facilities in Grand Falls, are now privately owned. This community is in the phase of maturity.

Maturity Without Transition

Generally the single industry community will pass through all the phases we have discussed – construction, recruitment, and transition. However, there still remains, in Canada, a number of mature communities which have never gone through the transition phase of development. These are often referred to as old fashioned company towns. Here all control, responsibility, and cost are vested permanently in the hands of the company.

These communities never take on many of the characteristics of a permanent community. Although such communities establish norms and class structure, the residents never think of the community as a permanent home. They do not own any property and little or none of the responsibility for running the community rests in their hands. When the workers here retire they have to leave the community and establish themselves elsewhere. The number of company owned houses exactly match the number of employees; so when a person retires, he must move on to leave room for his replacement.

Buchans is still completely company run. It is a mature single industry community which did not go through the transition phase.

The following excerpt, taken from a book on single industry communities in Canada, well describes one of these 'old fashioned company towns'.

The community is still all controlled and all facilities are supplied by the company. The company built the bouses – row houses. The company owns the railway – that is the only way you can enter the town. The company owns all the land, so there is no problem of squatters on the edge of the community. There is one store from which all is bought. The industry has remained on an even keel, requiring no fluctuations in population. The number of houses exactly matches the number of employees. When an employee retires, the family has to leave the town; when an employee dies, the family has to leave to make room for a replacement.

In this community there are 900 children between the ages of 7 and 17. Each year we have 100 babies born in the community so that there are probably 400 children between the ages of 1 and 6, which means that 50 per cent of the population is under 18. We now have a second generation that knows nothing of the outside, and this forms the hard core of our working force.

This is a privately owned town and the grounds are held on a lease and have been held since before 1900. Our holdings are large enough that there has been no slum development on the outside of the town.

We are responsible for everything in town including the Land-Rover, which is used as a hearse and an ambulance. We own and control all of the stores and all the mechanics (e.g. telephone) of the town. Some of our employees are unmarried and they are maintained in the mess hall, which feeds about 400. We used to have far more temporary help but now many of the older unused bunk house buildings have been removed. At the moment we have about 110 men who work on a seasonal or temporary basis. The temporary help usually work long enough for unemployment status under the unemployment insurance arrangement. This work is seasonal; some work in the summer and go home in the winter; some work in the winter and go home in the summer.

We employ 800 men, one-half of them work directly in the industry, the rest of the personnel work with the railway, stores, and these are mostly permanent employees. The industry is in consant operation. We have a lot of construction work; summer road maintenance and so on. In the winter we have about 40 seasonal, temporary employees but in the summer about 120. Most of the construction is done in the summer. When we hire temporary employees we seek out the old and faithful ones although when they leave they lose seniority rights.

You ask about the older worker: at 55 his physical condition is not as good as it is when he is younger and he is less alert. When a man is burned out and cannot keep up, we usually put him on a less difficult job. Many jobs are created for these people – they are jobs we could do without, but the company has a feeling of responsibility toward a worker who has spent 25 years with it. And we are bound by our labour agreements to pay even a sweeper a pretty fair salary. These men tend to be light tenders, workers in the shop, or they may sweep.

The problem of the older person who is in a non-competitive job is accentuated by his accommodation predicament. As this is a company town we have to plan the tenancy of our houses very carefully. We have some houses set aside for the mine, some for the mill and others for the shops. You can understand that the houses have to be evenly distributed between these. After a man has had 25 years underground and is suddenly stricken under 50 he has no right to a house, and this is written into the lease, but you simply cannot throw him ou. We house probably twenty pensioners in homes at the moment (some live

with their children), but at 65 the lease for the house is automatically cancelled. This is expected by the employees and does not seem to raise any acute problems – the 55 to 65-year-olds are the problem.

To be efficient I have to know all problems and approve of their solutions. If the industry and town are to run efficiently all of the problems must go over my desk.

Young people are a tremendous problem because we are limited as to the number we can hire. They prefer to stay in town rather than go outside, so there are just too many. This means that we are now doing no hiring from outside, except for a little temporary help. Sons of miners working in the mine raise internal problems of family relationships and interfamily jealousy. Quite a few of our kids go on to university or vocational training. They do not all succeed. We do not have any teenage problem. A lot of this is due to the home. The old man realizes he has no opportunity and if his children are to make any money they must look after their academic work. So children become a join concern of the family, the school and the company. The company will guarantee a summer job for any student who goes to university.

Girls don't do so well. We employ nine altogether. Most of them work in the local stores or go out to take a business course or become a nurse. A few help out at home. There are no maids in the town.

Generally, the education level has improved tremendously. Ten or fifteen years ago many of our employees were illiterate; now I would say we have an average education of at least grade 6. Twenty-five years ago we could not write instructions, and almost no one could write a report. We have had an adult school, and in the past it has done very well. Originally, we built a building for adult school, paid the teacher who taught such things as drafting and elementary subjects. It was very good, for the people were taught to read and write and they took to it very well. The seasonal worker who was in here was so excited when he wrote his first letter back to his wife.

Originally, the company built the school for the kids – it was open to all the kids in the community and the company hired the teachers and supplied the necessary equipment. The school is heated from our steam plant; it is administered by a board and we provide a hostel for teachers at a very modest rent.

The Roman Catholics have their own school in a badly overcrowded parish hall. They want a new school building, and the company is eager that they should have it so that they can pull down the hall. The new school cost under $50,000, which was borrowed for five years. The balance is a debt on the Roman Catholic parish; the money is extracted through the company check off.

We do have a town supervisor, because I cannot deal with all the women. When I do, I am exposed to all sorts of vindictiveness – whose house I will paint, what house is being repaired, and what house is not being repaired, and so on. This poor devil looks after all of the houses; it is all administered from his office. I approve what goes into the house. There is no public relations officer here; the town is not big enough. The best guide is experience. We consider each request and situation as an individual problem.

The town is very quiet – occasionally a bit of a problem with people making beer. You can get liquor by ordering it from outside. There is sometimes some difficulty when people order a case of liquor. But most of the relaxation goes on in the woods – people like to hunt and fish.

There are a few clubs and associations in the town; only this week there was an attempt to start a service club. The Legion is strong here and has a liquor licence. There are the usual church organizations and typical church activities go on in the various halls, including dances. There is an IOOF and a K. of C.

We built the entire hospital ourselves and it is quite elaborately equipped. Water, sewage and electricity are all supplied by the company at a most nominal cost. We now have two privately owned stores in town. But the company store is maintained to police the price of necessary foods. We sell a variety of goods and operate it so that we do not make a profit. All the bread for the community is baked in the company mess hall. We do all the cooking and catering, but we have great difficulties in getting good cooks and we are losing a quarter of a million annually because of inefficient [cooking] methods. The men are unhappy and gripe about the food – the food is alright, it is the cooks who ruin it. We used to give them table service in the woods-camp style, but now that has been done away with. Just the other day a workman came into my office and threw a herring on my desk. To begin with I am not very fond of herring and this one apparently had not been cured very well, and the man demanded to know if I would eat this. It gave me a bit of turn, but things like this do not happen too often these days. Thank goodness!

(Lucas, Rex, Minelow, Milltown, Railtown, University of Toronto Press, 1972, p. 105-108.)

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Answer the following questions:

(a) Why are there a large number of pensioners living in many single industry communities which have reached maturity?

(b) Grand Falls and Buchans are both towns in the maturity phase. Into which category of mature communities does each fit? Is the actual maturity of the communities similar to the discussion in this chapter?

2. Divide a page into three columns. Give the columns the following headings: My Community, Mature Community of Single Industry After Transition, and Mature Community of Single Industry Without Transition. List the characteristics of each. (This might best be done by working together in small groups.)

6

PHASE FIVE – CLOSEDOWN

SOMETHING TO DISCOVER

What takes place during the closedown phase in a community of single industry?

Is closedown always a characteristic of single industry communities?

What determines whether or not a community of single industry will close down?

Many single industry communities are plagued by an uncertain future. If the town is built around a non-renewable resource or if the need for a certain product diminishes, closedown is inevitable. Most of the time, not even the company can be sure when closedown proceedings might become necessary.

A demonstration to the Confederation Building by Bell Island residents shows how they feel about the company in their town closing down operations.

The mining industry is the most susceptible of all single industry communities to such a thing happening. The mineral deposit in any area is always limited, and the life of the mine and the town depends entirely upon the size of the deposit and the grade of the ore being extracted, as well, as on the consumer value of the particular ore. In the logging, pulp and paper, and the power industries, the likelihood of a closedown is greatly reduced. If proper conservation practices are followed, the forests will remain to supply the pulp and paper industry. Also the chances that the need for paper will be reduced are not very great. Likewise, the hydro community is not likely to face closedown. Water is a non-depletable resource and the need for power is likely to grow rather than decrease. A symposium on single-enterprise communities speaks of them in this way:

> *The first important point to remember about any mining town is that it always exists with an uncertain future life, but a future life which is finite because at some stage all reserves will be mined out. The degree of uncertainty does, of course, differ very markedly between resource towns. It is enhanced because it is rarely economic for mining companies to drill out more than a limited quantity of ore ahead of production. In one mine I was told that for each of the last 30 years, they had never had more than one year's reserve. In other mines, the ore has run out faster, e.g., the mine at Rankin Inlet in the Keewatin District only lasted three years. Of course, some mines do last for a very long period of time. Eventually, however, either the ore is mined out or becomes uneconomic to mine, for example, some of the coal mines in the Newcastle area in England, or near Sydney, Nova Scotia.*
>
> *A further cause of uncertainty exists because mines are normally producing only one or at most a small group of related metals. It is always possible that a substitute will be found for any one metal;* or *that someone will discover a much richer or more easily mined source of the metal in some other part of the world;* or *that there will be a change in tastes, technology or both which will decrease the demand for that particular metal from that particular area. The best example in the world is perhaps the uranium mines of Elliot Lake, Ontario, which closed down because of the change in the market for uranium.*
>
> *The uncertainty always means that the mining companies and others concerned with the industry have to "trade-off" higher capital costs with other ways of maintaining output, e.g., higher wages. If the uncertainty means that not enough is put into the development of recreation and schooling and general amenities, then it probably means that as well as higher wages, the company will suffer from a high rate of turnover.* (Centre for Settlement Studies, University of Manitoba, Proceedings – Symposium on Resource Frontier Communities, 1968, p. 33.)

Although closedown is not typical of all single industry communities, it happens often enough that it can be considered a likely phase in the life of the single industry community. When closedown proceedings start a whole series of situations start to evolve. The working population and their families become upset, the labour unions begin trying to work out a viable closedown settlement for the

workers in terms of pensions and job transfer, and there is a frantic search for some other industrial enterprise to replace that which is ending.

If the community is lucky enough to work out plans which will bring some other industry to the community, most of the people will again be employed and the town will continue without many major changes. If no industry is found to replace that which is leaving, the town will become either a ghost town or a welfare center. In the later case, life becomes very unpleasant for the majority of the population of the community.

A ghost town is usually the result when the whole town is owned and controlled by the industrial company. When the company leaves the people are often forced to vacate company houses and find accommodation and employment elsewhere. If the community has gone through a transition phase where control has passed out of the hands of the company, many of the people will remain in the community and live on their small pension plus whatever welfare benefits might be available from the government. In this situation people who work in the service institutions are more fortunate than employees of the company. If people remain in the community, a certain number of community services are required. so many of the people employed in the service industries remain employed in the community.

The following excerpts referring the closedown proceedings of the mine on Bell Island, will explain some of the things which happen in a community when the company pulls out.

With people leaving Bell Island in fairly large numbers these days there should be a sizeable drop in population by the end of the year.

This could be a good thing because even in the boom days when Wabana Mines employed 2,200 workers the population of more than 12,000 was considered too many for this single industry to sustain.

The regrettable thing about this exodus from the Island is the fact some of its best citizens are going.

Even now many people, who played leading roles in the life of the community a year or so ago, are missed.

In 1901 the population of Bell Island was 1320. In 1911 the census recorded 3084 and this population remained fairly stable for several years, so that in 1935 there were still only 6157 residents on the island.

During the war and the post war years there was a sharp increase which placed the figure at 11,724 in 1956.

In 1961 the population stood at 12,227.

Now with all the mines closed down, except one side of Number Three, it is generally agreed that the population must be reduced drastically.

A figure constantly heard cited is 4000 to 5000.

Of course, if the operation should close down altogether, which many fear will happen in another few years, then this figure will have to be reduced much further.

The impact of this situation on churches, schools, halls, clubs and business houses all of which have been geared to the demands of the 12,000 population can be readily seen.

At the moment there doesn't seem to be a workable solution to the problem.

(Evening Telegram, June 19, 1963)

Three officials from the unemployment division of the Unemployment Insurance Commission headed by Richard Buckley are at Union Hall here today booking the 118 men on the lay-off list for employment.

The 110 hourly-paid men and eight salaried workers had previously applied for work but the employment officials needed more details from each to complete application forms. The booking will continue through Friday. The men concerned have been notified by letter as to the hour of interview.

(Evening Telegram, July 11, 1963)

Shortly after the Bell Island ferry John Guy eased into its Portugal Cove berth Monday afternoon, a truck edged onto the wharf, its only cargo . . . a six foot coffin filled with ore from the now defunct Wabana mines.

Bedecked with black crepe paper, the truck carried the coffin to St. John's for a mock funeral, designed to symbolize the death of the mines and Ottawa's failure to give more assistance to the Bell Island people.

At each of the federal buildings, a piece of iron ore, wrapped in black crepe paper, was placed on the front steps with the following note: "Our only request, economic justice, as in the rest of Canada . . Bell Islanders are Canadians too."

The parade came to a halt in front of the centennial flame at Confederation Building, where Mr. Pumphrey placed another piece of iron ore.

"We have no quarrel with the provincial authorities," shouted Mr. Pumphrey. "We are laying the iron ore here because this is where the centennial flame was lit . . . and we are Canadians . . . and we ask for the same treatment that our fellow Canadians on the mainland are receiving."

(Evening Telegram, May 16, 1967)

The federal and Newfoundland governments made a joint offer Friday to buy the homes of unemployed Bell Island workers at $1,500 each.

The houses were made almost worthless when Dosco closed its iron mine on the island last year. The Atlantic Development Board announced the program and said it would apply retroactively to those who were homeowners

on the island when the mines shut down. More than 850 miners and an equal number of other people were thrown out of work.

In the year since the mine closed, the population has decreased from 8,500 to about 6,000. Under the relocation measure, the offer-to-purchase is limited to those who move off the island.

Commenting on the offer, Premier J.R. Smallwood told *The Telegram* "the government of Canada deserves our appreciation.

"I feel that it is a reasonably good move," said the premier. "We ought to be thankful we are part of Canada, because we wouldn't have had the offer otherwise."

The federal government picks up 75 per cent of the house-buying bill and Newfoundland the remainder. The Newfoundland government gets title to the houses. . . .

"I am awaiting an announcement from Ottawa regarding other benefits for Bell Island, especially for the people who will remain there and who should be provided with ways and means of earning a livelihood for themselves and their families."

Mr. Pumphrey said that until the "other expected announcements" are made by Ottawa, he would make no further comment except that "we would agree to no truce with poverty and destitution.

"Because we are under the same Canadian flag as the people of Elliot Lake and Cape Breton, we should at least get parallel treatment with those people who found themselves in somewhat parallel circumstances."

The federal government has agreed to a special program to provide similar mobility assistance to those who are ineligible for the regular program.

(Evening Telegram, June 12, 1967)

Do you know enough about Bell Island to understand what the residents meant by this poster?

It is "sadly clear" that not for one moment was there the "slightest chance" that a German company was interested in re-opening the mines or operating any other kind of plant on Bell Island, Premier J.R. Smallwood said in a statement.

The Bell Island Economic Improvement Council had felt the German company was interested in reactivating the Wabana mines, and had delivered some correspondence to the government, asking if it would negotiate with the German company.

(Evening Telegram, Jan. 2, 1968)

In their latest attempt to focus attention on the economic plight of Bell Island, Ron Pumphrey and his economic improvement committee has begun picketing to the home of Steve Neary, House of Assembly Member for Bell Island.

Tom Kelloway, a Bell Island businessman and an active member of the committee, said pickets will be maintained from time to time until something is done for the island and the provincial government and Mr. Neary give official recognition to the Economic Improvement Committee.

Young and old men and women carried placards displaying such slogans as "Betrayed; Which Town Dies Next" "Bell Island Is Too Old To Die;" "We Are Not Green;" "Free Ferry," and "$1,500 Ha! Ha!"

Mr. Kelloway said the government just wants to forget about Bell Island . . . give the residents $1,500 to move away. He said those who have left would "give anything" to come back.

The handful of pickets at Confederation Building Monday is not an indication of the number who want to take part, according to Mr. Kelloway. He said they did not have enough cars to bring all who wanted to come over from the island.

(Evening Telegram, June 20, 1967)

OTTAWA (CP) – The Atlantic development board was accused Thursday of having failed to resolve the "real human tragedy" of unemployment on Bell Island.

James A. McGrath (PC–St. John's East) told the Commons regional development committee that people on the island have been stripped of their dignity since losing their jobs when Dominion Steel and Coal Corp. closed its iron mine June 30, 1966.

Mr. McGrath said that the 6,500 persons remaining of the 12,000 population before the shutdown of the island's only industry were living on the dole "and walking around like dead men."

(Evening Telegram, Nov. 22, 1968)

The federal government has offered its full cooperation to Newfoundland to try and find a solution for the unemployment problem on Bell Island caused by the shutdown of the iron ore mines, Prime Minister Pearson said in Ottawa Wednesday.

The prime minister was replying to a question by Joseph O'Keefe (L–St. John's East).

"This committee has gone into the problem in detail and has made a number of visits to the island to investigate the situation on the spot. Representatives of the committee have also made visits to Europe at the invitation of Mr. Smallwood in an attempt to interest European companies operating the mines," Mr. Pearson said.

There are certain investigations still going on and no decision has yet been taken by the province as to the future of mine operations on Bell Island, he said.

"In addition, the federal government has applied full manpower mobility measures to the labor force affected and have arranged to meet with the Canadian Marine Commission on lowering ferry-commuter rates between the island and the mainland to assist the mobility of the Bell Island labor force."

(Evening Telegram, Dec. 1, 1968)

Sixty-six residents of Bell Island have taken up farming under the auspices of the Bell Island Associaion, an organization dedicated to finding self-help projects for the community.

Steve Neary, provincial welfare minister and MHA for the island, said Tuesday that with the assistance of Calvin Sparkes of the provincial agriculture department, the correct fertilizers and methods have been employed by the residents.

Mr. Neary said all the people are using about half-acre plots and are growing mostly vegetables.

He said some are thinking about branching out into greenhouse products and livestock in future.

The iron mines on the island closed in 1966 leaving the islanders without any sources of income.

(Evening Telegram, July 23, 1969)

Social Services and Rehabilitation Minister Stephen Neary said Wednesday in the Legislature that the idea of establishing a major mushroom farm on Bell Island has not been abandoned.

Speaking during debate of the estimates of the department of mines, agriculture and resources, Mr. Neary said two senior representatives of Ontario's largest mushroom farm will visi Bell Island next month.

Mr. Neary said they will check the feasibility of establishment of such a farm on the island.

He said it was possible that the cost of purchasing fertilizer might rule out the idea.

However, he said if it is proven feasible, residents of Bell Island are guaranteed a market for all the mushrooms they can produce.

(Evening Telegram, June 4, 1970)

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Answer the following questions:

   (a) Why is a closedown of operations more likely to happen in a mining community than in a pulp and paper community?

   (b) Why do some towns become ghost towns and others continue to exist after the single industry is phased out?

2. Make a list of the things which are likely to happen when a company decides to close down operations in a community of single industry.

3. Bell Island is an example of a community where the single industry discontinued its operations. If possible, find out what the present conditions are like on Bell Island, and discuss this in class.

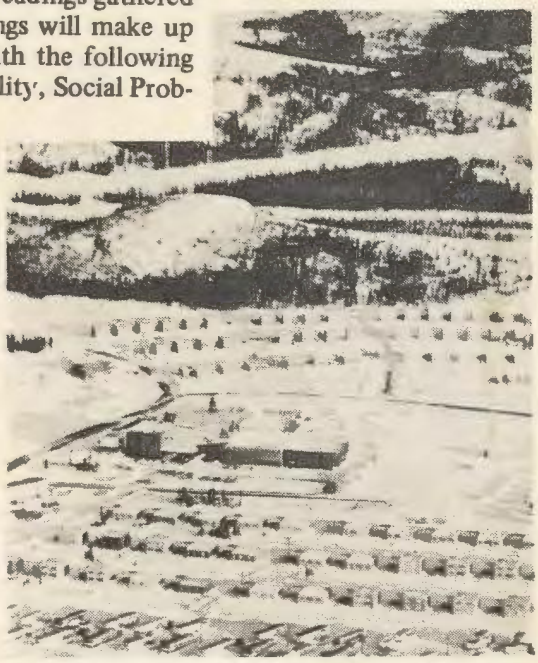
4. A simulation game has been developed on the closedown of a single industry community. If you have access to "Closedown" try to find time to play the game.

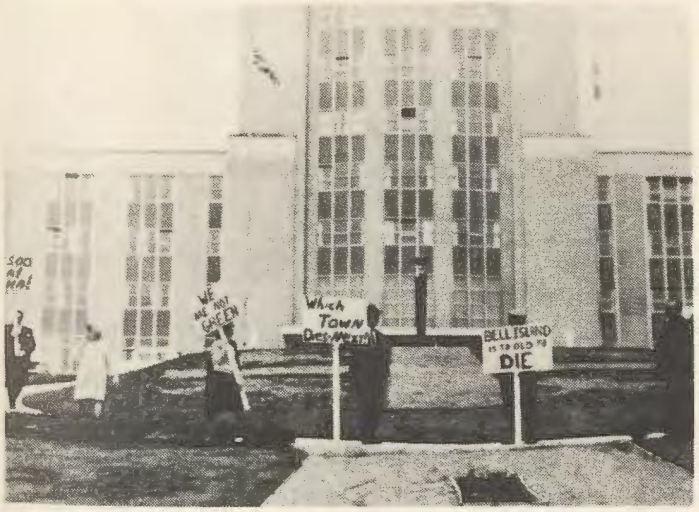
PART THREE

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS

"All communities are influenced by such factors as the overall planning, the social problems encountered, the economic situation, and the controls exercised within the community. In the single industry community these factors have special significance."

This section consists of a number of readings gathered from many different sources. These readings will make up four chapters of the text and will deal with the following topics: Company Control, Economic Stability, Social Problems, and Social Structure.





7

ECONOMIC STABILITY

SOMETHING TO DISCOVER

What is the economic future of most single industry communities?

What are the factors which determine what the future of a single industry community will be?

What type of planning might insure a longer life for single industry communities.

(Facts for this article were gathered in 1958. The towns referred to in this article, Schefferville, Elliot Lake, Kitimat, and Drayton Valley, are located in Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta, respectively.)

For the first few years, living in one of our case study communities was like living in a beautiful green and silver never-never land, with government officials, company spokesmen, and journalist hard pressed for ecstatic superlatives. Indeed, there was much justification for all the huzzahs. The towns were booming. Wages were high. Spanking new homes, shopping centers, schools, hospitals, office buildings, movie theatres, radio stations and all the other facilities and amenities which constitute a modern urban community were going up as fast as government and private financing could be obtained – in some cases, even faster. The pot lines in Kitimat's smelter were in full production, shipments of uranium and iron ore from the mines at Elliot Lake and at Schefferville were at an all-time high. Oil was gushing out of the wells in the Pembina area at a record rate. All in all, residents of these towns were living a "good life" – many of these families enjoying this prosperity for the first time.

