

Historical Migration Patterns in the Upper Fraser Region, British Columbia

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Abstract

Between 1920 and 1990, the Upper Fraser region of British Columbia experienced a period of rapid socio-economic change in which numerous small communities developed, boomed, busted, and faded away. The fortunes of these towns largely revolved around the existence of sawmills, which began to close in the 1960s as the lumber industry consolidated. Many different types of migration to and from the region occurred during this period, affected by various social, economic, and geographic factors.

This thesis examines the factors that affected migration in the region. In 2000 and 2005, two sets of oral history interviews were conducted with current and former residents who lived in the Upper Fraser region during the 1945 and 1975 period (the peak years of sawmill operations in the region). Many of the questions posed revolved around issues of migration, including why residents migrated to the area, where they came from, and reasons for their departure. This research compares the results of the two sets of interviews and displays the results using data-intensive descriptive mapping techniques. Results indicate that most residents arrived from the Prairie provinces and Nordic Europe in search of employment, and were prompted to leave because of forest industry consolidation, lack of employment opportunity outside of the lumber industry, and lack of educational facilities in the region. Rather than declining directly with sawmill closures, populations often sank in advance of mill closures when people perceived that there was no economic or social viability left in the community, and could not see a future for these places. The improvement of transportation in the 1960s also expedited this process. While this thesis does not provide exact statistics on demographics and migration volume, it contributes to a better understanding of the migration dynamics as well as the social conditions in the region, and demonstrates both the similarities and differences between the Upper Fraser region and other resource hinterlands.

Keywords: Upper Fraser region, rural migration, resource towns, resource migration, community change, historical geography, oral history

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To every store that ever sold me a Slurpee.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Between 1920 and 1990, the Upper Fraser region of British Columbia experienced a period of rapid socio-economic change in which numerous small communities developed, boomed, busted, and faded away. The fortunes of these towns largely revolved around the existence of sawmills, which began to close in the 1960s as the lumber industry consolidated. As the economies of most rural communities have historically been dependent upon single, resource-based industries, these communities are vulnerable to even moderate variations in local socio-economic pressure (Halseth 1999b, Bryant and Joseph 2001, LeBlanc 2003). These are particularly evident in the Upper Fraser region, where communities that were, in some cases fifty to seventy years old, disappeared in a relatively short period of time as a result of changes in the resource industry and in local transportation infrastructure (Penny Reunion Committee 1994, Giesbrecht 1998). The communities of the Upper Fraser are very typical of the single industry town as defined by Porteous (1987): isolated, small communities where a single company provides a bulk of the basic employment, services, and housing. The transient nature of employment in the area, the varying degrees of isolation, and the fluctuation in economic conditions meant that certain communities were more attractive for settlement (Ryser and Halseth 2004). These factors led to varying migration trends, ethnic groups, and social conditions for each Upper Fraser community.

1.2. The Upper Fraser Region

The Upper Fraser region of British Columbia is defined in this study as the region extending east along the Fraser River valley from the outskirts of the City of Prince George to the western border of Mount Robson Provincial Park, a distance of approximately 250 kilometres (Figure 1.1). Major settlement in the area was prompted by the completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in 1913, now the Canadian National Railway or CN (Fort George Herald 1913). Settlement began in earnest when grain cooperatives on the prairies began opening small sawmills along the rail line for the purpose of obtaining timber for grain elevator construction (Prince George Citizen 1919, Bernsohn 1981, Stauffer 2001). The rail line's easy access to adjacent timber made the area attractive for the forest industry and soon dozens of small sawmills sprung up along the rail line in close proximity to rail stations. Small communities arose around these stations as labour was needed to work in the woods and the sawmills (Fort George Herald 1913, Prince George Citizen 1922a, Stauffer 2001). With the advent of the Great Depression, many sawmills closed (Prince George Citizen 1930), but enough stayed open to support Upper Fraser communities.

After World War II, the second boom in the region's population occurred as new technology allowed for greater amounts of lumber extraction and deeper penetration into the forests (Vancouver Province 1957, Stauffer 2001). This required more labour in the region to haul out the greater loads of timber

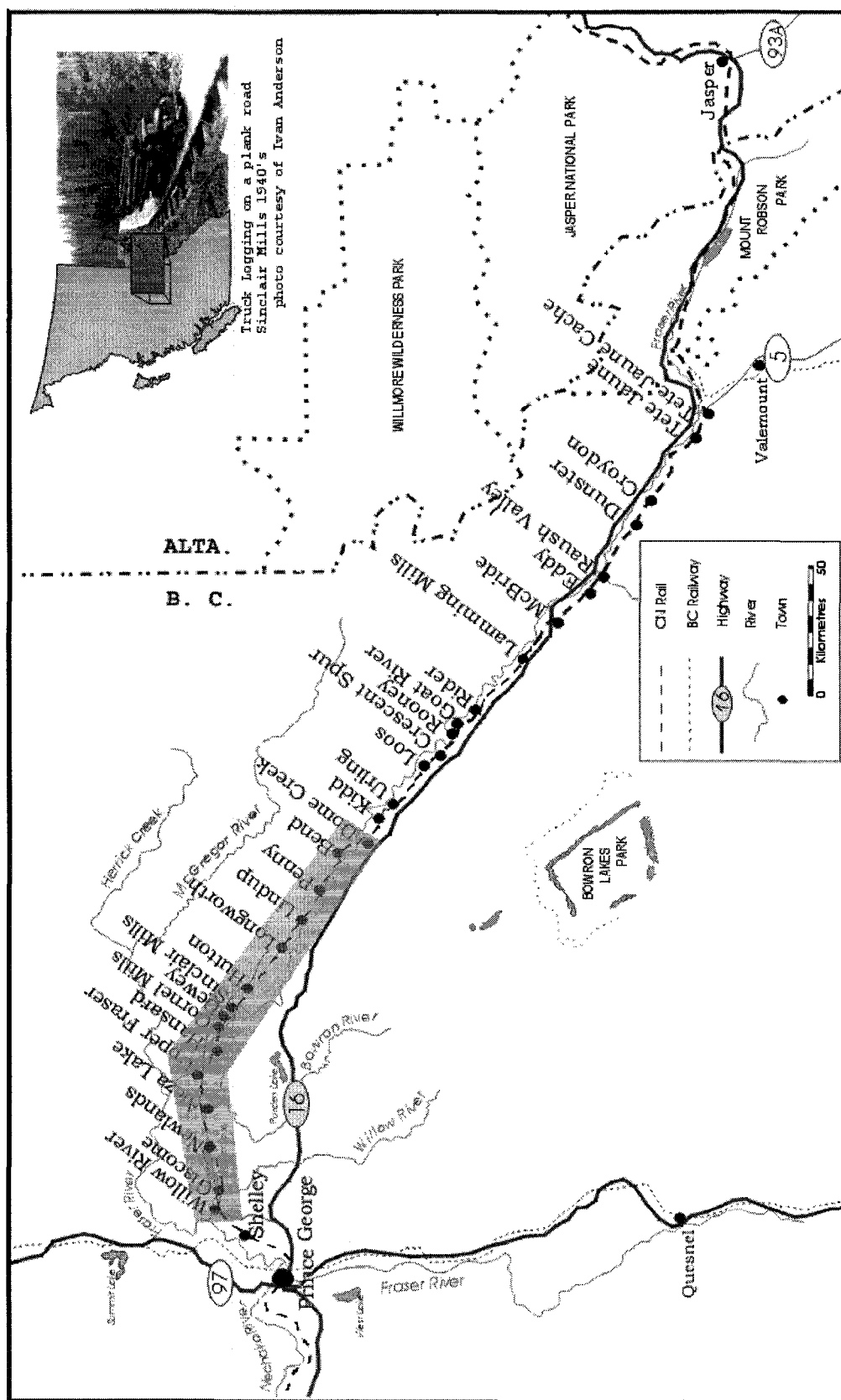


Figure 1.1. The Upper Fraser region. The study area is shaded in grey.

(Bernsohn 1981). Not only did the older communities thrive, but newer company-built towns emerged (Figure 1.2). In these towns, the major employers provided housing, infrastructure, and services to employees and their families.

As technology improved, all elements of forest harvesting and wood processing became more efficient. By the 1960s, labour had become mechanised both in the forests and in the mills, allowing companies to increase production while downsizing employees. The new technology also allowed for greater centralisation of production. Smaller sawmills were bought by larger organisations and closed as operations consolidated in a select few communities (Bernsohn 1981, Giesbrecht 1998). The formation of Northwood Lumber in 1961, and the construction of two massive pulp mills in Prince George, soon led to the closure of most small mills in the region. Northwood began purchasing the timber allotments of the various mills to service its new pulp mill (Gibson 1966, Giesbrecht 1998, Upper Fraser Historical Geography Project 2001). It was during this time that the rate of net out-migration from the Upper Fraser region increased.

With a depleted population, services such as schools, churches, and stores in smaller Upper Fraser communities closed. A large number of these towns were depleted entirely of their residents. Many of these towns were company-owned. Lamming Mills, for example, was sold off in its entirety, buildings and land intact, as a single lot (Holden 2003). Most notably, Giscome,

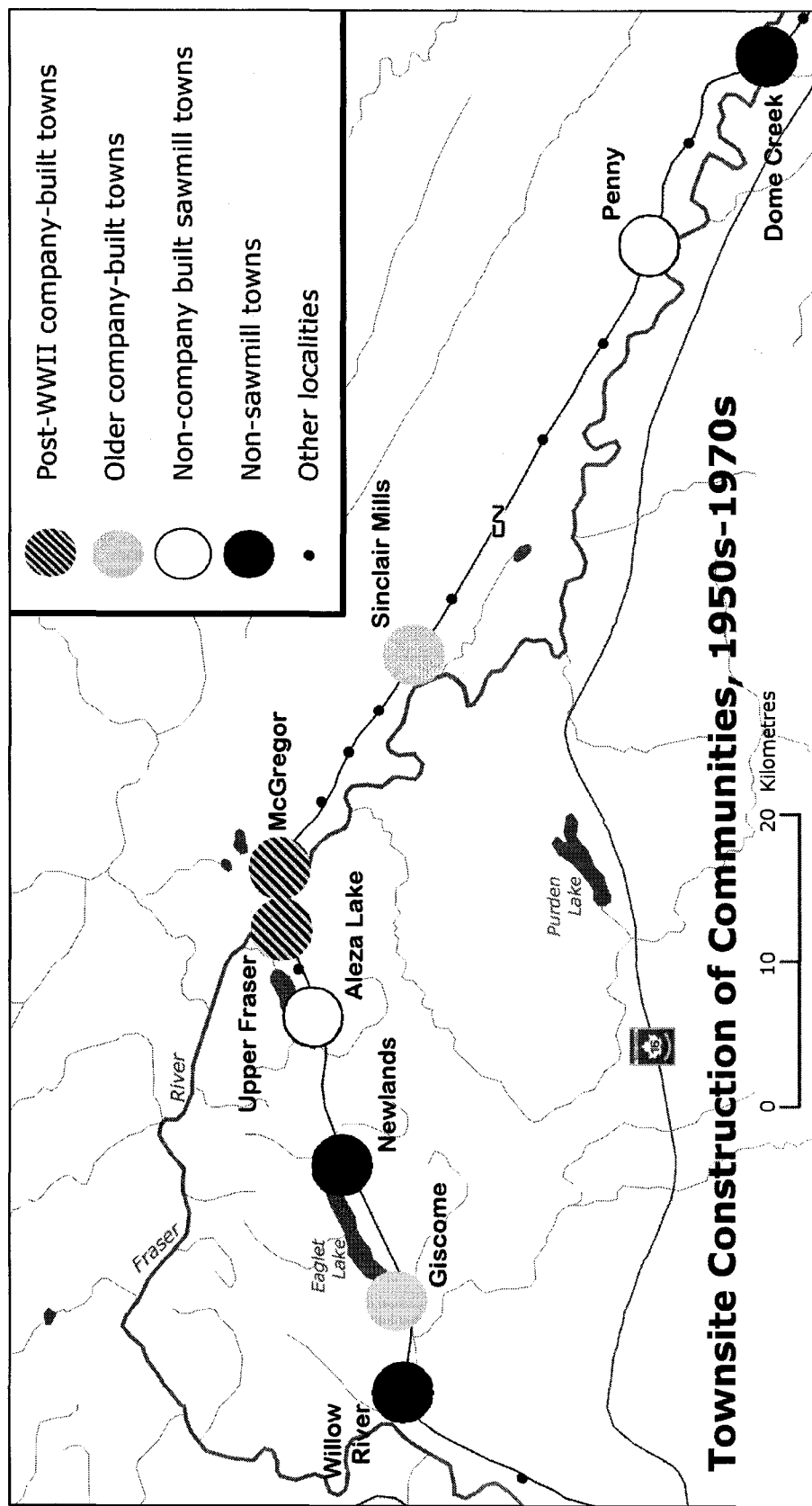


Figure 1.2. Main townsite construction of Upper Fraser communities, 1950s-1970s.

the site of the largest sawmill in the British Empire in the 1950s, was auctioned off, building by building. Buildings that were not auctioned off were levelled. Houses that were sold were either dismantled for scrap or moved to private lots elsewhere (Vancouver Sun 1975). While a small 'back-to-the-land' movement in the 1970s did rejuvenate population numbers for a brief time, most Upper Fraser communities exist only as map locations and rail posts. The population is centralised in a select few villages, the largest no greater than 750 people (Statistics Canada 2006). Lumber operations have been removed entirely to either Prince George or McBride, and the Trans-Canada Yellowhead Highway now bypasses almost every Upper Fraser community, leaving the possibility of commuting to work a tedious one. Some communities are accessed by small side roads but are not conveniently located close to services and employment. It is of great importance to document the history of these communities before the living memory of this region is lost forever.

1.3. Upper Fraser Historical Geography Project

The Upper Fraser Historical Geography Project (UFHGP) was initiated at the University of Northern British Columbia to document the historical, cultural, social, and economic geography of the area, with a focus on the impact of policy and technology on community development and associated land use. As many Upper Fraser communities continue to disappear, or already have disappeared, it is important to observe and record the nature of the factors that led to the varying demographic compositions of these communities (Halseth 2005). While internal

factors such as the development of the Upper Fraser forest industry had been covered by historical publications about the area (Walski 1985, PRC 1994, Boudreau 1998, Boudreau 2000, Jeck 2000), the various migration patterns and ethnic compositions of the communities themselves, as well as the factors which led to the differing compositions of each community, have not been studied.

1.4. Study Area

Due to time and financial restraints, only the western portion of the Upper Fraser was studied in this thesis (Figure 1.1, highlighted in grey). More importantly, the two halves of the Upper Fraser region demonstrate slightly different characteristics. The western half was largely inaccessible by road until the construction of the Yellowhead Highway in 1968 between McBride and Prince George, and was thus more reliant upon rail access (Prince George Citizen 1961b). The eastern half (from Crescent Spur eastward), centered around McBride, had more consistent road access. The western half of the Upper Fraser region was also populated by company-owned or dominated sawmill towns, whereas the eastern half of the region possessed only one company town through the post-World War II boom period (Lamming Mills) and featured many communities, such as Dunster and Croydon, whose continued existence was owed to homesteading and agriculture. The westernmost Upper Fraser community, Shelley, was also not included in this study, owing to its significantly different history as a reserve-based First Nations community.

1.5. Study Objectives

The purpose of this study is to determine the impact of socio-economic changes upon migration patterns in the Upper Fraser region. To gain an understanding of the impact of socio-economic changes, this thesis responds to the following questions:

1. To identify whether the population size and relative centrality of certain Upper Fraser communities, rather than available employment opportunities, created an attraction for migrants to these larger communities as opposed to smaller Upper Fraser communities.
2. To identify whether migration histories among certain groups can be linked to the migration from smaller communities to more centralised locations after the consolidation of the Upper Fraser sawmill industry through the 1960s.
3. To identify whether the viability of Upper Fraser communities was tied to the establishment of permanent social facilities (e.g. churches, schools, stores, community organizations).
4. To identify the influence of ethnic groups and religious organisations upon the establishment of permanent social facilities in the Upper Fraser in accordance with processes of chain migration.
5. To identify whether chain migration was evident in Upper Fraser migration processes.

1.6. Organisation of Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters, including this introduction (Chapter 1). Chapter Two contains a review of factors influencing migration to and from resource communities. Chapter Three is a description of the methodology employed in this study. This includes a justification for the selection of interview participants, the questions used in the interviews, and the method of collecting and analysing data from the interview process. Potential limitations in the study are also noted. Chapter Four is a summation of the data from the interview responses. Chapter Five is a review of the research findings, the implications these findings on migration patterns in the Upper Fraser region and relative to the rural and small town population literature, and future research considerations.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The Upper Fraser region is one of many rural resource hinterlands in Canada. The region has undergone multiple periods of economic restructuring since the 1950s which have led to out-migration and population decline. This literature review will look at the similarities and differences in economic changes, services, migration patterns, development, and decline between the Upper Fraser region and other rural resource areas. The first section will explore the vulnerabilities of resource-based communities and explore some of their basic characteristics. The next section will examine migration patterns in resource towns, including reasons why people move in and out of resource towns. Finally, the impact of social and economic conditions on resource town migration will be explored.

2.2. Resource-Based Towns

A resource town is one whose economic livelihood is dependent upon a single industry based upon resource extraction (Halseth 1999a). Most often, single-industry towns are rural, isolated and small (Bradbury 1987, Porteous 1987). These towns are often constructed by a company directly, or emerge quickly around the operations of a particular company. Many of these towns, especially those with a forestry base, have high wages but few means of alternative income (Humphrey 1990, Barnes and Hayter 1992, Halseth 1999b, Stedman *et al.* 2005). There are few jobs in the service sector, as the bulk of

jobs are in fields directly related to the major industry (Porteous 1987, Stedman *et al.* 2005). Many services, such as housing, utilities, hospitals, and stores are initially provided to workers directly by the company (Porteous 1987). These towns often have a gender-imbalanced workforce with large male populations and a high degree of labour turnover (Lucas 1971, Reiff 1997, Halseth and Sullivan 2000, Jones 2002). Randall and Ironside (1996) warn, however, that broad generalisations of life in resource towns should be avoided, as each community has its own specific circumstances. For example, Fort McMurray, Alberta is considered to have many of the characteristics of a single-industry resource town, yet has a population in excess of 60,000 residents (Rubinstein 2003).

Social factors and quality-of-life were rarely considered in the construction of towns in the Upper Fraser region (Upper Fraser towns emerged in the 1920s to 1940s), whereas more recent post-World War II resource towns in British Columbia, such as Kitimat, Mackenzie, and Tumbler Ridge, were developed with positive social conditions in mind in the hopes of creating a stable, positive environment conducive to labour retention (Bradbury 1978, Gill 1991, Hodge 1991, Walter 1997). The northern British Columbia community of Kitimat was constructed in the 1950s with the separation of automobile and pedestrians in mind. Houses were located away from major streets and towards crescents, cul-de-sacs and walking trails (Sargent 1983). High priority was given to parks, aesthetic design, and nature. Tumbler Ridge, constructed in 1981 across the Monkman Pass north of the Upper Fraser region, was created with explicit

attention to 'socially responsive planning,' featuring a condensed town core with a large community centre and neighbourhoods featuring crescents, cul-de-sacs, and walking trails. All of the features were designed to maximise social interaction (Gill 1991) and to move the town through a quick transition to a state of maturity, where both the population and economy would be stable (Halseth 1999b). This is the opposite of most Upper Fraser communities, where towns grew more directly around the mill with few blocks, parks, or branch roads (MacArthur 1983, UFHGP 2001), indicating a lack of planning.

Single-industry resource towns experience frequent changes and turnover through time. Lucas (1971) identified four stages of community development. The first two stages, 'Construction' and 'Recruitment', are generally subject to high levels of migration flows in and out of the town. As workers and families arrive, population increases quickly (Bone 1998) and there is high population turnover (Bradbury 1988). At the end of the recruitment stage, the initial construction population, largely young and male, has been replaced by a population of young families and a permanent workforce to operate the resource industry and community facilities. Migration flows, however, remain high (Lucas 1971, Halseth 1999b). After resource production reaches its apex, the third stage of Lucas' model, 'Transition', is entered, and the population begins to stabilise. With migration flows curbed, the workforce begins to age. Towns then enter the fourth stage, 'Maturity', in which job mobility is limited, company control of services and infrastructure is transferred to local residents and younger residents leave the town in search of employment elsewhere.

At this point, Lucas' model ends. Bradbury and St-Martin (1983) found the model was inadequate in some cases, as many resource towns such as Schefferville, Quebec suffered a rapid decline and closure after the curtailment of company operations. Their work added two stages to the original Lucas model. The fifth stage, 'Winding Down', involves the scaling back of company operations. This may be simply a temporary measure in response to the economic climate, or the beginning of the withdrawal of the company from the town. In the first case, there is high population turnover resulting both from initial job losses, potentially followed by population gains from a recovery. In the second case, out-migration accelerates in advance of a sixth and final stage, 'Closure', in which the major industry is removed entirely from the town, the company withdraws support of infrastructure and services, and a high level of out-migration occurs (Bradbury 1988, Bone 1998).

It should be noted that the process can be stopped at anytime during the life of the town, and that closure is not necessarily the final outcome. Many resource towns, such as Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, diversify into a mixed economy or new industry (Bone 1998, Bruce *et al.* 2004), or undergo economic restructuring. Halseth and Sullivan (2002) added a further seventh stage to the Lucas-Bradbury model, 'Alternative Futures' (Table 2.1), in order to represent efforts by local communities to diversify or create new industries to replace the original industry around which the town was based. While towns in this seventh stage may not recover to their peak population levels, a sustainable employment

plateau may be reached through community and/or government initiatives, and the town survives rather than disappears.

Table 2.1: Model of community development, Halseth and Sullivan (2002)

Town Management	Stage	Demographic / Characteristics
<i>Lucas (1971)</i> Company	Construction Recruitment	High population turnover, mostly young men Young, family-oriented population, strong ethnic mix
Community	Transition Maturity	Stable workforce Lack of job mobility, youth out-migration
<i>Bradbury (1988)</i> Company (care taker)	Winding Down Closure	Job losses Out-migration
<i>Halseth and Sullivan (2002)</i> Community	Alternative Futures	Economic transition, sustainable community development

Source: Adapted from Halseth and Sullivan (2002), Bradbury (1988), and Lucas (1971).

