

PLANNING IN A METROPOLITAN AREA -
THE EXPERIMENT IN GREATER WINNIPEG

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ABSTRACT

The experiment in metropolitan planning which occurred in Greater Winnipeg during the post second world war period is examined in this study through an appraisal of the two major stages of this experiment. The first stage was the period of advisory metropolitan planning under the aegis of the Metropolitan Planning Commission during the years 1949 to 1960. The second stage covers the period of metropolitan planning under the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg from 1961 to the present day. These two periods of metropolitan planning, on which major emphasis is placed, have been set in the context of earlier planning activities in Greater Winnipeg which provide the setting for the post war period.

Planning on a metropolitan basis has existed in Greater Winnipeg for over twenty years. The ability of the planning authorities to implement planning proposals has been singled out as the means of appraising the success or failure of metropolitan planning.

During the first stage of metropolitan planning, the Metropolitan Planning Commission was successful to a certain extent in publicizing the concept of metropolitan planning throughout the Greater Winnipeg area. However, from the point of view of actual implementation of metropolitan planning the Commission was not successful. The cities and municipalities in the metropolitan area were not required to accept any proposals made for development of the urban area as a whole.

When metropolitan government was created by the Provincial Government in 1961, the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg was given complete authority over planning in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area. During the years of Metro, the main instrument for exercising the function of metropolitan planning by the Metropolitan Corporation was the Metropolitan Development Plan. This Plan, which took seven years to produce, became an official by-law of the Corporation in 1968. The Metropolitan Development Plan is not, and has not been an effective planning instrument from the point of view of the ability of the Corporation to implement the Plan's proposals for future development. This is because the Plan is only a guide for the decisions of the Corporation and because the Plan is so general in its proposals that there can be a very wide interpretation of the Plan.

The Metropolitan Corporation has been unable to successfully implement metropolitan planning despite the fact that the Corporation was set up under legislation which was intended to enable that function to be implemented. The inability of the Corporation to implement metropolitan planning rests on the premise that first; the enabling legislation for metropolitan planning does not permit implementation of planning proposals; second, the instrument of the Corporation for carrying out its metropolitan planning function - The Metropolitan Development Plan - has been difficult to implement because it also is only "enabling" legislation; third, the establishment of electoral constituencies for the Metropolitan Council independently of the existing municipal constituencies did not allow the individual municipalities a direct voice in the metropolitan

planning process; and fourth, the division of municipal power between the Metropolitan Corporation and the local cities and municipalities within the Metro area has worked to the detriment of successful implementation of metropolitan planning. The result of these reasons for the failure of metropolitan planning demonstrates that the type of municipal government structure is intimately associated with the capacity to implement planning legislation on a metropolitan basis.

The municipal structure which is in existence in Greater Winnipeg at the present time, and which has been in existence during the nine years of metropolitan government is inappropriate for the implementation of the planning function as attempted by the Metropolitan Corporation. The division of power between the Metropolitan Corporation and the local cities and municipalities seems to be the fundamental reason for the failure to implement metropolitan planning. Therefore, it is a conclusion of this thesis that the successful implementation of metropolitan planning in Greater Winnipeg requires the amalgamation of the metropolitan area under one central civic administration.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the 1960's Greater Winnipeg experienced a form of municipal government which had been attempted before only in one other urban area of Canada. This is the system of metropolitan government under which it is now governed. The experiment of metro government was instituted first in Toronto in 1953; a modified version was adopted by Winnipeg in 1961. Because only two urban areas in Canada have attempted the metro experiment their experience in this form of government is important. This thesis is concerned with the Winnipeg experiment.

The second and senior tier of municipal government which was introduced in these two cities was made responsible for a number of public services over the entire metropolitan area. The intent of the Provincial Governments, who were responsible for the formation of these metropolitan entities, was to create a supra-municipal authority which was empowered to legislate and operate over the entire urban metropolitan area. This intent was a response to a growing awareness on the part of the Provincial Governments that the problems involved in providing services for large urban areas could not be adequately solved under the former system of a separate and individual approach by the constituent municipalities of the metropolitan areas.