Then, just as quickly as the boom itself started, everything suddenly seemed to cave in. Workers began to be laid off. Businessmen reported a slow down in store sales. And, moving vans began rolling up to homes to cart the occupants' belongings away. Phrases such as "slower, more static growth," "layoffs", and even "ghost town" were on everyone's lips.

It would be easy for an old-timer to say: "Serve's them right – they should a known better!" In part, this is true. Canada's history has been marked by the rise and fall of dozens of new resource towns. They have all followed a similar growth pattern: They grew rapidly, almost by spontaneous generation, either when a new mineral deposit was discovered or when technology, tariff protection, or world demand made a long-known resource profitable for development. This sudden rush of capital investment and rapid exploitation continued until such time as the resource was depleted, scientific discoveries made it obsolete, or world demand became saturated; then the towns experienced an equally swift slow-down or actual loss in population.

Many of the earlier towns never recovered from one of these setbacks and have become Ghost Towns; all that remains to remind one of their once-thriving and hopeful past are empty building, broken windows, and gutted streets. Canada, today, from one end to the other is studded with the ghosts of former mining and lumbering towns that "went broke" as resoundingly as they boomed.

This legacy perhaps should have brought home some lessons to the governments, industries businessmen, workers, and planners who built our four post-war new towns. But, obviously memories are short, and when the spirit of the times is one of optimism and prosperity, it becomes infectious.

Our four towns may not suffer the inglorious fate of their predecessors – though Elliot Lake came mighty close to the edge of the grave. Kitimat and Schefferville may be saved by taking on additional economic functions, such as, serving as supply or service centers for their immediate hinterlands or for the areas in the Far North. And, Drayton Valley may eventually establish a stable economy if the current regional program designed to diversify the Pembina area's economic activities is successful.

But, no matter what the ultimate fate of these four case studies may be, their individual stories may be instructive for those persons contemplating similar towns in the future.

A Mining Town and Service Center

The sole reason for Schefferville's existence is the extraction of iron ore – currently at the rate of 12 million tons a year. But, as well, the choice of Schefferville as the control center of the eastern arm of the Mid-Canada Defense Line resulted in a vast increase in air traffic and in goods moving through the town. The McGill sub-Arctic Research Laboratory, set up to investigate some of the problems of the area, is another activity in the new town. Also, the seaplane base, now moved four miles northeast to Squaw Lake, serves as a supply depot for exploration parties, both from the mining companies and from the Federal Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, headed for the interior of the region. Since Schefferville is the northern-most rail terminus in eastern Canada, large quantities of freight are flown from the town to the mining camps on the west coast of Ungava Bay and to the Nickel Belt (where there has been extensive exploration of late), 500 miles to the northwest. Cheap fuel (aviation gasoline brought in by train in bulk) and government radio service (beacons and teletype) have encouraged use of the town as a transshipment point.

The amount of paved high-grade iron ore reserves in

the Schefferville area come to more than 380 million tons, which, at an extraction rate of 15 million tons a year, should last 25-30 years (the reserves of low-grade ore are too large to be estimated). Of this total, however, around 100 million tons lie some 30 miles away and one of the problems facing the planners today is whether another new settlement will be necessary to exploit these northern ores profitably. As discussed earlier, Schefferville itself is already outgrowing the original site: its new role as a transportation and service center has generated growth not originally anticipated or planned for. The question is whether in view of the prospective iron ore developments nearby, it would not be preferable to expand Schefferville in such a way that it could also serve as the townsite for the other mines as well.

At this early stage in Schefferville's growth, forecasting its likely future economic development is perhaps too hazardous. If current exploration for base metals in the area proves successful, or if economic conditions become such that mining of the abundant low-grade iron ore would be profitable, Schefferville's role as a mining center could be extended. In either case, however, there still remains a foreseeable end to mining exploitation.

Alternatively, industry might be attracted by the huge hydro-electric potential of Ungava-Labrador. In Labrador, surveys of the Hamilton River have indicated that four million horsepower could be developed at a single site below Grand Falls, (now Churchill Falls), 100 miles to the southeast of Schefferville. Initial development on a much smaller scale is also believed to be practicable. A 120 mile access road from Seven Islands has already been built into the Falls. Another prospective power site, with one million horsepower potential, is located on the Kaniapiskau River, to the northwest. If large-scale electro-smelting became practicable, the power from these power sites might be exploited in smelters using local ore. Though their remote locations have thus far delayed any start on harnessing the two rivers, neither of these possibilities can be completely ignored.

Schefferville is likely to have an even more strategic importance in the future for both military and civil aviation. Establishments of a permanent R.C.A.F. base, plus maintenance of the Defence Line, will continue to provide employment for a certain number of people; but this can only be considered a fluctuating and perhaps temporary source of employment, in light of the caprices of modern-day politics. In addition, Schefferville's climatic advantages have already suggested to some persons the possibility of its supplementing, or even conceivably replacing Goose Bay, as a stop-over on trans-Atlantic air routes.

Another economic prospect for the future is the possible establishment by the federal government of a permanent Arctic Research Center, predicated on the McGill Laboratory already there.

In the final analysis, however, perhaps Schefferville's real economic future lies in its role as a small service center and transshipment point for goods distined for the north. The town is the northernmost rail terminus in eastern Canada and is unlikely that the rail line would be extended any further north. This could mean increased traffic on the airstrip and possibly the construction of a modern air terminus.

Aluminum and Fluctuating World Markets

Kitimat was planned and built by hundreds of experts planners, engineers, architects, consultants in forestry, weather, social relations and others. It is estimated that the Master Plan for Kitimat cost hundreds of thousands of dollars. Every aspect of urban development was considered; all of the "best" and latest planning principles and concepts were applied. And yet, the one compelling economic fact of life that the planners and builders did not, or could not, plan for was the town's dependence on a single enterprise, and one which sells mainly to world markets.

Built out of nothing in 1952, Kitimat by 1957 had blossomed into a thriving city of 14,000. Then, just as quickly the "aluminized" balloon of perpetual prosperity in which the city had been flying for six years blew away, or at least lost some of its altitude. For on October 29, 1957, Alcan suddenly and unexpectedly announced that it would not need the two new aluminum smelter potlines that were being built at the smelter site. This resulted in a lay off of some five hundred construction workers and many more persons indirectly dependent on the smelter for their employment and income. A total of around 1,800 workers (or some 6,000 persons) were adversely affected by the sudden curtailment in aluminum production.

The explanation offered by Alcan for the sudden halt to the extension of the aluminum smelter was the world-wide surplus of aluminum. Most of Alcan's aluminum production was going into the production of airplanes, and though the company never said so, it is reasonable to surmise that the main reason for the sudden surplus of aluminum was the setback in airplane production in the U.S. due to that country's decision to expand the missile program, as a result of the launching of "Sputnik I" by the Russians. (The main raw material for missiles is titanian.)

Whatever the real explanation may be, the fact remains that for the first time in years aluminum capacity had caught up with – and passed – demand. And, there was no immediate prospect of an upturn in aluminum demand before late 1958. As a result, the expansion plans for Kitimat had to be postponed, and the hitherto optimistic population forecasts were suddenly revised downward.

More recently, another factor has entered the picture which may be a portent of even further difficulties in Kitimat. It's been reported that of late the Soviet Union has been flooding world markets, expecially Great Britain, with aluminum, at a lower price than other countries, and apparently lower than Alcan's. The President of Alcan showed real concern about this when he stated:

> In several instances sellers of Russian metal have offered to maintain a differential below whatever price we might quote. . .We cannot alone, however, expect to compete against the resources of a state. If this form of competition continues, we believe it is apparent that it must be dealt with by those in government who have responsibility for adjusting the trade relations between the two forms of society. (Davis,

1958, p. 7.)

It seems self-evident that so long as Kitimat remains dependent on the aluminum smelter for its major source of employment and income (there are several small service-type industries in the town), it will continue to experience these ups and downs in growth even though the long-term demand for aluminum is probably bright.

Alcan was not unmindful of this when it first made its plans for Kitimat. The original Master Plan actually provided for the possibility of a pulp and paper mill (and associated logging activities). Indeed, the projected ultimate population of 50,000 was based on the employment which this additional economic activity, as well as the aluminum smelter, would generate. The company has continued to do whatever it could to bring this prospect to reality; it even participated in forming the pulp and paper company which would build and operate the mill. For the first several years, rumors were continually making the rounds that the mill would be forthcoming any day. However, in 1957, the company announced that due to changed market conditions for pulp and paper, it would have to postpone its plans for building a mill in Kitimat.

When and if this picture changes, Kitimat may still obtain its much-needed second major employer.

Another possible major new industry, which has been a subject of recent discussion, is a uranium enrichment plant, utilizing the huge power potential of the Kitimat-Kemano project. However, before this can materialize, several problems, in particular the financing of such a plant, need to be resolved.

Other than these prospects, Kitimat's chances for attracting new industries do not appear too promising, due to the area's location and adverse climate.

In the long-run, perhaps Kitimat's future depends on development of north-central British Columbia. Its location on tidewater and access to rail and road facilities, could facilitate its becoming an important transshipment point for the northern interior.

The First Nuclear-Age Ghost Town – Almost!

Since Elliot Lake was founded in 1953, most of the 25,000 residents of the town were the best paid workers in Canada and since 1957, they've been among the best housed. They luxuriated in all the comforts of city life – fluorescent lighting, crescent streets, split-level houses, three-story houses, three-story apartment blocks, cantilevered shopping plazas, breeze-way schools, wide-screened movie theaters, picture-window hotels, functional churches, a lake-shore community center, and the finest hospital north of Lake Huron. As well, they enjoyed the pleasures of hunting, fishing, sailing, swimming, skating and skiing – all within ten minutes' drive of home.

Then, suddenly, in late 1959, these palmy days came to an end, just as abruptly and dramatically as they began; and the thousands of miners, professionals, storekeepers, and businessmen who had built their hopes on uranium – the mineral with "sex appeal" – found themselves thinking that perhaps Elliot Lake had been just another mining camp after all, though the most elaborate one ever built.

This abrupt end to Elliot Lake's boom was caused by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's announcement in November, 1959, that it would not take up its post-1962 Canadian uranium options; the Agency did agree, however, to stretch out the deliveries to 1966. As a result, Elliot Lake which had been producing 65 per cent of Canadian uranium and 24 per cent of world output, suddenly faced a bust. A third of the nine thousand miners were laid off and the rest were expected to lose their jobs in stages over the next six years. Every day moving vans rolled in and out of town. Retail turnover declined by 80 per cent. By 1966, unless an economic miracle intervenes, Elliot Lake may well end up Canada's first nuclear-age Ghost Town, and undoubtedly the handsomest one anywhere in the world.

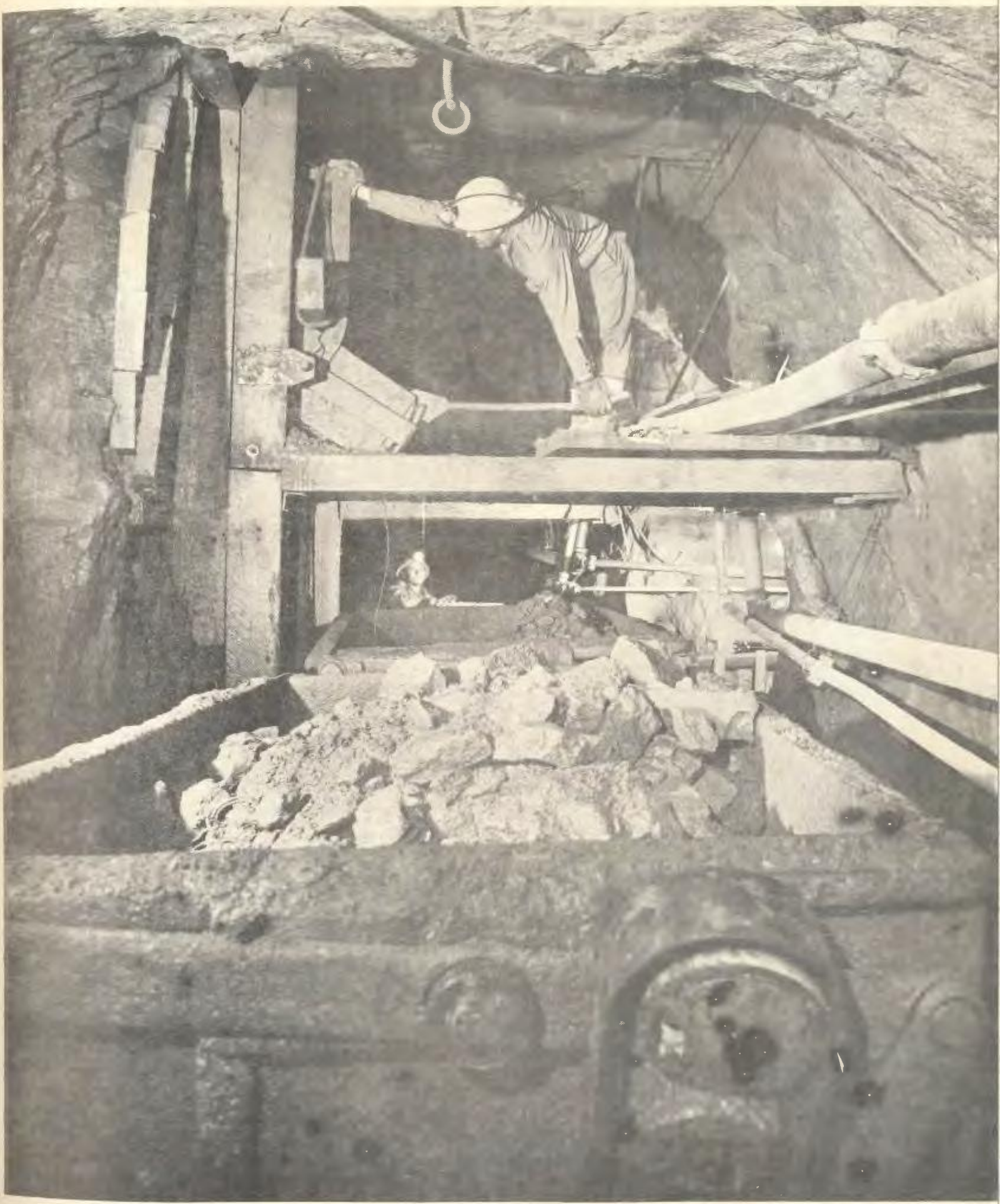
Elliot Lake was built primarily and solely to meet the boom in uranium. There was never any guarantee, however, that this boom would last. The Americans gave no assurance that the contracts would be extended beyond 1962. In view of this, it is reasonable to ask the question: why did the builders of Elliot Lake – the provincial and federal governments, the private builders, the businessmen and the citizens themselves – invest so much money in a mere mining camp? The answer, it would seem, is that they were all mesmerized by the propaganda of the atomic age. As one Toronto businessman, whose companies had invested two million dollars in hotels, theaters and stores, said: "We were sucked in by the magic of the word uranium." (Porter, 1960, p. 24.)

When news of the U.S. announcement came, the mining companies themselves, dominated by Britain's huge Rio Tinto Mining Company of Canada Ltd., and including such other giants as Consolidated Denison Mines Ltd., and Can-Met Explorations Ltd. were relatively unperturbed. They, of course, had known since 1953 that the volume of uranium sales beyond 1962 was unpredictable. But, they were protected. The U.S. five-year contracts were designed to guarantee them the return of their three-hundred million dollar investment in the mines, plus a reasonable profit. Except for their agreement to buy back the homes of laid-off miners, the companies had made no other investment in the community itself.

Nor were most of the working miners shocked or surprised, either at losing their jobs or at Elliot Lake's misfortune. The miners were by now accustomed to highly paid jobs of short duration in frontier areas, and probably had never anticipated permanent residence anyway. As the wife of a miner explained the mining family's philosophy:

> We come from Cobalt. We've always been miners. My father works underground here. My husband's father was killed in a mine. My husband goes from job to job. He goes after the big money in the bush. I follow him when we can find a proper place for the children, like here. But if we can't, I live in Cobalt or some other place and see him as often as he can get home.
>
> We never expected things to last in Elliot Lake. Things never do last in the mining business. (Porter, 1960, p. 38.)

The miners actually wouldn't suffer so badly from the Elliot Lake bust, financially that is. The average laid-off



The job of a Buchans Miner.

underground worker, who must quit his rented premises or depart in his house trailer, and the average laid-off surface worker, who can exercise his buy-back housing rights, loses little capital when he leaves Elliot Lake.

But the "camp followers" – the technicians, clerical workers, professional men, storekeepers, hotel owners and managers, amusement caterers, restaurateurs, and others – had been betting on the idea that the uranium boom would go on forever. These were the people who bought homes and businesses in Elliot Lake, and generally speaking, they faced the greatest financial loss from the town's collapse.

What led them to overestimate Elliot Lake's future? Apparently, they contracted the contagious optimism of the Canadian federal government and Ontario provincial government who, it will be recalled, invested heavily in housing mortgages, roads, municipal utilities and community facilities. How, then, can one explain the over-optimism of the two higher levels of government?

Don Taylor, the chief planner for the Ontario Department of Planning and Development, provided part of the answer:

> Everybody knew that uranium was the ore of the future. We did not want to see Elliot Lake grown up as another mining shack town. At that time most people believed that the demand for uranium would be continuous. So we planned a permanent townsite. (Porter, 1960, p. 24.)

And, David Monsur, then President of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, explained the federal government's decision to advance first mortages on houses:

> The decision was made in spite of the fact that the uranium contracts were five years only. The shadow of 1962 overhung all the negotiations. But there was a big job to be done at Elliot Lake. Uranium was a precious metal in short supply. It was urgently needed for defense. There was a climate of optimism about its future, a climate induced by news of peaceful nuclear contracts would be renewed or that other industrial developments in Elliot Lake would justify the cost of the housing. CMHC took a calculated risk. (Porter, 1960, p. 24, 37.)

Such optimism existed despite the fact that even as the bulldozers and mechanical shovels worked during 1954-1957, many economists were urging the town builders to move cautiously. They pointed out that uranium was being discovered in other parts of the world, including the United States, and that Elliot Lake's distinction as the western world's biggest single source of supply might soon not be too important, commercially. They also emphasized that the conventional sources of power – oil, natural gas, and hydro-electric resources – still provided a kilowatt of atomic energy for peaceful uses. As a consequence, they argued, the demand for uranium would likely dwindle, for a time at least.

The most optimistic economists said that peaceful atomic energy would not be used widely until 1970; the more pessimistic forecasts put the date at 1980. Irrespective of the precise date, all agreed that if the Americans did not resume their uranium contracts after 1962, Elliot Lake would likely go into "mothballs" for a period ranging from eight to eighteen years.

But the federal and provincial governments decided to ignore the voices of caution and, sparing no expense, they created a truly model community. And, the businessmen who followed the boom to Elliot Lake, elated by the prospect of huge profits and perhaps fascinated by the vision of local hustle and bustle, similarly felt the economists were suffering from what they called "the five-year phobia". The northern supervisor for a company that spent one-quarter of a million dollars on two movie houses said: "The heavy investments by the two governments convinced businessmen that nothing could go wrong. We entered Elliot Lake with faith in the future." (Porter, 1960, p. 37.)

And, it's these very same owners of commercial premises and several establishments, and their employees, who can be said to be the real victims of the Elliot Lake bust. They represent nearly all of the six hundred home-owners who bought from independent builders and not from the mining companies under a buyback clause. They are left with $12 – $20,000 homes that can't be rented or sold. Their only hope was that CMHC would let them off the mortgage hook.

Perhaps their situation wouldn't have been so bad if they had made the big money so many anticipated. But, few did, due to a combination of factors. For one, competition for sites during the early years was so keen that land prices soared. Also, the government planners, anxious to develop an attractive town and start bringing in taxes, enforced rigorous zoning laws and building standards on the storekeepers. At the beginning many of the businessmen operated temporary buildings, but the provincial government's regulations forced them to make large investments in permanent buildings, or get out; so most yielded to the former demand.

These factors, plus long distance transport costs, raised expenses above even big-city levels. A local businessman complained that: "Despite the four-year boom most of the commercial people are having a tough time paying off heavy mortgages." (Porter, 1960, p. 39.)

High living costs also offset profits. People paid nearly four hundred dollars a year in property taxes on an $11,000 home. This is almost twice the amount paid by many metropolitan suburban home owners on houses of the same value.

The long haul by truck rocketed food prices. Most of the town's milk comes from Manitoulin Island, some seventy miles away. Also, the Elliot Lake Plan itself indirectly caused increased living costs. The residential zones, it will be recalled, are two miles from the shopping plaza and from fifteen to twenty miles from the various mines. There are no local bus services, so that as described earlier, everybody needs a car. Housewives whose husbands use the family car to travel to work (either to the central business area or to the mines) do their shopping by taxis. Cab drivers charge a flat rate of a dollar for a one-way trip between residential zone and shopping plaza. If the normal number of shopping trips are made by the housewife, this item could easily add up to a sizable slice off the family

budget by the end of the month.

As a result of these various factors, it was difficult for families to save money in Elliot Lake. One local businessman criptically described the situation thusly: "We are a community with wall-to-wall carpeting and back-to-the-wall financing."

Thus, burdened with heavy debts and deminishing turnover, the Elliot Lake businessmen were in a state of panic in the summer of 1960. The Canadian government was able to persuade the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to accept outstanding deliveries of uranium until 1966. But, this merely means a "stretch-out" of the same volume of uranium, and a more gradual decrease in the work force. By 1966 there will probably be work in Elliot Lake for fewer than a thousand miners, which means that most of the town's remaining merchants and businessmen will inevitably go broke.

The merchants cannot expect the scanty business that might stem from miners' unemployment pay. Despite the large number of laid off workers, there was no increase in applications for unemployment insurance. This would seem to indicate that the unemployed felt it is hopeless to stay around and look for work in Elliot Lake. Instead, they were getting out and drawing unemployment pay elsewhere.

Many of the residents have remained, however, hopeful that steps might be taken by the federal and provincial governments which would give the town a new lease on life. "No one," one newspaper commented, "is going to walk away from a $3 million hospital, ten schools, twelve churches, 2400 homes, five banks, and three hotels. . .at least not without a fight! The government cannot let a combined private and Dominion investment of $500 million rot in the wilderness." In the spring of 1960 a hundred and thirty-five Elliot Lake housewives journeyed to Ottawa and there pleaded with the Prime Minister to find Elliot Lake new enterprises. Likewise, the local Chamber of Commerce made several trips to the provincial and federal capitals and urged the governments to consider several "make-work" projects: Establishing a new penal colony; developing a provincial park and other tourist attractions; building a big school for retarded children; founding a forestry research center; constructing a school for army provost officers; and launching a campaign to attract highly technical new industries that might one day operate on nuclear power and benefit from the vast local reserve of uranium.

Since Elliot Lake is ninety miles from the two nearest industrial centers, Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie, its prospects of attracting new industries are, according to most economists, dim.

The mining companies also made some efforts to save the town. The Rio Tinto's exploration teams began looking for other commercial ore bodies that could be worked from an Elliot Lake base. The company did provide some extra employment by opening a thorium extracting plant and converting one of its uranium mines into a copper producer. The company is seeking new uses for uranium as well. It feels that, in total, it might be able to employ twenty-five hundred people during the 1962-66 period and thereby keep alive a community of close to ten thousand persons. After that, the company is still hopeful that the development of peaceful atomic power will bring an upsurge in the uranium market in the 1970's.

This faith in the future does little to encourage the local merchants, however. Few could afford to mark time through even a one-year shutdown of the mines. In their desperation, they blame "politics" for the lack of action to attract new sources of employment. They point out that Elliot Lake was founded during the last Liberal federal government, and aren't hopeful about the prospects of the present Conservative government helping them out. They cite, as an example, the government's insistence on building a nuclear research center at Whiteshell, Manitoba despite the repeated appeals of local businessmen to put the institution in Elliot Lake to help solve its unemployment problem.