Much as the initial construction of resource towns is driven by outside interests (the financial interests of a company), the various stages of development resource towns enter are also driven primarily by outside factors. This vulnerability of resource-based towns is well established (Halseth 1999b, Bryant and Joseph 2001, LeBlanc 2003). When the economic advantages that lead a company to invest in a town disappear (e.g. declining resource prices, exhaustion of resource supply, increased transportation costs, competition from other locations, high cost of labour), companies based in distant centres may begin to scale back operations in these towns. In the process, jobs may be eliminated, and the spinoffs those jobs provided are lost, prompting an exodus of residents (Bradbury and St-Martin 1983, Clemenson 1992). Even when companies remain in resource towns over long periods of time, automation and streamlining of production can limit job growth or induce layoffs (Barnes and

Hayter 1992, Halseth 1999b). Isolation from urban centres leaves these communities at a disadvantage when it comes to convenient access to essential services (Humphrey 1990, Randall and Ironside 1996, Blunden *et al.* 1998, Halseth and Sullivan 2000, Rietveld and Vickerman 2003). Improved access to a larger centre can negatively affect resource towns, as commercial, educational, social, recreational, and leisure services become easier to access. As residents become more exposed to these additional services, they can become disenchanted with the lack of services in their current community and may relocate to the larger centre (Halseth and Sullivan 2000).

2.3. Quality of Life

Push/pull factors influence decisions to either relocate from or to a particular place (Halseth and Sullivan 2002). When people find that community characteristics in their current residence are less favourable compared to a new location, they will relocate (Norton 1998). Lee (1966) and Lewis (1979) add that how individuals adapt to changing circumstances also affects the decision to relocate. If one is satisfied with their current location, even a very large 'pull' from a competing location will not entice the individual to relocate.

While growing attachment to a town over time can mitigate push effects such as a faltering economy, residents often come to resource-based towns with high quality of life expectations, such as company-provided services and high wages (Halseth and Sullivan 2000, Bruce *et al.* 2004). High wages and economic prosperity are more of a pull factor in choosing to move to isolated

resource towns than they are in larger communities, and work is a top priority over social interaction (Nickels *et al.* 1976, Porteous 1976, Rubinstein 2003). Moving to a resource town may be seen as a short-term stay for economic benefits for some, before relocating with their savings back home or to a different location (Bradbury and St-Martin 1983, Halseth and Sullivan 2000, Burns 2003). Those unwilling to adjust to a perceived lower quality of life as a result of the economic vulnerability of resource-based towns are more inclined to leave (Pinfield and Etherington 1992, Halseth and Sullivan 2000). Abrupt economic change, accompanied by lack of services and infrastructure, in isolated resource communities often leaves residents with no means of support and thus precipitates out-migration (Blunden *et al.* 1998, Burrows 2001).

Isolation from services and larger centres often play a large role in creating 'push' and 'pull' effects. Mackenzie is a resource town located 150 kilometres to the north of Prince George, with a history of early isolation similar to the Upper Fraser region. Only the very western portion of the Upper Fraser region had road access, and travelling by train to Prince George was a two-day round trip due to the train schedule (Prince George Citizen 1960 and 1961d, UFGP 2001). Similarly, Mackenzie's only road access until 1970 was a one-lane logging road. When transportation links between Prince George and Mackenzie were improved, people began to travel to Prince George not just for necessities but for recreation and leisure as well. Eventually, some residents decided to relocate entirely to Prince George and simply commute to Mackenzie for work each day (Halseth and Sullivan 2000).

Even without a major economic change, those not traditionally employed in the primary industry (e.g. single women, retirees) often find the lack of services as a major push factor (Porteous 1976, Pinfield and Etherington 1982). Many residents who stay for longer periods of time grow attached to their communities, noting increased emotional attachment over time (Knox 1995, Everitt and Gfellner 1996), improvements in social amenities as the towns mature (Rubinstein 2003) or in the case of more recently planned communities, the quality of the amenities constructed at the town's outset (Porteous 1976, Gill 1991). Ultimately, it is the individual's perception of quality of life in a location, a perception varying from person to person, that plays a large role in the decision to relocate (Lewis 1979, Bowles and Beesley 1991).

The strengths of cooperation, interaction and shared community values are indicative of the social cohesion in a community (Beckley 1995, Desjardins *et al.* 2002). Social cohesion is defined as "the extent to which people respond collectively to achieve their valued outcomes and to deal with the economic, social, political, or environmental stresses (positive or negative) that affect them (Reimer 2002, 13)." When residents of a town or community are able to participate and interact together on a regular basis, bonds with fellow residents, and with the town or community itself, are formed (Robinson 1990, Duhaime *et al.* 2004, Sullivan and Halseth 2004). This is a representation of Tönnies' concept of *Gemeinschaft* (loosely translated as 'community'). *Gemeinschaft* is characterised by strong interpersonal relationships, strong family units, strong social institutions, and small to moderate divisions of labour (Tönnies 2001).

This feeling of community can be difficult to achieve in resource towns because of high labour turnover and transience (Gill and Smith 1985, Halseth 1999b). Recent resource towns such as Kitimat, Mackenzie, and Tumbler Ridge were constructed in a manner where the physical design encouraged interaction and cohesion, and thus helped stabilise the population (Gill 1991, Hodge 1991).

2.4. Economic Migration

The next two sections will explore how economic factors, the availability of services, and opportunities for social interaction, function as push-pull factors influencing migration in small towns. The emergence of an economic opportunity for harvesting abundant commodities, combined with relative isolation, can establish a community as a local centre of economic activity. In this scenario, the creation of employment entices new migrants to the community and the isolation of the community from other centres forces the development of community infrastructure to service the population (Bone 1998, Rubinstein 2003, Bruce *et al.* 2004). In Mackenzie, the initially poor conditions of the only highway access in the 1960s and 1970s meant that commuting to Prince George was problematic and thus kept residents confined to Mackenzie. Residents became dependent upon the services provided in-town (Halseth and Sullivan 2000).

Nyström (1998) used the concept of a magnetic field model, in which an attraction field of positive factors forms in and around places with growing populations, and applied it to rural communities in Sweden. Parallels with conditions in the Upper Fraser region include the concept of the single-

industry/company town; the suppression of opportunities for residents in company-owned towns (e.g. well-paying employment beyond the dominant industry; the ability to own land and housing); and the sensitivity of company towns to external influences (e.g. global commodity prices). Similar to Halseth and Sullivan (2002), Nyström argued that collective and individual action at the local level can result in diversion from outside influences, creating new paths of opportunity for resource towns. Nyström also acknowledged the influence of previously existing infrastructure networks on the formation of new networks and movement. He defined six qualitative indicators as the foci of the model: natural resources; the age and sex of the population, and its composition; the geographical situation of a region; the size and structure of the housing pattern in a region and the region's position in the international urban system; the proportion of employment in agriculture, forestry, industry, and services; and the stock of capital in trade, industry, infrastructure, and human capital.

Millward (2005) examined rural population change in Nova Scotia with a multiple variable regression with six variables, and showed how resource-industry employment and distance from urban centres accounted for two-thirds of Nova Scotian rural population change in the 1990s. These variables include immigration, unemployment, median household income, percentage of the labour force in resource industries, distance to urban centres and population density. Millward found that population change is strongly related to unemployment rate, income and population density. Although he found that both residents involved in resource industries, and rural residents with close proximity to urban areas, are

the two biggest groups influencing rural population change in Nova Scotia, the two groups are not necessarily related to one another.

Halseth and Sullivan (2000) and Parkins *et al.* (2001) expanded the framework to include smaller communities that have not established themselves as service centres in their region, but merely as local communities whose existence is dependent on the employment provided by local forestry operations. Researching towns in the boreal forest of Saskatchewan, Parkins *et al.* (2001) developed an indicator evaluation framework that allowed interview participants to assign weights to 22 various factors (grouped into 'natural amenities', 'services', 'sense of community', 'recreation' and 'economics') and combined these results to derive a system of weights within the framework of a traditional social science study. Parkins *et al.* found that it was necessary to have community participation in order to determine the proper indicators to use in examining individual towns, as each town had its own circumstances despite their geographical similarities. The three towns in Parkins' studies were shown to prioritise the availability of services, quality of life, natural amenities, and community stability. Applying a variant of this weight system in a migration study or model is an intriguing possibility, as it would help to lend statistical credence to the conclusions.

Halseth and Sullivan (2000, 2002) also explore the phenomenon of commuting between a resource-based community and a larger service centre, as well as what occurs as a community's population ages and how this affects

community infrastructure. A lack of services required by older residents, such as hospital, emergency care, pharmacies, and seniors' centre, can prompt older residents to relocate.

2.5. Social Migration

Invariably, a social dynamic will develop within the town that may or may not make residence there attractive for workers and employers, regardless of the town's design (Bradbury 1978, White 2004). Accelerated development in a short period of time creates bonds between residents and a greater sense of community (Hodge 1991, Halseth and Sullivan 2002). In Tumbler Ridge, many of these relationships developed via the workplace, regardless of geographic proximity to their neighbours (Gill 1991). In the Upper Fraser region, this occurred as the lack of formal support systems in their isolated locations forced community members to rely upon each other for support and survival (UFHGP 2001). PRC (1994) and Boudreau (1998) both detail how groups of migrants were transformed into new entities with new relationships and interactions upon settling in the Upper Fraser and becoming dependent upon other people for social support in a poorly-serviced area. Residents became dependent upon the services provided in Prince George.

Other major influences on the decision to migrate are familial, ethnic, and cultural ties (Rasporich 1982, Norman and Rundblom 1988, Zucchi 1988, Card 1994, Saarinen 1999, Potestio 2000). The growth of the community may entice further in-migration via familial or ethnic links (Halseth 1999b, Saarinen 1999).

This growth is necessary if a community is to grow beyond dependency upon a resource base into a more economically diversified community (Reed and Gill 1997). It has been suggested that people are willing to endure harsher economic conditions if family members or persons similar in ethnic background are present (Rasporich 1982, Lehr 1996, Hale 1997, Wegge 1998). When one person or family experiences economic success in a region, it is common for a family or fellow villagers to join them looking for the same success (Widdis 1998, Potestio 2000). There is some evidence for this in the eastern part of the Upper Fraser region but the region as a whole has not been examined. Previous oral interviews (UFHGP 2001), community histories (Walski 1985, PRC 1994), and personal memoirs (Jeck 2000) have shown that there are differences between ethnic groups among the communities in the area. For example, this literature identifies Portuguese residents as constituting a large presence in the western half of the Upper Fraser region but not in the east, and Germans playing a large role in the eastern half but not in the west (PRC 1994, UFHGP 2001). This, however, does not provide insight as to what led these groups to these particular areas, or how these groups found out about the region, as much of this Upper Fraser literature focuses upon individual stories rather than groups. Also lacking in Upper Fraser literature is information on the migration of visible minorities in the region. The presence of Japanese, Chinese and First Nations residents are mentioned only in passing (Boudreau 1998).

Closely related to issues of culture are issues of religion. From a community standpoint, churches can often fill a role as a meeting or gathering

place for residents (Card 1994, Saarinen 1999, UFHGP 2001). In some towns, adherence to a specific church helps reinforce ethnic identity and binds communities together. Italians in the resource hinterland of northwestern Ontario (Potestio 2000) and Mennonites in the Prairie provinces (Epp-Tiessen 1982, Redekop 1996) used the church as a method of preserving cultural traits, traditions and language brought with them from the old country. Italians in Toronto (Zucchi 1988), Russian Jews in Manitoba (Trachtenberg 1990), and liberal Finns in Ontario's nickel belt (Saarinen 1999) are all examples of groups that found new unity responding to outward discrimination via religious organisations. For Manitoban Jews, ill-fated attempts at creating agricultural communities led them to cluster in Winnipeg, where the chances of both personal and cultural survival were perceived as greater (Trachtenberg 1990). Many Finns in the Sudbury area discriminated against because of alignment with socialist and communist movements left these movements and entered Finnish-language churches. Publicly giving up ideological stances and entering a socially acceptable institution such as a Protestant church allowed these residents to remain in a setting where they could still be identified as Finnish, yet avoid persecution and deportation for their political beliefs (Saarinen 1999).

On the other hand, ethnic identity can be diluted by the surrounding population's influence, as has been the case with many Scandinavian communities that were absorbed into the mainstream population with relative ease via interaction through work, education and church (Paulsen 1974, Norman and Runblom 1988). It can also fracture into new identities, as with various

religious sects in the Dutch Ontarian community (Schryer 1998, Van Dijk 1998). In the first case, the community itself is absorbed into a larger group; in the second, community cohesion is lost and the original community is fractured into smaller communities where religion is more important than ethnicity. From previous literature, it is known that most Upper Fraser region towns typically had one church. The relative lack of churches forced many residents of disparate backgrounds to congregate together (PRC 1994, UFHGP 2001). The literature does not examine the role of religion in the Upper Fraser in depth, nor whether religion was considered an important influence on migration in the region.

2.6. Exploring Migration to Resource-Based Towns

Previous studies have studied migration to viable resource-based towns (Walter and Wilkerson 1998, Parkins *et al.* 2001, Renkow 2003), and patterns of migration influenced by economic factors versus social factors (Bradbury 1978, Mawhiney & Pitblado 1999). LeBlanc (2003) does consider a small number of chain migration incidences in the company town of Cassiar. Halseth (1999b) examined larger resource-based communities in central British Columbia that had existed over multiple generations. These towns had endured many economic and social changes yet survived and often grew with a reasonably established service sector. His migration questions and criteria demonstrate an interest in tracking the residential migration habits of persons employed in resource-based industries. The criteria examined respondents' residency in their earlier, previous and current communities, the types of communities (by size and

by metropolitan versus non-metropolitan status), the length of stay in each community, reasons for coming to each community (coded into 'born/parent', 'economic/employment', 'social/environmental/family' and 'other'), and reasons for leaving each community (coded in the above manner). The results suggest that most migrants moved to the region for employment opportunities, and had moved to the area from other rural and small town locations.

No study has yet studied ethnic migration patterns, for example, in a large, rural British Columbia region, containing many ostensibly abandoned communities, over the entire length of the area's settlement. It also remains to be studied whether ethnic compositions within migration flows can be accounted for alongside the impact of community infrastructure, especially with regards to transportation access and religion.

2.7. Summary

In conclusion, this literature review has explored the economic vulnerability of resource-based communities and the factors that affect community sustainability and the migration attractiveness of resource-based towns based upon economic factors. In my research, I work to expand insights into the influence that various factors have upon migration to and from sparsely populated, resource-based areas. Specifically, I look at migration in a sparsely-populated region of British Columbia where many of the towns are no longer economically viable. I hope to contribute to forming a template for future migration models of such regions that incorporate both economic factors and

social factors. This thesis examines these issues by using input from residents who were present during the boom, bust and closure of these communities. The compiled data will demonstrate push/pull migration factors that are unique to the Upper Fraser region. I intend to demonstrate that the study methods employed will be useful not just in further study of the Upper Fraser region, but also in migration studies of other similar resource-based areas.

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

I selected a semi-structured interview-based methodology to examine Upper Fraser residents' experiences regarding social conditions and migration patterns in the region. I gathered data from multiple interview subjects across a variety of Upper Fraser communities to enhance accuracy and validity.

Triangulation, the process of using multiple sources of information with different viewpoints to enhance accuracy (Yegidis *et al.* 1999), was employed by examining the previous set of UFHGP interviews from 2000 and 2001 in order to compare and combine results with the 2005 thesis interviews. This was done to supplement the results of the 2005 interviews, and to obtain a larger sample size for each question in order to enhance the credibility of the results.

3.2. Selection of Methodology

A semi-structured interview-based methodology was selected based on the belief that residents would be the most knowledgeable sources of information about social conditions and migration patterns in the region. While previous interviews provided an overview of life in the Upper Fraser region, migration issues were not fully explored within the interview framework. One-on-one interviews were selected to allow the participants to convey thoughts and feelings without being influenced or compromised by others, as can be the case with group-based interviews (Yegidis *et al.* 1999). Semi-structured interviews allow specific topics and questions to be covered while still allowing the participants

leeway in how to respond (Bryman and Teevan 2005). The open-ended nature of the questions (see Appendix C) and face-to-face nature of the interviews meant that answers were not structured and that respondents were allowed to answer questions in the manner of their choice (Li 1981, Halseth and Sullivan 2000). The interviews also serve as oral histories, preserving first-hand experiences of Upper Fraser residents who may not be available at a later date. Following each interview, a two-page questionnaire (see Appendix E) was given to each participant to further clarify the opinions and feelings of participants about the importance of various factors in their decision to move to or from the Upper Fraser region.

3.3. Selection of Participants

Interview participants were selected from a database of names created from the previous set of interviews conducted in the UFHGP in 2000 and 2001 (UFHGP 2001). Oral histories and interviews in the UFHGP were examined to determine each participant's ability to aid in the study, the main qualifier being participation in a migration movement within the Upper Fraser region between 1945 and 1975. Informants were selected based upon their prominence in, and knowledge of, their town(s), and to those who lived within the region for a suitable length of time observing changes in their town(s) as determined by the previous round of UFHGP oral history interviews. To manage the time and costs of research, interviewee selection criteria also included those people with a current residence either in or near the Prince George/western Upper Fraser

region. In addition, snowball sampling was used to identify participants who were not in the original database, but were described by other participants as appropriate subjects for exploring migration issues in the Upper Fraser region. Snowball sampling assumes that a random sample is not possible, especially when the sampling frame is a shifting or transient population (Bryman and Teevan 2005). As this research is an exploratory study into migration in the Upper Fraser region, a snowball sample is appropriate (Yegidis *et al.* 1999). By obtaining new interview contacts via current interview contacts, it allows researchers to make contact with persons who participants themselves consider to have knowledge on the subject, rather than the researchers relying upon their own assumptions (McCall and Simmons 1969, Babbie 1979). In total, 18 interviews were conducted with 24 former residents (consisting of seven married couples, five males and five females) who had lived in nine towns in the western Upper Fraser region (Table 3.1). All participants had either moved to, within, or from Upper Fraser communities at some point between 1945 and 1975.

Table 3.1: Community affiliation of 2005 thesis interview subjects (multiple affiliations permitted)

Response	n=	% of interviewees
Aleza Lake	9	33.3%
Penny	4	14.8%
Sinclair Mills	4	14.8%
Dome Creek	3	11.1%
Giscome	3	11.1%
Upper Fraser	2	7.4%
Longworth	1	3.7%
Newlands	1	3.7%
Willow River	1	3.7%
TOTAL	28	100.0%

Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interview subjects identified more than one affiliation if they had resided in multiple communities. Total number of 2005 interview subjects = 24.

3.4. Interview Methodology

The series of interviews conducted for this study took place between 30 May and 10 November 2005. Prior to the selection of interviewees, the research project, all interview questions, and questionnaires were approved by the UNBC Research Ethics Board. This is a standard requirement for research attached to UNBC. Each participant was allowed to choose a venue for their interview where they would feel most comfortable and that was located conveniently for them to access; in every case, participants chose their homes. Prior to each interview, each participant was informed of the purpose and conditions of the interview and presented with an information sheet detailing the nature of the UFHGP (Appendix B).

The participant and interviewer then went over the legal consent form (Appendix C). The consent form alerted the participant that all participation was voluntary and confidential, and that no participant names would be attached to data or mentioned in the actual thesis. Consent was obtained before each interview in order to allow the release of information into the study and to allow the preservation of the interviews for further research. Those unable to give written consent gave authorised verbal consent in the presence of a witness. As participation was voluntary, all participants were allowed to withdraw from the interview at any time. Participants had the option to not answer a question if they felt uncomfortable doing so. All interviews were tape recorded for the purpose of oral history preservation and for analytical purposes; this process is consistent with the previous UFHGP procedures (UFHGP 2000). All potential interviewees

were alerted to this during the arranging of interviews, and all who signed the consent form conceded to releasing the oral history tapes to the Northern British Columbia Archives after a period of seven years.

The interviews consisted of a series of semi-structured, open-ended questions inquiring into various social and personal experiences in order to explore issues of migration in the Upper Fraser region (Appendix D). The open-ended nature of the questions was designed to allow the participants to elaborate on any point as needed, and to allow follow-up questions to be asked in order to clarify a point or delve further into a topic of interest (Li 1981, Halseth and Sullivan 2000, Bryman and Leevan 2005). To explore historical migration patterns in the Upper Fraser region, interviewees were asked questions about community demographics, in-migration and out-migration, as well as service availability, economic factors, social factors and cultural factors that may influence migration decision-making.

The first section of the interview (questions 1-3) concerned the size and demographic distribution of the town in which interviewees lived. Questions in the second section (questions 4-9) asked about migration into Upper Fraser communities. Participants were asked to recall any migration patterns or trends in their communities, including the reasons for moving to the region, and to relate these trends, if any, to their own experiences in the Upper Fraser region. Those participants who were migrants to the area were asked about their previous

residence and their reasons for moving to the area. The next section (questions 11-16) involved out-migration patterns in Upper Fraser region communities.

The second half of the interview was divided into three sections to explore social and physical conditions within the communities that functioned as specific stimuli for individuals to come to or leave the Upper Fraser region. The first section (questions 17-21) explored resident access to services and transportation, as previous research has indicated the important role that services can provide in retaining residents (Porteous 1976, Blunden *et al.* 1998, Halseth and Sullivan 2000, Burrows 2001, Bruce *et al.* 2004). As sawmills were the dominant economic force in the communities (MacArthur 1983, Walski 1985, Giesbrecht 1998, Stauffer 2001, UFHGP 2001), questions concerning the involvement with and impacts of the sawmill in each community were posed. The next section (questions 22-27) asked participants to describe social conditions in their communities, looking at how residents felt about their communities and how they adapted to changes, as well as the support systems created among residents in the communities. These questions transitioned into the final section (questions 28-32), which specifically asked questions about cultural and ethnic issues, which is of importance because of the impact ethnicity and religion have had on migration to other rural regions and resource towns (Rasporich 1982, Norman and Rundblom 1988, Zucchi 1988, Card 1994, Hale 1997, Wegge 1998, Potestio 2000).

3.5. Questionnaire Methodology

At the conclusion of each interview, each participant was given a questionnaire (see Appendix E). Each questionnaire was divided into two pages. The first page asked the question, 'How important were the following factors in your decision to relocate to/remain in the Upper Fraser?' A list of thirteen factors derived from the previous UFHGP interviews and previous migration literature followed, as well as an option for 'Other' that allowed the participant to input a factor not listed on the sheet if desired. The second page asked the question, 'How important were the following factors in your decision to leave the Upper Fraser?' The same list of thirteen factors followed. The 'Other' option was again present on the second page. Each factor on both pages had four possible answers: 'Major', 'Somewhat', 'Unimportant', and 'N/A' (Not Applicable) in a modified Likert format (Parkins *et al.* 2001, Oh 2003). Participants were asked to select only one answer per option. All questionnaires were submitted anonymously so as to avoid bias in survey result compilation. Those unable to fill out the questionnaires manually had the questionnaire dictated to them in the presence of a witness who verified the answers.

3.6. Method of Analysis

The descriptive cross-case method of analysis, in which answers from different participants to common questions were grouped together, was used to analyse the interviews (Babbie 1979, Yin 1984). This involved identifying, coding and categorising responses to data (Babbie 1979, Hodson 1999, Bryman and

Teevan 2005). Every interview was assigned a number to assure anonymity, and then each paragraph within each interview was assigned a number. Each of these paragraphs was then coded with as many numbers as necessary to describe its contents. All responses were checked to ensure consistency, and, when available, against the previous UFHGP interviews, census records, newspaper articles, community histories, and other literature for triangulation and assessment purposes.