Among the services which were placed under the responsibility of

the Metropolitan Governments in Toronto and Winnipeg, the one of interest to this discussion is the Metropolitan Winnipeg Planning Authority.¹ Prior to the introduction of the metropolitan form of government in Toronto and Winnipeg, planning in these urban areas had been carried out (if at all) on an individual basis by the cities and municipalities which were a part of the Greater Toronto and Greater Winnipeg areas. There had been very little coordination or cooperation between the municipalities within an overall viewpoint on land use planning for future development. There were however, some examples of metropolitan agencies, such as transit commissions, water district boards, etc. In Winnipeg, there was as well the example of the Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg which attempted to coordinate planning activities in the Winnipeg area.

However, these examples were either single purpose agencies or functioned in an advisory capacity. There was no single authority under which the major public services were placed, nor was there an authority which had the legislative responsibility for planning over the metropolitan area and to whose laws the constituent municipalities were legally required to conform. With the introduction of Metropolitan Government in Toronto and Winnipeg the responsibility for planning over the whole of the metropolitan area was placed under the Metropolitan Government Corporations.

1. Throughout this paper the word "planning", unless otherwise indicated, is used to denote land use planning for future development of an urban area. It is not meant to apply to a general definition of planning as occurs in many aspects of urban affairs. The word "planning" has been, and is, widely used as an euphemism for the specific activities of land use planning and it is used in that connotation throughout this paper.

The application of the metropolitan planning authority under the Metropolitan Governments was considerably different in Toronto and in Winnipeg. In Toronto, the planning authority was shared between the Metropolitan Government and the constituent municipalities. The Metropolitan Government is the superior authority as set out in the legislation and is responsible for metropolitan planning according to an overall plan. The local municipalities have retained control over redevelopment, subdivision control, zoning and the building by-laws.² In contrast to this system, the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg was given the sole responsibility for planning throughout the Greater Winnipeg area, including subdivision control, zoning and building regulations. The local municipalities did not retain any specific planning powers.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the experiment in metropolitan planning which has taken place in the Greater Winnipeg area during the post second world war period, and to make an appraisal of the degree of success attained by this experiment under the public agencies which were responsible for the planning function during this time.

This was done by examining early activities in land use planning which occurred in Greater Winnipeg prior to the second world war. Thus Chapter II will outline the significant early planning activities which provided a setting for the later metropolitan planning period.

The major emphasis in this paper is to be on a description and appraisal of the experiment in metropolitan planning which has evolved

2. Report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, Province of Ontario, June, 1965, p. 70.

during the past twenty years. Within this period of metropolitan planning detailed attention will be given to the most important planning activity of the Metropolitan Corporation during the 1960's.

The era of metropolitan planning in Greater Winnipeg is identified as taking place in two major stages and one minor preliminary stage. The "preliminary stage" is considered as the prelude to planning and is outlined in Chapter II, with the presentation of the planning activities in the inter world war years seen as a preparation for the work of the Joint Executive Committee on Metropolitan Planning. The experience of this period set the stage for the experiment in metropolitan planning in Greater Winnipeg which began to take shape after World War II. The first major stage of metropolitan planning was the creation of the Metropolitan Planning Commission which functioned in an advisory capacity to the constituent cities and municipalities of the Greater Winnipeg area during the 1950's. The period of the Commission in turn gave way to metropolitan planning under the authority of the Metropolitan Corporation during the 1960's.

It was during the period of metropolitan government in Greater Winnipeg under the Metropolitan Corporation that the experiment in metropolitan planning took on a different character. Legislative authority was vested in the Metropolitan Corporation to make it the responsible body for overall metropolitan planning. Prior to this decade, metropolitan planning was carried out on an advisory basis. The constituent cities and municipalities of the Greater Winnipeg area participated in the process of metropolitan planning through voluntary membership in the Metropolitan Planning Commission. They were not re-

quired by law to act on any of the proposals made by the Metropolitan Planning Commission. By contrast after the creation of Metropolitan government in 1961, the municipalities were required to accept the Metropolitan Corporation as the metropolitan planning authority under the power vested in the Corporation by the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act. The local municipalities lost the right to plan on an individual basis for their own future development. This was now the responsibility of the Metropolitan Corporation which approached the Greater Winnipeg area as single planning area.