Most experts, however, place little importance on the bitterness and hysteria that is implicit in these political recriminations. For example, an Elliot Lake mine manager explains the economic plight of the town this way:

> Elliot Lake was built as a permanent town because the forecasts for the inauguration of peaceful atomic power were inaccurate. We still expect uranium to fill the purposes which were envisaged at the time the forecasts were made. There is nothing wrong with Elliot Lake. Only the timing of its construction was wrong. (Porter, p. 40)

But, Dr. Kenneth Walter, a business geographer employed by Imperial Oil Ltd. explains the problem a little differently; he seems to place the blame for the situation on those who originally conceived and planned the town. He said:

> In planning new towns diversification of industry should be the keystone. The one-industry town always stands in danger of becoming obsolete, particularly in this era of rapid technological change and shifting consumer demand. If Elliot Lake is added to the long list of Canadian ghost towns it will be because the planners forgot that it never really was a town. It was only a mining camp. (Porter, p. 40)

Planning for a Diversified Regional Economy

Oil towns tend to have an unstable pattern of growth particularly during their early period of development, resulting from the nature of oil production operations. The oil industry is characterised by a natural cycle of development, beginning with exploration, drilling and development, then passing on to the stage of production and maintenance. Employment in the industry and demands for services and equipment are greatest during the early stages. As drilling activity declines and an oil field reaches full development, employment subsequently declines together with the activities based on oil field development, including technical services, equipment and supply firms, pipeline and drilling firms, etc. Oil towns reflect this cycle of development in their pattern of growth. The Pembina area is no exception.

In 1941, the population of the Pembina Area was approximately 2,000 persons, the bulk of whom were engaged in farming. In the subsequent ten years, the farm

population, along with total population declined quite markedly. The, with the discovery of oil in 1953 and the beginning of large scale operations in 1954, the area underwent rapid growth. In the period between 1954 and 1956, the years of greatest drilling activity, the population of the Area increased by 2,500. In the following two years there was a slight decline in population due to a decrease in drilling and the movement out of the area of transitory drilling crews and associated workers.

During this period the population of the four settlement centers in the Pembina Area tended to fluctuate considerably due to the coming and going of transitory labor and temporary oil industry workers. While this has not been as acute a problem in Drayton Valley, which was rapidly becoming an established community, it was more marked in Violet Grove and was especially apparent in the new towns of Lodgepole and Cynthia where conditions were more unsettled. Although the population of Lodgepole for the greater part of 1958 was in the neighbourhood of 500 to 600, it rose to almost 1,000 in the fall. This increase was made up largely of transitory oil industry workers, drilling rig employees, etc., who cannot be considered as a permanent addition to the town's population.

The trend toward cessation of drilling activities, followed by population decline as the stage of production and maintenance is reached, is anticipated by 1963 in the Pembina oilfield. This is expected to affect Cynthia and Violet Grove the hardest. In Drayton Valley (which had grown to 3,300 persons by 1958) the trend in direction of decline, however, is expected to be offset by an increase in commercial and business activity associated with the growing importance of the town as the main service center, not only for the Pembina area but for the adjoining region to the east as well. Also, the town's developed services and facilities could attract some local secondary industries.

The provincial planners, in their analysis of the Pembina area's future development, were concerned about these short-run fluctuations in growth but paid particular attention to its long-run prospects. They noted that dependence upon the production of a single commodity and one that is non-renewable tends to place the entire region in a vulnerable position: exhaustion of the oil resource, technological changes, fluctuations in demand and price levels, or other factors, may disrupt the whole economy supported on such a narrow base. It is important, the planners agreed, that the region try to develop as broad a base of economic activities as its natural resources can economically sustain.

Accordingly, they recommended the following principles as basic guides for planning the future development of the Pembina Controlled Area: (Town and Rural Planning, p. 3, 5)

(1) Use of land for the purpose for which it is best suited is important in planning for forestry and agriculture in the area. Any proposed extension of agricultural land should be critically evaluated in light of this above principle.

(2) Protection of the watershed area between the Pembina and the North Saskatchewan Rivers from indiscriminate clearing is important for both agriculture and forestry. Agricultural practices should be designed to prevent erosion and preserve soil fertility.

(3) Continuation of the present provincial oil conservation policy, which establishes regulations requiring 80-acre oil well spacing, water flood recovery methods, and the construction of gas processing plants.

(4) Conservation of forest resources as a means of encouraging the future development of a forest industry will help to offset the economic decline which will ultimately result from the reduction and eventual cessation of oil activity in the area.

(5) The utilization of available oil resources to a fuller extent by carrying the processing of them as far as possible will provide additional employment and bring increased stability to the economic structure of the area.

(6) Full and balanced utilization of the resources of the area as a base for the expansion and diversification of agriculture, industry and commercial activity will broaden the economy, improve the well-being of the people and minimize seasonal and cyclical fluctuations in economic conditions.

The planners also recognized that sound physical planning policies on a regional basis can do much to realize economic development objectives. Therefore, in accordance with the principles listed above, they prepared a Preliminary Regional Land Use Plan and recommended preparation of a zoning by-law, applicable to all lands in the Pembina Controlled Area outside of the established towns. The by-law would include: a forestry district; an agricultural district; a restricted agricultural district around the boundaries of the settlement centers and the strengthening of regulations aimed at controlling fringe development; a zoning map, to be prepared with the assistance of the Department of Lands and Forests, showing all the land use districts into which the area would be divided; and a schedule of uses and a list of regulations for each use district, consistent with the aims and proposals of the Preliminary General Plan. (Town and Rural Planning, p. 3)

[1] Nathaniel V. Davis, President of Aluminum Company of Canada, Thirtieth Annual Report, Montreal, April 24, 1958.

[2] McKenzie Porter, "Elliot Lake's Glamourous Rise and Bitter Fall," Maclean's, July 16, 1960.

[3] Town and Rural Planning Branch, Government of Alberta, Pembina Controlled Area: Preliminary General Plan Report (Drayton Valley: Pembina Planning Advisory Commission, August, 1959).

(Chapter taken from: Robinson, I.M., New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier, University of Chicago Research Papers in Geography, No. 73, 1962.)

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Divide the class into five or six groups and let each group discuss and list what they think the economic future of the following communities will be: Grand Falls, Buchans, Churchill Falls, Labrador City, and Bell Island.

8

COMPANY CONTROL

SOMETHING TO DISCOVER

Does a company exercise much control over the people and the activities in a single industry community? Why?

Has the degree of control held by the companies in single industry communities increased or decreased over the years? Why?

What groups other than the company exercise a large amount of control in a single industry community.

(This chapter is made up of a number of short selections taken from various sources. It should give a better idea of the degree of control which a company can have over the lives of the people who live in single industry communities.)

The bad old days of "company towns" in Canada that were dominated by an autocratic "boss" are a thing of the past. Yet, today, company-created communities are more numerous than ever. And almost all Canadian planned model new towns have been established by industrial corporations engaged in exploiting natural resources.

Gone are the days of the "new town" epitomized by the sawmill town of Marysville, New Brunswick and Garden Island village in St. Lawrence River opposite Kingston, Ontario which were two of Canada's earliest planned communities. Lumber-operator Alexander "Boss" Gibson not only built Marysville (named after his wife), but he exercised complete control over all community activities, including the church. Fredericton writer Fred H. Phillips has recalled that Boss Gibson was so concerned about the content of the sermons preached by the minister, whom Gibson himself paid, that when the message was not to his liking he would whistle quite audibly and keep time by tapping a nervous foot on the floor. The text was usually changed.

Timber-operator and shipbuilder Delano "Boss" Calvin who owned the island village situated on Garden Island, just outside Kingston harbor, was similarly concerned about the social welfare of his employees, especially their drinking habits and their politics. Although Calvin allowed his employees to visit Kingston on Saturday nights, they were not permitted to bring liquor back to the island village. To see that this stricture was obeyed, Boss Calvin would stand at the foot of the gangplank of his boat as his men came aboard for the return trip to the island. As soon as he saw a suspicious-looking bulge in a hip or breast pocket, Calvin would raise his cane and let it come down with a resounding thwack across the offending bottle. Author D.D. Calvin, a grandson, recalls that Boss Calvin's employees knew which way to vote at election time but that there is record of one man who did not follow the custom of voting for the Calvin-endorsed Conservative party candidate. Needless to say, this "non-acculturated" workman did not remain long on the island.

Today, however, such interference in the personal and social lives of the employees by the employer would not be tolerant. (Walker, H.W.; Company Towns, Paternalism, and Recreation, **Food for Thought**, V. 15, 1954, p. 23.)

The degree of control exercised in these towns by the companies varies considerably. In its most extreme form, the company owns all the land including the road, and may, therefore, limit public access to the town; it also built and owns the houses, utilities and community facilities, and requires the workers to buy at company stores. There is no democratically-elected local government. The residents haven't the right of other citizens to elect municipal and school representatives, and they have almost nothing to say in the administration of their affairs. They retain the vote in provincial and federal elections, but the company, to a large extent, can control all political activity.

Such "closed company towns" are few in number and relatively unimportant. More common is the company town to which the public has free right of access and in which privately-owned and -operated stores are permitted. While a large proportion of the houses are company-owned, some private building is also permitted. There may be an elected local government, though the relations between the municipal council and the company are often rather precarious.

On the whole, experience in Canada with company towns has been good; they never acquired the bad reputation of their counterparts elsewhere, especially in the United States. (Robinson, I.M., New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier, University of Chicago Research Papers in Geography, No. 73, 1962, p. 42.)

The company's business is producing aluminum. However, in order to operate a smelter in this remote region of British Columbia, far from any established population center, workers had to be attracted, who, in turn, required a place to live. In order to gather and keep a stable labor force, it was necessary to build a completely new com-

munity. More importantly, the company felt that because of the area's isolation and adverse physical conditions, Kitimat had to have a special appeal for the workers – and especially their wives, if they are to willingly accept it as a permanent home. The Planning Coordinator for Kitimat's Master Plan, Clarence Stein, expressed the viewpoint well, when he wrote:

> The purpose of Kitimat is the industrial success of the plant. That success will depend on the degree that workers are content, that they like living in Kitimat. Unless the two can attract and hold good industrial workers, there will be continuous turnover and difficulty, interfering with dependable output. The workers must find Kitimat more than temporarily acceptable.
>
> They must be enthusiastic about it as a particularly fine place in which to live and bring up their families. It must become **the** place they want as homeland, the town they are going to make their own.

Alcan acknowledged that it had some responsibility for realizing this objective. It was ready to participate in the ticklish operation of initiating, before the two actually existed, all those broad provisions that a rounded two needs to start off with. In short, it was prepared to enter heavily into the financing and supervision of the town in its early stages to ensure that it is properly serviced and equipped. But, at the same time, it felt that the day-to-day responsibility for planning, building, and operating a town the size of Kitimat was not the business of the company. Considerations as to the inherent values of local democracy aside, the company wished to withdraw from these activities, and encourage the community to stand on its own feet, as soon as possible. (Robinson, I.M., New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier, University of Chicago Research Papers in Geography, No. 73, 1962, p. 43.)

In such towns there is always a problem: "who in fact exercises power?" I think it is almost universal in Canada to have tried to move away from leaving such towns as strictly company towns with the company having the right to bar access to any outsider. In company towns, the company manager is normally all powerfull. But I am sometimes worried when I have visited what are called "open towns", because it becomes obvious very soon that the company is still very powerful, but that it no longer accepts its share of the responsibility for running the town.

I understand that in some areas, the union has provided an alternate source of power and in fact has taken over effective control of the town. This, of course, is a situation which has existed for a long time in most of the Welsh coal mining areas where the town councils have been controlled essentially by the same group who run the local mine workers union. In a union controlled town, too, the tyranny of a small group may be great.

I would suggest that wherever possible, government policy should be to try to create open towns, which serve not just one mine but a number of mines and to cause a number of other sources of employment in the area, e.g., by the stationing of government offices inside the local community, or by the stationing of university research stations, etc. I would suggest that, of necessity, it is the responsibility of the provincial and territorial government concerned to play a somewhat more important role in the control of such towns than it does in a more normal municipality in order to "hold the ring". I bring up the problem rather than suggesting any particular solution. (Center for Settlement Studies, University of Manitoba, Proceedings – Symposium on Resource Frontier Communities, December 16, 1968, p. 37.)

The lack of population in the region of the resource activity makes it necessary in some instances for the company to become creator, owner, and administrator of a new community. In such a company town, the paternalistic control of the company poses major problems in the everyday life of the community since the company may be landlord, employer, merchant, policeman, fireman and administrator. In a number of communities, the role of the company is limited to the initiation of the town and the provision of some housing.

It appears inevitable that the life and activity of a community which is dependent upon a single industrial enterprise will be dominated by that enterprise. Recent trends in the development of new communities favour the elimination of this element of company pre-eminence through the promotion of private home-ownership and the incorporation of the community at an early stage of its development. (Parker, V.J., The Planned Non-Permanent Community, M.C.P., Department of Community and Regional Planning, U.B.C., 1960, p. 24-25.)

From the foregoing statement of the chief characteristics of single-enterprise communities it can be seen that the company (or other single authority) is the sole employer and owns and controls all the physical properties. In addition, there is frequently company control, direct and indirect, of the personal and social aspects of the community activities of the employees, a relationship approaching a form of industrial feudalism. That such a relationship not only could but did exist was the claim of many writers during the 1930's when a vigorous literary attack was carried on in the United States against the alleged 'paternalistic dictatorship' and 'modern feudalism' of the coal-mining towns and cotton-mill villages in that country. Very few examples of such 'paternalistic dictatorship' are to be found in Canada today, although such conditions did exist in the past. The few contemporary instances are small communities owned by one man or by one family rather than by an industrial corporation. (Institute of Local Government, Queen's University, Single-Enterprise Communities in Canada, Ottawa, 1953, p. 4.)

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Answer the questions at the beginning of the chapter, under **Something to Discover.**

2. Would there be a difference in the amount of control in a community during the recruitment phase from a community in the maturity phase? Why?

9

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

SOMETHING TO DISCOVER

What factors influence the social structure of a community of single industry?

Why do people come to a new community of single industry?

What is the range of occupations, races, language groups, and religions in most single industry communities?

Why is there such high worker mobility in a community of single industry?

What kinds of social activities are available in a community of single industry?

(Research for this article was done in 1958. The communities referred to, Elliot Lake, Schefferville, and Kitimat, are in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia, respectively.)

The idea of moving to the Canadian North is probably one of the least appealing thoughts possible to most people. The remoteness and isolation, overpowering terrain, unproductive soils, and unfavorable climate – coping with all this would simply be too much. Yet, despite these uninviting features, settlement is going on. People are gravitating to these northern frontier areas. Towns, such as the four under consideration here, are being built to serve mining, forestry, and other resource-based industries.

Unlike ordinary urban communities, these towns do not grow by a gradual process of natural increase plus some yearly in-migration. Instead, they "boom" into existence, and in a few months, large numbers of people find themselves concentrated in an area that can hardly be called "home", but no longer is wilderness either.

What kinds of people answer this "boom call"? To the planner, and others interested in new communities, the very selection of peoples takes on a pivotal significance. It is precisely the characteristics of the population which give the community its distinctive character and coloration: Its forms of recreation, standards of consumption, use of leisure time, participation in local institutions, the quality and pattern of residential development – indeed, even its

morality. In turn, the institutions which the population develops prescribe the characteristics of the community in succeeding generations.

What, then, can be said about the selection of populations that has proceeded to date in the four case study communities, and the kinds of institutions and behavior patterns such populations have spawned? Not too much is known about this, but from the little information that is available some sort of picture can be broadly drawn.

The Push and Pull Forces of Migration

The initial selection of population to these new communities is a somewhat random resultant of the traditional push and pull factors conventionally associated with migration. Many newcomers were "pushed out" of declining areas of the country; they joined those who were simply attracted by employment opportunities and higher wages. For the recent immigrant to Canada, the new towns provided a breathing period. Some came running because they saw a chance to pioneer or make a stake while it's early. All these people gathered because they were eager for a different stability from what they had known. But what of the others? A goodly number were fleeing from something – either a "brush" with the law, or the hampering mores of established centers, issues which can be ignored in a new setting. For those romantics' seeking escape from the humdrum of the settled community, the new and the different provided the bait.

On closer inspection, the initial migrants fell into three main categories: First, those who came to make "quick" money, or temporarily escape; these people were "sojourners" and intended to get out "fast". Second, those who came to take production jobs in the aluminum smelter, mines, mills, and oil fields, or to establish local businesses, contemplated settling in and bringing their families to the area. Third, those who approached the new town in a highly tentative and uncertain fashion and who might become permanent if good living and working conditions were provided. It is the latter two groups for whom the new town planners and builders directed their efforts. Yet, the presence of the first group of migrants could not be ignored, for their wants, actions, and behavior were bound to affect the character of the towns.

Highly Selective

Because these towns are one-industry towns, the populations represent a very narrow range of occupations. The labor force consists of two main groups: (1) white collar and supervisory personnel and (2) industrial workers. The former group is represented by managers, professionals, technicians, clerical workers and civil servants. The industrial workers include the miners, mill and smelter workers, oil drillers, as well as general labor and construction workers. The business group constitutes a distinct minority, especially during the early stages when the trades and services are undeveloped.

Jobs in mines, mills, and other development works are men's jobs; it is not surprising, therefore, that the labor force is overwhelmingly masculine. Table 3 shows that the sex ratio (the number of males per 100 females) for each

town is substantially higher than the corresponding ratio for Canada as a whole, for the respective provinces and regions in which the selected towns are located, and for established urban centers in the south. The heavy concentration on the male side of the population pyramid was particularly pronounced during the early stages when there were a substantial number of construction workers employed in building roads, preparing mine sites, and constructing the plant and townsite.

The population structure is also skewed with respect to age. There are practically no old people and few teenagers. The average age of the parents is quite low, resulting in a high proportion of young children. For example, in Shefferville, 46 per cent of the children are below the age of six and a further 32 per cent are less than ten years old.

The age and sex characteristics of these towns can best be summarized by a remark made about Kitimat, some four years after the new community was built: "Half of the men are without women, there are scarcely any old people in the town, and there's a single girl to every ten bachelors." It remains to be seen whether, as these towns become established on a more permanent basis, the developing labor force adheres to this pattern or achieves a more balanced and coherent social structure.

The 'Unmeltable' Melting Pot

As to the origin of the new migrants, they span all the provinces of Canada, and include practically the full range of races and language groups already in the country. They came from Asia, South America, and South Africa; from Europe, the British Isles, Scandinavia, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany and Poland – from every country that contributes to the Canadian immigration flow.

The managers, technicians, and other white-collar personnel migrated from the metropolitan areas, the towns and cities of southern Canada, or similar urban areas in the United States and Europe. The "blue-collar" group, on the other hand, are recent immigrants, or have been living in resource development towns in other parts of Canada, and generally move from one construction or resource development project to the next. Prof. Hall's study of Elliot Lake provides some detailed information on the geographic origin of the latter group of workers.

The proportion of new migrants to Elliot Lake from the more distant parts of the country was relatively low; in general the distances moved were short. For the mill jobs, employers were able to tap the local labor reservoir. By far the largest portion, however, came from other mining areas, although few from outside the borders of the province. Most migrated from the older gold-mining areas of Northern Ontario and Quebec. Relatively few moved from the more prosperous but equally new parts of Ontario and Quebec. Rather, it is that fringe of communities running along the northern extension of these two provinces that provided the bulk of the newcomers to Elliot Lake.

Hall found two other migrant groups which deserve attention. The Maritime Provinces, particularly the mining areas of Nova Scotia, contributed a substantial number, in spite of the fact that coal mining is technically a different job from hard-rock mining; and the Gaspe Peninsula of Quebec was the previous place of employment for another large group. In the latter case unrest in the copper mines may have turned many workers loose to seek employment in the Elliot Lake District.

All in all, it appears that while venturers from a very wide part of the world were attracted to the uranium area, the bulk of the population was drawn from the rundown mining areas of Ontario and Quebec, and from comparable areas in the Maritimes and the Gaspe. Whether those who came were "down and out" with no foothold left, or the "up and coming" who saw the handwriting on the wall in their old communities, Hall was not able to determine.

Turning to the national and ethnic backgrounds of the newcomers, a fairly large proportion are either new migrants to Canada or are of parents who were born outside Canada. New migrants make up around ten per cent of Elliot Lake's population, and children of earlier waves of emigrants comprise another 20 per cent. In Kitimat, the proportion is even higher; here around 50 per cent of the population are foreign-born workers.

Among the recent migrant arrivals, the Polish and Italian groups and the Germans seem to predominate. The former are predominantly Catholic. There is a sprinkling of migrants from Great Britain, most of whom are of Protestant stock. Among second generation Canadians, whose parents were earlier migrants, the pattern is somewhat different. Here, the Ukranians and Poles seem most numerous. These are the groups who seem to have migrated fairly early to the gold-mining areas elsewhere, and make up a large part of those who are now moving out.

As for the religious composition of the population, it is of interest to note that all four towns contain a high proportion of Catholics, a majority of whom are French-Canadians. In Schefferville, this group constitutes around 80 percent of the population. In Elliot Lake, the proportion of migrants coming to the area, as well as those remaining there, show the same ratio, approximately 60 per cent Catholic. One-half are French-speaking Canadians, some of whom came from the nearby forest industries, but the majority from Quebec. Hence, although Elliot Lake is geographically part of Ontario, traditionally a Protestant province, as far as religion is concerned, it is a Catholic community, and the flavouring is strongly French-Canadian.

The character of a community is heavily influenced by the class makeup of its population. The bulk of the white collar workers in these resource towns having come from southern Canadian cities and towns and comparable urban areas elsewhere, brought with them the attitudes and standards which they gleaned from such surroundings. Their attitudes towards social behavior, the arts, outside entertainment, education and churchgoing are very uniform and represent essentially the middle class attitudes of small town and suburb. Consequently, from this standpoint, the town population possesses a degree of social homogeneity and lack of differentiation rarely found in comparable cities in the south.

However, the special conditions prevailing in these towns have resulted in a rudimentary class structure within

this relatively uniform group. Several factors tend to encourage this, one of them being the nature of employment. There is a pattern of social stratification, based on the hierarchical ranking of employees in the company's organization. The fact that almost all the residents are also employees of the same firm eliminates the subtle gradations and vagueness of social stratification prevalent in a more open society. Families are easily and rigidly classified according to what position the breadwinner holds with the company.

Across the incipient class structure based on the employee's position and status within the company hierarchy, there is superimposed a social division based on nationality, religion and language. The most wide-spread division is between residents of English-speaking ancestry and French-Canadians. These distinctions show up, in the first instance, in the distribution of occupations.

The allocation of jobs follows the dominant Canadian mores of placing English speaking Protestants, French-speaking Catholics, and new migrants in an hierarchical order: the managerial, professional, technical and clerical jobs go to Anglo-Saxons, while French-Canadians, and other ethnic groups traditionally receive the jobs requiring a lower level of skill and training in the industrial hierarchy. Such distributions of people among jobs are generally blurred and concealed in the anonymity of an ordinary city or town. But, in small one-industry towns, such as those under discussion, the allocation of jobs according to an hierarchical social order becomes highly visible and obvious; moreover, the various religious and ethnic groups in the community are likely to become acutely conscious of their place in the job distribution.