After all questionnaires were completed, responses were assigned numerical values accordingly: 'Major'=5, 'Somewhat'=3, 'Unimportant'=1. Total scores for each factor were added up for each questionnaire and then averaged to produce a score indicating the relative importance of each factor (Parkins *et al.* 2001, Halseth *et al.* 2005).

3.7. Secondary Interview Analysis and Synthesis

After trends had been garnered from the 2005 thesis interviews, the results were compared and combined with those observed in the original oral history interview transcripts (UFHGP 2001). All 83 of the original Upper Fraser interview transcripts were also examined in order to determine their suitability for this study. Any interviews with residents who had taken part in the 2005 thesis interviews were not examined in order to avoid redundancies in data collection. Interviews with residents who had only lived in the eastern part of the Upper Fraser region were also not examined. Any residents who had moved away from the area before the end of World War II, or moved to the area after 1975, were

not considered (Figure 3.1). In total, an additional 31 interviews with 35 residents (consisting of three married couples, sixteen males and thirteen females) were analysed in order to derive pertinent information (Table 3.2). Between the two sets of interviews, there were 49 interviews with 59 residents (consisting of ten married couples, 21 males and 18 females) from the western Upper Fraser area available for use in this study (Table 3.3).

Table 3.2: Community affiliation of selected 1999-2001 interview subjects (multiple affiliations permitted)

Response	n=	% of interviewees
Penny	11	29.7%
Sinclair Mills	6	16.2%
Dome Creek	5	13.5%
Giscome	4	10.8%
Upper Fraser	4	10.8%
Willow River	3	8.1%
Aleza Lake	1	2.7%
Bend	1	2.7%
Longworth	1	2.7%
McGregor	1	2.7%
TOTAL	37	100.0%

Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interview subjects identified more than one affiliation if they had resided in multiple communities.

Total number of selected 1999-2001 interview subjects = 35.

Given the more focused nature of the 2005 questions, the two sets of interviews did not have the same questions that were posed to the residents, although many of the 2005 questions were derived in part from the original set in order to ensure consistency between the two sets of interviews (Appendix F). In all, the results of twenty-six of the thirty-three 2005 questions asked were directly compared and combined with the 1999-to-2001 oral histories (Table 3.4). Results from the original set of interview transcripts were analysed and coded in

Table 3.3: Community affiliation of all selected interview subjects (multiple affiliations permitted)

Response	n=	% of interviewees
Penny	15	23.1%
Aleza Lake	10	15.4%
Sinclair Mills	10	15.4%
Dome Creek	8	12.3%
Giscome	7	10.8%
Upper Fraser	6	9.2%
Willow River	4	6.2%
Longworth	2	3.1%
Bend	1	1.5%
McGregor	1	1.5%
Newlands	1	1.5%
TOTAL	65	100.0%

Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interview subjects identified more than one affiliation if they had resided in multiple communities.
Total number of all selected interview subjects = 59.

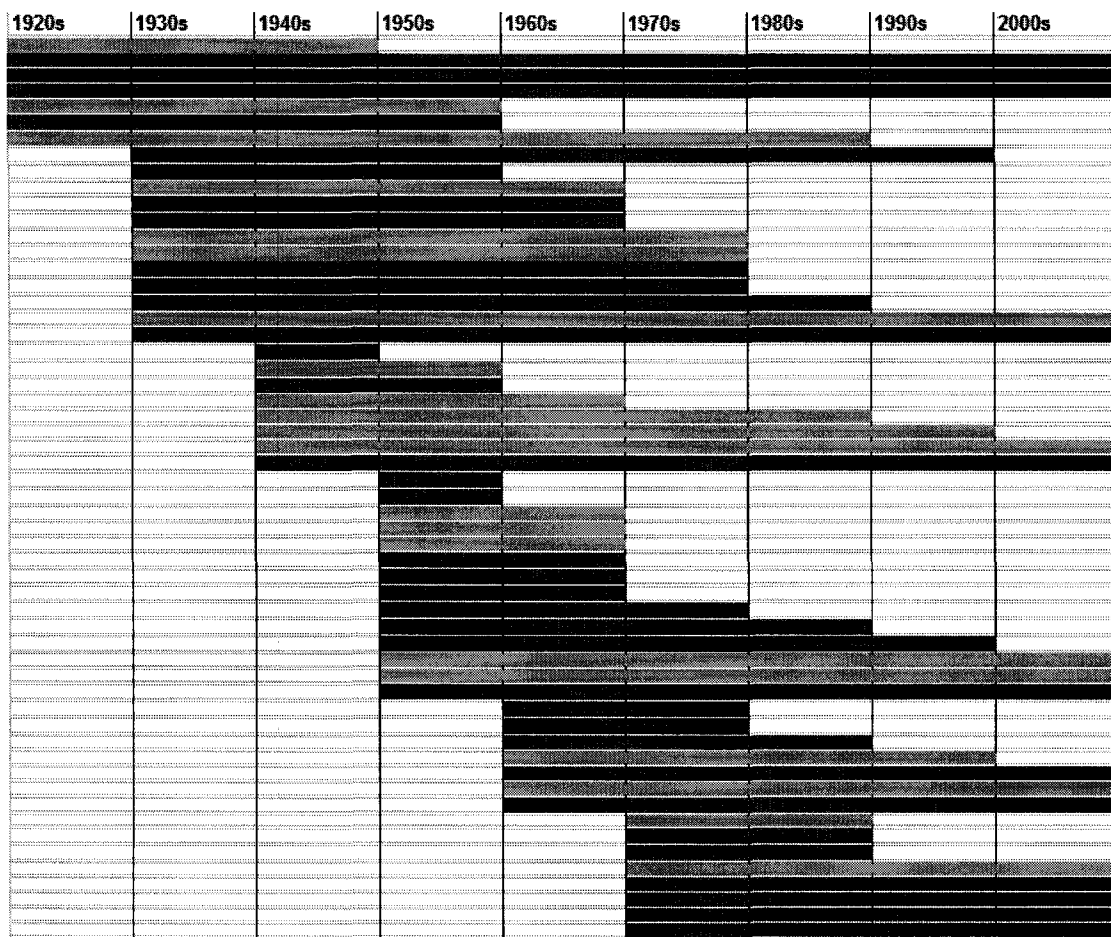


Figure 3.1. Duration of residency of interview participants. Original interview participants = dark; 2005 interview participants = light.

the same manner as the 2005 thesis interviews. The results of the two interviews sets were then combined to produce the final data for analysis.

Table 3.4: Comparison of questions asked in 1999-2001 oral histories and 2005 thesis interviews

Question	Asked in 1999-2001	Asked in 2005
1. Do you know what the approximate population was when you lived there?	Yes	Yes
2. Would you say that the population was mostly young, old, male, female, or evenly distributed?	Yes	Yes
3. Did people move in and out a lot, or was the population more permanent?	Yes	Yes
4. Were there any efforts by community members/groups to recruit new residents to _____?	No	Yes
5. Where did most people in the community come from? (by province or country)		Yes
6. When did you move to _____?	Yes	Yes
7. Why did you move to _____?	Yes	Yes
8. Did you move to _____ strictly for employment? To be close to family/friends/countrymen? Both? Other reasons?		Yes
9. How did you feel about the move to _____?	Yes	Yes
10. How did you first hear about _____?		Yes
11. When did you move away from _____?	Yes	Yes
12. What was the main reason for people leaving _____?	Yes	Yes
13. Why did you leave _____?	Yes	Yes
14. Where did you move to?	Yes	Yes
15. Do you know of any groups of people that moved <i>en masse</i> from _____ to another town after the sawmills closed?	Yes	Yes
16. Was it difficult to find new employment (afterwards)?	No	Yes
17. What services do you remember?	Yes	Yes
18. Do you know of any co-workers who commuted into work from other towns? Vice versa?	Yes	Yes
19. Distance matrix of Upper Fraser communities and Prince George (in kilometres)		Yes
20. Was access to transportation a factor in your decision to move to _____?	No	Yes
21. Did the closure of the sawmill make it impossible to live in _____?	No	Yes
22. Did certain community services (e.g. schools, stores, churches) play an especially important role in keeping the community together (other than the mill)?		Yes
23. Were you assisted by family members/community organizations/religious groups/fellow countrymen/other in your move to or adjustment to life in _____?	No	Yes
24. How did the lifestyle (in your new town) compare to the lifestyle in _____?	Yes	Yes
25. Did the town have any community get-togethers, for instance, an annual picnic?	Yes	Yes
26. What social organizations existed in _____?	Yes	Yes
27. What role did the sawmill(s) play in community functions?	Yes	Yes
28. How long did it take residents to adjust to the lifestyle in _____?	No	Yes
29. Did religion play an important role within the community?	No	Yes
30. Did you know of any newly arrived foreign immigrants in _____?	Yes	Yes
31. Were there any visible minorities in the community?	Yes	Yes
32. Did you notice any separation between rich and poor residents, or separation between people of different race or ethnicity?	Yes	Yes
33. Did people of a particular ethnic group help recruit migrants to the area?	Yes	Yes

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

3.8. Limitations

Given the relatively advanced age of potential interviewees - many no longer being resident in the area - the resultant pool was small. Capturing a large portion of this pool was possible by spreading out interviews between May and November 2005. In fact, none of the people selected as potential interview participants declined to participate. This time spread, however, may have provided participants with the opportunity to talk to each other and remove the air of confidentiality from the interviews, and also allow participants to influence each other's responses. The distance constraints on research also meant that there was a lack of interviewees who had completely left the Prince George/Upper Fraser region, which may have impacted the results of questions regarding out-migration. The age of the interviewees may have also affected the ability to recall detailed information about various subjects, especially with regard to events taking place 30 to 60 years before the interview.

Utilising the results of the initial set of UFHGP interviews meant that responses to seven of the questions posed in the 2005 interview set would not have a comparable sample size compared to other questions, as they were not asked in the original set. Some questions in the original set of interviews were also posed differently, using six different interviewers to conduct the various interviews, as opposed to the 2005 thesis interviews which were conducted more consistently by one interviewer. Some questions in the original set had been skipped in individual interviews for reasons of time, whereas no questions were skipped in the 2005 set.

3.9. Summary

A semi-structured interview-based methodology was selected for this research to examine Upper Fraser residents' experiences regarding social conditions and migration patterns in the region. Key informants were selected for their ability to relate changing social, migration and economic conditions in the Upper Fraser region. In addition to interview data, data extracted from questionnaires given to all participants were used. By combining qualitative results from open-ended interviews with quantitative results from questionnaires, both obtained from members of the Upper Fraser community, insight was gained into the social migration of Upper Fraser residents during the 1945-1970 time span.

4. Results

4.1. Introduction

This chapter summarises the responses to the 32 questions and two survey sheets posed to interviewees. Information concerning migration on the Upper Fraser region was gathered from residents with first-hand knowledge of the area. Results for each question have been grouped into sections on demographics, in-migration, out-migration, services and access and socio-cultural issues. These sections are followed by a section summarising the results of the two-page questionnaires.

As stated in Chapter 3 (Methodology), all results are based upon the responses of 59 current and former Upper Fraser residents in 49 separate interviews, except for tables 4.4, 4.16, 4.19, 4.20, 4.22, 4.27, and 4.28, which are based solely upon the 18 separate interviews with 24 current and former residents conducted in 2005.

4.2. Demographics

As none of the towns in the study area were ever incorporated, corresponding census data are unreliable. During the span of this study (1945 to 1975), census enumeration areas (the area covered by one census canvasser) in unincorporated rural regions were often very large, encompassing many communities. These enumeration areas also varied in size and location depending on the individual canvasser. Up to and including the 1996 census, enumeration areas also served as the areas by which census data were

disseminated (Statistics Canada 2001). Thus, any data provided from these censuses are not specific enough for use in studying the Upper Fraser region at the town level. To help gauge the size of these towns, interviewees were asked to identify the population of the town where they lived, as well as the population of other towns in the area (Table 4.1). Averaging the population numbers given by interviewees produced the final estimates of population size.

When responses from all sites are considered, it appears that towns did not exceed 150-200 people during the pre-World War II era. Figure 4.1 displays, as indicated by interview participants, the average population of Upper Fraser communities in the 1940s, the beginning of the economic boom years. Giscome was the largest community at over 600 people. Penny's population was around 300 people, and Willow River and Sinclair Mills both contained around 200 people at this stage, large enough to sustain basic services like general stores and post offices.

As the boom years began in the 1950s, Penny continued to grow as Penny Spruce Mills accelerated its operations (Figure 4.2). Giscome had lost a small number of people, but was still relatively large at a population of about 400 to 600 people. Sinclair Mills was growing with its large spruce mill. Dome Creek was also growing from increases in farming and rail employment.

Table 4.1: Do you know what the approximate population was when you lived there?

	Willow River		Giscome		Aleza Lake		Upper Fraser		McGregor		Sinclair Mills		Longworth		Penny		Dome Creek	
	Response	n=	Response	n=	Response	n=	Response	n=	Response	n=	Response	n=	Response	n=	Response	n=	Response	n=
1920s	50	1			50-100	1					150-200	1	60-80	1	200	1		
1930s	100	1	200	1	100-150	1					150-200	1			200	1	150	1
1940s					50	1	300	1			200	1			200-300	1		
					100	1					210	1			300-500	1		
			600-700	1	250	1					300	1			600	1		
1950s	200	1	300-350	1	50	1	300	1			300	1			200-300	1	200	1
			600-700	1	100	2									300	1	200-300	1
			750	1	150-200	1					300-400	1			500	2		
					200	1									600	3		
1960s			300-350	1	100	1	300	1			300	1			600-700	2	200	1
			300-400	1							300-400	1			500	1	200-300	1
1970s			600-700	1														
			100-200	1	70-80	1	200-300	1			50	1			100	1		
							400-500	1			55-60	1					100	1
			300-350	1			500	1	40-50	1	150	1					200	1
TOTAL	3	11			12	12	6	6	1	1		12	1	1		16		7

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

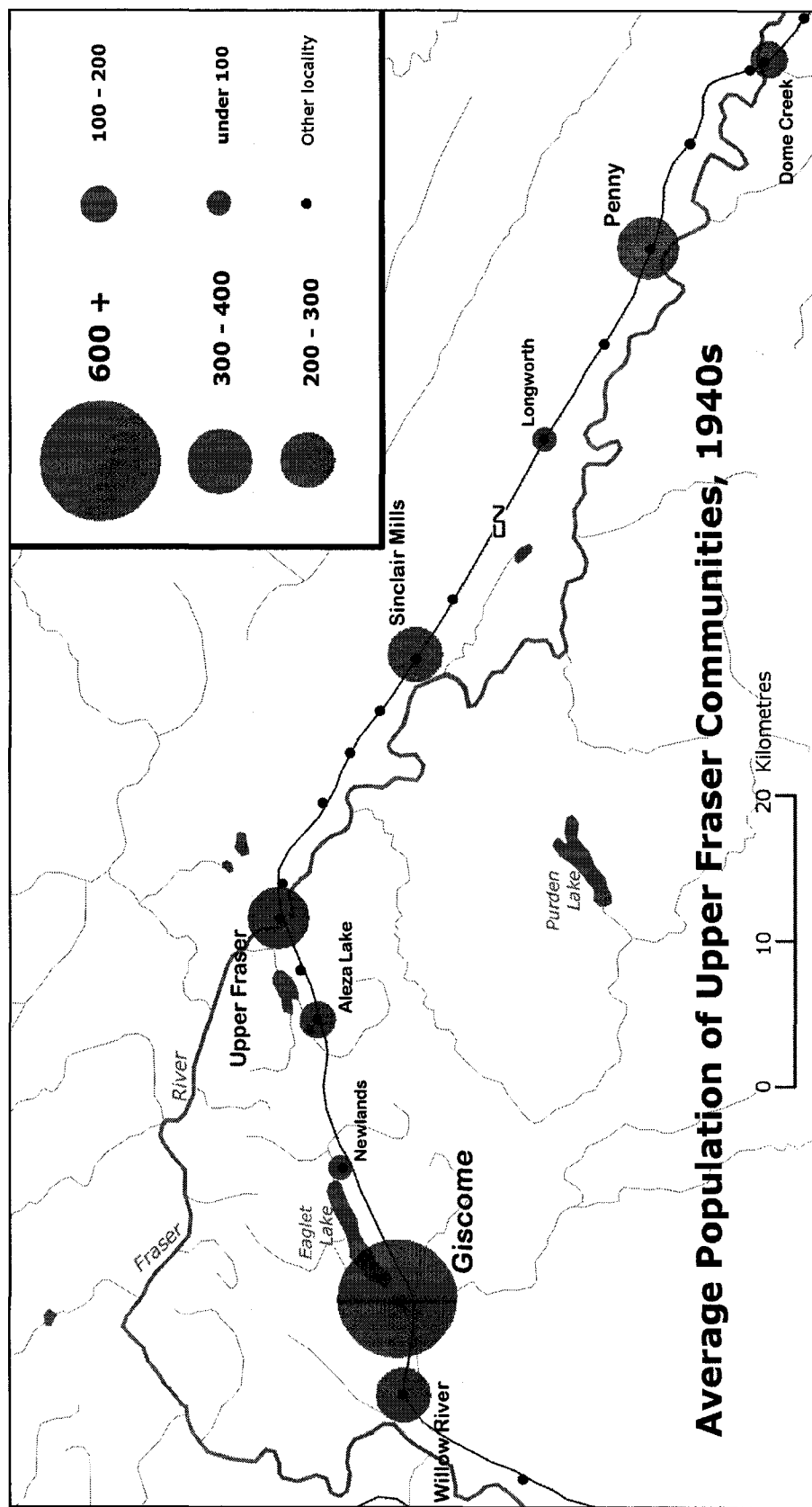


Figure 4.1. Average population of Upper Fraser communities, 1940s.

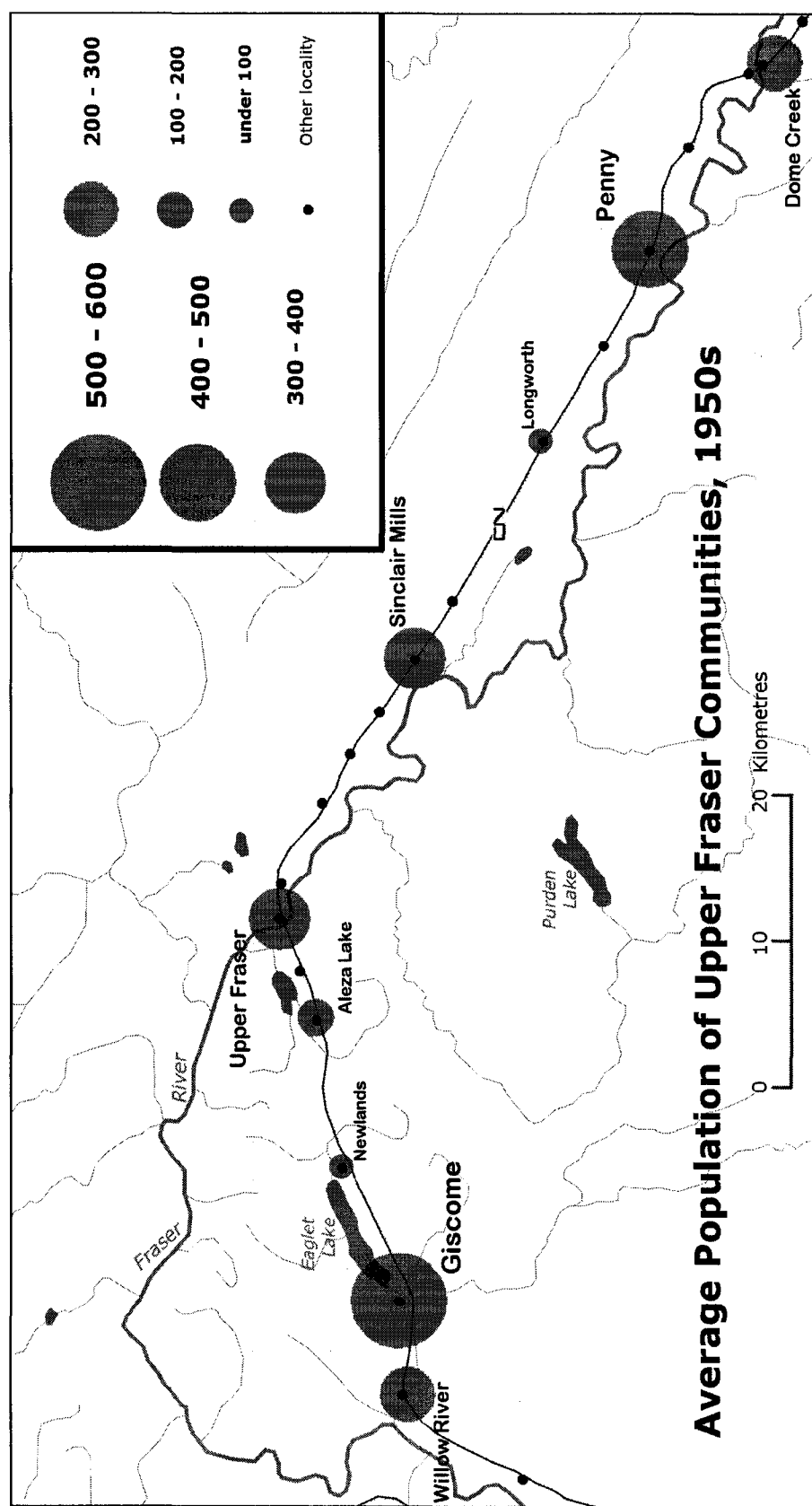


Figure 4.2. Average population of Upper Fraser communities, 1950s.