The first major stage of metropolitan planning in Greater Winnipeg is taken up in Chapter III. This was the period of the Metropolitan Planning Commission, which acted in an advisory capacity as a coordinating body for metropolitan planning. The function of the Commission was two-fold; first, to plan for and advise on matters of development affecting the metropolitan area as a whole; and second, to provide a technical planning service for member municipalities in the Greater Winnipeg area. The Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission appointed by the Provincial Government to examine the local government situation in Greater Winnipeg, led to the formation of a metropolitan government in Greater Winnipeg. The account of the Commission's work is introductory to Chapter IV which examines the legislative basis of metropolitan planning under the Metropolitan Corporation and the major planning activity of the Corporation during the Metro period.³ This examination and assessment of the Metro phase of the experiment in metropolitan planning is carried out by examining the preparation. 3. The term "Metro" is in common usage in Greater Winnipeg as a short form for referring to the Metropolitan Corporation and the period of metropolitan government.

tion and acceptance of the Metropolitan Development Plan. This document is the basic land use planning tool used by the Metropolitan Corporation to carry out the planning function under its authority. The degree of success attained by metropolitan planning during the Metro years is a reflection of the degree of acceptance of the Plan and the ability to implement its proposals.

There are a number of other planning activities of the Metropolitan Corporation which could be considered. For example, the Detailed Area Plans, the Downtown Plan, and the Metropolitan Zoning By-Law. However, the Detailed Area Plans and the Downtown Plan are extensions of the Metropolitan Development Plan, and therefore the preparation and acceptance of them and their effectiveness are regarded here as dependent upon the key document--the Development Plan. The Zoning By-Law can be considered as an administrative aspect of Metro's planning function and therefore not of the same degree of importance to future metropolitan development as the Development Plan.

The subject of metropolitan planning cannot be considered without reference to the municipal government structure to which it is directly related. Chapter V examines municipal government in Greater Winnipeg in relation to metropolitan planning and puts forth an alternative government structure. This new structure - total amalgamation under a central civic administration - is suggested as necessary if metropolitan planning is to become an effective means of planning for future development of the Metropolitan Winnipeg area.

This paper emphasizes one major point with regard to the experiment in metropolitan planning in Greater Winnipeg during the past twenty years. It is the failure to implement land use planning proposals.

CHAPTER II

PRELUDE TO METROPOLITAN PLANNING

Examples of scattered planning activities can be found throughout the history of the growth and development of the Greater Winnipeg area from its earliest years. For the purpose of providing a setting for the experiment in Metropolitan planning of the post second world war period, several of what are considered to be the more significant examples of planning activities during the early years of growth of the Greater Winnipeg urban area have been selected for presentation in this chapter.⁴

Commencing with the appointment of a city planning commission in 1911 in the City of Winnipeg, major planning activities occurring in the Greater Winnipeg area are considered from that time until the introduction of metropolitan planning with the creation of the Metropolitan Planning Commission in 1949. This review is intended to highlight the significant occurrences in planning in the Greater Winnipeg area during this period and to see how they related to the beginning of metropolitan planning. It is not intended to be an exhaustive survey of early planning activities in the Winnipeg urban area.

4. This paper is not intended to be a history or political science thesis. It is a planning thesis, and therefore it concentrates on significant occurrences in the development of planning in the Greater Winnipeg area. The thesis does not attempt to trace in detail the history of city planning in Greater Winnipeg or to relate the development of city planning to municipal government and local history.

1. Winnipeg City Planning Commission - 1911.

The years 1905-1915 were a period when serious interest in the ideas of city planning became evident in the City of Winnipeg. As a result the Winnipeg City Council took steps to seek an amendment to the City charter in order to obtain power to appoint a City Planning Commission. They were successful in this attempt and the resulting amendment to the Winnipeg Charter read as follows:

"Section 703 of the said Charter is hereby amended by adding the following new sub-section thereto:
- 3(b) For appointing a commission or commissions to consider and report upon a city planning scheme, the distribution of population, and other problems relating to city organization and government, and to provide for defraying the cost thereof."⁵

On June 5, 1911, By-Law No. 6825 of the City of Winnipeg established a City Planning Commission with the Mayor, Sanford Evans, as Chairman. The membership of the Commission consisted of six City Aldermen, the Municipal Commissioner of Manitoba and one representative each from the Architect's Association, the Builder's Association, the Real Estate Exchange, the Trades and Labor Council, the Board of Trade, the Industrial Bureau, the University of Manitoba, the Provincial Board of Health, the Winnipeg Park's Board, and the Winnipeg Electric Company.⁶