Because housing in these towns tends to be of a uniform quality, one of the usual marks of social distinction in urban-suburban areas is eliminated. Instead, social stratification is reflected in the location of the different groups within the community. It will be recalled that each of the towns was planned as a set of homogeneous residential neighborhoods, usually delimited on the basis of natural physical barriers. The different neighborhoods very quickly became typed as having a definite class makeup. Houses of the upper socio-economic groups (the managers and other officials) are grouped together at the top of the hill with the best view. In descending order are found the houses of key technical personnel and supervisory personnel, followed by white collar salaried office workers, and then by those of the hourly-rated wage earners. And, because these occupational (or social) classes correspond roughly with language and religious groupings doubly noticeable imprint is given to the residential areas. Thus, these towns, quite early in their growth, developed residential districts which are locally referred to as "Snob Hill," "Managers' Row," "Immigrants' Row," and "Frenchtown."

High Labor Turnover and Impermanence

The initial population is comprised almost exclusively of male construction workers employed in building the industrial plant and townsite. The group is made up of recent immigrants, transient construction workers, and part-time construction workers supplementing farm incomes. Labor turnover during this period was extremely high, running around 15-50% per month in Elliot Lake, chiefly because of the nature of the work, isolation, and climate. One construction boss in Elliot Lake reported a turnover of four to one; this meant he had to hire 4 men to keep 1 on the job.

In view of the high labor turnover, plus the one-sex, one-age population structure, it is not surprising that during their early days of development these towns were characterized by excess drinking, rowdy behavior, and a generally free-wheeling attitude – a traditional "boom town" atmosphere. Elliot Lake, for example, was aptly referred to as "Our Wild Atomic City." Moreover, as discussed in a later chapter, the neighboring areas felt the brunt of these "disreputable" activities.

At the start of actual production or development of the resource, each of the towns incurred a period of population adjustment, as permanent employees moved in and occupied the townsite, and construction workers left. As the majority of single men were replaced by married men with families, the population became more stable and began to resemble that of an ordinary urban community.

However, the impermanent and unsettled atmosphere did not end completely after the temporary construction period; it lingered on after the actual production stage was underway. Several factors may have accounted for this: For one, it takes time for any new group of people to "settle in," forming a cohesive "community"; and when upwards of half of them only recently emigrated to Canada itself, the problem of acclimitization is even more acute. Also, there was the "boom" philosophy that prevailed everywhere in Canada in the post-war period – and especially in these new resource areas (see Chapter VI); an atmosphere of easy money, extended credit, and general optimism was bound to create a get-rich-quick, than get-out attitude. Not to be discounted is the uncertain economic future of the towns which continually haunts the residents and makes them feel uneasy about settling in permanently.

Labor turnover was highest and the feeling of impermanence strongest in Schefferville, even after ore production began. In the main, this is explained by the nature of the work. Ore production at Schefferville is seasonal. The permanent (i.e., winter) population amounts to around 2,000, rising to around 3,000 during the ore-carrying summer season. Thus the population of the town during summer includes some 1,000 men, many of whom are seasonal workers. These men must sign a contract to work six months, with a guarantee of return transport between Schefferville and Mount Joli at the beginning and end of this period. A man breaking his contract must pay his own return fare.

The accommodation offered the Schefferville workers is certainly poor by southern Canadian standards, though comparable to what is provided in most resource settlements. The men live in small screened or partitioned rooms in large bunkhouses, and take their meals in the company cafeteria. The social amenities of the town, although including a movie theater and a recreational hall as well as active church groups, are distinctly limited.

These factors have contributed towards the consistently high turnover. Since the first ore shipments in 1954,

turnover within the bunk-house group has been between 100 and 120 percent over the years. A survey of this group shows that only 35 per cent of the laborers fulfilled the six-months of their contract, with nearly one-half of them working for an average of only three months. There is little doubt that the restricted social life was the principal cause.

Social activities in the town are open to the men from the bunk-houses, many of the organizations having made deliberate attempts to attract them. However, success here has been very limited with only an estimated twenty per cent of the men availing themselves of this opportunity, and these largely participate in all-male activities such as sports.

Single persons in the salaried group who live in staff-houses provided by the company, constitute an intermediate segment between the bunk-house group and the white collar family population living in the townsite. Although participation of this group in the social life of the town is much more prevalent, such activity is nevertheless restricted by the overwhelming preponderance of males. Consequently, Derbyshire notes, "the bunk-house and staff-house groups alike are essentially a shifting, unstable element, and for broadly the same reasons: they contribute little to the character of the social life of the town community."

But, even among the white collar, family workers living in Schefferville's townsite, a feeling of impermanence persisted. The average family regards the period spent in Schefferville as an episode in its professional advancement, during which time it is prepared to make sacrifices, including isolation from friends, relatives, and familiar places. For many, the length of this episode is strictly controlled by the lack of high school education facilities in the town. True permanence is not contemplated by the majority of families. The town's uncertain economic future (see Chapter VI), its hostile climate and complete isolation constribute to this attitude.

Emphasis on "Living" and Keeping Busy

A visitor to one of Canada's resource towns is immediately struck by the number and variety of recreational amenities available – swimming pools, artificial ice arenas, golf courses, recreational halls, parks, and playgrounds, to mention but a few – and the high degree of participation in off-duty recreational programs, be they athletic, welfare, fraternal, church, youth, cultural, educational, or social. Our four case studies are no exceptions. The nature and extent of recreation facilities and of the residents' participation in active clubs and organizations go far beyond what is found in ordinary communities of the same population size elsewhere. In Kitimat, for example, about 60 social, cultural, recreational, political, ethnic and fraternal organizations were recorded in 1959.

Much of the responsibility for this "busy, busy" free time must be ascribed to the sponsoring companies. The companies have felt that in order to have stable and contented labor corce in the industrial plant, the employees, and especially their wives and children, must be happy in their leisure hours. An employee who is actively engaged in sports or hobbies, they reasoned, has no time or excuse to grumble, and is, therefore, likely to be happy at his work if he is happy at his play and home life. Hence, the companies encouraged organization of and participation in recreation activities, and in many instances provided such facilities themselves during the early stages of the town's growth.

In addition, the residents, through their own individual and collective initiative, have voluntarily undertaken activities which clearly reflect their own background and characteristics, plus the special conditions prevalent in these isolated frontier towns.

First of all, the residents are strangers to one another. Having come from a variety of places, countries and backgrounds, the inhabitants suddenly find themselves close neightbors to complete strangers. There is seldom anyone nearby with whom they have grown up; the family next door might not even speak the same language; and there are none of the friendship groups which result from those long and close contacts found in an ordinary community. Under these circumstances, the easiest and most convenient way of making social contact is through the formation of groups centered on common interests in a particular sport, hobby, craft, or other leisure-time activity.

Another factor responsible for the proliferation of recreational activities can be traced to the urban background of most of the residents. In a typical semirural town of the same size, or larger, there is apt to be little demand for clubs devoted to ballet, chess, or literary activities, for here most leisure-time activities usually take place within the family circle itself, the church, or the lodge of the local fraternal society. However, in new pioneer towns, as in most urban centers, the family, church, and fraternal orders do not normally serve as the focal points for recreational activities for a great number of people. (French-Canadian towns, such as Schefferville, are the exception.) Instead, the friendship group is apt to be based on a common interest in a particular sport or hobby, or on work in the same department in the company plant.

Related to the above is the fact that the towns are new in relation to the age of comparable-sized communities in the older southern sections of Canada. Hence, institutions traditionally responsible for organizing leisure-time activities – the family of several generations and the church, have not yet had time to develop group leadership. (Again, French-Canadian towns, such as Schefferville are the exception.) As such, there is a pioneer atmosphere here which tends to foster community-wide participation.

These towns are not only young chronologically, but in age structure as well. The concentration on sports activities and facilities clearly reflects the large proportion of young married couples and single men. The corresponding lack of facilities and activities suitable for older folk in turn reflects the small proportion of such persons in these towns.

Another explanation for the highly organized state of recreation is the desire for self-expression which cannot find other adequate outlets. In ordinary communities the urge for self-expression is often satisfied around the home and garden. However, in isolated resource towns the employee-tenant (and/or his wife) may feel reluctant to spend his leisure time fixing up a house, or mowing a lawn, or digging a garden in a backyard that belongs to "the

company": and which will be taken away from him if he quits or is fired from the company employ.

Not to be discounted in this regard is the feeling of temporariness on the part of so many residents. Some are, in fact, only transient, but there are others who may stay quite a while and yet never really feel "settled in." In either case, the persons concerned are reluctant to establish roots in the community, and thus do not take an active part in more permanent-like community institutions, such as church affairs. They prefer, instead, recreational activities which demand fewer ties and community commitments.

The lack of real local self-government is probably an additional case for some persons to concentrate on recreational activities. Persons who would normally be active in municipal affairs and local politics seek an outlet for their energies by organizing a community club or athletic group instead of a town council.

Due to the unavoidable absence of the forms of entertainment and diversion available in large centers, the residents here must rely upon themselves to provide these things. Thus, they submerge themselves in club activities, sports groups and the like as an outlet for thier energies and interests.

(Chapter taken from: Robinson, I.M., New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier, University of Chicago Research Papers in Geography, No. 73, 1962.)

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Answer the questions at the beginning of this chapter under **Something to Discover.**

2. Draw a diagram (invent your own) to show the class structure of a single industry community.

3. There must be someone you know who has worked or lived in Churchill Falls or Labrador City. Interview them and ask about the kinds of people who live in these towns and how the people there feel about living in that town.

10

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

SOMETHING TO DISCOVER

What are some of the social problems encountered by people who live in single industry communities?

How are the problems dealt with?

It has been indicated in various parts of this report that the combination of roles of employer, landlord, chief taxpayer, store operator, and local government inevitably leads to difficult social relationships between the company officials and the townspeople in a single-enterprise community. When the company engages in activities other than its industrial processes, the usual economic relationship between employer and employees becomes highly complicated.

In the single-enterprise communities, 'industrial relations' become 'community relations' because the company must now deal not only with its employees but with the employees' wives and children. In these circumstances the company is likely to take a paternalistic attitude towards its employees and their dependents in an effort to make the community "one big happy family". Unfortunately, the involvement of the company in community and social affairs often creates additional difficulties. A brief examination of a few of these problems is undertaken in this chapter.

"Keeping the Wives Happy"

In the midst of describing some company-sponsored activity, the company spokesman in interviews conducted during this survey would frequently interrupt himself, and say: "This works fine so far as the men are concerned, but it's their wives that we have to keep happy." Company personnel relations officials relate that the attitude of the housewives can make or break a company town, and those mill managers who make it a practice to have complaints brought to them directly dread the interviews with disgruntled housewives who use this means of airing their grievances.

Interviews with cross-sections of company-town residents and personal observation indicate that women find it much more difficult than men to adjust themselves to the company-town mode of living. This generalization has its exceptions, of course, but it applies particularly to the more remotely situated single-enterprise communities. It has pertinence especially in the case of women who have moved to the company town from large urban centers. The adjustment does not seem so difficult a process for women accustomed to a small-town environment.

It is from housewives that one learns about the feeling of claustrophobia that besets many of them. This is particularly noticeable in the communities in the midst of, or against, mountains. Several women in British Columbia communities complained about the feeling of being hemmed in by mountains on three sides, sometimes four, and by a roof of overcast sky. But the feeling is not confined to residents amidst mountains. The same complaint was heard in towns surrounded by forest or Precambrian bald rock. Those physical and topographical features of isolated company towns which appeal to many men often have an opposite effect on women. For example, to many men the great attraction of company-town living is the nearness of forest and stream. A frequent boast is that the employee need walk only a few hundred yards from his backdoor to fish or to hunt. But for most women this has no appeal. It is quite plain that hunting and fishing are still considered predominantly male pursuits, although the companies' recreation programmes are now often designed to encourage greater participation by women and by whole families in these outdoor sports.

The greatest complaint made by housewives about life in a company town is the lack of what they consider to be adequate shopping facilities. Most women accustomed to window shopping in cities and large towns find it difficult to reconcile themselves to shopping in the one large store, a situation which is a common feature of many company towns. Shopping in the home town usually meant walking from one store to another in order to compare prices and styles of merchandise. The practice is usually impossible in those single-enterprise towns serviced by one store or by specialty stores without competition. The delight of many wives of salaried employees in the company towns is the shopping-spree trips to outside centres that many of them take. This visit may be combined with the annual vacation but frequently the housewife alone or in company with other wives will make a special trip to the nearest large town. Or the shopping trip may be combined with a visit to the wife's home town.

To most men in company towns, shopping is a chore to be completed as quickly as possible. But to women, shopping is a social event. It is an opportunity to meet neighbours and to exchange tid-bits of gossip. The morning visit to the company store and to the post office is one of the most pleasant features of the housewife's daily routine. Because of the importance of this activity, the personality of the store manager, sales clerks, post-office clerks and bank clerks has effects on the housewife which are considerable. If treated rudely or without ceremony by an impolite sales clerk, the housewife may feel her day spoiled. Usually she cannot take her patronage elsewhere because there is generally only one bank, one grocery store, one drug store, etc. in company towns.

Relatively trifling slights of this type have been

known to have effects out of proportion to the original cause, company personnel managers point out. "The Company" is blamed and the housewife expects her husband to redress her grievance by taking the matter up as if it were an on-the-job complaint. In most company towns, therefore, a great deal of time is taken up by discussion at management level of ways and means of making sure housewives are treated courteously by the local service enterprises.

Relatively unappreciated by males is the great importance women in company towns place on hairdressing. Next to shopping facilities, the lack of beauty parlours has been the most frequent complaint made by women interviewed during this survey. Many wives assert that getting their hair done is a great morale booster when spirits are low. A few hours at the hairdressers can often be the cure for a sulk or fed-up feeling. Unfortunately, provision for a beauty parlour are not always made by the planners of company towns. In some towns the lack of a professionally operated beauty parlour is not felt because some enterprising local women will have gone into the hairdressing business, using her own home as her business premises.

The housewives are frequently dismayed by the inordinate amount of shop talk indulged in by their husbands at any neighbourly or community social gathering. This is due, of course, to the fact that most of the men are employees of the one company. Furthermore, for the same reason, each family knows pretty accurately the income of all others.

The company's recreation programme usually has special features designed to appeal to the young married women, for it is realized that many of them because of their relative youth and few children desire to occupy their spare time in sports and other leisure-time activities. There is seldom a three-generation family group in company towns so that recreational activities are of a type designed for the young and active people who preponderate. Thus, the wives' activities include such sports as bowling, golfing, swimming, and curling.

The large numbers of war veterans who brought their wives to company towns in the early post-World War II period has resulted in construction of special housing to accommodate the new families thus formed. The subsequent additions to the family mean that most of the patients in the company hospital are maternity cases.

The needs of the employees' wives in company towns are usually well known to the officials who look after the allotment and maintenance of company houses, the company store, and other company-sponsored activites which are patronized primarily by the housewives. From the companies' point of view the women seem to complain too much. But the complaints are not treated as trivial by those companies that have learned, usually through unfortunate experience rather than foresight, that dissatisfaction and disaffection on the part of wives are readily transmitted to husbands and reflected in employee discontent on the job. In its endeavours to learn about female dissatisfaction in its community, company officials may become too deeply involved in the personal and social affairs to the employees and thus become subject to charges of meddling, interfering, prying, and spying in activities or situations which the employees consider to be no business of the company. In this way, zealous attempts by the company to create and maintain harmony may overstep the vaguely outlined boundary between legitimate company interest and unwelcomed benevolent paternalism.

The Predicament of the Adolescent

In those single-enterprise communities in which the majority of residents are dependent upon one major employer, the child growing into adulthood may be faced with a dilemma that a youngster in ordinary multi-enterprise communities does not encounter. As the young person reaches the end of formal elementary schooling, he must decide whether to remain in the town and become an employee of the company that employs his father or to leave town and seek employment elsewhere. The problem is particularly acute in the so-called close company town in which the houses are owned by the major industry. Unless the youth becomes a company employee, or engages in an activity considered essential by the company, he realizes that eventually he must quit the house in which he was brought up because the house is for the use of company employees only. Of course there may be no dilemma if the youth plans to become an employee of the company. This was found to be true, for example, in some of the older company towns in which the son inevitably followed in his father's footsteps. Where there is a great amount of family solidarity, as with the French-Canadians, the son is less inclined to try to find employment elsewhere. In at least one single-enterprise community three generations of the same family can be found working for the same employer. But this is the exception rather than the rule.

Frequently the son is encouraged by his father to acquire a university or technical school training in order to secure a good job with the company. The ambition of the parents is often tangibly encouraged by the company. If the son is sent away to university to become an engineer, or to become proficient in some technical skill useful in the company's operations, he may easily be eligible for a scholarship, a grant, or a loan of money from the company. Furthermore, during the summer vacation he is assured of a job with the company. Thus the company-town environment tends to stress the economic advantages of a technical education. The professionally skilled employees and management are not only the highest paid group in the company-town community, they are also in the highest category so far as social prestige is concerned. This is a further incentive towards indoctrination of the youth in the values of a technical education.

However, should the youth wish to remain in his home town but work elsewhere than for his father's employer in the local mill, plant, mine, or factory, he finds the alternatives unpromising unless he wishes to work in the retail store, local bank branch, post office, or oher service in which wages or salary would be much lower than most positions in the plant. The lack of suitable alternative employment frequently results, then, in the young man leaving town to seek work elsewhere.

Another characteristic aspect of company-town activity that is likely to make the growing boy, or girl, dissatisfied with local employment, is the school system.

Company management, with hardly an exception, boasts of the superior formal schooling given to the local children. In every case observed the pride is warranted because the school buildings, teachers, and teaching equipment are of better quality and calibre than their counterparts in communities of comparable population. The reason is obvious. The company is the major, sometimes sole, school ratepayer and usually builds the school building as if it were a normal part of company operation. And it is a well known fact amongst teachers that the highest salaries are to be had in company towns. The result is that all children of the company town, no matter of what origin, get a relatively high degree of elementary formal education.

To encourage the children to attend school, the company usually reinforces the provincial school-leaving age regulations by refusing to hire boys who have not yet reached 16. In addition, the youth with a high-school diploma is favoured in employment over one who lacks it. One difficulty with this policy is that it is hardly conducive to providing a source of labour for the lower-paid, unskilled, manual, dirty jobs. So far this has not been a perplexing problem because there are still many youths who do not care for high school. Furthermore, there is an ample supply of labourers from centres outside the company town who have not received the benefit of education in the company-town school system and who are willing to move in to replace those youths who move out.

Young girls are faced with similar problems for there are usually few jobs open to them in the company. There may be several jobs available for females outside the main industrial activity, but still on the company payroll. These are connected with the operation of the company store, company hotel, or staff house and comprise sales clerks, waitresses, chambermaids, cooks, kitchen help and the like. For the most part, it has been observed that these jobs are held by girls who have not grown up in the local town but have been 'imported'.

For a few girls there are clerical, stenographic, and allied jobs in the offices and laboratories of the company. Although the office jobs are not numerous in a company town, the high rate of turnover caused by marriages and voluntary severance means there are usually more positions available than might be expected. Other girls leave home to become school teachers, nurses, or office employees in outside centres.

Young people who do leave the home environment of the company town are apt to find different conditions obtaining in an ordinary community. The absence of the benevolent company soon makes the prodigal son aware of the material benefits and subsidies that had been taken for granted in company-town days.

The first great exodus from company towns occurred during World War II. Many war veterans who were interviewed during this study admitted that while in uniform they had thought about moving out of the company town after discharge. However, there must have been much changing of minds, for in many company towns visited the company had constructed dwellings especially to house returned servicemen and their wives. The reason given most often for the decision to return to the company town was the availability of suitable housing at a reasonable rental. It is difficult to know whether or not this is merely a rationalization of a desire to return to what is familiar.

The teenagers in single-enterprise communities of 2,000 or more total population who are still going to school do not appear to be any different from adolescents in ordinary communities, except that they have available a far greater number of recreational outlets than youngsters in rural or suburban areas of equivalent population and size. Like their older brothers and sisters and other parents, the teen-aged residents of company towns have the physical advantages of two worlds in one. They may choose between the natural recreation provided by the wilderness siting of the town and the artificial recreation facilities of an urban character furnished by the paternal company or the citizens themselves. The result is that life for the teenagers in the after-school hours is fully occupied in organized recreational activities. The further consequences are, according to local company officials, school teachers and police, that teenagers have no time in which to be idle or mischievous. On the other hand, some residents, particularly school teachers and clergymen, to those company communities in which most of the land, houses and other buildings are the property of the company, report that there is a "lack of appreciation of private property rights" amongst teenagers. These objectives claim that the teenagers do not take proper care of articles which they borrow from friends or from the company. When asked if this negligence on the par of teenagers was not common to all juveniles who had not yet acquired much private property and a sense of responsibility, the answer usually given was that although such a generalization may be true in ordinary communities its truth in company towns is starkly obvious due to the fact that children are not taught by their parents to take care of or to respect property that does not belong to the family. This attitude is traced to such circumstrances as living in a company-owned house at subsidized rentals in which all maintenance is done freely and willingly by the company, and using the company-built recreation centre, skating arena, and playgrounds.

The most valid criticism of the teenager's life in the best possible of all worlds, the company town, is that he may grow up with the false notion that the world outside is a duplication on a larger scale of his company-town environment. The officials of one planned model-town, for example, claim that children grow up there without ever learning the meaning of the word 'slum'. The shacktown which appears on the fringes of most company towns is not considered by many company townsite residents to be a slum.

In the larger company communities, of 2,000 inhabitants or more, the teenagers tend to congregate after school and in the evenings around the snackbar's nickelodeon or juke box where they chatter and dance. Several companies have set aside in their elaborate recreation centres a large rumpus room for the exclusive use of the teenagers, realizing that during the adolescent, bobby-sox phase these young people do not mix well either with younger children or with adults. The separate recreation room with its juke box or record player, coke bar, rough tables, chairs, and benches seems to satisfy the teenagers desire to be together as a group or gang. Most of the larger company-town

recreation programmes include regular Friday and Saturday night dances and Teen-Town get-togethers chaperoned by adults.

In the company communities where the number of juveniles is small an entirely different situation exists. There, the teenagers find that they are treated as young adults and thus omit the neither-child-nor-adult stage. For example, the youngsters may be allowed to accompany adults on hunting and fishing trips, to curl, to play cards, and otherwise associate with adults in leisure-time activities. In praise of this relationship one father at a northern Ontario hydro-electric power generating station said that he and his family had lived most of their lives in Toronto where their teenaged son had 'hung around with gangs' whose activities, character and reputation were somewhat unsavoury. The parents were constantly afraid that their son would "get in trouble travelling around with those gangs". Since the family has transferred to the northern outpost a marked change had come over the boy, the father claimed. The son had suddenly matured: He now goes hunting and fishing with his father and acts like a "grown-up person".

Not all parents are so certain of the good effects on teenagers of life in a small company town. An independent merchant in a pulp-and-paper community suggested that the children grow up too fast because of being accepted as equals in adult circles. Like the local banker, this grocer expressed concern over the ease with which teenagers copied thier elders' habits of smoking, swearing, and drinking at the curling rink, hunting lodge, and fishing parties.

The Problem of Pensioners

A poignant aspect of human relationships in the typical closed company town with its company ownership of land, houses, and services is the fate of the employee who retires from the company on pension. Because he is no longer employed by the company he must vacate the company-owned house and seek accommodation elsewhere, unless the house is also occupied by a son or other relative who is working for the company. The house, if occupied by the pensioner and his wife alone, is needed by the company for use by the new employee required to replace the retiring employee. In the words of one company official: "There is compulsory retirement here at the age of 65, and it is Company policy that the houses be immediately vacated in order that new employees may have living quarters." Even if the company has sufficient accommodation available to house both its retired employees and its new employees, in all likelihood the pensioner would not be able to afford the rent that the company must charge. This is especially so if the company-employee retirement scheme has been in effect for a short time only, as is the case in most of the Canadian company towns visited. The early post-war period was the beginning of most employee retirement schemes embodying compulsory retirement at a fixed age, usually 65 years.