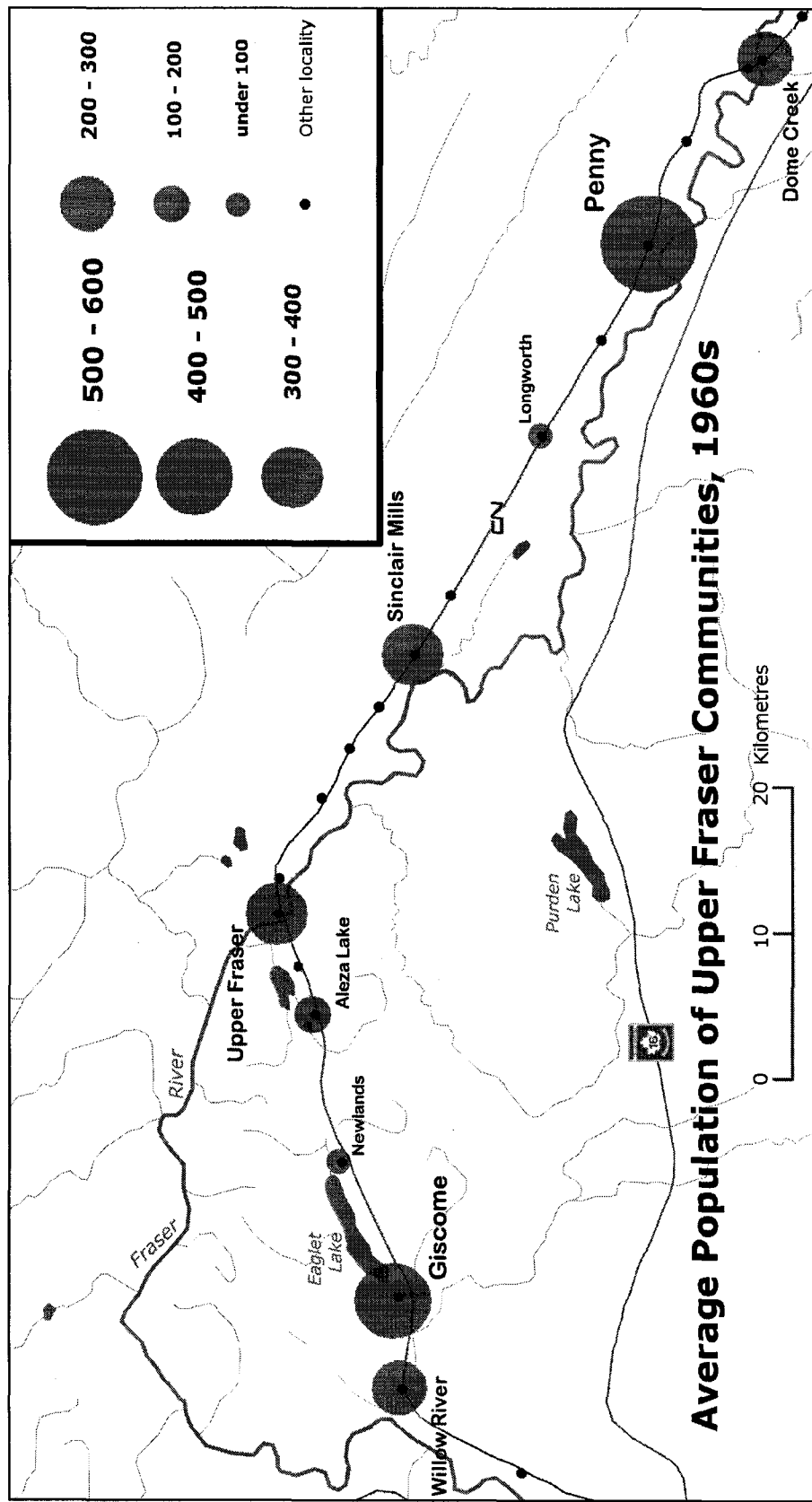


Figure 4.3. Average population of Upper Fraser communities, 1960s.

By the time the crest of the boom hit the Upper Fraser region in the early 1960s (Figure 4.3), Penny had become the largest town in the region at about 500 people. Upper Fraser townsite had grown to the same size as Giscome. Giscome had already begun to shrink well in advance of its closure and dismantling in the next decade. The mid-1960s was the last time any of these communities were this large in population. Centralisation of technology, together with corporate consolidation, would soon affect these towns.

Depopulation in the Upper Fraser region was not instantaneous. It was a decades-long process (Figure 4.4), beginning with the first major closure at Hansard Lake (Gale & Trick, Ltd.), directly beside Aleza Lake, in 1963 (thesis interviews 2005). Penny Spruce Mills was acquired in 1958 by Eagle Lake Sawmills and closed in 1965 (PRC 1995), and Sinclair Spruce Mills (1966) was consolidated into Northwood Lumber's large mill at Upper Fraser townsite (Prince George Citizen 1961a, thesis interviews 2005). The closure of the large Eagle Lake Sawmill at Giscome followed in 1974 (Vancouver Sun 1975, Bernsohn 1981, Young 1985), with the town core being dismantled the next year. In 1968, the Yellowhead Highway was completed, bypassing all of the communities in the process and making train travel through the communities obsolete as regularised passenger service was discontinued by 1974 (Prince George Citizen 1960 and 1961b, UFHGP 2001). The Upper Fraser townsite continued to thrive into the 1990s with a steady population of around 300 people, including a supermarket and modern school, with modern plumbing and electricity provided by Northwood. Northwood's desire to stop providing these services, as well as

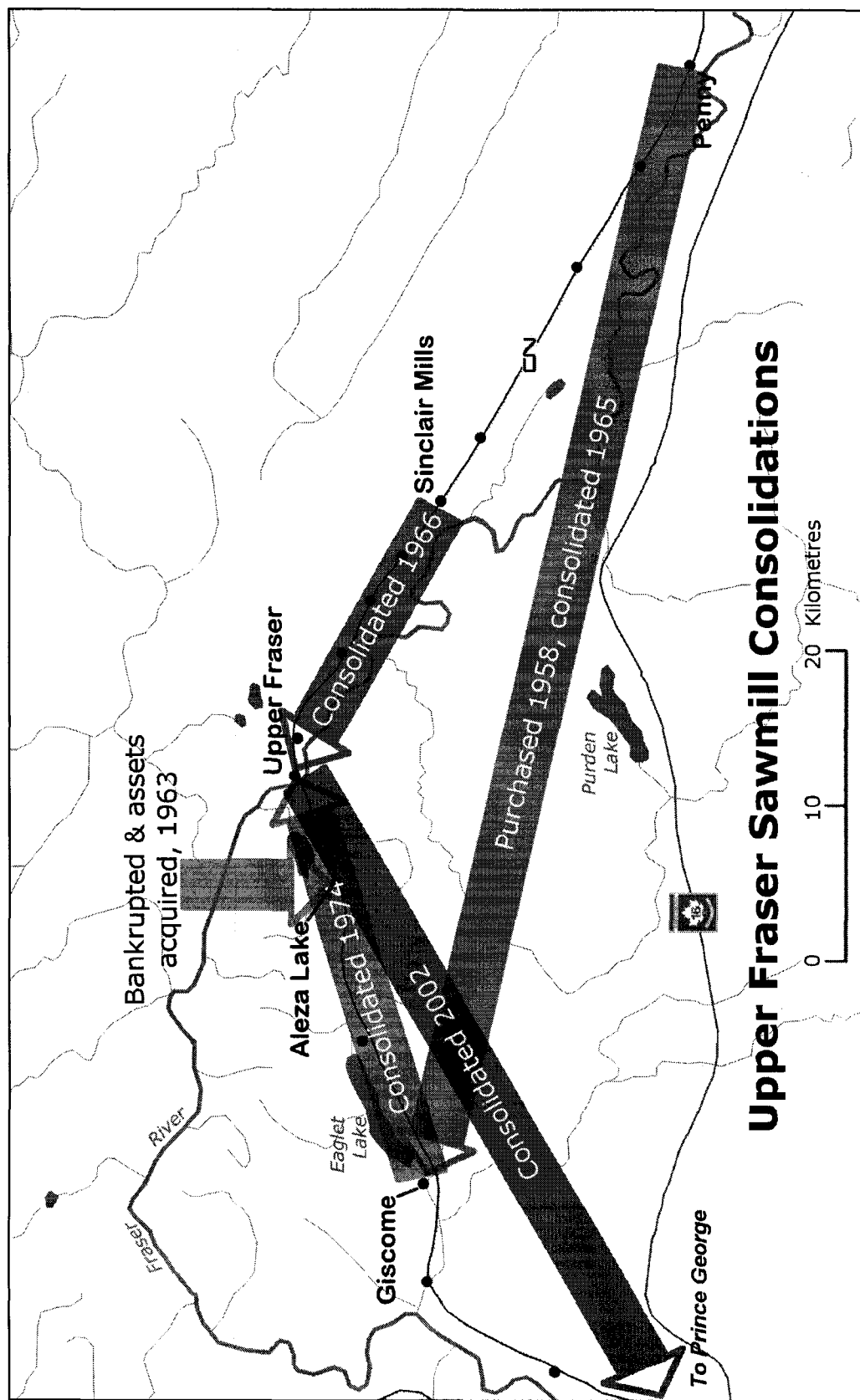


Figure 4.4. Upper Fraser sawmill consolidations.

relieve itself from providing housing directly to its employees, led the company to slowly withdraw from Upper Fraser townsite during the 1980s and 1990s. In this period, shifts were reduced and employees were transferred to the main mill in Prince George. In 1999, Northwood closed the Upper Fraser townsite and ripped out all of the buildings, plumbing, power lines, and other infrastructure. Workers were now bussed into Upper Fraser townsite from Prince George (Giesbrecht 1998). Four years later, after Canadian Forest Products had completed its purchase of Northwood, the mill was closed for good (CBC News 2003).

After the process of consolidation and centralisation had begun, communities began rapidly shrinking in the Upper Fraser region. By the 1970s (Figure 4.5), Sinclair Mills, Penny, and Dome Creek all had drastically reduced populations. Giscome shrank to about 200 people until its dismantling in 1975. With mill operations consolidating in Upper Fraser townsite, it and Willow River were the only settlements large enough to sustain even a general store. After Upper Fraser townsite closed in 1999, almost all of these towns had less than 50 people remaining. The exception is Willow River, which is close enough to Prince George to be a bedroom community and has maintained its population at a consistent level of 200 people.

Interviewees were asked to describe the general demographic spread of the town in which they lived (Table 4.2). According to interviewees, the population of the Upper Fraser region was very transient, consisting of

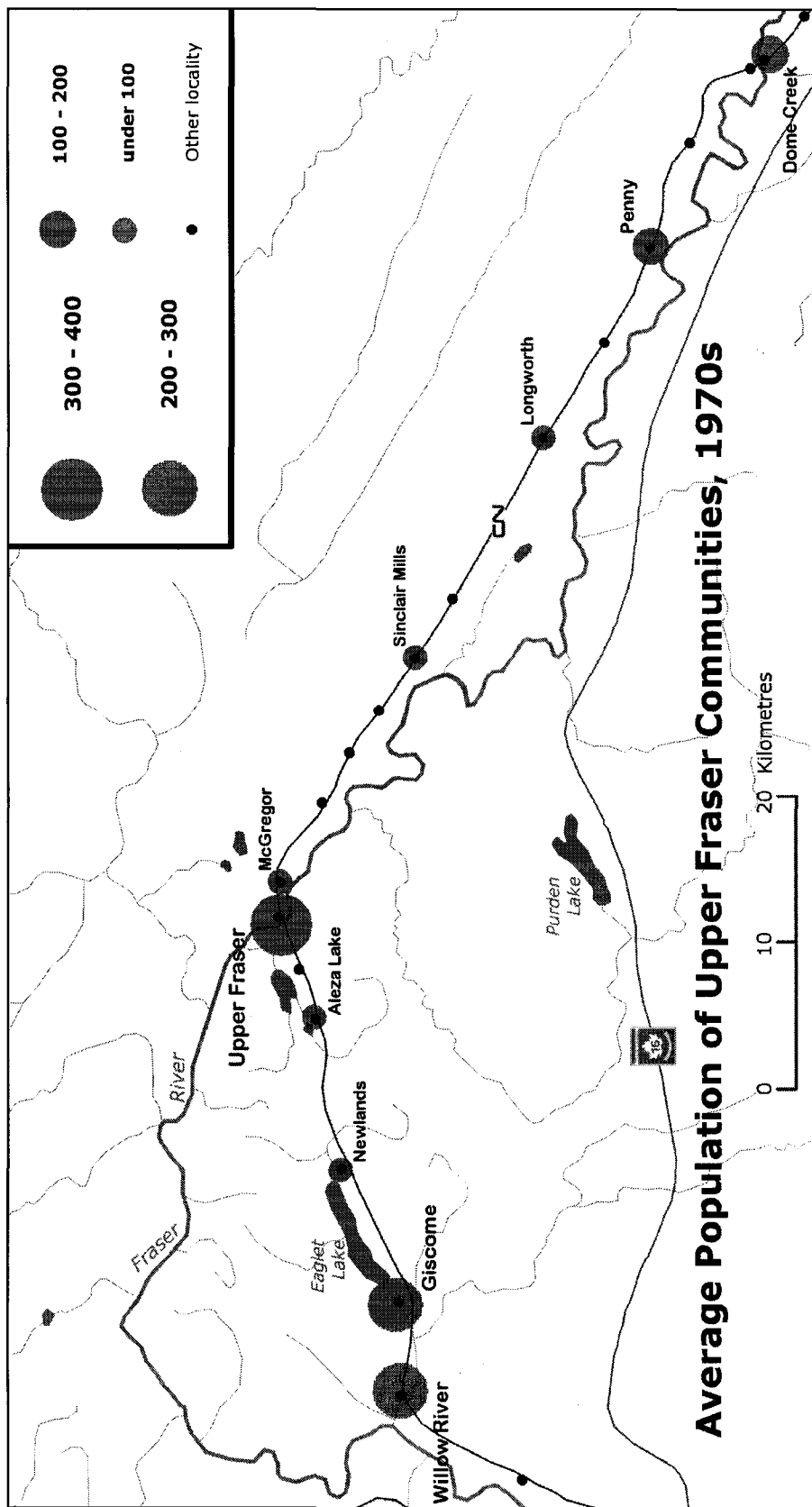


Figure 4.5. Average population of Upper Fraser communities, 1970s.

Table 4.2: Would you say that the population was mostly young, old, male, female, or evenly distributed?

Response	Willow River	Giscome	Newlands	Aleza Lake	Upper Fraser	McGregor	Sinclair Mills	Penny	Dome Creek	TOTAL	% of responses
	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=
Mostly single men & young families	1	4		2		1	4	7	1	20	55.6%
Mostly male								1	1	2	5.6%
Mostly spread out/representative		2		2			1	2		7	19.4%
Mostly families			1	1	1		2	1	1	7	19.4%
TOTAL	1	6	1	5	1	1	7	11	3	36	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

mostly single men and young families, a trait typical of many resource and company towns (Figure 4.6) (Bradbury 1978, Halseth and Sullivan 2002, LeBlanc 2003). Most towns featured a block of company-provided housing for young families whose head of the house worked at the mill, and a bunkhouse full of single men who typically lived in the community for a couple of years at a time before migrating to other settlements. Only Aleza Lake, the oldest of the main towns, was described as having a 'spread-out' demographic of residents, with both young and old families as well as single residents and seniors. Upper Fraser townsite is the only company town to be shown as consisting of 'mostly families', owing to having the largest mill and thus being able to attract the largest amount of services and residents. When responses from all sites are considered, nearly fifty-six percent of all respondents recalled their town as having consisted mainly of single men in bunkhouses and young families in the townsite proper.

Interviewees were asked to identify whether the population of their town was permanent or transient in nature (Table 4.3). Over forty-one percent of respondents indicated that the population in their town was generally stable. A further twenty-eight percent indicated that the bunkhouse populations were transient while the population within the main townsite itself was stable. This indicates a stable population base for the communities with a sizeable minority of transient workers.

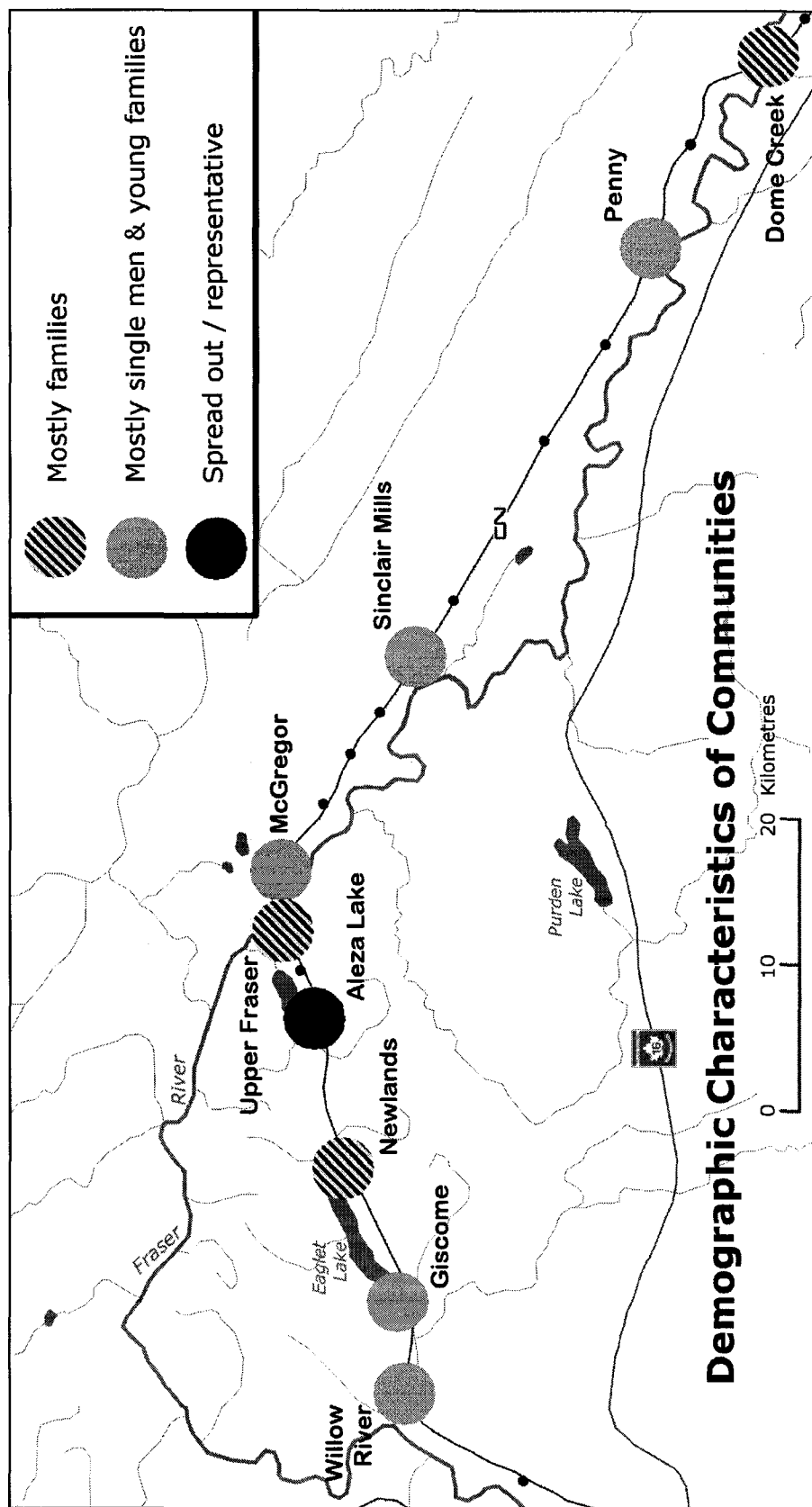


Figure 4.6. Demographic characteristics of Upper Fraser communities.

Table 4.3: Did people move in and out a lot, or was the population more permanent?

Response	n=	% of responses
Mostly permanent	12	41.4%
Transient in bunkhouse, stable in town	9	31.0%
Mostly transient	8	27.6%
TOTAL	29	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

4.3. In-Migration

Interviewees were asked a series of questions regarding the in-migration process in the Upper Fraser region. The responses allow an analysis of where Upper Fraser region residents came from, and whether migration in the area was tied to geographic location or ethnicity. Interviewees were also asked to describe how long it took to acclimatise to the lifestyle in the Upper Fraser region in order to gain a sense of the receptiveness of the communities in the area.

Thesis interviewees were asked to describe any strategies deployed by community members, businesses or groups to entice new residents to the Upper Fraser region (Table 4.4). Almost sixty-nine percent of respondents recalled no such actions being taken, with the remainder of respondents indicating that any such efforts were made by executives of sawmills looking for labour. For much of the 1950s and early 1960s, the supply of workers was sufficient to meet demand and as such no major recruiting efforts were necessary. The most common method of recruiting workers was contacting the employment office in Prince George for persons in search of employment. Contact was also made with mills to recruit workers with particular skills. Mills in Carrot River,

Saskatchewan and Bowsman, Manitoba were mentioned specifically in a number of interviews as sources of recruited labour.

Table 4.4: Were there any efforts by community members/groups to recruit new residents to the community?

Response	n=	% of responses
None/no concerted effort	11	68.8%
Via sawmill labour search/unemployment rolls	3	18.8%
Contact with other mills	2	12.5%
TOTAL	15	100.0%

Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interviewees were asked to identify where residents of their towns had moved from originally (Table 4.5). Over thirty-seven percent of respondents stated that residents had migrated to the Upper Fraser region from within Canada. The Prairie provinces (Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba) were the most commonly mentioned, accounting for three-quarters of all Canadian responses; as mentioned previously, a number of these residents were hired from the Prairies to work in the mills. Other residents of Prairie origin came to work in the mills to earn money to send back to family members during the farming off-season in winter. Residents from the Prairies made up the largest group of responses in every town except Giscome and Penny (Figure 4.7). Sweden was the most frequently mentioned foreign country, with nearly eight percent of all responses (Table 4.5). Nordic Europe in total combined for over thirteen percent of all responses; these residents tended to descend from earlier waves of immigration during the original pre-World War II settlement of the area (PRC 1995, UFHGP 2001). Interestingly, few people named other places in British Columbia as a major source of residents. This could possibly be a result

Table 4.5: Where did most people in the community come from? (by province or country)

	Willow River	Giscome	Newlands	Aleza Lake	Upper Fraser	Sinclair Mills	Longworth	Penny	Dome Creek	TOTAL
	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	%
Canada	3	10	3	16	6	14		15	15	82
<i>Prairies</i>	3	8	3	13	4	12		10	9	62
<i>Saskatchewan</i>	2	6	1	5	3	4		4	3	28
<i>Alberta</i>	1		1	6	1	5		6	5	25
<i>Manitoba</i>		2	1	2		3			1	9
<i>Other Canada</i>		2		3	2	2		5	6	20
<i>British Columbia</i>				2	1	2		2	2	9
<i>Quebec</i>		2		1				3	2	8
<i>Ontario</i>					1				2	3
Eastern Europe	3	3		5	1	5	1	12	3	33
<i>Poland</i>				1				3	1	6
<i>Hungary</i>	1	2		3	1	1	1	4	1	13
<i>Ukraine</i>		1						3	1	5
<i>Yugoslavia</i>	1					3		1		5
<i>Czechoslovakia</i>				1		1		1		3
<i>Russia</i>	1									1
Nordic Europe	3	6	2	3	1	3		10	2	30
<i>Sweden</i>	3	3	2	2		1		5	1	17
<i>Norway</i>		2		1		2		5		10
<i>Denmark</i>					1				1	2
<i>Finland</i>		1								1
Western Europe	2	4	2		1	5	1	13	1	29
<i>Germany</i>		1	1		1	4		4		11
<i>England</i>	1	1	1				1	2	1	7
<i>France</i>								4		4
<i>Scotland</i>	1							2		3
<i>Austria</i>		1						1		2
<i>Netherlands</i>		1				1				2
Southern Europe	2	9	2		3	2		5	7	24
<i>Portugal</i>		6	1		2			2	2	13
<i>Italy</i>	1	3	1		1			3	1	10
<i>Malta</i>	1									1
										1

Other	2	7	1	3	2	5	7	27	12.0%
<i>United States</i>	1	1	1	1		2	4	10	4.4%
<i>India</i>		4		2		1	2	9	4.0%
<i>Japan</i>	1	1			2	1		5	2.2%
<i>Jamaica</i>						1		1	0.4%
<i>Pakistan</i>		1						1	0.4%
<i>Puerto Rico</i>							1	1	0.4%
TOTAL	15	39	10	15	29	60	31	225	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Note: Multiple responses were permitted.