One of the significant efforts of the Commission was, in cooperation with the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau, its success in securing for Winnipeg the first meeting of the Canadian Housing and Town Planning Congress which was held on July 15-17, 1912. A number of well known people outstanding in the field of town planning, including Raymond Unwin,

Thomas Adams and Frederis Law Olmstead, gave addresses during the conference.⁷

5. Report of the Winnipeg City Planning Commission, 1913, p. 3.

6. Ibid., p. 3.

7. Annual Report 1913, 1914, Winnipeg Housing and Town Planning Association, Winnipeg, 1914.

The Commission was formally organized on October 4, 1911. The major duty of the Commission was to "report upon a City Planning Scheme for the City of Winnipeg".⁸ It was not to prepare the scheme itself. The Commission was to investigate conditions in the city and collect the varied information which would form the basis of the Plan. "It was recognized that it would be wise, and indeed necessary to submit the final drafting of a plan to experts of world-wide experience."⁹

In so far as general principles were concerned, the City Planning Commission made the following statement:

"..... three main objects as those to be chiefly served by a City Planning Scheme. These objects are health, convenience, and beauty. The ideal city must be laid out so as to assure for all the citizens proper light and air, recreation spaces and sanitary facilities, and must in addition have such restrictive regulations and such equipment for inspection as will tend to secure to all citizens the maximum of good health. The ideal city must be as convenient as it is possible to make it, and this will involve the proper width and direction of main highways and subsidiary streets, adequate and properly distributed transportation facilities, etc., and these questions must be studied with a view to the present and probably future movements of the people between their work and their homes and the places of recreation, and would involve ultimately the planning of zones which would bring about an economic distribution of places of work and places of residence. In respect to all changes the aesthetic consideration must be kept in view, for the elements of beauty in architecture, in the arrangement of streets, bridges, boulevards and parks, in the proper treatment of focal points and the creation of attractive vistas, as well as in the detail of street lamps and of everything else allowed upon the streets is a most important factor in educating the taste and stimulating the pride of citizens and in attracting the better classes of those who travel and those who seek new homes."¹⁰

8. Report of the Winnipeg City Planning Commission, 1913, p. 5.

9. Ibid., p. 5.

10. Ibid., p. 6.

In order to begin to carry out these principles six committees were appointed to study and report on the following subjects:

Social Survey

Housing

Physical Plan

River Frontage and Dockage

Aesthetic Development

Traffic and Transport

The committees for these various parts of the plan drew their members from outside the membership of the Commission, from among those citizens of the city who possessed special knowledge of the various subjects to be studied. Each committee had a member of the Planning Commission who served as chairman.

The breadth of outlook of the Commission was further demonstrated by the fact that it invited representatives from the adjacent municipalities of St. Vital, St. Boniface, Kildonan, Springfield and Rosser. The Commission thus realized that "a plan for the City (of Winnipeg) could not be confined to the then present actual city limits, but to be effective had to reach out into the adjoining territory."¹¹ This quotation indicates that at the early date of 1911, the people who were involved in attempting to initiate planning in the Winnipeg area were already thinking in terms of a metropolitan scale of planning.

On January 27, 1913, the Commission presented its report. It consisted mainly of various committee reports to the Winnipeg City Council. Although the Commission had only limited funds which curtailed some phases of its investigations, it presented considerable material

¹¹. Ibid., p. 6.

from which it drew some definite conclusions and made a number of recommendations. These conclusions and recommendations are of particular interest today because of their similarity to current planning proposals.

One of the recommendations of the Commission was that a permanent Commission should be appointed with provision for trained technical assistance. The City Council followed the recommendation and appointed the Greater Winnipeg Plan Commission on June 1, 1914. Shortly after its inception the outbreak of World War I caused the cancellation of its appropriation. This cancellation effectively stopped this promising venture in planning and until the later years of World War II, planning activities lay dormant in Winnipeg, except for the passing of an occasional by-law with respect to land use control.