It seems that until after World War II, workers were imbued with the idea of staying with the company until they were physically incapable of continuing to work. The introduction of pension schemes separate from those of the national and provincial governments is changing that former attitude and practice. Whether the private retirement schemes are financed solely by the employing company or by joint financial contributions from employer and employee, they usually contain provisions for compulsory retirement at a fixed age, regardless of the physical and mental health of the individual employee upon reaching that age.

Of course, the problem may not be too perplexing for some workers if they have been able to save enough money outside the company town or back to the home town. Others may be satisfied to live with their married children or in homes for the aged. But it has been observed during this survey that the adjustment from wage-earning employee to pensioner is a painful one for many long-time residents of company towns. Accustomed to the paternalistic bounty of the company in such matters as subsidized low-rental housing and free public utilities services, the old-timers in the company towns, upon attaining the compulsory retirement age, find it difficult to believe that on a fixed date, determined by their own birth date, the company's benevolence will come to an end. Life in the company town with its dependence upon the company for so many physical and intangible services has hardly prepared the 65-year-old employees for the shock of severance. Their first, and perhaps lasting, reaction is apt to be bitterness towards the employer who has been so good to them during their years of productivity. Not fully understanding their plight, they are inclined to blame the company to which they have given "the best years of my life",. . .and now they want me to move out of the house where I have lived since I began working for the Company", is the lament frequently heard.

Many companies realize that the failure to make provision for retired employees who wish to remain in their towns is a short-sighted policy; that it is bad for the morale of the men who are approaching retirement and bad for general relations with the employees and the public. Furthermore, the companies' industrial relations experts and townsite managers point out to their superiors that to have elderly employees continuing to live in the company town after retirement helps to maintain a balance in the community. They argue so long as the elder citizens must move out of town there will be a lack of balance amongst the age groups in favour of the younger people. The retired men, they contend, add stability to the population and help to create an environment closer to that of an ordinary community with its share of the aged. The retired men who are still active, either physically or mentally, can be very helpful to the community by providing responsible leadership, they suggest. Some company personnel relations people in closed company-towns even admit that if and when it is decided by top management to open up the town it would be a good idea, from the company's viewpoint, to be able to rely on the loyalty and goodwill of the retired men who might be amongst those interested in becoming candidates in elections for town council.

The argument in favour of allowing the retired employee to remain in the company town seems all the stronger when analyzed from the point of view of the

pensioner himself. If he has lived and worked in the same community for many years he finds it extremely difficult to break his ties of friendship and associations, and move out of the company town to a strange environment. Like several old-timers who were interviewed, he and his wife may have been looking forward to the day of his retirement so they could move back "South" to the home town or to the home of a son or daughter. As has been explained elsewhere, the nature of many company towns situated in isolated communities is such that the inhabitants are inclined to think of their stay as being temporary. In many cases this is true. The employee may be transferred from one locale to another if his firm has several branches or associated company locations within the province, the Dominion, or across the border. But this movement is generally confined to the upper brackets of management and the highly skilled technical and professional staff. Once moved into the company town, the hourly-rated wage-earner and his family are not so apt to be transferred unless the industrial operation closes down, as in the case of exhaustion of mineral ores in a mining town.

Thy elderly people may find, too, that the rigours of the climate and the lack of special facilities for them make it necessary to leave the company town when retirement age is reached. To these people and those desiring to return to their former homes the parting may not be too disheartening.

In some cases the shock is a delayed-action one. Eager to return to the old home town, to be with their children, to be "back in civilization", or to seek out a kindlier climate, the retiring employees do not at first realize how much of their own personality has been woven into the fabric of the company community. Back in the once-familiar town of their youth they find that the place is now not as they imagined it; it has changed so much, whereas in their mind's eye it had remained the same. The old friends are no longer around and it is difficult to make new friends at their age. Everything is strange, and the price of accommodation is so much higher than in the company town! Soon, those who cannot make the mental adjustment required for the transition to the changed environment and those financially unable to do so, will be writing to the former employer asking if it would be possible to return to the company town where, they now realize, they have left deep roots in the form of friendships and memories. Keen disappointment awaits those wishing to return but for whom the company cannot provide housing. The company replies that the number of houses is limited and present employees must, of course, be looked after. Would the esteemed former employee and his wife consider getting in touch with some company employee of their acquaintance in the company town who might be willing to sub-let? If so, the company would be willing to grant authority for them to move into an already-occupied company house as a sub-lessee.

Fortunately, in many instances there are alternatives to the frustrations and disillusionments experienced by the pensioner who wants to come back to the company town and now finds it impossible to do so. Several companies have made special provisions for their employees in anticipation of the day when they will retire, including schemes for helping them to build or buy houses before they reach the age of retirement. The most common and most important alternative so far observed seems to be provided by the fringe area on the outskirts of the company townsite. Here, land is cheap and the pensioner may build a modest house. Although not now under the jurisdiction of the company, he and his wife are close enough to the company houses to renew friendships and to take part in the familiar company-town activities.

More and more companies, however, are arriving at the conclusion that they have a moral responsibility, and incidently that it is in their own enlightened self-interest, to make provisions for housing pensioned employees. The most promising of all company projects for ex-employees' housing was that seen in a Western company town visited during this survey. There, a plan was developed to link the retired workers' desire for housing security with the company's plant safety programme. The safety committee, composed of employees, suggested to management officials that the company put into a fund a small sum of money each day for every employee in the plant for every day the mill ran without an accident. The accumulated money would then be used to build houses for retired employees. Company management decided that the proposal was a remarkably fine idea and agreed to contribute five cents a day to the fund for every employee working a full accident-free day. If accidents occurred, deductions were to be made according to the same formula. In other words, if the lost-time accident rate dropped, company contributions would increase the amount of money held in trust for housing; if the accident rate increased, less money would be forthcoming. During the first year of the plan the company deeded ten acres of land chosen by an employees' committee and subdivided it into 24 lots with small park areas. In the same year, about $15,000 was placed in the building fund by the company. This was sufficient to build four comfortable, well-equipped, modern and attractive one-storey houses designed especially for retired employees and their wives. In the second year, four more houses were completed and occupied. A monthly rent of $10.00, barely covering cost of upkeep, is charged, plus a charge of $2.00 monthly for water and fifty cents for garbage collection. No profits accrue to anyone and there are no loans to repay. It seemed that an ideal solution to the perplexing problems faced by pensioners in company towns had been found. In the words of one staff employee: "Our retired folks carry on in secure tenancy as if they owned the place. They will have no need to move away from the district. With their children and grandchildren here, and their club and fraternal order connections, they can carry on to a good old age, safe and secure in their retirement."

However, this novel experiment foundered after a little more than two years of operation. Since the failure of the scheme was evident at the time the community was visited in the summer of 1952, an attempt was made to conduct an informal post mortem. First, it was found that the lost-time accident rate which had been lowered during peak enthusiasm for the scheme was about back to where it was before the pensioners' houses were started. Second, both management and union officials, as well as rank-and-file employees, tended to place the blame for the failure on

the younger employees in the mill. The young men, especially the unmarried men, it was claimed, let the rest of the company employees down; it was they who were responsible for most of the accidents. At first, everybody was enthusiastic about the housing scheme; it fired the imagination and was the chief topic of conversation for several days. But after a while the young men began to lose interest; the argument ran: "Why should I bend over backwards just so that a few old fellows on pension can get a house? How does that help me?" These are the questions which, it is reported, the young men asked. Chats with some of the single men seemed unfortunately, to confirm the validity of this popular assertion. No one suggested in so many words that the chief question was "What's in it for me?" but this is an attitude that was implied in such answers as: "I'm only here till I can get a better job." "I don't know where I'll be at retirement age but it won't be here. I might not even live that long."

On the spot, and at the time, it certainly looked as if the alleged selfishness of the younger employees had killed a fine experiment, itself in its youth. It seemed a very plausible reason, but upon reflection it appears to be just a little too plausible to make a scapegoat out of the unmarried employees. Perhaps the perversity and short-sightedness of the younger men was a contributory factor but it is difficult to accept it as the sole determining cause. Possibly a more fundamental reason for the failure was the very fact that the pensioners' housing scheme was tied to the safety performance of the men in the plant.

Now, it seems to be a well-known fact in most of the company communities visited that no one ideal method of instilling the necessity for safety in the minds of all employees has not yet been found. At least, no scheme has been developed that is able to sustain unflagging interest by the workers from year to year or even month to month. As a matter of fact, several companies in the towns visited carry on weekly safety campaigns. Nearly all personnel and safety supervisors admit that the regular monthly campaigns vary in their success. In the beginning, good results will be reflected in a declining accident rate. Then the novelty wears thin, the accident rate slips back and a new intensive drive must be begun. The example cited of the pensioners' housing scheme may have suffered because of this difficulty of sustaining a constant high interest in safety.

Credit must be given for the willingness to try that is shown in the above experience, but it appears that the difficult problem of making houses available for pensioners and their wives in company towns has nowhere yet been ideally solved.

Status and Power

"When you come home from work the plant comes with you." This comment by a wage earner in a coal mining community was repeated in similar terms by several employees in different single-enterprise towns. It was stated most vehemently by two labour union men in a West Coast pulp and paper community. In this locality the plantsite is distinctly separated from the townsite by a river. According to these two men, as the employees cross the bridge over the river at the end of their shift they wish that they could leave the plant behind, on the other side of the bridge. But, somehow, the atmosphere of the plant carries over into the townsite.

This feeling is in part due to certain obvious physical facts. The employee goes home to a company-owned house. On the way he may stop in at the company-owned store and pick up the mail from the post office located in the store, and he may have a 'quick one' in the company-owned beer parlour. Even the most cursory observation can convince the onlooker that such physical facts are adequate to explain the ubiquity of the company within the community. But one gets the impression from a more detailed examination of complaints made against the omnipresent company that more than tangible facts are involved. Some of the resentment stems from the transference of the plant hierarchical system into the non-industrial life of the townsite. In other words, the stratification which exists between 'layers' of employees in the plant organization pyramid is carried across he bridge into the homes of the company employees. Social status in the community corresponds closely to the position or job held by the employee in the industrial operation. The fact that almost all inhabitants of the community are employees of the same firm eliminates the subtle gradations and vagueness of social stratification found in ordinary communities of comparable size. All persons are easily and rigidly classified according to the position the breadwinner holds with the company. As mentioned elsewhere, the houses of the various classes of employees may be so arranged as to make the distinctions sharp and stark. The distinctions, of course, apply as well to the dependents of the employee.

Most company officials would no doubt deny it, but it seems evident that one of the reasons for the elaborate recreation programmes found in all single-enterprise communities is to reduce the social distance between employees. This would help to explain the accent placed on recreational activities that involve the mixing together of employees of all ranks in order to discourage organization on horizontal lines. The programme is usually so well organized that this purpose is accomplished. For example, the bowling league organized by the industrial labour union is found in a few of the larger company towns, but in all cases it is unimportant compared to the participation in the company-sponsored league which is organized on vertical, rather than horizontal lines, embracing employees of a whole department from superintendent to floor sweeper.

Notwithstanding the efforts made by means of the recreation programme to reduce the feeling of belonging to inferior or superior social strata, there is no denying that the attitudes exist. They are reflected in the social events sponsored by the wives of the men holding managerial rank with the company, participation being confined to members of this group.

This picture of stratification based on occupational status in the company is exaggerated because, of course, there are other intangible factors within the community which tend to separate people into distinct layers – factors which are not directly connected with the functional organization of company personnel. These are the barriers of race, colour, and creed. Even these factors, however,

How are these social problems?

tend to become identified with occupational status. For example, in many Ontario single-enterprise towns it is taken for granted that the lowest paid jobs are held by French-Canadians. In the British Columbia communities the lowest social status is similarly identified with the lowest-paid jobs held by Chinese or native Indians.

Though social status is approximately equal to job or occupation status in single-enterprise communities, it is not correct to assert that status therefore is a product of income. This seeming anomaly may be illustrated by the complaint registered by a papermaker in a new company town. As an unmarried employee, he is living in one of the company's several dormitories, or 'lodges' as the companies prefer to label them. But not all single men live in company lodges. The white-collar salaried office employees live in the company hotel as do the unmarried male school teachers, retail store clerks and other salaried persons. Hourly-rated wage-earners who work in the plant are excluded. This papermarker, a member of a relatively skilled craft, was bitter because his request to transfer his quarters to the company hotel had been refused. This he could not understand, for, as he clearly explained, he was making far more money than many of the salaried employees whose quarters were in the hotel. Living in the hotel, then, in this example, was a perrogative of occupational status and not of income.

This picture of a pyramidal hierarchical structure with the boss on the top and the floor sweeper on the bottom is oversimplified because of still other factors, namely the absence of the real boss and the presence of one or two powerful competing pyramids. In all but a few single-enterprise towns the once familiar employer-manager boss has disappeared. The boss in most industries today associated with operation of a townsite is an impersonal company. In a sense, the boss is the non-resident company board of directors. All the people engaged in working in the local industrial operation, including the resident manager, are employees, and there are situations in which local management identifies its main interest with the local plant and community rather than with the company as an organization centred in Toronto, Montreal, New York, or Wisconsin. But in the larger organizations the local manager may be shifted from town to town to such an extent that the company becomes his community rather than one locality and its inhabitants. Management personnel in the single-enterprise community may, therefore, find themselves playing conflicting roles. They must represent that impersonal entity 'the company' as if they were viceroys of His Majesty the Company Head Office. On the other hand, living with the employees in the relatively isolated community far removed from company headquarters, they must of necessity tend to identify their interest with those of the resident employees. In any case, they must strive to create and maintain the one-big-happy-family idea in spite of the local divisions.

In the days of the one-man enterprise there was no questioning where the source of all power lay. Authority was shared with no one, not even the church. With the growth of the limited liability corporation with its multiple and changing ownership, power became diffused. Local power is given to management, nominally, but the company's board of directors reserves the power to make or change major policy affecting the company community. More important, in almost every single-enterprise community today there is the countervailing power of the industrial union which tends to set up its own status system, sometimes in opposition to the already existing status relationships. For example the office of shop steward in the union may tend to have as much, if not more, social prestige in the community as the position of shop foreman. Other than in matters of wages and working conditions, management may share power with the union in such community affairs as inspection of the company-operated retail store, allocation of company-owned houses, and determination of charges to be levied by the company for the latter's townsite service. In one new town the formal ball which is considered the social highlight of the year is sponsored by one of the two major industrial unions. With the accretion of economic power, the labour unions tend to gather an accompanying social power or prestige. So far, however, the economic power has not been joined with political power to any significant degree, especially in the realm of local government where it might be expected. The conflict between the union's economic interests and its political power possibilities at the local level seems to be resolved, currently at any rate, in favour of the union's economic aspirations. Little or no union participation in local government was discovered during the course of this survey, although there is evidence that such interest may be forthcoming in the event that significant numbers of companies decide to have their townsites incorporated as self-governing municipalities.

Ethnic Divisions

The frequently heard assertion that "we are all one big happy family here in this company town" usually does not take into consideration the obvious facts of social stratification reflecting the hierarchical ranking of company employees in the company works. The separate housing areas in company communities makes this distinction quite noticeable: houses of top management officials are generally grouped together on a street at the top of the hill with the best view. In descending order are the houses of key technical employees and supervisory personnel, followed by white-collar salaried office workers, and then by those of the hourly-rated wage-earners. But beyond this social division, based primarily on differences in rank as employees of the same company, there are usually further divisions based on language and racial differences.

The most widespread social division, of course, is between residents of English-speaking ancestry and the French-Canadians. This division is most striking in Ontario and Quebec, but is evident in most of the communities visited except in Newfoundland. It was surprising to find substantial numbers of Canadiens in coastal company towns of British Columbia who had been recruited from Quebec during the labour shortage of World War II.

In the Quebec company towns where, commonly, the English-speaking residents form the majority of the management, technical, and staff personnel they are but a small minority of the total population in the townsite. The majority of hourly-paid wage-earners are French-Canadians.

it is also usual to find that little or no company housing is available for wage-earners in the smaller communities, which means that the hourly-rated workers, most of whom are French-Canadians, must provide their own housing. Company, or municipal restrictions on the type and cost of the houses that may be built in the townsite, the lack of building lots in the townsite, the desire to excape from paying municipal taxes, or the inability of the worker to afford more than rudimentary shelter may contribute to the growth of the unregulated shacktown on the margins of the company's planned townsite. Here, on property unserviced by water mains or sewer lines, the employee is able to squat or, at the most, pay a small annual ground rent for the land on which he builds his shack with his own hands. The predominance of French-speaking people living in the fringe areas of at least two Ontario company towns has resulted in the shantytowns being called 'Frenchtown', despite the efforts of company management to apply a less offensive label.

A great deal of evidence has been observed to indicate that these two major ethnic groups get along well together. However, almost too much oral evidence was forthcoming at times, as if in rebuttal to an unspoken argument that French and English do not always see eye to eye on particular problems. It has already been mentioned that the scheme of a community church which all religious denominations use has proved impracticable in most single-enterprise communities visited because the French-speaking Roman Catholics want, and no doubt need, a separate church building of their own. Plenty of examples of an **entente cordiale** between English-speaking and French-speaking inhabitants of company towns can be cited. For example, when the Catholic church in a Northern Ontario pulp and paper town burned to the ground, the English-speaking Protestants immediately not only gave condolences, but the United Church supporters offered the use of their hall for Masses. In several communities it was noted that a bazaar sponsored by the Roman Catholic ladies would be attended in force by Protestants and, conversely, a Protestant church supper would be highly patronized by Roman Catholics. Special care is usually taken to see that the two groups do not sponsor public activities on the same days. One finds both groups mixing freely in the recreational groups but, as can be seen from the list of voluntary organizations found in a few representative company towns, there are many associations whose membership is confined to one ethnic group to the exclusion of the other.

A very striking index of the split between two major ethnic groups is shown by the manner in which the inhabitants of one company voted during a municipal election which took place shortly before the town was visited in the course of this survey. This particular town has a population almost evenly divided in numbers between French and English and has a reputation for good French-English relationships. The even division of the population is reflected in the fact that half the candidates for the town council were French and half were English. When the ballots were counted after the municipal election a startling form of 'racial plumbing' was observed. The electors had marked their X's opposite either all the English names or opposite all the French names, with a few exceptions apparently due to the fact that one English-speaking Catholic candidate with a French-speaking wife received votes from both groups.

Next to the French-Canadians, the ethnic group that tends to maintain its own cultural identity to the highest degree is the Italians. They are to be found in their own distinct community in a fairly large number of company towns which owe their existence to mining or smelting.

In British Columbia, the tremendous gap between the Orientals, mostly Chinese, but also incluing Japanese and a few Sikhs, and the Occidentals is very wide, the one group having little more than strictly business relationships with the other. The Orientals are mainly employed at manual service tasks in the company hotels, restaurants, cookhouses, bunkhouses, and laundries. Many, however, work side by side with Occidentals in the mill or factory. Union leaders allege that Orientals were originally employed because of their acceptance of very low wages. According to union officials, collective bargaining between union and management has wiped out wage differentials between Orientals and Occidentals in the pulp and paper industry of British Columbia. So far as could be determined few, if any, social and recreational facilities were shared with the Orientals. In some instances, movies are open to the Orientals, provided they sit by themselves on one side of the hall. The ways of living of the Chinese who live in segrated quarters is a completely closed book to practically all Occidentals in the communities they visited. The typical attitude is one of indifference based upon a belief that the Chinese are inferior. "They lead their own lives and we never interfere with them and they never interfere with us."

Other ethnic groups observed living in distinctly separate physical environment in Canadian single-enterprise communities include Polish, Ukranian, and Finnish people.

Political Party Activity

At one time, in the days of the one-man or one-family industrial enterprise, the employer felt that his employees should be loyal enough to vote for the political party candidate whom he favoured in provincial and national elections. A typical situations has been described by the grandson of one of the timeber rafting pioneers, 'Boss' Calvin, who created a small community on Garden Island at the head of the St. Lawrence River outside Kingston harbor during the latter part of the last century. According to the grandson, "The school house was sometimes used by campaign speakers for political meetings. Liberal speakers could come if they cared to, but whether in the Liberal interest or in the Conservative, the meetings were purely pro forma. Only the men had votes in those days and they wisely voted as the boss did – Conservative. A Liberal vote in the island ballot box meant that there was a newcomer in the village who had not yet fully learned our traditions."

There are one or two single-enterprise Canadian communities in which the employees are still expected to vote for the political party supported by the employer. In one small town which was visited during this survey a handful of votes was registered against the candidate who was openly supported by the employer and his family. The vote in this one-company community was contrary to the

trend in both the local constituency and the provincial results. It was admitted by several persons in the village that "more and more people seem to be voting against the boss's party lately".

There are stories told by the old timers in many long-established company towns about attempts made by former employers and local managers to influence the voting behaviour of the employees. Significantly, the tales of partisan activity do not refer to present day situations but to the days of the ruggedly individualistic boss who was both employer and manager of the industrial enterprise and 'father' of the community. Also, in the formative years of the present large-scale impersonal industrial corporations, it was usually for a man with a strong will to be placed in charge of the local mill and given almost complete discretionary power over local industrial and community affairs. It was during this period in the early 1930's that the manager of one pulp and paper mill allegedly fired, without warning, approximately 60 employees suspected of having sympathies with the newly organized Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party. At that time local management of the American-owned firm was not too well informed about Canadian political party activity, according to present-day management officials who admit that the wholesale dismissal was a very serious error, the repercussions of which can still be felt.

There is one Canadian electoral district containing four single-enterprise communities of the traditional company-town type in which the records of seven consecutive provincial elections indicate a fairly consistent popular vote in favour of the C.C.F. in spite of the wavering fortunes of that party and the fact that it has never formed a government in that particular province. It has been noted in several company towns that a heavy pro-C.C.F. sentiment and C.C.F. voting record exist. This is even more apparent in the fringe settlements outside the company townsite. There is not sufficient evidence of voting behaviour and political sentiment to arrive at any definite conclusions, but it may be that much of the sentiment is a desire not only to express disapproval of the two major parties but as a vague form of protest against the real or imagined dominance of the single company.

The typical attitude expressed by most company management officials today is "We don't care how our employees vote. It's no concern of ours." In most communities the company's recreation center with its large auditorium is made available to all political parties on the same rental basis, although several townsite managers report they would not rent the hall to candidates of the Labour Progressive party. To illustrate the neutrality of the company but to assure the employees that political party activity is a respectable pursuit, some companies encourage their employees to hear all sides and encourage Vote-as-you-like-but-vote-campaigns. One company's townsite manager traditionally acts as chairman of all political party rallies to show the company's impartial interest.

The Mill Whistle and the Daily Shift Routine

The single-enterprise community is not unique in having the daily working routine of the industrial employees ordered by shrill blasts from a plant, mill, factory, or mine whistle. The effects of he whistle's calls, however, are accentuated here more than in the ordinary indusrial community because there is only one whistle source: The summons of the major employer, labelled by one workman as "his master's voice".

The regular signals from the Company's whistle inform the worker that he has 18 minutes to get to the job, then five minutes, and now, tha work must commence. Four hours later there will be the break-for-lunch whistle, then the back-to-work signal. Finally, there will come the most welcome sound heard throughout the day – the long clear blast indicating the end of work for that shift. The daily whistle signals are more numerous than the bugle calls at an army camp. Most of the residents of the single-enterprise town come to accept the whistle sounds as part of the daily routine and give automatic obedience to them. There are usually a few hardy souls, however, who accept the whistle summons with reservations because the sounds are constant reminders of their dependence on the single major employer. There are some whistles however that are not merely routine in the single-enterprise community. These are the frenzied signals of combined short and long whistle blasts that are the fire alarm, notice of breakdown in the plant, or the alarm signalling a mine explosion or cave-in. To the visitor the whistle is a symbolic reminder that it is an industrial activity which has brought the community into existence.