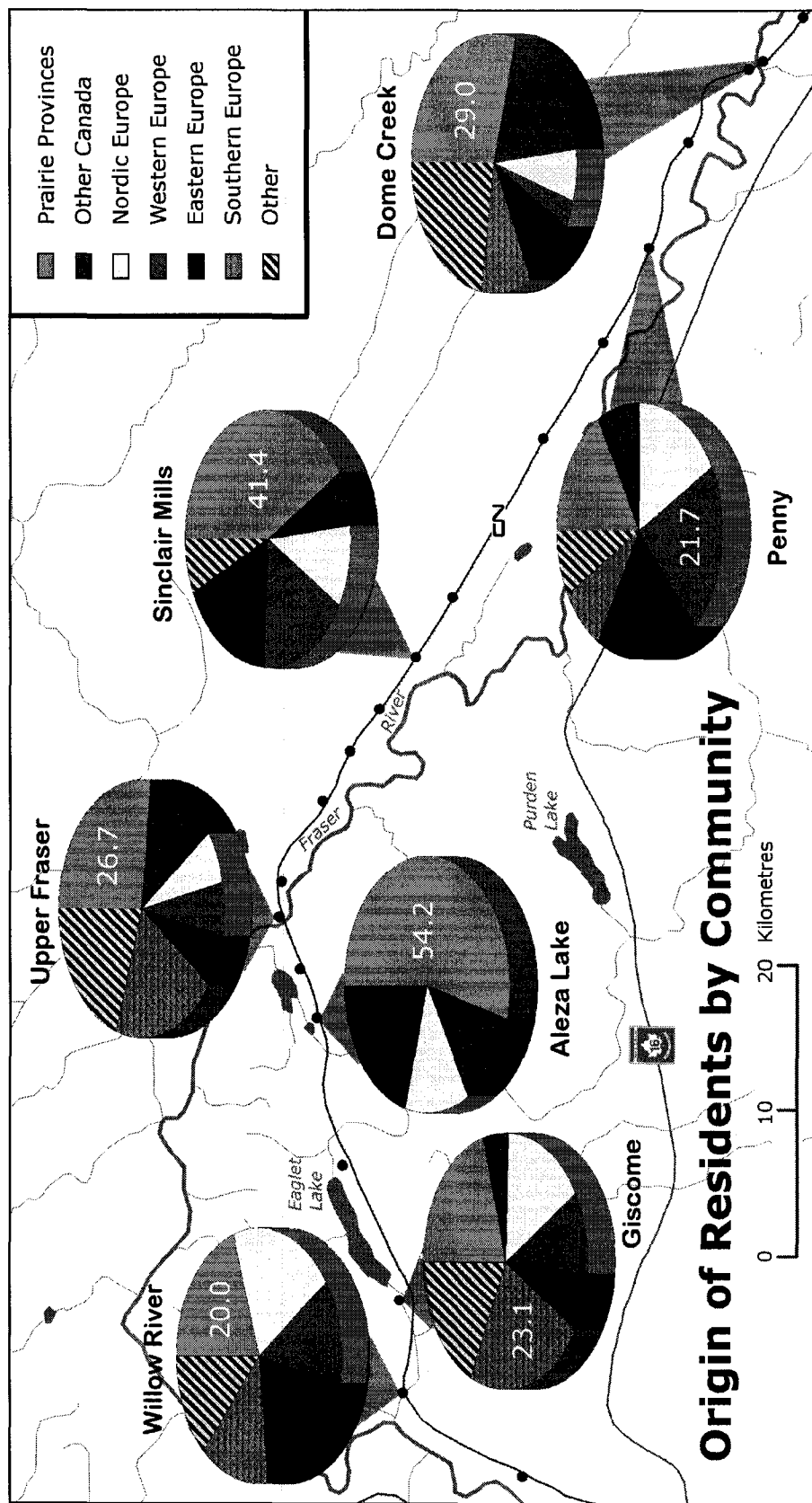


Figure 4.7. Origin of residents by community. Number represents largest percentage of resident origin.

of the relatively late development of a functional north-south transportation corridor to the rest of the province (the east-west Grand Trunk Pacific railway was completed in 1913, while the north-south British Columbia railway did not enter Prince George until 1952, by which time the east-west corridor was well established). One interviewee who moved to the area from another location along the railway responded, "We knew about the rest of the railroad up around that country; that's why I went to Dunster, because I knew where it was (thesis interview 2005)."

In fact, British Columbia is not present in the top three origins of residents by community (Figure 4.8). All seven communities show either Saskatchewan or Alberta as major origins of residents, along with Swedish and Portuguese communities. Larger towns like Giscome and Penny reported the greatest range of immigrant origins. Aleza Lake is the only community with a majority of responses identifying migration from within Canada, with Sinclair Mills and Dome Creek also reporting higher levels of migrants from within Canada. Penny and Willow River appear at the other end of the spectrum, with fewer responses indicating migration from within Canada. Of note, the results for Upper Fraser townsite and Dome Creek appear somewhat different in Figure 4.9 than the other towns, but for different reasons. Dome Creek was very isolated, and thus was found desirable after the boom had passed by American emigrants who were part of the 'back to the land' movement in the late 1960s and 1970s. Upper Fraser townsite reached its peak a decade or so later than other towns in the 1970s, and so was able to attract the first wave of South Asian immigration

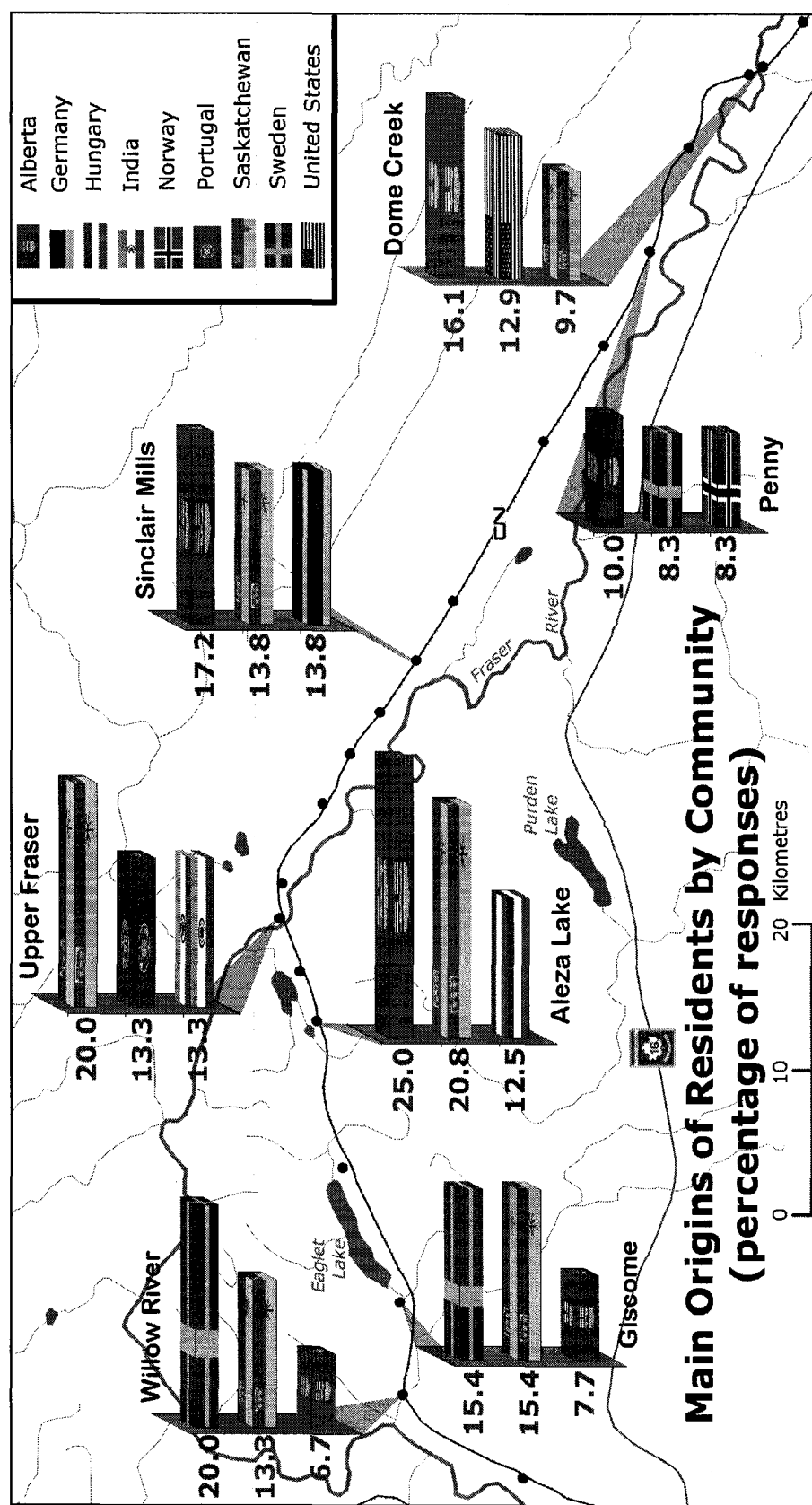


Figure 4.8. Main origins of residents by community.

after Canada immigration laws were relaxed in the 1960s. This may explain the presence of immigrants from South Asia.

The majority of interviewees arrived in the Upper Fraser region during the Great Depression or in the post-World War II period between 1945 and 1960 (Table 4.6). Most of the sawmill closures in the Upper Fraser region took place during the mid-to-late 1960s. Thus, the majority of interviewees arrived during times of economic stability or growth in the region.

Table 4.6: When did you move to the community?

Response	n=	% of responses
1920s	5	10.6%
1930s	8	17.0%
1940s	9	19.1%
1950s	14	29.8%
1960s	4	8.5%
1970s	7	14.9%
TOTAL	47	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Note: Multiple responses were permitted.

When asked to identify reasons for relocating to the Upper Fraser region, the majority of respondents indicated that they moved for employment and family reasons (Table 4.7). This is indicative of migration patterns observed in many resource-based towns, as the majority of new residents either moved to the region upon obtaining employment or joining family members (typically the father) who obtained employment in the area (Halseth 1999b). Amenity migration was not a strong factor influencing migration to the Upper Fraser region, with less than eight percent of responses citing lifestyle as a reason for moving to the area.

Table 4.7: Why did you move to the community?

Response	n=	% of responses
Moved with family as child	26	32.9%
Employment for self	21	26.6%
Employment for family member	16	20.3%
Join family	6	7.6%
Lifestyle	6	7.6%
Join friends	2	2.5%
Closer to existing work	1	1.3%
Marriage	1	1.3%
TOTAL	79	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Note: Multiple responses were permitted.

While many migrants will have multiple reasons for relocating to a new town, some reasons may be more influential than others. When pressed further to name the major or specific reason for relocating to the Upper Fraser region where multiple responses were not permitted, the results of Table 4.7 become further clarified. Fifty-five percent of interviewees directly identify employment as the major reason for moving to the region, outnumbering the desire or need to be close to family by nearly a two-to-one margin (Table 4.8). Only five interviewees denoted their major reason for relocating to the region as not being related to employment or family, indicating lifestyle or health reasons instead.

Table 4.8: What was the primary reason for moving to the community? Did you move to the community strictly for employment? To be close to family/friends/countrymen? Other reasons?

Response	n=	% of responses
Employment	21	55.3%
Family	12	31.6%
Lifestyle	4	10.5%
Health	1	2.6%
TOTAL	38	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interviewees were asked to describe how they felt initially about their move to the Upper Fraser region. Most felt positive, with more than twenty-eight percent of respondents viewing the move as exciting (Table 4.9). This was attributed to their previous experiences living in small towns and their eagerness to live in a region they viewed as scenic, exotic and recreationally advantageous. Nearly ten percent of interviewees actually considered moving to the Upper Fraser region as a step up in progress from their previous location. One interviewee commented, "Well, I mean, it was a big town; two-room school, post office, store, churches... Oh, yes, it was definitely a step up (thesis interview 2005)." Those interviewees who were initially fearful or had reservations about moving to the Upper Fraser region tended to come from large or mid-size cities where they were more accustomed to a higher level of infrastructure, shopping, and formally organised activity than their small-town counterparts. As one interviewee commented, "I learned to cook on wood stoves and use a generator

Table 4.9: How did you feel about the move to the community?

Response	n=	% of responses
Excited/An adventure	9	28.1%
Homesick	4	12.5%
Liked scenery	4	12.5%
A step up/More progress	3	9.4%
Comfortable	3	9.4%
Rustic/Less progress	3	9.4%
Fearful	2	6.3%
Nothing/Indifferent	2	6.3%
Lots to do	1	3.1%
Lucky	1	3.1%
TOTAL	32	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Note: Multiple responses were permitted.

and it was quite a difference from Seattle and having everything that you want (thesis interview 2005).”

Interviewees were asked to describe how they first heard about the Upper Fraser region. No circumstances were prevalent among the interviewees, although two subsets of responses can be agglomerated (Table 4.10). The first major set of circumstances was via informal networks (recommendation by and/or interaction with family and friends, word-of-mouth, interaction with residents/commuting, adoption). Inquiries tended to relate to the search for suitable employment. The second major set of circumstances cited by interviewees was directly employment-related via formal networks (recruitment via employer, good location for business, purchased business).

Table 4.10: How did you first hear about the community?

Response	n=	% of responses
Informal networks	22	62.9%
Relatives	8	22.9%
Adoption	1	2.9%
Word-of-mouth	7	20.0%
Interaction with residents/commuting	6	17.1%
Formal networks	13	37.1%
Via employer	8	22.9%
Good location for business	4	11.4%
Purchased business	1	2.9%
TOTAL	35	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

4.4. Out-Migration

Interviewees were also asked a series of questions regarding the out-migration process in the Upper Fraser region. The responses allow an analysis

of when and why residents of the region left, and whether or not these movements were tied to economic or cultural factors.

Interviewees were asked to name the year that they moved away from the Upper Fraser region. When responses from all sites are considered (some residents moved more than once), nearly half of the respondents moved from the area in the 1960s (Table 4.11), coincident with the aforementioned closure of most of the sawmills in the Upper Fraser region. The trend continued through the sawmill downsizings of the 1970s and 1980s. Those who moved away after the early 1980s were residents of retirement age who desired to be closer to medical services and family.

Table 4.11: When did you move away from the community?

Response	n=	% of responses
1940s	3	7.7%
1950s	4	10.3%
1960s	17	43.6%
1970s	7	17.9%
1980s	7	17.9%
1990s	3	7.7%
2000s	1	2.6%
TOTAL	39	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Note: Multiple responses were permitted.

When asked what they considered to be the main reason for people leaving towns in the Upper Fraser region, thirty-seven percent of interviewees felt that the sawmill closures were directly responsible for out-migration (Table 4.12). Just over twenty percent of interviewees felt that limited access to education was the main factor for out-migration, while nearly fifteen percent cited isolation and

lack of services in the towns, most notably Penny. The small population base of the region made it attractive for both residents and businesses to migrate to larger settings where amenities were more plentiful and employment was close-at-hand. Consolidation of the forest industry into Prince George removed the key employers from the Upper Fraser region, depleting the already small population base of the area and making it necessary for residents to commute to Prince George for major services. Commuting trips ranged from 30 minutes to two hours. The out-migration of residents reduced the service base for schools and small businesses and led to the closure of most services.

When interviewees were asked about their own reasons for leaving the Upper Fraser region, employment and education predominate as the major reasons for out-migration (Table 4.13). One interviewee who transferred from mills in the Upper Fraser region to Prince George responded, "Where am I going to get a job now? I've been with the company for so many years, I might as well follow it 'til I retire, eh? (thesis interview 2005)". Some residents who left for educational reasons were high-school age students, as none of the schools in the Upper Fraser region went past Grade 8. Many high school-age students from the Upper Fraser region were housed in a government dormitory in Prince George during the week and commuted by train back to the Upper Fraser region on the weekends. Some families did not wish to be separated and moved as a whole to Prince George (thesis interview 2005).

Table 4.12: What was the main reason for people leaving the community?

Response	Willow River n=	Giscome n=	Newlands n=	Aleza Lake n=	Upper Fraser n=	Sindclair Mills n=	Penny n=	Dome Creek n=	Bend n=	TOTAL n= %
Closure of sawmills		4	1	2	2	4	1	3	2	20 37.0%
Education		3	1	2	2	2	1	1		11 20.4%
Isolation/lack of facilities		1		2		2	2	1		8 14.8%
Lack of general employment	1	1					2	2		6 11.1%
Better job elsewhere		2		1			1			4 7.4%
Seasonal employment				1	1			1		3 5.6%
Paved road for commuting				1	1					2 3.7%
TOTAL	1	11	2	9	6	8	7	8	2	54 100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Table 4.13: Why did you leave the community?

Response	Willow River n=	Giscome n=	Newlands n=	Aleza Lake n=	Upper Fraser n=	Sindclair Mills n=	McGregor n=	Lindup n=	Penny n=	Dome Creek n=	Bend n=	TOTAL n= %
Employment	1	5		8		3	4		1	7	3	33 64.7%
Closure of sawmill		2		1			2			3	1	10 19.6%
New employment elsewhere	1	1		4		1	1			1	1	10 19.6%
Little opportunity/no work				2						2	1	5 9.8%
Retired		1					1		1	1		6 11.8%
Closer to existing job				1								1 2.0%
Transferred		1										1 2.0%
Education		1	1	2		1	1			6	3	16 31.4%
Education for self			1	1			1			5	1	9 17.6%
Education for children		1		1		1			1	1	2	7 13.7%
Isolation										1		1 2.0%
Homestead laws										1		1 2.0%
TOTAL	1	6	1	10	4	5	1	1	15	6	1	51 100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interviewees were asked to identify their next town of residence after leaving their respective towns. Approximately half of the interviewees immediately relocated to Prince George, the nearest regional centre (Table 4.14). Approximately twenty-seven percent moved to other Upper Fraser settlements; some permanently, but most temporarily, moving to larger sawmills until those sawmills were shut down.

Table 4.14: Where did you move to?

Response	n=	% of responses
Prince George	29	49.2%
Upper Fraser Region	16	27.1%
Upper Fraser (townsite)	6	10.2%
Giscome	3	5.1%
Penny	2	3.4%
Aleza Lake	1	1.7%
Dome Creek	1	1.7%
Newlands	1	1.7%
Sinclair Mills	1	1.7%
Willow River	1	1.7%
Other British Columbia	10	16.9%
Chetwynd	2	3.4%
Kamloops	2	3.4%
Castlegar	1	1.7%
Chilliwack	1	1.7%
Cluculz Lake	1	1.7%
Fort St. James	1	1.7%
Mackenzie	1	1.7%
Sorrento	1	1.7%
Other Canada	4	8.0%
Caroline, AB	1	1.7%
Ontario	1	1.7%
Saskatchewan	1	1.7%
Whitecourt, AB	1	1.7%
TOTAL	59	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interviewees who were present in the Upper Fraser region at the time of their town's sawmill closure were asked to identify if they were aware of any

mass out-migration movements of residents from their town (Table 4.15).

Interviewees generally agreed that movement out of the Upper Fraser region was not instantaneous but gradual over a period of years in the late 1960s. In the company-owned town of Giscome, however, residents were forced to leave after the 1974 sawmill closure and subsequent auctioning and/or demolition of all buildings and houses by Northwood (Vancouver Sun 1975). As one interviewee explained,

Part of that was very few people owned their own homes at Giscome; it was a company town, so there was no work, they moved out, companies didn't need any houses anymore and just got rid of them. Some of them were sold and others just bulldozed down, whereas Willow River has always had private residences... after 1960, people live in Willow River and work in Prince George, so it survives (thesis interview 2005).

Table 4.15: Do you know of any groups of people that moved *en masse* from the community to another town after the sawmills closed?

Response	n=	% of responses
No (2005 interviewees only)	8	42.1%
To Prince George	4	21.1%
To Upper Fraser	4	21.1%
To Giscome	2	10.5%
To McBride	1	5.3%
TOTAL	19	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interviewees who remained in the workforce after leaving the Upper Fraser region were asked if it was difficult to find employment in their new setting. Nine of ten respondents stated that they did not find it difficult to find employment (Table 4.16). Interviewees remarked about the difference in employment

conditions between the times when they left the Upper Fraser region and now. During the mid-to-late 1960s, the main period of relocation for Upper Fraser residents, new pulp mills were being constructed in Prince George. These mills were in need of a large labour force to begin operation, and Upper Fraser residents were able to find employment at these mills without having to relocate far away from the region.

Table 4.16: Was it difficult to find new employment (afterwards)?

Response	n=	% of responses
Yes	1	10.0%
No	9	90.0%
TOTAL	10	100.0%

Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

4.5. Services/Access

Interviewees were asked a series of questions in order to determine whether the provision of certain services and amenities played a role in keeping residents in the Upper Fraser region, and to determine whether access to transportation ultimately helped or hindered movement to and from the region. Interviewees were asked to describe the various services in their towns (Table 4.17). Almost all towns reported having a general store, community hall and post office, with half of the towns also having a Catholic church. Giscome and Sinclair Mills were reported as having the largest variety of services, followed by Penny and Aleza Lake. This is consistent with the population figures for each of these communities as shown in Table 4.1, although a higher than expected amount of services in Aleza Lake may also have to do with its early prominence in the

Table 4.17: What services do you remember?

	Willow River	Giscome	Newlands	Aleza Lake	Upper Fraser	McGregor	Sinclair Mills	Longworth	Penny	Dome Creek	TOTAL
	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	%
Infrastructure/ Government											
<i>Electricity</i>	1	4		1	3		3		4	1	17
<i>Experimental Forest</i>				4							4
<i>Fire Department</i>					2		1				3
<i>Forest Service</i>									1		1
<i>Graveyard</i>	1	2		3					3		9
<i>Park</i>		1		1	5						7
<i>Police</i>		1									1
<i>Public Beach</i>				1							1
<i>Radio</i>		1							2		3
<i>Ranger Station</i>				1							1
<i>Water/Plumbing</i>		4			4		3		1		12
<i>Television</i>		2					2				4
Recreation/Culture											
<i>Community Hall</i>		5		6	5		7	2	9	3	37
<i>Library</i>										1	1
<i>Hockey Rink</i>	1	2		1	1						5
<i>Pool Hall</i>				1					1		2
<i>Ski Hill</i>	1										1
<i>Theatre</i>		1									1
Religious Facilities											
<i>Baptist Church</i>	1	1									2
<i>Catholic Church</i>		6		12			4		8	6	36
<i>Pentecostal Church</i>		3									3
<i>United Church</i>		3									3
<i>Church (not specified)</i>	1	3									4
Services											
<i>Doctor</i>		1					1				2
<i>Gas Station</i>	1	1		2	1		1		1		7
<i>General Store</i>	1	8	1	8	6		9	2	13	6	54
<i>Hospital</i>	1										1
<i>Hotel/Beer Parlour</i>		1		3			7			1	12
<i>Mechanic</i>						1					1
<i>Post Office</i>		5	2	3	3		6	2	8	3	32
<i>Restaurant</i>		4					6		2	2	14
<i>Supermarket</i>					1						1
TOTAL	9	59	3	47	31	1	50	6	53	23	282
											100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

region compared to the other towns of the Upper Fraser region, as well as its physical amenities. Aleza Lake was known as a weekend vacation destination for Prince George beachgoers. The low numbers of services recorded for Upper Fraser townsite are most likely a reflection of the lack of interviewees who lived directly in the townsite, and of the emergence of the townsite as the main community of the region after the end-date of this study in 1975. As Giscome and Upper Fraser townsites were company-owned, the mills themselves were responsible for providing many of the services such as electricity and sewage (Prince George Citizen 1922b).

Interviewees were asked to describe instances of workers commuting from one town to another (Table 4.18). Commuter patterns changed with consolidation. Before consolidation started, towns were mostly self-contained around their mills. Few people owned automobiles and there was a lack of maintained roads in the region. Consequently, the only commuting that did occur was from Willow River and Newlands, towns that did not have mills of their own at these times, to Giscome. The distance between Willow River and Newlands and the mill town of Giscome (Table 4.19) was small enough to allow commuting even in the worst road conditions.

The twin impacts in the 1960s of an improved Upper Fraser road and the consolidation of timber supply tenures into Northwood's Upper Fraser mill altered commuting patterns. In particular, workers from the closed-mill towns of Aleza Lake and Sinclair Mills began to make this commute. Following road improvements and paving in the 1970s, workers began commuting from Prince

Table 4.18: Do you know of any co-workers who commuted into work from other towns? Vice versa?

Response	Willow River	Giscome	Newlands	Aleza Lake	Upper Fraser	Sinclair Mills	Penny	Dome Creek	TOTAL
	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	%
Yes	2	1	3	3	2	6		3	20 62.5%
No		2		3		2	3	2	12 37.5%
TOTAL	2	3	3	6	2	8	3	5	32 100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005

Table 4.19: Distance matrix of Upper Fraser communities and Prince George (in kilometres)

	Prince George	Willow River	Giscome	Newlands	Aleza Lake	Upper Fraser	McGregor	Sinclair Mills
Prince George	-							
Willow River	34.1	-	41.4	54.0	65.6	73.3	82.5	95.6
Giscome	41.4	7.3	-	19.9	31.5	39.2	48.4	61.5
Newlands	54.0	7.3	-	12.6	24.2	31.9	41.1	54.2
Aleza Lake	65.6	19.9	12.6	-	11.6	19.3	28.5	41.6
Upper Fraser	73.3	31.5	24.2	11.6	-	7.7	16.9	30.0
McGregor	82.5	39.2	31.9	19.3	7.7	-	9.2	22.3
Sinclair Mills	95.6	48.4	41.1	28.5	16.9	9.2	-	13.1
		61.5	54.2	41.6	30.0	22.3	13.1	-

All distances measured from town centres along Upper Fraser Road and/or Highway 16.

George. It was also at this time that Northwood started bussing in workers to the Upper Fraser mill from Prince George, as transporting workers became cheaper than housing them on-site. Upper Fraser residents also began commuting to Prince George more frequently to access social services, shopping and recreation. One interviewee commented:

That's where we had to go to see a dentist, to see a doctor. You know, and a lot of our primary shopping was done at that time, too, in Prince George, because there was a wider variety... When the sawmill shut down and the planer mill shut down in Aleza Lake there, anybody that lived there either worked in the bush or worked in the sawmill at Upper Fraser. A small handful commuted right to Prince George from Upper Fraser too (thesis interview 2005).

Interviewees were asked whether access to transportation played a role in moving to and living in the Upper Fraser region (Table 4.20). Nearly fifty-nine percent stated that transportation was an asset; specifically, the Canadian National Railway train that passed through the area provided quick access to shopping and recreation in Prince George. It must be noted that after automobiles emerged as the dominant mode of transportation and passenger train service was reduced, interviewees began to see the region as being isolated by the limited transportation services and road networks in the region (Prince George Citizen 1961b, 1961c, and 1961d). All interviewees from Penny and Dome Creek, the towns farthest removed from Prince George, did not

consider access to transportation an asset. One Dome Creek resident commented:

We did not have any access into Dome Creek until Highway 16 went through in 1968. So the only way in and out was by rail... even when I was living there, my parents would go into Prince George probably once a month and buy their, you know, staples and basic groceries, anyway (thesis interview 2005).

Table 4.20: Was access to transportation a factor in your decision to move to the community?

Response	n=	% Yes	% No
Willow River	1	100.0%	0.0%
Giscome	3	33.3%	66.7%
Newlands	1	100.0%	0.0%
Aleza Lake	5	40.0%	60.0%
Sinclair Mills	1	100.0%	0.0%
Penny	2	0.0%	100.0%
Dome Creek	2	0.0%	100.0%
TOTAL	17	58.8%	41.2%

Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interviewees were asked whether or not they believed that the closure of the sawmill in their town made it impossible to live in the town (Table 4.21). Almost fifty-nine percent felt that it was impossible to live in their town after the closure. The lack of non-sawmill-based employment coupled with the subsequent closure of nearly all social, educational and service facilities severely limited economic and social opportunities for Upper Fraser region residents and their children. One resident who left the Upper Fraser region stated: "It was probably one of the best decisions I ever made, because by moving into Prince

George, we had all the benefits of sports and everything for our children (thesis interview 2005).”

Table 4.21: Did the closure of the sawmill make it impossible to live in the community?

Response	n=	% Yes	% No
Willow River	1	0.0%	100.0%
Giscome	1	0.0%	100.0%
Newlands	1	100.0%	0.0%
Aleza Lake	3	33.3%	66.7%
Sinclair Mills	3	66.7%	33.3%
Penny	1	100.0%	0.0%
Dome Creek	2	50.0%	50.0%
TOTAL	17	58.8%	41.2%

Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interviewees were asked to describe community services that played an important role in keeping their community together (Table 4.22). Approximately thirty-nine percent of interviewees stated that their community hall was the major social centre of their town as a focal point for meeting and greeting other residents during social events such as dances and sporting events. Twenty-five percent each indicated the general store and the school as focal points of social interaction. Those who responded that the school was a major focal point indicated that having a school in the town was a way of ensuring the longevity of the community, as well as a way to meet other parents and families. School-organised activities like Christmas concerts were often the major social events in these towns. As one interviewee stated: “The community events were all centered around the school; the school was a community hall. Once the school went, there was no more community, basically. I mean, the activities ceased (thesis interview 2005).”

Table 4.22: Did certain community services (e.g. schools, stores, churches) play an especially important role in keeping the community together (other than the mill)?

Response	n=	%
Community hall	11	39.3%
General store	7	25.0%
School	7	25.0%
Church	2	7.1%
Cookhouse	1	3.6%
TOTAL	28	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Note: Multiple responses were permitted.

4.6. Socio-Cultural Factors

Resource-based towns in Canada of this era were often geared toward industrial production with little consideration for long-term community viability (Hodge 1991). High wages drew migrants in, and the limited time to develop deep attachment to a community before an economic bust prompted residents to leave (Halseth and Sullivan 2000). At the same time, a large number of new residents arriving in an area may also accelerate creation of social bonds and relationships (Halseth and Sullivan 2000). Other resource towns in Canada often displayed evidence of migration chains, as migrants from one area who found work in a new setting would alert family and friends to the new opportunities available, aiding their compatriots in moving to the new location (Rasporich 1982, Wegge 1998, Potestio 2000). To help determine how large of a role social or cultural factors played alongside economic factors in the lives and migration patterns of Upper Fraser residents, interviewees were asked a number of questions relating to how social and cultural factors may have affected their willingness to move to, remain in, or leave the Upper Fraser region. Examining

these responses provides insight into whether the same social phenomena that occurred in other resource-based towns occurred in the Upper Fraser region.

Thesis interviewees were asked to identify people who assisted them in their transition to life in the Upper Fraser region (Table 4.23). Almost forty-four percent of all respondents noted fellow residents as the people who aided in their adjustment. Other prominent groups mentioned included family members and community clubs. No formal groups seen in larger cities such as Welcome Wagon were mentioned, nor were any religious groups. Most support for new residents was informal. As one interviewee phrased it:

I don't know, we're pretty friendly, you know. It was a small town. I mean, if you didn't have something, yeah, you went next door and said, 'Gee, have you got this or that.' You know, I think it was just neighbourly stuff is what- the way you hear about it in Hollywood, you know? We were a neighbourly little town. And everybody did take care of one another a bit. There was no formal services, if that's what you're looking for (thesis interview 2005).

Table 4.23: Were you assisted by family members/community organizations/religious groups/fellow countrymen/other in your move to or adjustment to life in the community?

Response	n=	% of responses
Fellow residents	7	43.8%
Family	3	18.8%
Community group	2	12.5%
Government (Dominion Lands Act)	1	6.3%
Other new arrivals	1	6.3%
Previous acquaintances	1	6.3%
School	1	6.3%
TOTAL	16	100.0%

Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interviewees who had left the area were asked to describe how the lifestyle in their new residence compared to life in the Upper Fraser region (Table 4.24). Positive responses were slightly outnumbered by negative responses at just over forty-five percent negative compared to forty-two percent positive. Positive aspects about living in a new town included more amenities, better social conditions and more activities for young people. Negative aspects about their new town included noise and lack of a sense of community. It should be noted that older interviewees, and those who left the Upper Fraser region later, were more likely to look upon their new lifestyle in a more negative manner unless they were in frequent contact with other people who had also moved from the Upper Fraser region to settle in the same area. As one interviewee remembered:

Oh, like night and day. I went into a shock, myself...I just, uh- that was the most difficult period of my life, was that move from this nice, little comfortable place where you could do anything and be anywhere to this place where I was just like, you know, the hick (thesis interview, 2005).

Those who left the Upper Fraser region at a younger age were more likely to view their new location as more advantageous for them and their young families in terms of recreational and social opportunities. In essence, older residents found social networks more important while younger residents found services to be key. One younger interviewee remarked, "You go home now and you're in town and you go out to watch a movie and stuff like this. You're always

doing something, whereas in Sinclair Mills, when you're at home, you're at home.

You don't do anything (UFHGP 2001)."

Table 4.24: How did the lifestyle (in your new town) compare to the lifestyle in the community?

Response	n=	% of responses
<i>Negative aspects</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>45.4%</i>
Less quiet	3	9.1%
Less social	3	9.1%
Lack of community	2	6.1%
Factionalistic/divisive	1	3.0%
Less comfortable	1	3.0%
Less freedom	1	3.0%
Less scenic	1	3.0%
Less to do	1	3.0%
More crime	1	3.0%
Stressful	1	3.0%
<i>Positive aspects</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>42.4%</i>
More shops/services	4	12.1%
More to do	4	12.1%
Better for young people	3	9.1%
More social	2	6.1%
Cleaner	1	3.0%
<i>No adjustment</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>12.1%</i>
TOTAL	33	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Note: Multiple responses were permitted.

Community events and service organisations can be critical in developing community attachment and social capital/cohesion (Saarinen 1999, Halseth and Sullivan 2000). Interviewees were asked to identify major community events and get-togethers in their towns (Table 4.25). Dances were the most frequently-mentioned event, followed by inter-community baseball games. Annual Christmas concerts and weekly and/or monthly movie nights were also mentioned in multiple places. As the largest community in the area during the

Table 4.25: Did the town have any community get-togethers, for instance, an annual picnic?

Response	Willow River n=	Giscome n=	Newlands n=	Aleza Lake n=	Upper Fraser n=	McGregor n=	Sinclair Mills n=	Longworth n=	Penny n=	Dome Creek n=	TOTAL n= %
Dances	1	3		4	2		3		8	2	23 26.4%
Inter-community baseball	1	2		3	1		5		3	2	17 19.5%
Christmas concert		1			3		1	1	2	2	10 11.5%
Movie night		1					3		4	2	10 11.5%
Christmas dinner		1			2	1	2				6 6.9%
Inter-community hockey		1					1		2		4 4.6%
Greet the train	1						1		1		3 3.4%
Badminton									2		2 2.3%
Picnics									2		2 2.3%
Victoria Day	1						1				2 2.3%
Bingo					1						1 1.1%
Canada Day									1		1 1.1%
Fall bazaar							1				1 1.1%
New Year's Day		1									1 1.1%
Salmon Days										1	1 1.1%
Turkey shoot		1									1 1.1%
Valentine's Day		1									1 1.1%
None			1								1 1.1%
TOTAL	4	12	1	7	9	1	18	1	25	9	87 100.0

Sources: UFGHP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

crest of the boom in the 1960s, Penny also had the largest amount of events and get-togethers.

Interviewees were asked to identify any community groups or social organizations that existed in their towns (Table 4.26). Residents of most towns studied reported the existence of at least one community club. The only exception was Newlands, the smallest of all communities in the study. Inter-community baseball competition was also mentioned frequently; these clubs were typically organised as 'company teams' by the sawmills to represent their town and employer in competition. Penny and Giscome, the largest communities during the study period, reported the highest number of social organisations. With the exception of the Royal Canadian Legion in Giscome, no fraternal or service groups were identified in these towns.

When asked to describe the role that local sawmills played in community functions (Table 4.27), nearly twenty-six percent of respondents felt that the sawmills would donate to the community when asked, but would not be the initiator of community projects. Approximately twenty-two percent stated that the sawmills played no direct role in the community. Sponsorship of community baseball was the most prominently mentioned role of support the sawmills provided in the towns, as the mills could promote themselves by fielding company teams to compete against teams fielded by other sawmills.

Interviewees were asked to describe how long it took new residents to adjust to life in the Upper Fraser region (Table 4.28). Almost 88% of

Table 4.26: What social organizations existed in ____?

Response	Willow River	Giscome	Newlands	Aleza Lake	Upper Fraser	Sinclair Mills	Penny	Dome Creek	TOTAL
	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=
Baseball team		2		2		2	1	1	8
Bridge club							3		3
Community club		1		1	2	2	2	2	10
Parent-teacher's association						2	1		3
Rod & gun club		1							1
Girl Guides						1			1
Drama club		1							1
IWA		5			2	1	7		15
Ladies' group/auxiliary		1			1		3		5
Royal Canadian Legion		1							1
Hockey team	1	2							3
None			1						1
TOTAL	1	14	1	3	5	8	17	3	52
									%
									15.4%
									5.8%
									19.2%
									5.8%
									1.9%
									1.9%
									1.9%
									28.8%
									9.6%
									1.9%
									5.8%
									1.9%
									100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

respondents stated that it did not take long at all (less than a year for this study's purposes) for new residents to adjust to their new home as most new residents were from working-class backgrounds and were used to, if not at least prepared for, the living conditions that they would encounter in the Upper Fraser region. One interviewee commented, "I don't know that there would be much adjustment. Any move you make, there's bound to be adjustment but, pretty well, life was as they anticipated. A lot of work involved and going out in the country and making a home (UFHGP 2001)." Residents newly arrived from urban centres often took longer to adjust to the lack of amenities in the area. One interviewee related how the topography of the Upper Fraser region affected perception of the area: "My mom never really recovered from the claustrophobia until we got to Prince George. She felt better here because the mountains are further away, you know? (thesis interview 2005)."

Table 4.27: What role did the sawmill(s) play in community functions?

Response	n=	% of responses
General support	7	25.9%
Donated lumber for community projects	6	22.2%
Ball club sponsorship	4	14.8%
Donated items for bazaars & raffles	2	7.4%
Hosted parties in cookhouse	1	3.7%
Donated Christmas gifts for children	1	3.7%
No direct role	6	22.2%
TOTAL	27	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Table 4.28: How long did it take residents to adjust to the lifestyle in the community?

Response	n=	% of responses
Not long (less than one year)	14	87.5%
A year or two for newly married women	1	6.3%
Some never adjusted	1	6.3%
TOTAL	16	100.0%

Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

When asked if religion played a prominent role within their town (Table 4.29), the majority of respondents (roughly 57%) stated that religion played almost no role within the community as a whole. For others, the church played a role for its members or provided something for its residents to do in the community. Interviewees in general did not show any great interest in religion or see the relevance of religion in the communities. One interviewee commented, "No, (the church) was just there and that's all. I mean, we never thought one thing or the other of it (thesis interview 2005)."

Table 4.29: Did religion play an important role within the community?

Response	n=	% of responses
No/Not really	8	57.1%
Just for the people in the church, nothing more	3	21.4%
Church was just something to do	2	14.3%
Organizer of events	1	7.1%
TOTAL	14	100.0%

Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

With regards to in-migration directly from foreign countries, Hungarian, English, Swedish, Portuguese, Yugoslav, Italian, American and German immigrants made up the majority of interviewees' responses (Table 4.30). Many interviewees noted the amount of Hungarian immigrants who moved to the area

Table 4.30: Did you know of any newly arrived foreign immigrants in the community?

Response	Willow River	Giscome	Newlands	Aleza Lake	Upper Fraser	Sinclair Mills	Longworth	Penny	Dome Creek	TOTAL
	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	n=	%
Hungary	1	2		5	1	1		2	1	13 12.5%
Germany		2			1	3		3	1	10 9.6%
Portugal		5				1			3	9 8.7%
United States		1	1	2	1			1	3	9 8.7%
Italy		3	1					3	1	8 7.7%
England	1	1	1	2			1		1	7 6.7%
India		2			2			1	2	7 6.7%
Sweden	2		2	2					1	7 6.7%
Yugoslavia	1			1		4		1		7 6.7%
France								3		3 2.9%
Norway	1	1						1		3 2.9%
Poland				2			1			3 2.9%
Ukraine		1				1		1		3 2.9%
Austria		1						1		2 1.9%
Denmark					1				1	2 1.9%
Japan		1				1				2 1.9%
Czechoslovakia				1						1 1.0%
Finland		1								1 1.0%
Greece						1				1 1.0%
Jamaica								1		1 1.0%
Malta	1									1 1.0%
Netherlands		1								1 1.0%
Pakistan		1								1 1.0%
Puerto Rico									1	1 1.0%
Russia	1									1 1.0%
TOTAL	8	23	5	15	6	12	2	18	15	104 100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

in the wake of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Most foreign immigrants were shown to have moved to the area during the Great Depression or during the expansion of the Upper Fraser mill in the 1960s. Significant numbers of Italians and Portuguese were also reported. Many Americans arrived in the area as part of the 'back to the land' movement in the 1960s and 1970s.

Interviewees were asked if they knew of any visible minorities in their town during their time in the Upper Fraser region (Table 4.31). Only eight interviewees did not report visible minorities in their communities. Despite the mainly European flavor of the region, there were visible minorities in almost every community (Figure 4.9). First Nations were present in each major community, as may be expected in the British Columbia interior, but Japanese-Canadians were present in nearly every town as well. This is a legacy of internment camps during World War II; in this case, a camp in the mountains behind Willow River and Giscome, as well as nearby Blue River. Internees often provided labour during work shortages at mills (Prince George Citizen 1943a & 1943b, UFHGP 2001, thesis interviews 2005). Many were brought in from the southern interior of the province (Nash 2003), and some stayed in the area after the war and raised families, especially around Giscome and Sinclair Mills (UFHGP 2001, Nash 2003, thesis interviews 2005). Workers of Indian descent were also noted frequently in Giscome. Even without a large population base, the Upper Fraser region attracted residents from around the world.

Table 4.31: Were there any visible minorities in the community?

Response	Willow River n=	Giscome n=	Newlands n=	Aleza Lake n=	Upper Fraser n=	Sinclair Mills n=	Penny n=	Dome Creek n=	TOTAL n=	%
First Nations	2	1		1	5	3	3	2	17	27.9%
Japanese	1	7			1	4	2		15	24.6%
Indian		5			2		1	2	10	16.4%
Black		1			1		3		5	8.2%
Chinese		1			1	1			3	4.9%
Pakistani		1							1	1.6%
Puerto Rican								1	1	1.6%
Vietnamese					1				1	1.6%
No			1	2		1	2	2	8	13.1%
TOTAL	3	16	1	3	11	9	11	7	61	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

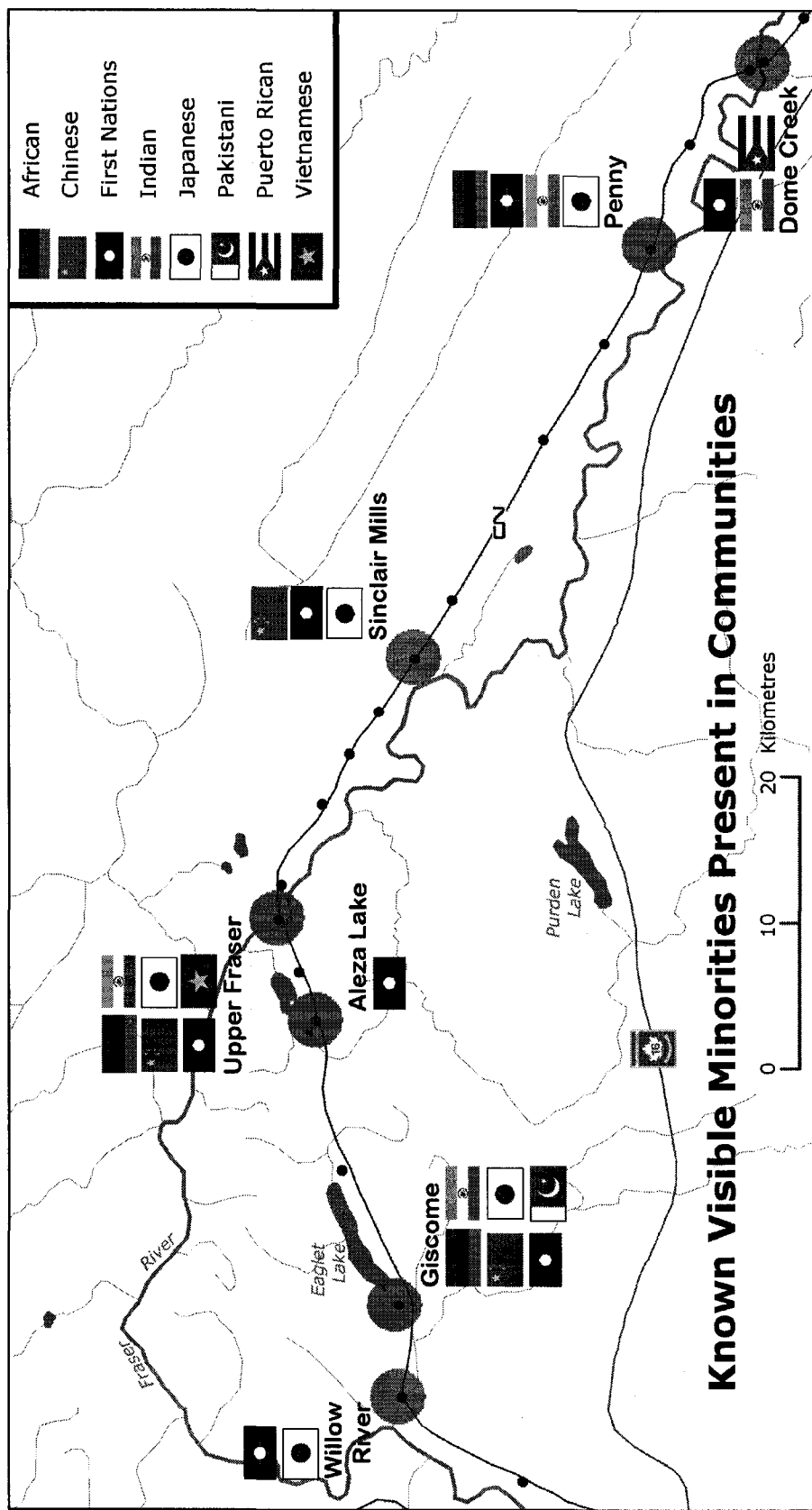


Figure 4.9. Known visible minorities present in communities.