There is not the same acceptance, however, of the shift-work routine, despite the fact that by far the majority of the wage and salary earners in the single-enterprise community work on a rotating-shift basis. In most of the company townsites visited the industrial activity is a 24-hour affair, divided, with some exceptions, into three eight-hour shifts. This shift division affects greatly the lives of the hourly-rated employees, their salaried foremen, shift bosses and other supervisory personnel who are on duty at hours other than the normal daytime hours.

There is widespread recognition that working the night shift from say, 4 o'clock to midnight, or the graveyard shift from midnight to 8 a.m. is far less desirable than working the day shift from 8 a.m. o 4 p.m. The graveyard tour of duty is especially disliked, mainly because it involves sleeping in the daytime. Acknowledgement has been given by company management that night-shift work is less agreeable than working during the daylight hours. Employees working at night usually receive additional pay called a 'shift bonus', 'premium', or 'night-shift differential'. Few labour union leaders would agree that the extra few cents are adequate compensation for the inconvenience of the night-shift routine.

The foregoing observations can be applied to almost any industrial community but they havy a special relevance to single-enterprise communities because the number of working people in them who do not work on shift is very small. One might think, therefore, that much of the daily routine would be geared to the working habits of the majority of employees. This is far from being the case in any of the towns observed. The employees working in the evening or at night are penalized in many ways, but especially because of the inconveniences they suffer.

The most obvious discomfort is the difficulty of

sleeping during the daytime. This may not be a problem for single men who are allotted sections of a dormitory bunkhouse, or staff house in such a manner that all those working the same shift sleep in the same vicinity. But the married men living in family accommodation cannot be so easily segregated according to shifts although many expressed a desire for such an arrangement.

The semi-detached two-family houses and the other multiple family houses that are characteristic of several company towns, especially those established on small sites restricted in size by topography, are notorious for the harmful effects they have on the sleeping habits of shift workers. The employees complain that it is bad enough trying to maintain sufficient quietness even in one's own house if there are children. In this respect, there is usually cooperation from the wife in keeping the children as quiet as possible. This is not so much of a problem if the children are going to school. But it is a much more difficult problem to sleep when the neighbour's radio on the other side of the wall is blaring forth at full volume from the living room while the housewife works in the kitchen. Added to the sultriness of the heat at mid-day in the summer, these noises can prevent the shift worker from getting adequate rest. This is of course reflected in his physical condition and mental attitudes on the job.

Conflict between neightbours about noise disturbing the sleep of the shift worker frequently results in quarrels between the occupants of multi-family accommodation, and the company townsite manager is often hard-pressed in his endeavours to re-allocate this type of housing to compatible neighbours. Many workers who were interviewed expressed the wish that they could move into detached one-family houses to escape noises that disturbed their sleep in the daytime. Ironically enough, the company's single-family houses often are occupied by salaried employees who never work on shift and are thus never confronted with the problems of daytime sleeping.

Again, the sleeping problems of shift workers are by no means confined to single-enterprise communities, and despite the difficulties outlined above there are, in many instances, compensating factors tending to make daytime sleeping easier in these communities than for the shift worker in thy ordinary industrial center. The small size of the single-enterprise town means that there is relatively little traffic noise, and the remoteness and isolation help to cut down other noises. Furthermore, many bedrooms in the company houses face the forest, the lake or the mountains. The northern location of many of the company industrial communities means that the mid-day heat of summer is not as intense nor as humid as in the industrial housing areas of southern Canadian towns and cities.

It might be expected that the high percentage of the employees in single-enterprise communities working on a three-shift routine would tend to a scheduling of community activities on a staggered basis to allow maximum participation in social, athletic, entertainment, and other leisure-time activities carried on by groups or in groups, On-the-spot observation, however, dispels the expectation. It is quite clear that little or no attempt has been made to adapt the hours of operation of business, movie theatres, club meetings, social gatherings, or other off-duty activities to fit in with the regular shift regime followed by the majority of workers in the single-enterprise towns. Credit must be given, however, to those few communities visited in which some attempt has been made to recognize the facts of shift work. For example, the movie theatre in one British Columbia pulp and paper town has a showing at one o'clock in the morning to accommodate workers who come off the evening shift. Several company-owned recreation halls are kept open in the early hours of the morning so that the shift workers can bowl, play pool, and otherwise use the facilities enjoyed during normal hours by those who work in the daytime. One labour union local holds its meetings at so-called odd hours alternately with the normal evening meetings so that members on shift may attend the next meeting if they were working at the time the previous meeting was held. Nevertheless, most leisure-time activities continue to be held during hours that are acceptable to the people who regularly work during daylight hours, play in the evening, and sleep at night.

Information Dissemination

The task of publishing local news in single-enterprise communities usually falls to the company. Because it possesses the mechanical equipment the company naturally has an advantage over any individual who might set up a small newspaper printed on a duplicating machine or offset press. The weekly company paper, generally distributed free, and the monthly or quarterly house organ or magazine are the usual purveyors of new of local happenings.

Only one case of a daily company newspaper had been found during this survey. Actually, this 'newspaper' is a one-sheet bulletin, mimeographed in the morning for distribution to employees at noon. Believing that its employees should be aware of international, national, and provincial news, as well as happenings in the company village, the management of this company supplements the mimeographed daily bulletin with a daily loud-speaker broadcast. The editor of the daily bulletin is responsible for preparing the broadcast script which often includes excerpts from a metropolitan morning daily newspaper. At a scheduled time each morning, the editor switches on a public-address system which enables his voice to be heard throughout the plant. A large audio amplifier outdoors beams the broadcast toward the nearby company village.

For the most part, these company-sponsored newssheets are nothing more than community bulletins or notice-boards. Their space is mainly devoted to announcements of coming events, safety-slogans, and social and personal notes about weddings, births, and the occasional death. Editorial comment is at a minimum and usually consists of exhortations to break safety records. Letters to the Editor are practically unheard of and no controversial topics are reported or commented upon because of the company's determination to preserve harmony and happiness within its community. The columns are never thrown open for debate or discussion. The result is that, with a few exceptions, the company papers are mediocre, spineless, and without character. They are, however, of immense interest to the residents of the community because of their announcements of forthcoming local events, especially of

recreational activities.

Very few of the company-sponsored papers even bother to report events which have occurred, concentrating mainly on the announcement of future events. Thus, few such journals can technically be called newspapers in the usual reporting sense. They do not ordinarily contain news of any events outside the world of the town.

Because of the importance of recreational activities, it is not surprising to find that the full-time company-paid recreational supervisor or director is also usually responsible for the publication of the weekly paper. In other cases the public relations department or personnel department may have the editing and publishing chore.

The absence of a local newspaper is a serious lack in company towns, more so, perhaps, than in other communities of comparable size and population. In a one-industry town where almost all residents are employees of the industrial company, there tends to be a great deal of shop talk off the job because of the one major economic common interest. When the company is also landlord, retail-store manager, and local government, it tends even more so to become the chief topic of conversation, to the boredom of all, ultimately. Because so much conversation, gossip, if you will, revolves around the company, its policies, and operations, the interchange of factual information quickly reaches the point of exhausion. At this juncture rumour takes over, often prompted by the desire of the rumour-monger to indicate his superior knowledge or to prove that he has access to inside information. The plant bulletin board cannot possibly keep up with the speed at which rumours run through town. Only a daily newspaper, containing authoritative statements and explanations of company policy, can hope to complete with the oral dissemination of gossip. The lack of a local newspaper is most keenly felt by residents of isolated company towns whose remoteness makes for late delivery of metropolitan or home-town newspapers.

The plant bulletin board is frequently supplemented or supplanted by a community notice board which is placed near the general store, churches, or movie theatres. This is a recognition of the well-known fact that male employees do not always carry home to their wives the information posted on the bulletin board in the time-keeping office. The publishing of the mimeographed bulletin is the next necessary step because there will be families who complain that they did not see the notice on the townsite bulletin board; no member of the family had occasion to pass in that direction. In order to remedy this situation, to make sure that all housewives are informed of company notices such as the upkeep of the company's houses, special shipments received at the company store, and warnings about the shortage of water or electricity, the mimeographed or published bulletin will likely be distributed to each householder by the company. To prevent the charge that readers of the paper pay to read company propaganda, the paper is delivered free, thus adding to the paternalistic features of company-town life.

Some companies have wisely encouraged the development of an independently owned and operated journal; several have even subsidized the inital capital outlay, which may not be so wise. The freest press in a company is that operated by someone who does not depend upon the company. It seems obvious that in a closed company-town this would be difficult; that direct or indirect dependence upon the company would tend to inhibit free expression. Yet, in a few company towns there are such journals published by union locals or strong-willed individuals. Without exception, the latter type of newspaper incurs the wrath of the company because the newspaper is apt to be critical, once in a while, of the company's community activities. As the companies have claimed, no doubt many of the 'facts' alleged by such independent journals have not been too well founded, but the independent newspaper serves as useful a role as does Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition in attempting to make as much information public as possible.

In some company towns, local news appears as 'correspondence' in the inside pages of the nearest city daily or weekly paper. Because of their isolated locations many single-enterprise communities receive daily newspapers several days after publication. This tends to make the radio news broadcasts popular and more closely listened to than in communities where the newspaper is available on the day of publication.

Because several Canadian pulp and paper company towns are the sources of newsprint supply for certain United States daily newspapers, the company hotel, staff lounges, reading rooms, and library are usually generously supplied with several copies of these American dailies. This fact, plus the great amount of travelling that goes on between the company head offices in the United States and the Canadian mills, probably helps to account for the unusually wide knowledge and discussion of American events that one finds in these communities whose products are exported to the U.S.A.

Beer Parlours

A surprising lack in the social amenities of many one-industry towns is the absence of a tavern, beer parlour, or beverage room for the sale of brewery products to be consumed on the premises. This lack is surprising in view of the general company-town liberality in such matters as Sunday sports and the operation of a hard-liquor bar in the golf club or curling rink. Many companies absolutely prohibit, even under their own control and management, the operation of a public house where beer may be bought and consumed to the premises. The objection is not based upon such action being an infringement of liquor and beer legislation, or the fear that employees and residents are prohibitionists and would therefore be against taverns. In all cases observed the prohibition is based upon the company's view that a beverage room would be bad for the employees. One manager stated that if the company allowed a beer parlour on the company townsite it's employees would be encouraged to drink with a resulting increase in absenteeism. In the same community, beer can be bought at double price from the taxi company which operates from the nearby fringe town outside the limits of the company-owned townsite. Where there are no beer parlours in the company townsite there are usually several in the shantytown. The standards of many of these are

extremely poor, some of those visited having no inside toilets; most are of very flimsy construction and are a definite fire hazard.

In some company communities serviced by railway. beer and liquor may be shipped in from the nearest government retail outlets. According to the experience of employees in one company town this importation leads to excessive drinking. Under the railway tariffs it is just as cheap, in so far as transportation charges are concerned, to buy several bottles or cases than to purchase only one because a flat transportation rate is charged up to a certain quota. In this particular town it was admitted that most men ordered the whole quota in order to take advantage of the flat-rate tariff. With a considerable quantity of liquor on hand there was the tendency to go on a spree. Since then, in this town, a government liquor retail store has been opened alongside the single-men's dormitories where it is alleged, the greatest amount of liquor drinking takes place. According to both management and labour union officials buying and consumption of liquor has decreased drastically since the local retail outlet was established. As one union secretary expressed it: "We don't have the same old binges that we used to. Somehow, there just isn't the same kick to it when you know that all you have to do is cross the street to the liquor store. It's just like the farmer telling the young boys who were about to steal apples from his orchard to come in and help themselves."

Often, the local branch of the Canadian Legion, British Empire Service League, is the only public place in the community town where the hourly-rated worker may drink beer, and the Legion hall is hardly public because members and their guests only are allowed.

Except in a few instances distilled liquor is not sold in company-towns to be consumed on the premises as at a commercial bar or cocktail lounge. The substitute is the informal non-commercial bar at the golf club or curling rink. These are more generally patronized by the salaried staff and managerial personnel than by hourly-rated wage-earners.

An example of how clean, tidy, and well run a beer parlour can be is that owned and operated by the local union of the Mine, Mill and Smelter workers of Sudbury. Situated in the basement of the union's huge adminisration and recreation building, this beverage room has both men's and ladies-and-escorts' sections.

The atmosphere is entirely different from the din and rowdyism associated with many commercial beer parlours. No doubt this is the result of social inhibitions caused by the fact that everybody belongs to the same union local and is an employee either of International Nickel Company or Falconbridge Nickel. Furthermore, union officers, including the international board members, local officers, and shop stewards mingle freely so that there is more of a social club environment than exists in the typical Canadian commercial tavern. Although not strictly a company town or even a single-enterprise town in the narrow use of those terms, Sudbury serves as the dormitory and shopping town for thousands of miners and their families in the Sudbury mining basin. It also serves several company mining towns in the district that have no beverage rooms of their own. The miners' beer parlour in Sudbury could hardly be duplicated in most company towns because of their relative remoteness and small populations.

Although unwilling to allow a beer parlour of any kind to be established on its townsite. the local management in charge of the administration of community affairs in one company town has taken over the retail sale of brewers' products in place of an ordinary brewers' warehouse. The company does not keep the profits from the sale of the beer but turns the surplus over to a Welfare and Trust Account, known locally as the Beer Fund, held in trust by the town council. Money from the beer sale profits amounts to about $25,000.00 yearly, local residents report, and made possible the building of the community ice arena. The beer is sold from the company store premises but is not drunk there.

It appears quite evident from the observations made during this survey that the drinking of beer in public is a recreational activiy of great importance to the hourly-rated wage-earners. Lacking a regular beer parlour, whether company-sponsored or operated by private enterprise, the employees will seek an outlet in the nearby fringe-town hotel or beverage rooms or roadside taverns.

The Automobile

The mere fact of remoteness of location is an area not reached by a motor road does not necessarily mean that automobiles are uncommon in isolated single-enterprise communites. If there are rail or water-borne transportation facilities, there are likely to be motor cars in the company town, although there are some communities in the far north and in areas serviced only by aircraft, tractor-train, or small privately owned railway line which have not yet had an automobile disturb the streets.

It was noticed during this survey that several erstwhile cut-off communities were being linked to civilization by new access roads and highways. Some of this connecting-up is being made possible by the continued construction of the Trans-Canada Highway and it's branches However, even in towns where highway connection are impracticable, the number of privately owned and operated automobiles is plentiful. To an outside observer it seems rediculous, for example, that in an isolated town of 1,750 inhabitants, there should be over 170 motor cars. What use can be made of a car in a town whose greatest length or width is less than a mile, and where the mill is less than a quarter of a mile from the homes of most of the employees? "Where there is nowhere to drive except around the townsite and its immediate vicinity, what use is there for recreational driving?" the stranger asks.

There would appear to be several reasons for the relatively large number of cars. First, most company employees have come from cities where automobiles were the chief mode of transportation between work and home; the habit is ingrained. Second, many company-town residents want to spend their vacations on motor trips far from the company town. Provided the family car can be loaded aboard the boat or on a railway flat car, these people can fulfill their desire. Third, many residents of company towns do not expect to live in them for a long period, and the automobile will be needed when they move on. Fourth,

many company-town residents, like their counterparts in any town, look upon an automobile not only as a means of transportation but as a symbol of social prestige. Fifth, there is also the factor of pride in personal ownership of an automobile. Although no one mentioned it outright, it would appear that many persons in company towns own cars because as company employees they do not and cannot own the houses in which they live. The desire to own something valuable finds expression in the possession of an automobile in lieu of a house. It should be remembered too, that the majority of male residents in the company town are either skilled tradesmen or handy with their hands; they like to tinker. If they owned a house they would rely mainly on their own native abilities to keep it in good repair. Some of the most successful employee housing schemes have been those in which the largest amount of work was done by the employee himself with the aid of fellow employees. Similarly with automobiles: the owners are their own mechanics, except for major repairs. Sixth, the material standard of living is high in most company towns. For all these reasons, and perhaps more, the automobile is a very conspicuous part of the company-town landscape except, of course, where lack of rail or water transportation makes their presence impossible.

From the point of view of town planners this intense use of the automobile in the relatively small company towns is unfortunate. It has been hoped by some planners that the small size of the town and its population, as well as the isolated location and the setting amidst the trees, rocks, water and other natural features, would encourage the company employees to think of their community more as a resort town than a miniature city. From the examples observed, this expectation does not seem to have been fulfilled. Company management in some communities suggest that it may take several years for the residents to adjust themselves to such desirable habits as parking cars in the neighbourhood compound garages and parking lots instead of in front of the house and of walking instead of driving a few blocks within the townsite. Some companies had hoped to leave their roads unpaved in order to avoid the big-city look of pavements and sidewalks, but they have found that residents complain bitterly about the dust raised by passing cars and the mud tracked into their houses.

There is another aspect of automobile ownership and use, however, the good effects of which would seem to be beyond dispute. This observation applies only to those company towns where access to other settlements by motor road is possible. Where there is no highway connection the residents of a company town feel a loss of freedom, for they know that transportation in or out depends either upon the company's services or oher agencies whose schedules of arrival and departure are rigid matters and do not correspond to the will of the individual employee. Where there is an outside motor road connection, the employee with an automobile who gets fed up with company-town existence can drive out to the nearest town for a change of scenery and atmosphere. He can choose his own departure time. But where going and coming depend upon the railway, steamship, or aircraft agency, the individual must make his arrangements to suit the schedules of the time-table.

On several occasions during the course of this survey residents of company towns now connected by highways but once without motor road access described in great detail the feeling of lonesomeness and isolation they felt at the departure of the last aircraft, boat, or train. One paper mill employee has described his feelings as the train moved away from the station on a Friday afternoon.

"There goes the last train out of town. We won't see another one again until Monday when it returns. We don't bother about the train much now because of the new road to. . ., but a few years ago there would always be a small crowd down here to watch the train pull out. There'd be a kind of funny feeling in the pit of your stomach because you knew all contact with the outside world was cut off for over two days. Of course, this wasn't quite true, there was the telegraph. But we felt hemmed in, not just because we were isolated but because we felt we were completely at the mercy of the company for two whole days."

As in ordinary open communities, the advent of the highway and the consequent access to nearby centers of population cause a fundamental change in the earlier pioneer self-contained atmosphere. This is especially noticeable in the recreational programmes of company towns.

Although the intensive use of the automobile in company towns may be decried by town planners on the grounds that walking is more convenient and healthier than driving because of the size of the towns and their location on sites of great natural beauty, it would appear that where access to nearby communities by car means greater freedom of movement on the part of company-town residents the automobile helps to eliminate the feeling of dependency on the company and may be a contribution to better employer-employee relations.

(Chapter taken from: Institute of Local Government, Queen's University, **Single Enterprise Communities in Canada**, Central Mortgage and Housing, Ottawa, 1953.)

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Answer the following questions:

(a) Why is it important that a company think about wives, children, adolescents, and old people when planning a community of single industry?

(b) Briefly explain how the following can become social problems: ethnic divisions, company control, political activity, beer parlours, and transportation.

2. List the social problems of your community. Do they compare with those of single industry communities?

OVERALL QUESTIONS

1. **(a) In what areas of Canada are most resource-based single industry communities found?**

(b) Why are they usually found in these areas?

2. What changes have brought about the new emphasis on permanence of single industry communities?

3. (a) What are the five phases of development which single industry communities usually go through?

(b) Briefly explain what these phases are.

(c) Which are the phases which are not always part of the development of a single industry community? Why?

4. In a paragraph for each, explain what the social situation is likely to be during each phase of development in a single industry community.

5. (a) What is social structure?

(b) Would the social structure in a single industry town be the same during all phases of development in a single industry community? Why or why not?

6. Why do so many single industry communities die?

7. Explain the relationship between the economic stability of a single industry community and the type of resource being exploited.

8. What do you think would be the most serious social problems in a community of single industry?

9. To what extent are people not living in single enterprise communities influenced by these communities?

10. What other types of single industry communities (i.e., other than resource-based) have we not studied in this unit?

THE BUCHANS STRIKE

Surrounded by thick forest
Just west of Red Indian Lake
There's a place called Buchans
Where things are not so great
For in Buchans there's an ore mine
That's breaking the hearts of men
Because they think it will close down
And never work again.

There are people on the welfare
And men on the picket line
There are people leaving Buchans
Who lived here a long, long time
And as they leave their old home town
I only pray they'll find
Another place like Buchans
That they're leaving far behind.

CHORUS

But with the help from other unions
And people on our side
Our town won't become a ghost town
But will still remain alive.

On the day of March 15, in the year of 73
The people at Buchans, were having lots of fun
Then things came to a standstill
And now we just exist
For little did we know that day
That things would come to this.

Some men have left their families
To find a job elsewhere
Some have gone to the mainland
And more to Stephenville
And some have left to settle down
But quite against their will
Meanwhile up in Buchans
The strike continues still.

CHORUS

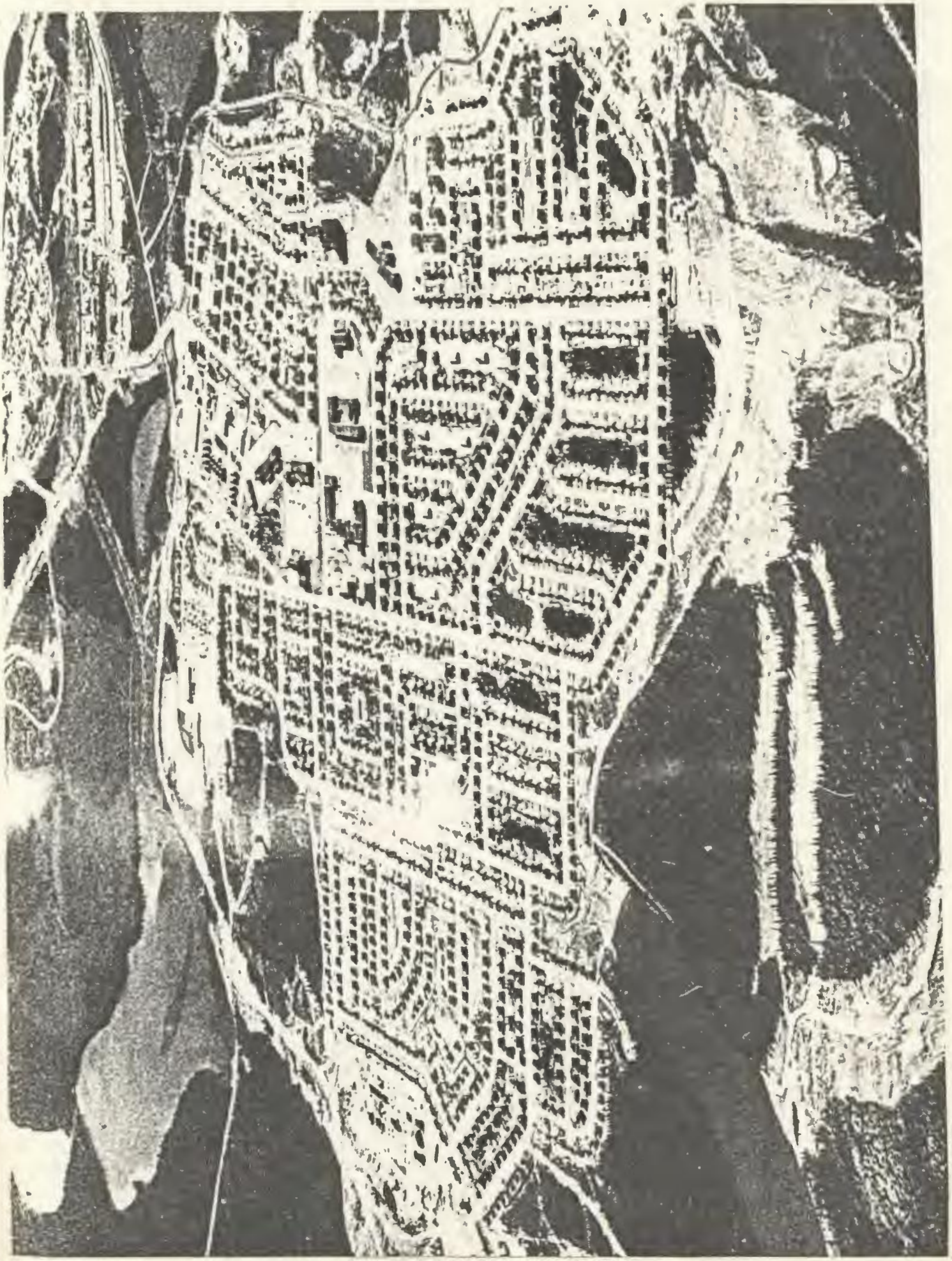
Song goes to the tune of "The Bell Island Song".