Interviewees were asked to describe any instances of racial tension amongst Upper Fraser residents (Table 4.32). A large majority did not recall any such instances, although a small amount of Western European elitism was mentioned by participants of non-Anglo-Saxon background. As one interviewee stated:

And most of the class distinction was the British and the Scottish people were the ones that figured they were higher up than the others, 'cause Canada was a British colony and they always figured they were better than the rest of them. It wasn't that great, but it was that way. Not too noticeable, but it was there (thesis interview 2005).

Table 4.32: Did you notice any separation between rich and poor residents, or separation between people of different race or ethnicity?

Response	n=	% of responses
No	21	80.8%
British/Scottish as elites	2	7.7%
Cliques	1	3.8%
East Indian	1	3.8%
White collar workers on the hill	1	3.8%
TOTAL	26	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Interviewees were asked to describe instances of recruitment or solicitation of new residents by people of a common background (Table 4.33). Recruitment of Franco-Albertans from the St. Paul region to Aleza Lake was mentioned most frequently, followed by recruitment of workers and relatives from the Prairies in general. In both instances, participants stated that people from the Prairies often came to the Upper Fraser region to work in mills during the winter in order to send money back to their farming families.

Table 4.33: Did people of a particular ethnic group help recruit migrants to the area?

Response	n=	% of responses
Franco-Albertans	8	47.1%
Prairies (general)	4	23.5%
Saskatchewan	2	11.8%
Americans	1	5.9%
Italians	1	5.9%
Dutch	1	5.9%
TOTAL	17	100.0%

Sources: UFHGP Interviews, 1999-2001; Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Note: Multiple responses were permitted.

4.7. Questionnaire Results

Following the interview, interviewees were asked to denote the importance of various factors in their decision to move to or from the Upper Fraser region (Tables 4.34 and 4.35). This questionnaire was intended to provide quantitative data that could be compared to the qualitative responses given in the interviews. Responses were assigned a weight value to derive an average rating out of 5 for each factor; the higher the rating, the more important the factor. According to the survey, employment was by far the main impetus for interviewees to move to the area, followed by the general location of the area and the presence of relatives (Table 4.34). Transportation, services and cultural factors did not play a large role in interviewees' decisions to relocate to, or remain in, the area.

With regard to interviewees' motives to leave the Upper Fraser region (Table 4.35), the obtaining of employment elsewhere was the major factor in the decision to leave the area, with general lack of economic and educational

opportunities for themselves and their families also playing a large role. Cultural and non-economic factors were not shown to be of great importance.

Table 4.34: How important were the following factors in your decision to move to or remain in the Upper Fraser?

Response	Major		Somewhat		Unimportant/N/A		TOTAL		AVG VALUE
	n=	value	n=	value	n=	value	n=	value	
Employment	15	75	3	9	1	1	19	85	4.47
Location	7	35	6	18	6	6	19	59	3.11
Presence of Relatives	5	25	7	21	6	6	18	52	2.89
Community Facilities	4	20	6	18	9	9	19	47	2.47
Change of Pace/Lifestyle	3	15	7	21	9	9	19	45	2.37
Presence of Friends	2	10	9	27	8	8	19	45	2.37
Proximity to Prince George	2	10	7	21	9	9	18	40	2.22
Opportunity to Own Land/ Have Own Home	5	25	0	0	15	15	20	40	2.00
Access/Transportation	1	5	6	18	10	10	17	33	1.94
Schooling	3	15	1	3	13	13	17	31	1.82
Shopping/Services	0	0	3	9	12	12	15	21	1.40
Fellow Countrymen	0	0	1	3	16	16	17	19	1.12
Religious Facilities	0	0	1	3	16	16	17	19	1.12

Major = n*5, Somewhat = n*3, Unimportant/N/A = n*1, AVG VALUE = (TOTAL value/TOTAL n).
Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

Table 4.35: How important were the following factors in your decision to move to or remain in the Upper Fraser?

Response	Major		Somewhat		Unimportant/N/A		TOTAL		AVG VALUE
	n	value	n	value	n	value	n	value	
Employment Elsewhere	7	35	3	9	2	2	12	46	3.83
Schooling Opportunity	6	30	2	6	6	6	14	42	3.00
Lack of Employment	5	25	2	6	6	6	13	37	2.85
Location	4	20	4	12	5	5	13	37	2.85
Distance from Services	1	5	8	24	4	4	13	33	2.54
Access/Transportation	0	0	8	24	4	4	12	28	2.33
Change of Pace/Lifestyle	1	5	4	12	9	9	14	26	1.86
Friends Elsewhere	1	5	4	12	9	9	14	26	1.86
Relatives Elsewhere	1	5	2	6	11	11	14	22	1.57
Lack of Community Facilities	0	0	2	6	12	12	14	18	1.29
Lack of Religious Facilities	0	0	1	3	12	12	13	15	1.15
Discrimination	0	0	0	0	12	12	12	12	1.00
Fellow Countrymen	0	0	0	0	13	13	13	13	1.00
Retirement	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	5	5.00

Major = n*1, Somewhat = n*3, Unimportant = n*5, N/A = n*5. AVG = (TOTAL value/TOTAL n).
Source: Thesis Interviews, 2005.

4.8. Summary

Data from the interviews indicate that the largest population changes in the Upper Fraser region occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s after the process of sawmill closures and consolidations accelerated. Upper Fraser townsite arose as the major town in the Upper Fraser region by the end of the study period in 1975. Within the communities, different demographic distributions had emerged, with sawmill towns featuring young families in the main townsite and a transient population mostly composed of single men in bunkhouses. The Prairie provinces and Nordic Europe were the two major sources of migrants to the Upper Fraser region. Despite its location near the centre of the province, the remainder of British Columbia contributed comparatively few residents to the region, possibly due to the late development of a viable north-south transportation corridor to link the region to the rest of the province. The lack of transportation also hindered widespread commuting to employment until the late 1960s and 1970s. The region attracted migrants from a wide variety of origins, and visible minorities were present in every community.

Migration to the Upper Fraser region was precipitated by desire of employment. Migrants not in search of employment most often followed family members who were searching for employment. For those residents who left the region, employment-related factors remained most important (especially the closure of sawmills), followed by lack of access to proper education for either themselves or their children. Nearly one-half of interviewees who left went to Prince George, the nearest regional centre. Few migration chains were noted,

and unlike many other rural locations, religion did not appear to play a significant role in migration or in community culture. Community institutions considered important in retaining residents included general stores, community halls, and schools. Overall, regardless of whether residents relocated or not, feelings about the region were mostly positive, and discrimination against and/or exclusion of residents was not widely reported.

5. Discussion

5.1. Analysis

This section will feature a discussion of the research results. The purpose is to help determine if migration to and from the Upper Fraser region was tied to economics and the presence of amenities, whether familial and ethnic ties played a role, or whether the two are linked. This discussion responds to the study objectives as posed in Section 1.5.

1. Population size and centrality versus employment as an attractor of migrants.

Population size and the centrality of towns in the Upper Fraser region during the study period appeared to be tied directly to the size of the sawmill around which it was based. The exceptions included Dome Creek (a farming community) and Willow River (a bedroom community for Prince George). As all of the towns in the study area were small relative to the regional centre of Prince George, none possessed a high level of centrality. Above all, employment opportunities, rather than size and location, were the main attraction for in-migrants. This is similar to other resource-based communities (Bradbury 1978, Mawhiney & Pitblado 1999, LeBlanc 2003, Rubinstein 2003). Many in-migrants who did not move for their own employment accompanied or followed family members who had obtained work in the region. This is comparable to other resource town literature (Halseth 1999b, Saarinen 1999, Potestio 2000).

The impact of transportation on the region proved to be critical to migration decision-making and community growth or decline. In-migration to the region reflected a low share of British Columbians moving to the region. The east-west transportation corridor of the Grand Trunk Pacific, and the lack of road access to southern British Columbia until the 1960s, played a large role in migration patterns. In the early days of settlement in the Upper Fraser region, automobile ownership was not widespread and was not seen as a necessity. Consequently, very few people owned vehicles and commuting to work and recreation was not common. While the actual distance between the rest of the province and the Upper Fraser region was relatively small, the lack of access to the region increased the psychological distance (Burford 1962). It was considered easier to access the region from the Prairie provinces than from the rest of British Columbia.

The 1950s-1960s boom in the Upper Fraser region (and the higher wages that went with it) was coincident with technological advances in forestry and with widespread development of infrastructure in the interior of British Columbia. With more disposable income and an expanding road network, most Upper Fraser residents were now able to travel to Prince George and the rest of the province by car rather than train. The increasing freedom of travel increased contact with the outside world and exposed residents to services in Prince George that were not available in the Upper Fraser region. While the physical distance remained the same, the psychological distance was shortened. Many of the interviewees noted access to services and amenities as a secondary reason for relocating

away from the region. This is similar to the experiences of some residents in Mackenzie (Halseth and Sullivan 2000). In the survey forms given to interviewees, transportation itself shows up as being more important for those who left the region than it was for those who moved to the region.

2. Ties between migration and sawmill closures.

For those who left the region, employment was again the main factor, augmented by the search for educational opportunities for some residents or their children. As the new, large pulp mills opened in Prince George to replace sawmills in the Upper Fraser (whose timber allotments they had purchased), higher wages and more options for employment were to be found in Prince George compared to the Upper Fraser region. This made it easier to relocate based upon the availability of better social, education, and recreation opportunities facilitated by improving road transportation. This is a similar circumstance to Millward's (2005) research on Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia, where a seemingly buoyant rural economy can experience depopulation because of the influence of an adjacent urban region. There was also an anticipation of impending sawmill closures and declining economic prospects in the region even before some sawmills began to close, prompting some residents to leave. This follows other literature where people have left resource towns rather than deal with economic vulnerability (Pinfield and Etherington 1992, Halseth and Sullivan 2000). Abrupt economic change accompanied by lack of services and infrastructure in resource communities often leaves residents with no means of

support and thus precipitates an exodus from the communities (Blunden *et al.* 1998, Burrows 2001).

3. Ties between community viability and social facilities/services.

The development pattern of the towns in this study, except the Prince George bedroom community of Willow River, generally followed the model of resource town development as laid out by Bradbury (1988), in which job losses in the forms of sawmill closures and downsizings were tied to large out-migration movements. No attempts were made at entering the seventh stage ('Alternative Futures') as laid out by Halseth and Sullivan (2002), unless one considers the conversion of the sawmill bunkhouse in Sinclair Mills into a hotel, restaurant and store in the late 1970s. This business persisted for nearly two decades before its consumption by fire (UFHGP 2001). As a small business, though, it did not have nearly the economic footprint of the sawmill, and came into existence well after the main depopulation of the town. It would appear that after the closure stage the towns did not have enough of a remaining population to make a transition into alternative futures.

The four main focal points of Upper Fraser community life were the mill (employer/provider), the general store (supplies/meeting place), the community hall (social events/recreation) and the school (education/social events). Communities that grew to triple-digit size were those that had at least three of the above. When the local sawmills closed, it was typically not long before at least one of these other facilities was also closed. Even in Upper Fraser townsite,

whose sawmill was open through the 1990s, the closure of the school led to a further exodus of residents well in advance of the 1998 dismantling of the townsite. Except for Penny and Giscome, Upper Fraser residents mentioned few community organisations beyond their respective community clubs, which were often based out of schools. When important venues for social interaction such as schools and stores are lost, and the social institutions associated with them are removed, *Gemeinschaft* is lost (Tönnies 2001). Lack of collective action at the local level leaves towns more vulnerable to outside influences (Nyström 1998, Halseth and Sullivan 2002).

Despite the large exodus of people from the Upper Fraser region, as well as the perceived lack of local services and amenities, out-migrants generally retained a high sense of attachment to the region. This may in part reflect the fact that the interview participants were all identified as long-term residents of the Upper Fraser region. This is similar to Everitt and Gfellner's (1996) work among long-time residents of rural Manitoba. Nevertheless, this attachment did not prevent people from leaving, as the lack of economic stability and service provision was too great a push factor. It should be noted that many of the participants who had moved away still maintained property in the region for use as recreational and vacation cottage property. This reaffirms emotional and physical attachment to the region. As one former resident stated:

I had the opportunity of actually taking over the farm of my father and mother in 1968 when my father passed away, and it was my decision not to do it, and it was probably one of the best decisions I ever made,

because by moving into Prince George, we had all the benefits of sports and everything for our children; you know, all the benefits that you had in the city, but, yet, we had the opportunity of still going back out to the farm and, you know, having the country beauty of it, so it was still great, yeah. It was basically two- the opportunity of having two worlds, you know- living in the city with all of the amenities and still going out to the country and enjoying the country life. So we still do it. We still have it, and it's great (thesis interview 2005).

The desire for conveniently-located services, particularly education, also affected residents' desire to relocate. Many working-age residents of the region also had children who were entering their teenage years. As education in the Upper Fraser region ended at Grade 7, many families decided to relocate to Prince George in order to provide their children with more educational and recreational opportunities. The loss of residents wishing to avoid long commutes to Prince George for services was repeated on a smaller scale in Mackenzie (Halseth and Sullivan 2000). Near the end of the study period, the implementation of school bus service to other towns promoted the further exodus of school-age residents. Faced with a long commute, or in some cases temporary boarding, many families found it easier to relocate to another town than deal with the complications of their children enduring frequent long-distance commutes to school. This is similar to the experiences of students in Schefferville, Quebec (Bradbury and St-Martin 1983).

There were no formal methods of assistance for new residents in the region. While other areas such as the Ontario Nickel Belt featured ethnically-based assistance societies (Saarinen 1999), and 'instant towns' of British Columbia featured municipal incorporation and developed public infrastructure services to help support residents (Bradbury 1978), towns in the Upper Fraser region had no form of municipal organisation (unincorporated areas of British Columbia did not become organised into regional districts until the late 1960s). Beyond the benefits provided by the sawmills (in those towns that had sawmills), which usually amounted to company stores and some provision of electricity, residents were reliant upon themselves and their neighbours. This form of assistance was considered *de rigueur* by interviewees. The lack of government presence, however, meant that even at the height of settlement, when thousands of people lived in the Upper Fraser region, many services usually found in similarly-sized communities were lacking. For example, only Giscome was identified as having a police officer. No ministry had a branch office anywhere in the region unless one considers the experimental forest and ranger station at Aleza Lake. A lack of support services and the spinoffs produced by these services made leaving the region easier for residents.

4. Influence of ethnic groups and religious organisations.

Substantial literature examines migrant groups as combating the influence of a larger population rather than accepting it, whether it be to preserve class status, as was the case with upper-class English in British Columbia (Weir 1984, Barman 1986), or an effort to preserve traditions associated with a particular

group, such as communal living among Mennonites (Redekop 1992) or Finnish as a primary language group in the Ontario nickel belt (Saarinen 1999). In contrast, research in the Upper Fraser region suggests a relative passivity toward individual ethnic identity in favour of functioning within the community as full members. Only sporadic incidents of discrimination were recorded in this study, as opposed to the class structure conflict identified in other British Columbia resource towns by Bradbury (1978). This can also be extended to religious identity, which appeared to play a comparatively small role in the lives of Upper Fraser region residents. This does reflect, in a way, the acceleration of community bonds in instant resource towns as per Halseth and Sullivan (2000). This is an interesting result considering that the communities of the Upper Fraser, with the exception of Giscome and Upper Fraser townsites, were not company-constructed towns. Many of the families had lived in the area for multiple generations, thirty or forty years before the post-World War II boom.

For the most part, ethnicity was not found to have had a major influence on the lifestyle of Upper Fraser region residents. The trend was toward rapid assimilation. While residents of Nordic and Eastern European backgrounds were fairly high in numbers, no individual nationalities predominated. With the region having residents of many different backgrounds spread over a relatively small population, no group was able to dominate another or even remain coherent for a sustained period of time. Interviewees did not seem overly concerned with the issue of discrimination, although some issues did arise. As one interviewee remarked about Hungarian immigrants of the 1950s:

...over in Hungary, they had this revolution in Hungary, and they let a lot of Hungarians in, young guys and 'freedom fighters', we called 'em. But they were nothing but god damn trouble in the mills, but they were young, you know? They weren't used- they were used to city life and everything. They caused nothin' but trouble. There was a few that weren't too bad (thesis interview 2005).

The tension arose not from the ethnicity (many Hungarians had immigrated to the region before with little issue) but from the work ethic of the new migrants. Those who remained were quickly absorbed into the population at large. This is in agreement with the work of Zucchi (1998) and Wang (2002) that groups initially unwelcome by the majority population may eventually be accepted into the mainstream. In the Upper Fraser, this process was accelerated compared to a more populous urban landscape.

The lack of dominant ethnic groups may also account for the lack of religious influence, with the possible exception of the small Franco-Albertan community that lived seasonally at Aleza Lake and their ties to the Catholic Church. While many interviewees described church as a weekly or monthly activity, most did not attribute great significance to it. Most of the communities only had one church if a church was present at all. It should be noted that church attendance did serve as an additional gathering of community residents, much like Christmas concerts, community dances, and inter-community baseball games.

5. Presence of chain migration in Upper Fraser migration processes.

Word-of-mouth among family and fellow countrymen was a main method of attracting residents to the region. This is true for many regions that experience a boom in employment (Rasporich 1982, Saarinen 1999, Potestio 2000). Only two instances of chain migration during the time frame of the study were mentioned, however. One was the Franco-Albertan migration to Aleza Lake, which could be considered more of an *en masse* movement or a seasonal migrant labour arrangement, as these migrants did not stay year-round. The other movement, from selected mill towns in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, was small and intermittent rather than a consistent chain; only when looking at the span of the study do the numbers become significant. Rather than word-of-mouth from fellow migrants, this particular set of movements was driven by business connections between sawmills. Nevertheless, it does account in some part for the number of Prairie residents in the region. Overall, the Prairie provinces, Nordic Europe, and Eastern Europe do stand out as contributing areas to Upper Fraser migration. Local knowledge recognises a chain migration of Portuguese to Giscome; however, my interview sample did not separate this out.

Out-migration chains, however, are evident. The decline in population in the region can certainly be tied to the construction of the pulp mills in the 1960s in Prince George. Over half of the residents interviewed who left the Upper Fraser region went directly to these new mills. Many residents moved within the region following the pattern of mill consolidation; many of those people eventually

ended up in Prince George as well. This is the type of movement based upon intervening opportunities as suggested by Stouffer (1940). For those interviewees who initially moved to places other than the Prince George/Upper Fraser region, all of those moves were to other resource-based communities. This is similar to many resource-based communities in the nearby Cariboo region of British Columbia, where a movement of workers from one rural resource community to another is evident (Halseth 1999b). Of course, residents did not all move to the same community; perhaps this is more evident of a connected migration web or network.

5.2. Generalisability of Results

All but four residents lived in the region for at least a decade. All subjects were recommended via snowball technique as reliable sources of community information, most of them by multiple people. A broad range of vocational, ethnic, and temporal backgrounds were represented among the interviewees, and all of the major Upper Fraser towns were well represented with the possible exception of Willow River. This is not a comprehensive sample of the entire population, however, and so the data produced should be considered illustrative but not representative.

6. Conclusions

6.1. Summary

Previous research identified the need for examination of migration issues in the Upper Fraser. While there had been many community histories written and oral histories recorded (MacArthur 1983, Walski 1985, PRC 1994, Boudreau 1998 and 2000, Jeck 2000), none of these represented a scholarly examination of the movement of people in the region. There was a need to explore the socio-economic dynamics of the region and the role of migration in the rise and collapse of Upper Fraser communities.

With regard to British Columbia resource town migration in general, migration patterns had been examined (Halseth 1999b), but never with regard to such factors as ethnicity and religion. Not only did examining the Upper Fraser region present an opportunity to compare its circumstances to other resource-based communities in British Columbia and Canada, but it also provided an opportunity to expand the number of social and economic factors used as migration determinants in resource town studies. Also of interest was that while some study of individual resource towns in British Columbia that had boomed, busted, and closed had been conducted (LeBlanc 2003), no study had examined detailed migration patterns in a large, rural British Columbia area, containing many ostensibly abandoned communities, over the entire length of the area's settlement.

An interview-based methodology was selected for this study to complement the success of previous interviews conducted with existing and former Upper Fraser residents and the belief that they would be the most knowledgeable sources of information about social conditions and migration patterns in the region given the lack of reliable census data. New interviews were conducted in order to delve specifically into issues of migration, ethnicity, religion, and community satisfaction. These new interviews were supplemented with data extracted from the original set of UFHGP oral histories conducted in 2000 and 2001. To participants in the new set of interviews, questionnaires were given to further clarify their opinions and feelings as well as to rank factors influencing migration.

The validity of the research was enhanced by the use of a wide variety of interview subjects representing the entire spectrum of Upper Fraser communities, as well as the entire time period these towns have existed. Incorporating data from the previous UFHGP interviews allowed further verification of the results, and ensured that a larger sample base was used in the compilation of the results. Results were constrained, however, by the lack of available secondary data and lack of interviewees residing outside of the Prince George region. Open and closed interview questions were conducted with the interviewees who were able to provide insight into issues of migration, ethnicity, and social conditions in the Upper Fraser region. Valuable information regarding population size, migration factors, chain migration, movements after sawmills closures, community services, social facilities, and religious organisations was

gained that otherwise would be difficult or impossible to obtain due to the lack of published information from other sources.

The results of the research are intriguing. While many of the communities were shown to have declined beginning in the 1960s, this coincides with the emergence of Northwood's Upper Fraser townsite as the region's major community. Upper Fraser townsite continued to prosper as other towns shrank. Overall employment levels in the region were at their highest after the population decline, tripling from 1965 to 1980 (Stauffer 2001). This demonstrates the importance of adequate service provision as a necessary complement to stable employment in order to keep residents in small communities. Interviewees acknowledged the importance of services and social facilities in maintaining healthy communities.

Rather than demonstrating the block settlement patterns of other areas of rural Canada, the Upper Fraser region showed itself to be a 'melting pot' of ethnic and religious entities with little concern for broad cultural labels. With few concerted chains of in-migration, no *en masse* migration movements into the region, and the small overall population levels involved, opportunities to form ethnic or religious-based communities did not present themselves. Out-migration patterns are consistent with other resource towns in British Columbia; most interviewees relocated to other resource-dependent areas of the province after leaving the region. Naturally, Prince George, the nearest city and the home to new, high-paying pulp mill jobs, was the main destination. The opening of new

transportation corridors into the region may have accelerated the demise of Upper Fraser region communities by making it easier for the lumber industry (in this case, Northwood) to access the resources of the area and then send those resources to a single processing location (Upper Fraser townsite and then Prince George) rather than maintaining a series of smaller sawmills that were not as cost-efficient.

6.2. Future Research

Many of the research results provide a foundation of opportunities for future examination of migration topics, both for the Upper Fraser region and for resource towns in general. This section describes a suite of issues of topic areas for future research.

Not only was the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway responsible for opening up the Upper Fraser region to widespread permanent settlement, its function as the only transportation link from the region to the rest of Canada played a role in determining where migrants to the region came from. As there were no rail or road connections to the south until the 1950s, a disproportionately large percentage of migrants came from the Prairie provinces. One topic of future research may be to examine whether migration from the Prairies was a main contributor to communities along the entire length of the Grand Trunk Pacific/Canadian National line in British Columbia, or whether this was a phenomenon mostly limited to the Upper Fraser region.

Tied to the phenomenon of railway-based migration is the issue of Upper Fraser mills, notably Gale & Trick/S.B. Trick near Aleza Lake, often hiring employees based upon recommendations or word-of-mouth from mills in Saskatchewan (Carrot River) and Manitoba (Bowsman). Both of these mills were located along the same line of the Canadian National Railway as the Upper Fraser region. One future research topic would be to examine whether similar arrangements occurred in other industries or other resource towns located along the railway. This could produce better insight as to how resource towns in British Columbia or elsewhere were populated, and where their residents came from. This research could also explore the countereffects of this movement; namely, what happened to feeder towns as a result of residents moving to other towns, and possible migration patterns that formed as a result.

Government immigration policy is an issue that has not been mentioned in great detail in the Upper Fraser region. It is known that there were visible minorities in every major Upper Fraser community. Another future research topic is how the relaxing of Canadian immigration requirements in the 1960s affected migration to the region. This period of time coincides with the beginning of the decline or closure of most of the sawmills in the region, and the emergence of Upper Fraser townsite as the region's main settlement. It is not known how large the numbers of visible minorities in these towns were at any given time, and whether or not a noticeable increase in the number of visible minorities occurred in the region after the mid-1960s.

Related to the issue of visible minorities is the issue of Japanese internees in the Upper Fraser region. Many sawmills used internee labour to cover for labour shortages during World War II, and local residents have verified the presence of a Japanese internment or labour camp located in the mountains between Willow River and Giscome. There is little written with regard to this camp, what the purpose of the camp was, what sort of projects or labour took place at the camp, or whether the internees of the camp became employed in the Upper Fraser region. There were many Japanese-Canadians who lived in the region after World War II. Whether or not any of these people were simply internees who remained in the area or people who moved to the area voluntarily is unknown. The full story of Japanese internees in the Upper Fraser region is yet to be documented and told.

At least two issues regarding discrimination are in need of future examination. Discrimination in general, while not overwhelmingly present according to most interview subjects, was mentioned by some (e.g. Anglo-Saxon elitism, isolation of Indians on the edge of town, 'poor work ethics' of some Hungarian refugees). Future research may inquire as to whether those who felt discriminated against in the Upper Fraser region moved away shortly after arrival and thus be largely unaccounted for in these interviews. The issue of First Nations in the area is also of interest. It is acknowledged that First Nations were present in every community in the region, yet very little else is known about their experiences.

Many labourers in the region lived in mill-owned bunkhouses. According to interviewees, the populations of the bunkhouses tended to be quite transient. Future research may examine the reasons for transiency, efforts around the integration of bunkhouse residents into the community at-large, relations between permanent residents and bunkhouse residents, and any possible stereotyping or discrimination that occurred as a result. Whether the level of transiency in these bunkhouses was consistent with the level of transiency in other resource towns or camp accommodation is also unknown.

The impact of religion as a factor in creating community bonds and, by association, keeping residents attached to the community, was found to be minimal in the Upper Fraser region, contrary to initial expectations. Whereas residents of other rural areas of Canada commonly displayed close ties to an established church, this was not found to be the case in the Upper Fraser. Future research may inquire as to whether the early-established secularisation of the region may have promoted the loosening of ties to the community, and whether the lack of religious affinity was tied to labour force transiency or to the lack of a permanent population in the towns large enough to sustain church attendance. Examining religion in resource towns and recently built 'instant towns' may also be of interest.

The role of gender in the migration process to and from the Upper Fraser region did not arise in great detail in this study. Future research may examine the roles wives had in household migration decisions, especially with regard to

access to support services in larger centres. As well, gender-specific migration patterns such as those among schoolteachers (female) or religious clergy (male) may be examined.

GIS-based models using population density, economic data, and transportation infrastructure (O'Kelly and Horner 2003, Renkow 2003) might be adapted to research in the Upper Fraser if reasonably accurate numerical data can be found, helping to further support some the conclusions arrived at in this thesis. Given the aging population of the Upper Fraser region and lack of reliable historical population data, these models may be hard to employ in Upper Fraser research. The lack of such data prevented a GIS model from being explored in this research. Such a model, however, may work well for incorporated resource towns in similar situations, but which may have more accurate population and economic data available.

Due to time and distance constraints, only Upper Fraser region residents along with former residents living in the Prince George area were interviewed. Gathering information from former Upper Fraser region residents in other parts of British Columbia or elsewhere will make an impact on the results and should be a feature of future research.

6.3. Closing Comments

The main benefits of this research are to expand the coverage of scholarly research literature in the Upper Fraser region, to compare the experiences of

residents of the region against those in other rural resource-based communities in Canada in order to determine whether the same factors and variables apply, and to help preserve information about the region while it is still in living memory. For the first time, detailed information on migration patterns in the region was collected; previous publications had not documented patterns of chain migration and ethnic migration, using a historical-memoir based approach, often in the form of individual autobiographies.

For those interested in pursuing research in the Upper Fraser region, this thesis provides a basic understanding of movement patterns in the region, and of the composition of each community. It also highlights the importance of transportation and economics to the social structure of the Upper Fraser region. Finally, it highlights a number of topics such as religion, discrimination, labour commuting, and labour recruitment, for which further research can be gathered.

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Appendix A: Information Sheet Given to 2005 Thesis Interview Participants

About the Upper Fraser Historical Geography Project

The history of the Upper Fraser River has witnessed the rise, consolidation and demise of a series of forestry-related settlements, as British Columbia's forest industry has passed through different industrial phases. These communities have represented a variety of different settlement types at different stages in their histories: nodes for small scale logging operations, base camps for larger scale operations, hamlets adapting to the closure of a sawmill. Changes technologies of forest harvesting and transport, changing policies and regulations, and changing economic priorities for forestry firms, have shaped the historical geography of the Upper Fraser's settlements.

Changing resource and land use patterns, and the intimately related changes in social and cultural make-up of the communities, are poorly documented. Yet such communities are a key component in British Columbia's landscape, and indeed, in Canada's northern landscapes. The Upper Fraser River's communities reflect a pattern of community development throughout UNBC's service region.

To date, most of the writing on these communities consists of local histories collected by residents. While these are very useful in their own right, they provide a limited basis for analysis of processes of social and environmental change due to the lack of scholarly analysis.

This project proposes to document the historical, cultural, social and economic geography of Upper Fraser communities, through the production of a series of reports which focus on the interaction of policy and technology with community development and associated land use. We envision this as an ongoing project, which will involve senior-level undergraduate students and Masters students over the next several years. Students' work will contribute to building a database on the social, cultural and economic geography of these settlements.

The current research involves documenting the migration patterns of Upper Fraser residents between the years 1945 to 1970, encapsulating the 'boom' and 'bust' periods of the region. By documenting the various influences that attracted residents to the area (and those that may have caused them to leave), a greater understanding of the dynamics of life in small, resource-based communities can be achieved. In particular, the study will reveal the complexities of life in the Upper Fraser and help preserve valuable data for future generations.

**Appendix B: Interview Consent Form Given to 2005 Thesis Interview
Participants**

Consent to assist in the research of Kyle Kusch, a student at the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC), on the topic of "Geographic modelling and interpretation of migration patterns in the Upper Fraser region of British Columbia, 1945-1970."

Your participation is greatly appreciated

Name of participant: _____

Place of interview: _____

Mailing address of participant: _____

Date: _____

Purpose: Social and economic changes in Upper Fraser communities over time have led to different patterns of settlement in each community. The purpose of the research is to examine patterns of migration in the Upper Fraser region, how these migrations have contributed to community development over time, and whether there were variances in migration between various ethnic groups. The data collected in this study will aid in the preservation of Upper Fraser community historical information, and has important implications for rural Canadian migration research and resource-town development research. The study will also display uses for geographic information systems (GIS) in migration research. This study is being used to complete the requirements for a Master of Arts (Natural Resource and Environmental Studies) thesis at UNBC.

How Participants Were Chosen: Interview participants were chosen because of their knowledge of, and experiences in, the Upper Fraser.

Confidentiality: The information shared in the interview will be used to develop a model of migration patterns in the Upper Fraser region between 1945 and 1970. Interviews will be recorded and transcribed to be sent back to you for verification and correction to ensure that any information they contain is in accordance with your wishes. For the thesis work, your name will not be used or shared; only the interviewer and the staff of the Upper Fraser Historical Geography Project (UFHGP) will have access to the information. The data will be stored in a locked file cabinet inside the offices of the Canada Research Chair in Rural and Small Town Studies, at UNBC, for a period of seven years following the completion of the project and only the interviewer and the staff of the UFGHP will have access to them. Depending entirely upon your wishes, the oral histories

may be either destroyed or transferred and stored securely in UNBC's Archives of Northern BC as part of our ongoing commitment to preserving the local history of the Upper Fraser.

Potential Risks and Benefits: This project has been assessed by the UNBC Research Ethics Board. We believe that this interview process poses no risks to individuals, and we hope that by participating you will have an opportunity to help preserve valuable community historical data relating to the Upper Fraser.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation is voluntary and, as such, you may choose not to participate. If you participate, you may terminate the interview at anytime and have the information you provided removed from the study.

Contact Information: You may contact the interviewer or his thesis supervisor at any time at the phone numbers and email addresses listed below. Upon completion of the research, results will be provided to you and the completed thesis will be deposited in the UNBC library.

Kyle Kusch, MA (NRES) Program
(250) 960-5677
kuschk@unbc.ca

Dr. Greg Halseth
(250) 960-5826
halseth@unbc.ca

Complaints: Should you have any concerns or complaints, please contact the UNBC Office of Research: researchoffice@unbc.ca or (250) 960-5820.

My participation in this research is voluntary. I may end my participation in the project at any time and withdraw my information for the project.

Results from my participation in this community-based oral history research project, and the resulting transcriptions, will be used for the following research purposes:

1. Scholarly and other publications and/or presentations about the subject
2. Project reports
3. Posters, webpages, and/or displays

Approval A: I understand that recordings, transcriptions and/or images may be used by other scholars and/or researchers interested in the history of the Upper Fraser region. To release my oral history information, I give permission to the researchers to deposit copies of my recordings and transcripts only after a seven year period to the UNBC Archives of Northern BC.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

Approval B: I do not wish to release my oral history information for public use and request that all recordings and transcripts be kept confidential through the course of Kyle Kusch's project and that these materials be destroyed after a seven-year period has elapsed from time of the completion of his project.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

I agree to the use of information I provide according to the conditions stated above.

Signature of Researcher

Date

Appendix C: Questions Posed to 2005 Thesis Interview Participants

Introduction

Demographics

When did you move to _____?

When did you move away from _____?

Why did you move to _____?

Do you know what the approximate population was when you lived there?

Would you say the population was mostly young, old, male, female or representative?

Did people move in and out of _____ a lot, or was the population more permanent?

What was the main reason for people leaving _____?

Why did you leave?

Where did you move?

How did you feel about the move?

How did other members of your family feel about the move?

How many people are in your family?

Migration Factors

How did you first hear about _____?

What was the primary reason for moving to _____? Did you move to _____ strictly for employment? To be close to family/friends/fellow countrymen? Both? Other reasons?

Were you assisted by family members/community organizations/religious groups/fellow countrymen/other in your move to or adjustment to life in _____?

Other than _____, did you consider moving to any other communities in this area?

_____ is fairly close to here and has a similar setting. Why did you choose _____ over _____?

Did the amount of services in _____ attract you to the town? If so, what kinds of services in particular (i.e. health services, schools, churches, shopping)?

Was _____'s proximity to Prince George/major shopping & services in another town a factor in your decision to move to _____, or were you self-reliant within your community?

Were social factors more important than employment or community infrastructure in your decision to move to _____?

Economic Issues

Do you know of any co-workers who commuted to work in _____ from other towns?

Do you know of any people who lived in _____, but commuted to work outside of _____?

Was access to transportation a major consideration in your decision to move to _____? From _____?

Did the closure of the sawmill(s) make it difficult or impossible to live in _____?

Do you know of any groups of people that moved *en masse* from _____ to another town after the sawmill(s) closed? Was there a reason other than employment for this (e.g. keeping families together)? Were these *en masse* migrations tied to ethnicity in any way?

Questions to be asked only if the interviewee no longer resides in the area:

Where did you/your spouse/your parents/etc. work after you moved from _____?

Was it difficult to find new employment?

How did the new job compare to the old job in _____?

How did the lifestyle in _____ compare to the lifestyle in _____?

Social Issues

Did the town have any community get-togethers like, for instance, an annual picnic?

What social organizations existed in _____?

Did these organizations play a large role in community functions?

Were any of these organizations based along ethnic lines or were these organizations made up of people from all facets of the town?

What role did the sawmill(s) play in community functions?

Were there any effort by community members/groups to recruit new residents to _____?

Were there any efforts by the sawmill(s) to recruit new residents to _____? Did the sawmills prefer a certain type of employee (e.g. single men, family men/women, members of a certain ethnic group)?

Did you notice any separation between rich and poor residents, or separation between people of different race or ethnicity in _____?

How long did it take new residents to adjust to the lifestyle in _____?

Did religion play an important role within the community?

Did certain community services (e.g. schools, stores, churches) play an especially important a role in keeping the community together?

Ethnic Relations

What is your ethnic background?

Where did most people in the community come from?

What was the general ethnic make-up of _____?

Were there any visible minorities in the community?

Did you know of any newly arrived foreign immigrants in _____?

Did people of a particular ethnic group help recruit migrants to the area?

Did different ethnic groups have different types of jobs?

Did different ethnic groups live in any special part of town?

How did community members treat foreign immigrants?

Was there any racial or ethnic tension?

Future Interviewees

We are putting together a list of people that we hope to interview in the future. Do you have any contact names that you think should be added to the list?

Closing

Is there anything else you would like to add?

Is there anything you would like to ask me?

May we contact you if there are any other questions I come up with?

**Appendix D: Questions Posed to Upper Fraser Historical Geography
Project Interview Participants, 1999-2001**

Introduction

Opening Question

- What is the one thing you remember most about your time spent in _____?

Demographics

- When did you move to _____?
- When did you move away from _____?
- Why did you move to _____?
- Do you know what the approximate population was when you lived there?
- Would you say the population was mostly young, old, male, female or representative?
- Did people move in and out of _____ a lot, or was the population more permanent?
- What was the main reason for people leaving _____?
- Why did you leave?
- Where did you move?
- How did you feel about the move?
- How did other members of your family feel about the move?

Townsite

- Can you draw [or felt map] the general layout of the townsite? What were the best aspects of the community's layout?
- What were the worst aspects of the community's layout?
- Where did you live?
- Did you have neighbors close by?
- Can you describe the changes in the layout of the town in the years you lived there?
- Was there

- a store
- a clubhouse
- a mill
- a graveyard
- a hotel
- a pub
- a church
- water
- electricity
- telephone
- plumbing
- entertainment

- What types of social services (i.e. health services) were provided in _____?
- Were these adequate for the community's needs?
- If you needed to get services elsewhere, what community would you go to?
- What was the shopping like in _____?
- Did you make shopping trips outside of the community? food clothes other
- Did _____ have any schools when you lived there? If not, where did children go?
- How long did it take to commute each day?
- Were there any after school activities?
- Can you describe the social life of young people, such as dating, meeting people, parties, etc.?

Employment

- Where did most people work when you lived in _____?
- How many mills were in _____ at this time?
- What were the company names?
- Who did you/your spouse/your parents/etc. work for?
- What was your/your spouse's/your parent's/etc. position?
- What skills were needed for this job?
- Who did the hiring?
- What equipment did you use?
- Did this change over time?
- What was the work regimen like (i.e. shift work, length of shift, etc.)?
- What was the spatial extent of your work?(i.e.) How far away from the townsite did you log?
- Did your employment change according to the seasons?(i.e.) log in winter, saw in summer
- Was your wage adequate compared to the cost of living in _____?
- Did you feel your job was secure?
- What types of benefit packages did your employer provide?
- Were these adequate?
- Did you/your spouse/your parents/etc. belong to a union?
- What were the labour relations like?
- For instance, do you remember any strikes, labour disputes, walk outs, etc.?

The time period should be considered before asking the following questions:

- Do you know of any co-workers who commuted to the _____ mill from other towns?
- Do you know of any people who lived in _____, but commuted to work outside of _____?
- Where did you/your spouse/your parents/etc. work after you moved from _____?
- Was it difficult to find new employment?
- How did the new job compare to the old job in _____?

Housing

- What housing types existed in _____ when you lived there? (i.e.) apartments, multifamily, bunkhouses, duplex, single-detached, a variety?
- Were most houses similar to each other or were there a variety of designs in the community?
- How would you describe the quality of housing?
- Did the design of your house suit things like the climate and the size of your family?
- Do you know who built the housing in _____?
- Did most people rent or own their homes?
- Did you rent or own your home?
- Whom did you rent from and how would you describe the general maintenance of the house?
- Was there an adequate supply of housing in _____?
- Were the houses expensive?

Social Issues

- What were the most pleasant aspects of living in _____?
- What were the negative aspects of living in _____?
- Did you notice any separation between rich and poor residents, or separation between people of different race or ethnicity in _____?
- How would you describe your relationship with your neighbors?
- Did the town have any community get-togethers like, for instance, an annual picnic?
- What role did the town's sawmill play in community get-togethers?

Gender Relations

- Did women work outside the home, if so where?
- Were there a large number of single men in the community?
- Were there single-parent families in the community?
- Were there any groups for women, like for instance a woman's support group?
- Where did the women get together?
- Where did the men get together?
- Where did both sexes get together?
- Were there any daycares or babysitting services in _____?
- Who provided these services?

Ethnic Relations

- Where did most people in the community come from?
- What was the general ethnic make-up of _____?
- Were there any visible minorities in the community?
- Did you know of any newly arrived foreign immigrants in _____?

- Did different ethnic groups have different types of jobs?
- Did different ethnic groups have different types of houses?
- Did different ethnic groups live in any special part of town?
- How did community members treat foreign immigrants?
- Was there any racial or ethnic tension?

Future Interviewees

- We are putting together a list of people that we hope to interview in the future.
- Do you have any contact names that you think should be added to the list?

Closing

- Is there anything else you would like to add?
- Is there anything you would like to ask me?
- May we contact you if there are any other questions I come up with?
- Do you have any memorabilia that you would be willing to lend us? (i.e.) pictures, letters, diaries

Questionnaire

A.How would you rate the following services when you arrived?

Good, Satisfactory, Poor, or n/a?

- 1.Water supply to house
- 2.Sewage disposal
- 3.Garbage disposal
- 4.Road
- 5.Street lighting
- 6.Educational facility:
 - Elementary
 - Junior Secondary
 - Senior Secondary
- 7.Park and children's playground facilities
- 8.Recreation facilities:
 - Indoor (like curling, skating, community hall, gymnasium, hockey, etc.)
 - Outdoor (playing fields)
- 9.Distance to shopping
- 10.Distance to medical facility
- 11.Bus service to city
- 12.Public library facility
- 13.Police
- 14.Fire protection
- 15.House mail

- 16.T.V. reception
- 17.Radio reception
- 18.Telephone facility

A.How would you rate the following services when you left?

Good, Satisfactory, Poor, or n/a?

- 1.Water supply to house
- 2.Sewage disposal
- 3.Garbage disposal
- 4.Road
- 5.Street lighting
- 6.Educational facility:
 - Elementary
 - Junior Secondary
 - Senior Secondary
- 7.Park and children's playground facilities
- 8.Recreation facilities:
 - Indoor (like curling, skating, community hall, gymnasium, hockey, etc.)
 - Outdoor (playing fields)
- 9.Distance to shopping
- 10.Distance to medical facility
- 11.Bus service to city
- 12.Public library facility
- 13.Police
- 14.Fire protection
- 15.House mail
- 16.T.V. reception
- 17.Radio reception
- 18.Telephone facility

**Appendix E: Post-Interview Questionnaire Given to 2005 Thesis Interview
Participants**

How important were the following factors in your decision to relocate to/remain in the Upper Fraser?

	Major	Somewhat	Unimportant	N/A
Presence of Relatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Presence of Friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fellow Countrymen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Schooling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Shopping/Services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Employment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Location	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Access/Transportation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Proximity to Prince George	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Religious Facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Community Facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Change of Pace/Lifestyle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Opportunity to own Land	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

How important were the following factors in your decision to leave the Upper Fraser?

	Major	Somewhat	Unimportant	N/A
Relatives Elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Friends Elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fellow Countrymen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Schooling Opportunity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Distance from Services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of Employment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Employment Elsewhere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Location	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Access/Transportation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of Religious Facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of Community Facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Change of Pace/Lifestyle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Discrimination	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>