Printed by
Memorial University of Newfoundland
St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada

APPENDIX C

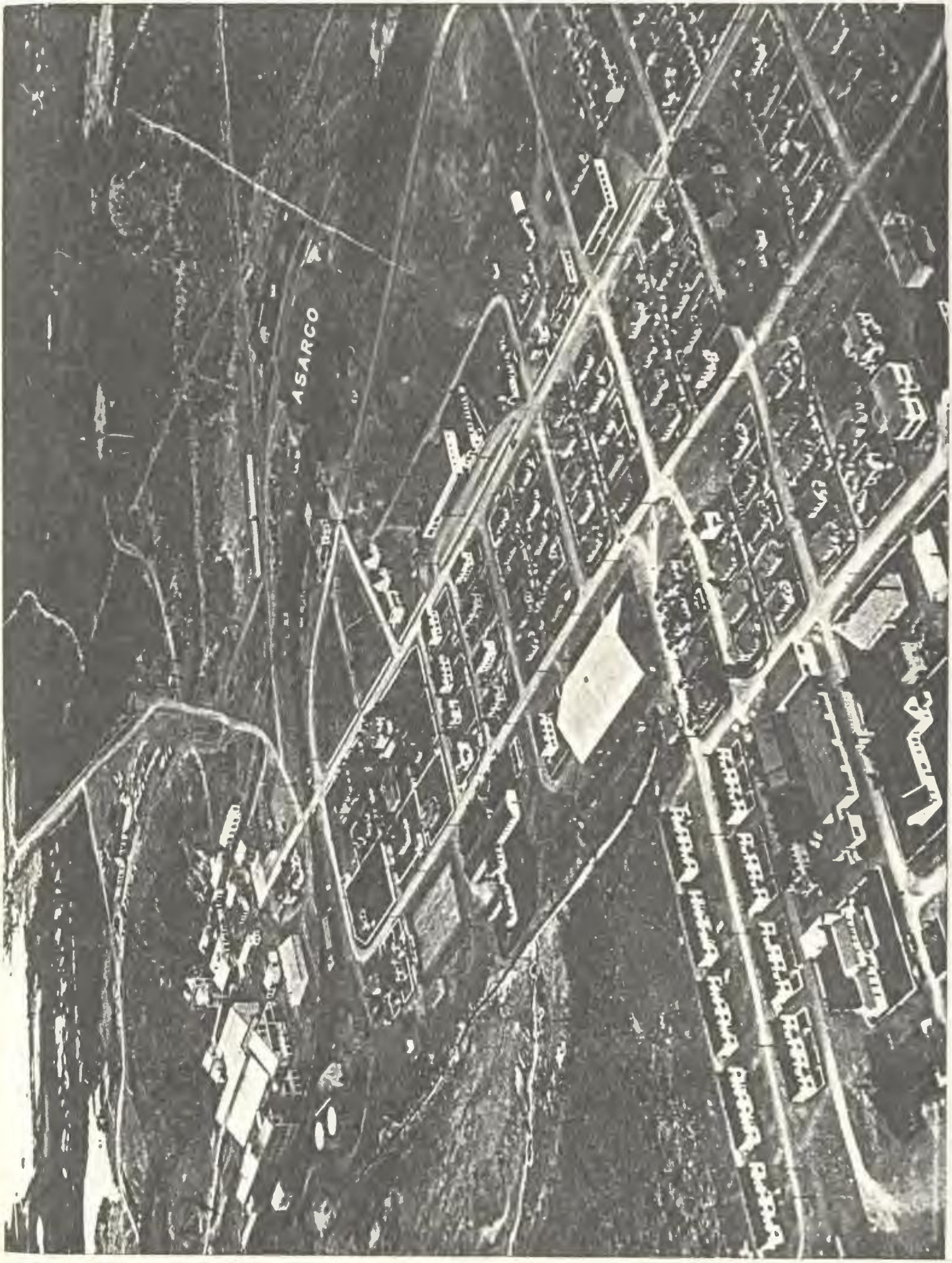
PICTURES

CHURCHILL FALLS

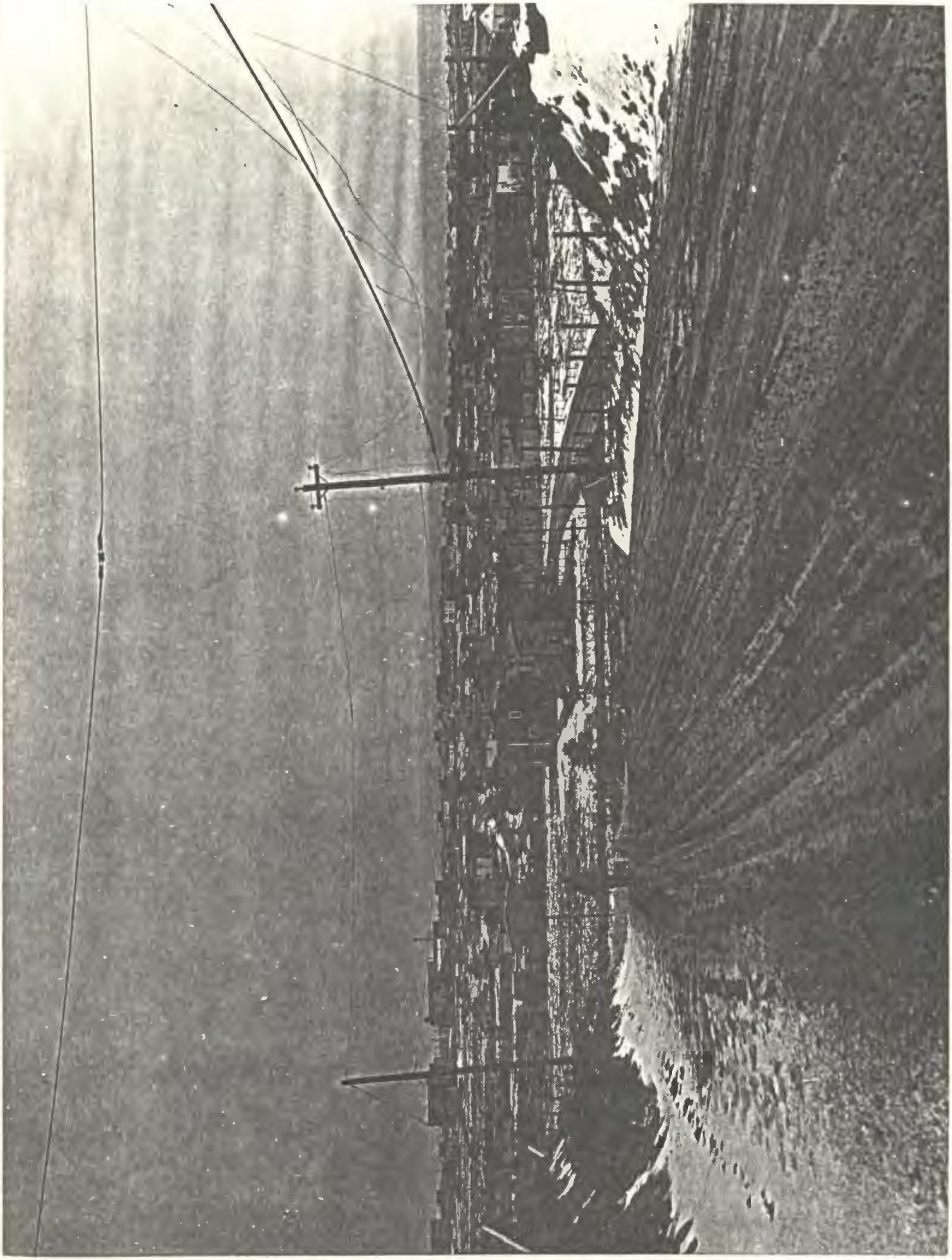


LABRADOR CITY

GRAND FALLS



BUCHANS

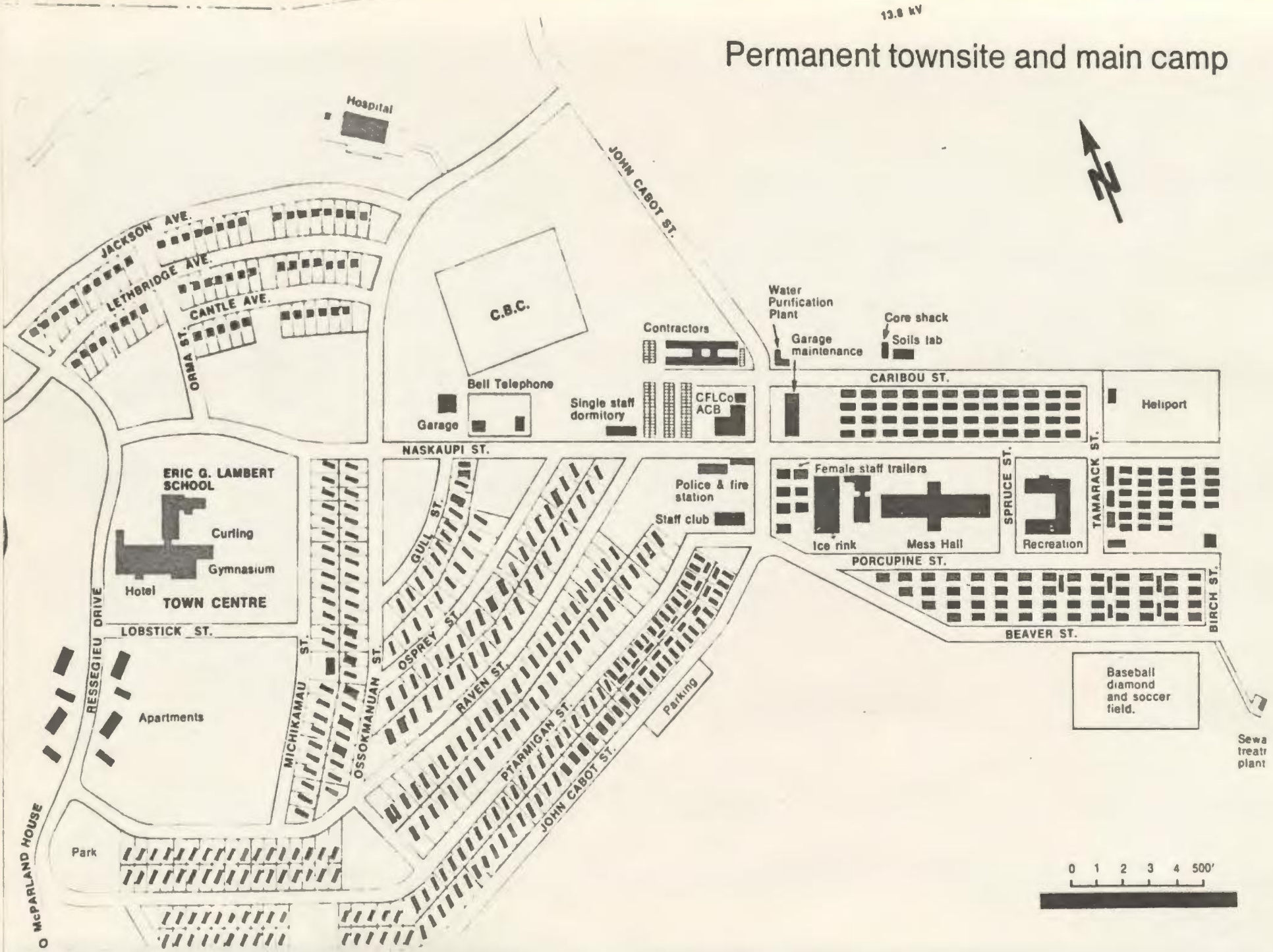


BELL ISLAND

Tractors move in to start town

Recruitment of citizens.

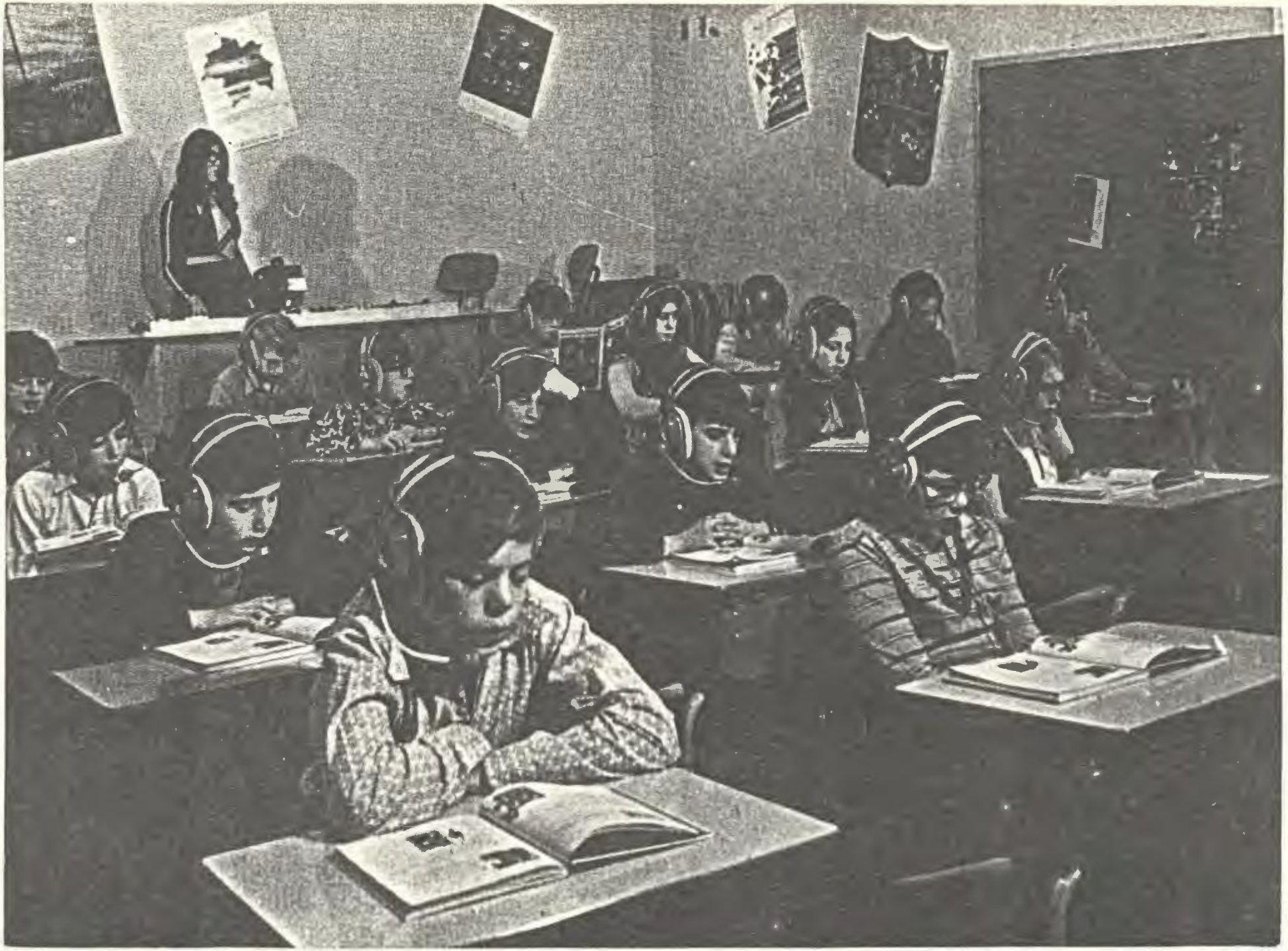
When a closedown occurs many people have to leave their homes behind and seek employment elsewhere.



The town plan for Churchill Falls.

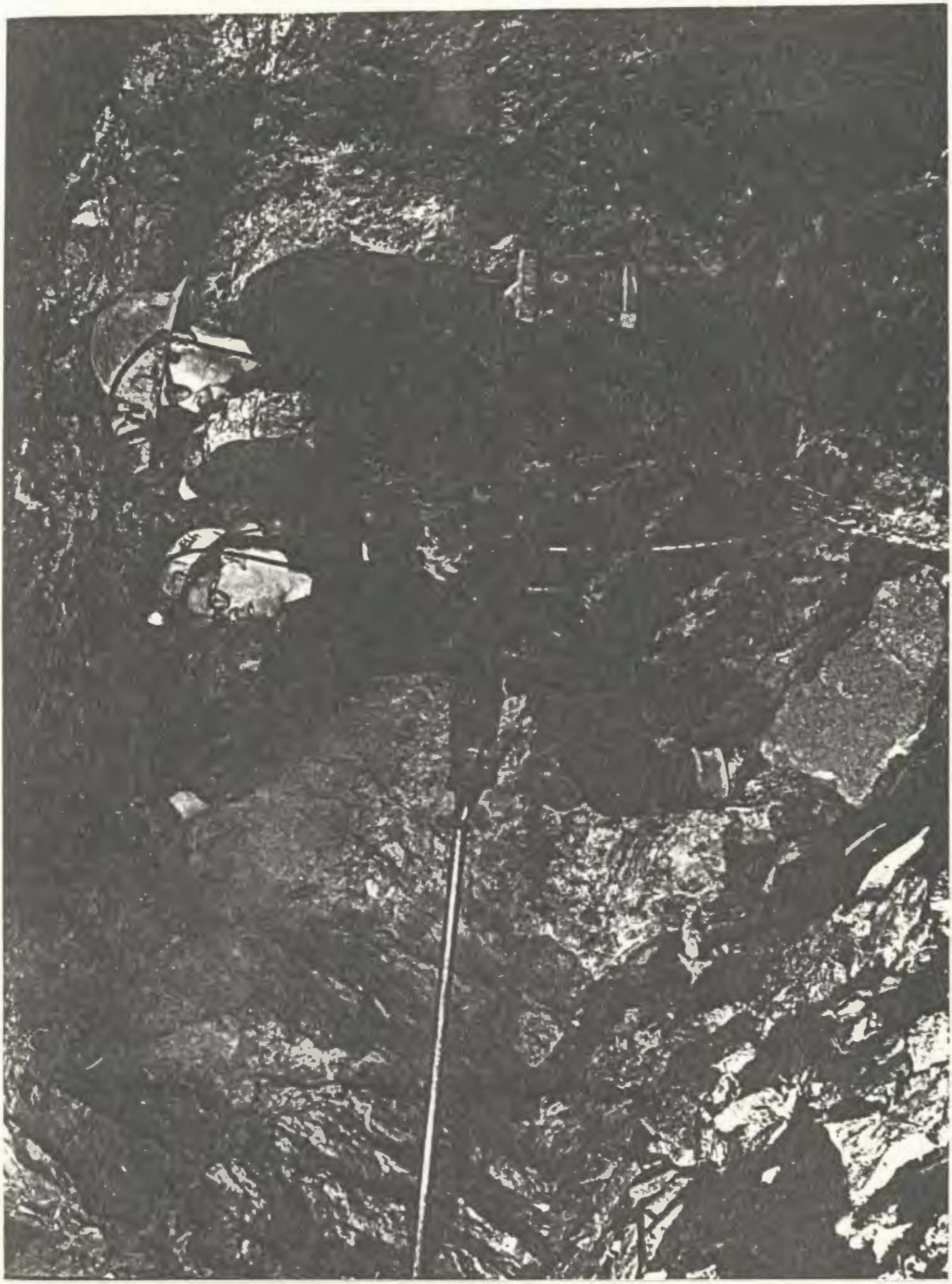
This type of housing is common in communities of single industry.

Ski-dooing in Labrador City.



Most single industry communities
have well-equipped schools.

two Duncans miners.



Two Buchans' miners.

Drinking is sometimes a problem in communities of single industry.

The mess hall at Churchill Falls.

Bell Islanders march on the Confederation Building.

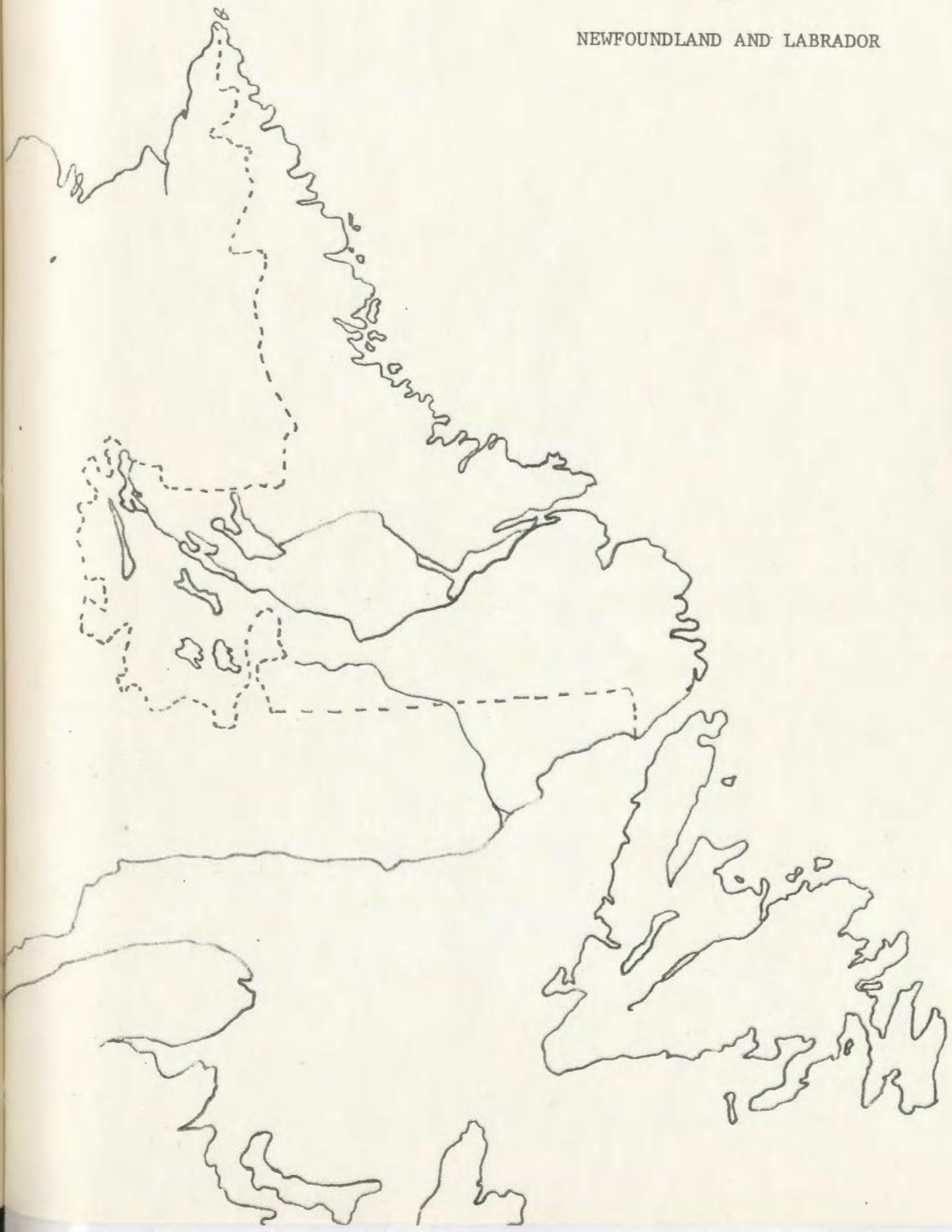
APPENDIX D

OVERHEAD TRANSPARENCIES

PROVINCE

OF

NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR



PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT

Construction

Recruitment of Citizens

Transition

Maturity

Closedown

What might take place before construction starts?

What might take place after the actual closedown?

ARE ALL OF THESE SINGLE INDUSTRY COMMUNITIES?

Churchill Falls ✓
Labrador City ✓
Wabush ✓
Goose Bay
Grand Falls ✓
Buchans ✓
Baie Verte
Gander
Corner Brook
Springdale
Bishops Falls
St. Lawrence
Bell Island
Gull Pond
Burgeo
Grand Bank
Millertown
Dildo
Badger
Deer Lake
Lower Churchill
Botwood
Argentia
Stephenville
Happy Valley

YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT:

Location (general)

Town Planning

Administration/Company Control

Phases of Growth

Economic Stability

Housing

Recreation

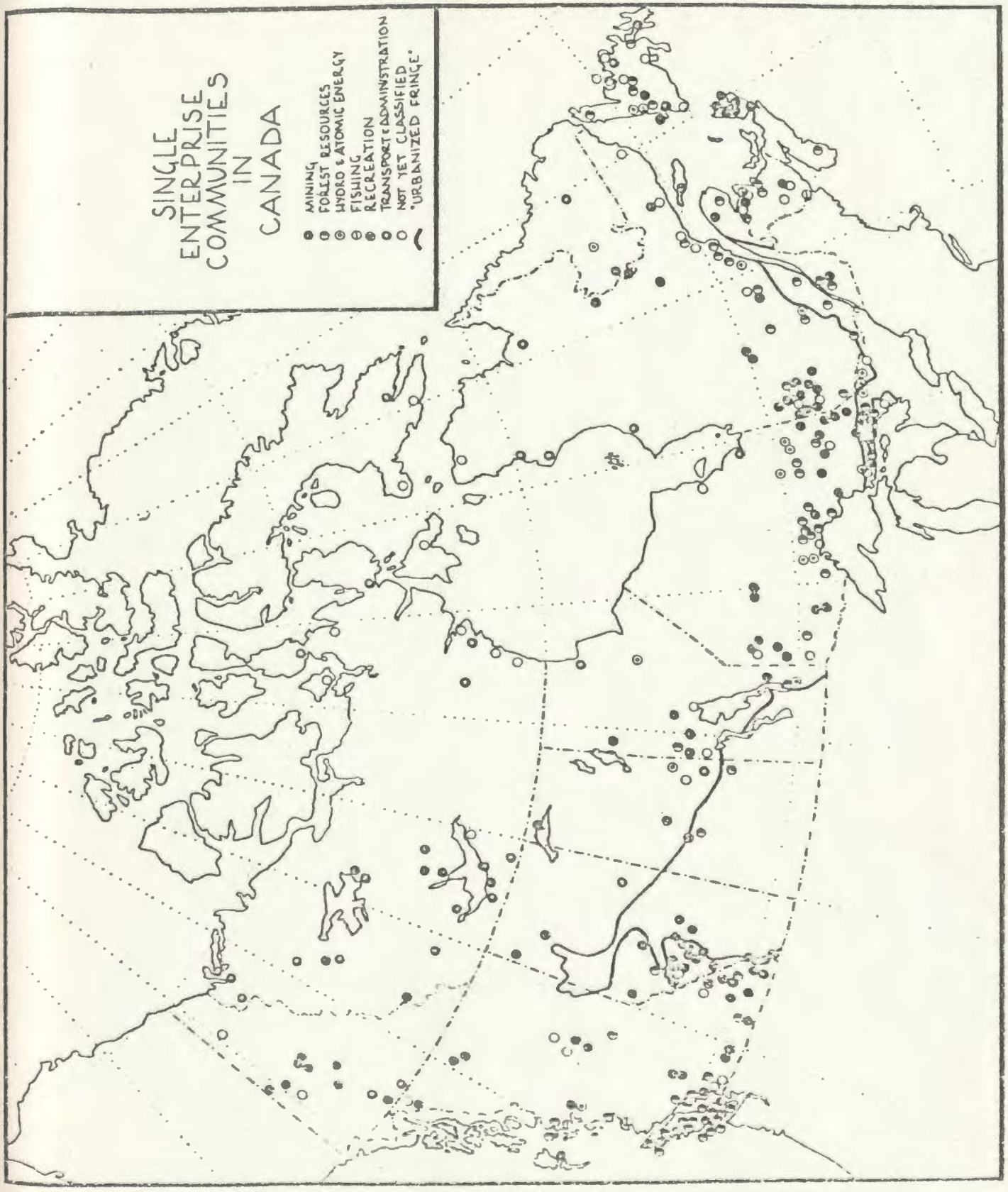
Education

Religion

Social Structure

Social Problems


ALASKA
Beaufort Sea
CANADA
Baffin Bay
Davis Strait
YUKON
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
Pacific Ocean
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASK.
MAN.
Hudson Bay
NEWFOUNDLAND
QUEBEC
ONTARIO
N.B.
N.S.
UNITED STATES
Atlantic Ocean


SINGLE ENTERPRISE COMMUNITIES IN CANADA
MINING
FOREST RESOURCES
HYDRO & ATOMIC ENERGY
FISHING
RECREATION
TRANSPORT & ADMINISTRATION
NOT YET CLASSIFIED
"URBANIZED FRINGE"

APPENDIX E

TEXT OF TWO SONGS

BELL ISLAND SONG

Surrounded by rough waters just west
of Baccelieu,
There's a place called Bell Island
where things are so blue.
There's an ore mine on the Island
that broke the hearts of men
When they saw the mines close
down and never work again.

These people, they've seen hard times
but not as hard as this.
They knew they would have to leave
and the homeland they would miss.
The government gave them money
and would help them not about.
They slowly left the Island, the
homeland that they loved.

Chorus:
The picture of them leaving
was the sadness and the pain;
A picture of a people who worked,
but all in vain.
Oh God give me the power to
change the time some way
And let them live their lives again
-- That home in Conception Bay.

As I sit on the cliff side overlooking
Conception Bay
I could see that big ferry that
would take the people far away.
Sadness fills the air as the people
board the boat.
As I wave goodbye to my friends
a lump comes to my throat.
As the ferry moves out to sea
I'll never pray that they will find
A place like Bell Island that
they're leaving far behind.

SIXTEEN TONS

Some people say a man is made
outa mud.
A poor man is made outa muscle
and blood,
Muscle and blood, skin and bone,
A mind that's weak and a back
that's strong.

Chorus:
Loaded sixteen tons and whatta
you get?
Another day older and deeper
in debt.
St. Peter don't you call me
cause I can't go;
I owe my soul to the company
store.

I was born one morning when the
sun didn't shine.
I picked up my shovel and I
walked to the mine.
I loaded sixteen tons of number
nine coal,
And the straw boss said,"Well bless
my soul."

I was born one morning in
drizzle and rain.
Fightin and trouble are my middle
name.
I was born in a cage, reared by
an old mama lion.
Ain't no cold-blooded woman gonna
make me walk the line.

If you see me comin' you
better step aside,
A lotta men didn't and a
lotta men died;
One fist of iron, the other
of steel;
If the right one don't get you,
then the left one will.

APPENDIX F

PRE/POST TEXT

T E S T

Answer the following questions in the space provided below each question:

1. In what areas of Canada are most resource-based single industry communities found?

2. List six Newfoundland communities of single industry.

3. To what extent is a community of single industry planned prior to the commencement of construction of the town?

4. Why does the "Company" hold so much power in a community of single industry? Which other group holds a significant amount of control in such a community?

5. What are the phases of development in a community of single industry?

6. Are community services, such as housing, education, religion, recreation, and shopping, generally adequate in a community of single industry? Explain.

7. How is a community which is just recruiting its permanent citizens different from a community which has reached maturity?

8. In which type of resource based community is a closedown most likely to occur?

_____

_____

9. Does occupation influence the class structure in a community of single industry? Explain briefly.

_____

_____

10. What are five social problems likely to occur in a new community of single industry?

_____

_____

APPENDIX G

GUIDING QUESTIONS

GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR DEVELOPING CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION PLANS, AND INSTRUCTION (BASED ON JOHNSON'S MODEL)

1.0 How will you select the ILO's from the cultural content?

1.01 What criteria[1] did you use to select the ILO's?

1.02 Did you obtain the ILO's you desired?

1.11 What are desirable[2] criteria for the selection of ILO's?

1.12 What are desirable ILO's?

1.21 If there is a discrepancy between desirable criteria and used criteria, then how should you deal with the discrepancy?

1.22 If there is a discrepancy between obtained ILO's and desirable ILO's, then how should you deal with the discrepancy?

2.0 How will you organize the ILO's?

2.01 What criteria did you use to organize the ILO's?

2.02 Did you obtain the organization of ILO's you desired?

2.11 What are desirable criteria for the organization of ILO's?

2.12 What is a desirable organization of ILO's?

2.21 If there is a discrepancy between desirable criteria and used criteria, then how should you deal with the discrepancy?

2.22 If there is a discrepancy between obtained organization of ILO's and desirable organization of ILO's, then how should you deal with the discrepancy?

3.0 How will you establish the relationship between Instructional Content (ILO's and instrumental content) and Teaching Strategies?

3.01 Did you establish the relationship between Instructional Content and Teaching Strategies you desired?

3.02 What criteria will you use to select the instrumental content?

---

[1]Whenever the word criteria is used, it is assumed that an adequate rationale will be used in the selection of criteria.

[2]Desirable refers to local needs, as well as educational theory.

3.03 Did you establish the relationship between instrumental content and ILO's you desired?

3.04 Given the ILO's as goals, what teaching strategies did you provide for student transactions with the display and for teacher-student interaction?

3.05 What rationale was given for the teaching strategies adopted?

3.11 What is the desirable relationship between instructional content and teaching strategies?

3.12 What are desirable criteria for the selection of instrumental content?

3.13 What is a desirable relationship between instructional content and ILO's?

3.14 What are desirable teaching strategies that will provide for student transactions with the display and for T-S interaction?

3.15 What is a desirable rationale for the teaching strategies adopted?

3.21 If there is a discrepancy between the desirable relationship between instructional content and teaching strategies and the relationship you established, how should you deal with the discrepancy?

3.22 If there is a discrepancy between the desirable criteria for the selection of instrumental content and the criteria you used, how should you deal with the discrepancy?

3.23 If there is a discrepancy between a desirable relationship between instrumental content and ILO's and the relationship you established, how should you deal with the discrepancy?

3.24 If there is a discrepancy between desirable teaching strategies and the teaching strategies you provided, how should you deal with the discrepancy?

3.25 If there is a discrepancy between a desirable rationale for the teaching strategies adopted and the rationale you gave, how should you deal with the discrepancy?

4.0 How will teacher Y implement the instructional plan?

4.01 How did Y behave in relation to student transaction with the display?

4.02 How did Y interact with the students?

4.03 Did teacher Y implement the instructional plan you desired?

4.11 What is a desirable way for teacher Y to behave in relation to student transaction with the display?

4.12 What is a desirable way for teacher Y to interact with the students?

4.13 What is a desirable way for teacher Y to implement the desirable instructional plan?

4.21 If there is a discrepancy between a desirable way for teacher Y to behave in relation to student transaction with the display and the way he did behave, how should you deal with the discrepancy?

4.22 If there is a discrepancy between a desirable way for teacher Y to interact with the students and the way he did interact, how should you deal with the discrepancy?

4.23 If there is a discrepancy between a desirable way for teacher Y to implement the desirable instructional plan and the way he did implement it, how should you deal with the discrepancy?

5.0 How will you view the process of evaluation of curriculum development and instructional planning?

5.01 How did you view the process of evaluation of curriculum development and instructional planning?

5.02 What is a desirable way for the process of evaluation of curriculum development and instructional planning to be viewed?

5.03 If there is a discrepancy between a desirable way for the process of evaluation of curriculum development and instructional planning to be viewed and the way you viewed it, how should you deal with the discrepancy?

APPENDIX H

OBSERVER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

MATERIALS AND ACTIVITIES FOR CLASSROOM EVALUATION (MACE)

III. POST LESSON INFERENCES

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

a) The name of the unit/episode/program is _____

b) The topic of the lesson observed is _____

c) The proportion of class involved is _____

d) The approximate proportion of lesson's time is _____

e) Place of observed lesson in sequence of the whole program is _____

Introduction mid part final

f) The name of the observer is _____

g) The name of the teacher is _____

h) The name of the school is _____

i) The grade level is _____

j) Today's date is _____

EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH AFFECTED THE LESSON ARE

_____

_____

INSTRUCTIONS TO OBSERVER

The statements below represent a number of different aspects of the learning situation that could have taken place during the lesson observed. The responses to 1 this part differ from those in Part II in that they require judgments of a higher level of inference.

Circle the letter at the right side of the sheet which best represents your response to each statement and write in the space provided, any comments you may wish to make.

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
A - THE STUDENT						
1. The students enjoyed working with other students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
2. The students enjoyed working with the teacher.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
3. The students enjoyed working with the materials.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
4. The students enjoyed the activities that took place.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
5. The students enjoyed the location of the classroom for this lesson.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
6. The students enjoyed their grouping for this lesson.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
7. The students understood each other's responses.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
8. The students understood the teacher.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
9. The students understood the materials.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
10. The students understood the activities that took place.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
11. The students understood the purpose for the location of the lesson.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
12. The students understood the purpose of their grouping for this lesson.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
13. The students encouraged other students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
14. The students encouraged the teacher.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
15. The materials were appropriate for the students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
16. The activities were appropriate for the students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
17. The class location was appropriate for the students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
18. The grouping of the students was relevant to the activities that occurred during the lesson.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
B - THE TEACHER						
19. The teacher enjoyed working with other teachers.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
20. The teacher enjoyed working with students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
21. The teacher enjoyed working with the materials.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
22. The teacher enjoyed the activities that took place.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
23. The teacher enjoyed the location of the classroom for this lesson.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
24. The teacher enjoyed the physical arrangement (grouping) of students for this lesson.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
25. The teacher understood the students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
26. The teacher understood other teachers.	a	b	c	d	e	
27. The teacher understood the materials.	a	b	c	d	e	
28. The teacher understood the activities that took place during this lesson.	a	b	c	d	e	
29. The teacher understood the purpose of the location of the class in connection with the activities of this lesson.	a	b	c	d	e	
30. The teacher understood the purpose of the physical arrangement (grouping) of students in connection with the activities.	a	b	c	d	e	
31. The teacher understood the purpose of using the materials during this lesson.	a	b	c	d	e	
32. The teacher understood the purpose of the activities that took place during this lesson.	a	b	c	d	e	
33. The teacher encouraged the students.	a	b	c	d	e	
34. The teacher encouraged other teachers.	a	b	c	d	e	
35. The materials were relevant to the teacher in connection with her method of teaching.	a	b	c	d	e	
36. The activities were relevant to the teacher in connection with her method of teaching.	a	b	c	d	e	
37.						

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
37. The physical arrangement (grouping) of the students was relevant to the teacher in connection with her method of teaching.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
38. The location of the class was relevant to the teacher in connection with her method of teaching.	a	b	c	d	e	_____

What improvements in the specification for today's lesson should be made?

_____

_____

APPENDIX I

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

a) This unit is about _____

b) Today's date is _____

c) My name is _____

d) I am _____a boy _____a girl

e) My age is _____

f) I am in grade _____

g) My teacher's name is _____

h) My school's name is _____

The following are some statements about what happened in the class during this unit. Circle the letter at the right side of the sheet which best tells how you feel about what happened. Write in the space provided any comments you may wish to make.

First let us give you an example:

Suppose we ask you to respond to a statement about a film you viewed sometime during the teaching of the unit:

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
- I enjoyed watching the film.	a	b	c	d	e	

If the film did not interest you or was boring then circle the letter a which represents "not at all."

If you found parts of the film interesting, and you enjoyed only these parts, then circle the letter b which represents "not much."

Suppose you found the film interesting but not all that exciting, then circle the letter c which represents "much."

But if you thought the film was very interesting and very exciting, then circle the letter d which represents "very much."

Do not waste time puzzling over which letter to choose -- circle the letter which first seems best and go on to the next.

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
1. I enjoyed working with the other students during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
2. I enjoyed working with the teacher during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
3. I enjoyed working with the books, laboratory equipment or other materials.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
4. I enjoyed the activities that occurred during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
5. I enjoyed the physical arrangement (grouping) of students during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
6. I enjoyed the location of the class for some activities.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
7. The teacher enjoyed working with the students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
8. The teacher enjoyed working with the books, laboratory equipment or other materials during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
9. The teacher enjoyed the activities that occurred during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
10. The teacher enjoyed the location of the class where the lessons were held.	a	b	c	d	e	_____

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
11. The teacher enjoyed the way the students were grouped for the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
12. I understood other students during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
13. I understood the materials that were handled in these lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
14. I understood the activities that occurred during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
15. I understood the purpose for using the materials during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
16. I understood the purpose of the activities that took place during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
17. I understood the purpose for the class grouping during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
18. I understood the purpose for the location of the class during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
19. The teacher understood the students during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
20. The teacher understood the materials.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
21. The teacher understood the activities that took place during the unit.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
22. The teacher understood the purpose for the location of classes.	a	b	c	d	e	_____

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
23. The teacher understood the purpose for the way the students were grouped.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
24. The teacher understood the purpose of the materials for the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
25. I encouraged the teacher during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
26. I encouraged other students during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
27. The teacher encouraged the students during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
28. Other students encouraged the teacher.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
29. The materials were appropriate to me.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
30. The activities were appropriate to me.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
31. The materials were appropriate to the teacher.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
32. The materials were appropriate to other students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
33. The activities were appropriate to the teacher.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
34. The activities were appropriate to other students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
35. The class grouping was appropriate to me.	a	b	c	d	e	_____

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
36. The location of the class was appropriate to me.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
37. The students grouping was appropriate to the teacher.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
38. The students grouping was appropriate to other students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
39. The location of the class was relevant to the teacher's method of teaching.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
40. The location of the class was relevant to the other students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____

What improvements would you suggest in this unit?

_____

_____

APPENDIX J

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

a) The name of the unit/episode, or program is _____

b) The lessons you are reacting to are _____

c) Your name _____ Sex _____

d) The school's name is _____

e) The age range and/or grade level of students _____

f) Today's date is _____

The following are some statements about what happened in class during the lessons. Circle the letter at the right side of the sheet which best represents your response to each statement and write in the space provided any comments you may wish to make.

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
1. I enjoyed working with the students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
2. I enjoyed working with other teachers during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
3. I enjoyed working with the materials.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
4. I enjoyed the activities that occurred in the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
5. I enjoyed the location of the classes.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
6. I enjoyed the way that the students were grouped for some of the classes.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
7. I understood the students during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
8. I understood the materials.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
9. I understood the activities that took place.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
10. I understood the purpose of the location of the classes for the activities.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
11. I understood the purpose of the grouping of students for lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
12. I understood the purpose of using the materials for the activities.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
13. I encouraged the students during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
14. The students enjoyed these lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
15. Other teachers enjoyed these lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
16. The students enjoyed their grouping for the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
17. The students enjoyed the location of the class in relation to the activities that occurred during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
18. The students understood these lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
19. The students understood the materials that they used during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
20. The students understood the activities during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
21. The students understood the purpose of their grouping during the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____

	Not at all (a)	Not much (b)	Much (c)	Very much (d)	Not applicable (e)	COMMENTS
22. The students understood the purpose of the location of the class for the lessons.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
23. The students encouraged other students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
24. The students encouraged the teacher.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
25. The materials were appropriate to the students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
26. The materials were appropriate to your method of teaching.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
27. The activities were appropriate to the students.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
28. The location of the class was appropriate to the students for carrying on their activities.	a	b	c	d	e	_____
29. The physical arrangement for the students was appropriate.	a	b	c	d	e	_____

What improvements should be made in this unit?

_____

_____

APPENDIX K

TEACHER PREREQUISITE FORM

TEACHER PREREQUISITE FORM (TEP)

PART A

Name: _____

Sex: Male _____ Female _____

School: _____

Grade Levels Taught:	No. of Years:	Subject Matter Taught:
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

I. Academic and Professional Qualifications -- Degree requirements:

(a) List all institutions from which a degree is obtained including teacher training certificate. Include institutions where studies are currently underway.

Institution	Date	Degree	Major area of study	Minor area of study

Teacher training

(b) List important courses, workshops, seminars, relevant to your teaching experience in general and to the specific subject matter in particular.

Title and Description	Institution	Appropriate Dates

II. Relevant Experience

1. With audio-visual devices (please specify)

_____

_____

2. With instructional technique (please specify)

_____

_____

3. With type of students (please specify)

_____

_____

4. With other (please specify)

_____

_____

PART B

III. Teacher Preferences

Instructions: This part of the TEP is designed to help developers of the program identify your preferences for certain aspects of teaching and of curriculum programs. The information may be used by the developers to build more effective curricula for the students and to plan an appropriate in-service program if one is required.

Please write your preferences for the following areas:

AREAS	PREFERENCES
1. Content areas	_____
	_____
2. Methods of organizing materials	_____
	_____
3. Particular role of the teacher	_____
	_____
4. Specific type of student	_____
	_____
Other areas	
5. _____	_____
	_____

IV. Basic Assumptions of the Program

Please write the basic assumptions with regard to the following:

1. How teachers should teach this program.

_____

_____

2. How learning should take place in this program.

_____

_____

3. The importance of this subject matter field of this curriculum.

_____

_____

4. The importance of specifying objectives for this program.

_____

_____

V. Instructional Techniques

Column "A" contains a brief describtion of instructional techniques which are used in teaching various curricula. Place these in order under column "B" according to how well you perfer to use them. Assign the highest rank (1) to the teaching technique you prefer to apply most of the time.

If you have other suggestions as to different techniques or methods to the ones mentioned here please add them to the task.

"A" INSTRUCTIONAL TECHNIQUES	"B" PREFERENCE
a) Lecture method	_____
b) Group discussion	_____
c) Inquiry/discovery method	_____
d) Independent study method	_____
e) Socratic question and answer	_____
f) Recitation	_____

OTHER TECHNIQUES

g) _____ _____

VI. Teacher's Roles

Although the roles a teacher plays in the classroom arises somewhat out of the particular teaching methods prescribed for a particular curriculum, it also depends on the teacher as well. Each of us have roles which we prefer in the classroom and in which we feel most comfortable. The following list presents a few very general roles which teachers may assume in the classroom. State your preference by assigning the highest rank (1) to the role you most like to assume and the lowest rank to the role you least like to assume. If you prefer roles additional to those mentioned, please add them to the list and then make your ranking.

GENERAL TEACHER'S ROLES	PREFERENCE
a) The teacher accepts sole responsibility for controlling and directing activities, the use of materials and discipline.	_____
b) The teacher shares with the students responsibility for controlling and directing activities, the use of materials and discipline.	_____
c) The teacher leaves students to work on their own for the most part but is available to guide whenever he considers this necessary.	_____
d) The teacher leaves students completely on their own, and does not offer help or participation in the group or in individual activities of the students unless specifically requested by the students.	_____
OTHER TEACHER'S ROLES	
e) _____	_____