The interest in planning the improvement of the city during the first half of the second decade of this century in Winnipeg paralleled a similar interest in many North American cities. This interest was sparked mainly by landscape architects, engineers and land surveyors. The following quotation illustrates the seriousness of the interest in planning at the time. It is from a paper presented by a Mr. H. F. McDonald, a land surveyor, to the Association of Manitoba Land Surveyors at their annual meeting of January, 1914:

"When we come to our own province (Manitoba) we face a somewhat chaotic condition. Most of us know from experience just how much or how little the approval of a Municipal Council may mean. I have yet to meet one which has a permanent code of rules we have in the vicinity of Winnipeg several separate municipalities, each of which controls the growth of a district, which at some future date must become part of a great city. It is surely not too much to ask that some degree of homogeneity be preserved There can be no doubt that the control of sub-

12. Because of this interest to a present day reader, the conclusions and recommendations of the Winnipeg City Planning Commission's Report of 1913 have been quoted in full in Appendix A, page 108.

division plans should be vested in an authority which is not only semi-judicial in its nature, but also one which is permanent in its existence and which has the service of technical assistants of the highest qualifications The growth that is the law of life is nowhere more manifest than in our cities and towns, but growth that is haphazard is not growth in the right direction. Other lands and other provinces have shown us the possibilities of development along scientific lines. Surely the mother province of the great west cannot afford to rest on her oars and let the stream of progress sweep by her.¹³

This quotation is of particular interest because the speaker refers to the lack of coordination among the municipalities which made up the Winnipeg urban area at that time. He refers to the need for "some degree of homogeneity" among districts which combine to become one city. The separation of authority in one urban area amongst a number of individual small municipal units is central to the theme of this thesis on metropolitan planning.

2. The Inter-War Period, 1918-1939.

In 1916 a Town Planning Act was passed for the Province of Manitoba by the Manitoba Legislature. This "Act Relating to Planning and Regulating the Use and Development of Land For Building Purposes"¹⁴ was passed in response to the pressures of development, principally in Winnipeg, and as a result of the interest which had been stimulated by the Federal Government in planning. This interest of the Dominion Government in planning activity during this period was demonstrated by the fact that Thomas Adams, who was then serving as a consultant to the Commission on Conservation, assisted and advised in the preparation of the Act, which was based largely on British Town Planning of the time.¹⁵

13. Report of the 34th Annual Meeting, Association of Manitoba Land Surveyors January 21-22, 1914, p. 60.

14. The Town Planning Act, S.M. 1916, C. 114, S. 27, Province of Manitoba.

15. H. E. Beresford, Director of Surveys and Comptroller of Town Planning, Province of Manitoba, unpublished paper, March 1956, 12 pages.

The Act provided for the preparation of Town Planning Schemes, and set out regulations for the development of land in villages, towns and cities of Manitoba, with the exception of the City of Winnipeg (which had its own Charter). In 1920 a full time Comptroller of Town Planning was appointed, and during the next few years a number of plans of subdivision were considered and approved as well as several partial Town Planning Schemes.

The point of significance to the theme of this thesis was that the Act did not apply to the City of Winnipeg, and since the City of Winnipeg did not have any planning legislation at this time, there was little hope of any measure of coordinated planning on a metropolitan basis throughout the Greater Winnipeg area.

The City of Winnipeg did not undertake any planning activities from the time of the Winnipeg City Planning Commission until 1928 when a Zoning By-Law was introduced. A report of the City of Winnipeg Health Department in 1921¹⁶ recommended the creation of a comprehensive zoning by-law:

"... properly dividing the City into zones for various specific purposes such as manufacturing, business, mixed business residential, and purely residential."¹⁷

The report also advocated that the municipality undertake building schemes for homes on a large plot of land, 50 to 100 acres in size which would create:

"a district laid out in an attractive manner with good streets, boulevards, trees, parks, school sites, library, picture theatre, and a few necessary stores, all built and designed as part of a harmonious plan."¹⁸

16. Report on Housing Survey of Certain Selected Areas, City of Winnipeg Health Department, March, April, 1921.

17. Ibid., p. 99.

18. Ibid., p. 100.

However, it was not until 1928 that the City of Winnipeg passed a zoning by-law. This by-law, No. 13060 was:

"A By-Law of the City of Winnipeg to provide for creating, regulating and controlling special zones or districts in the City and the uses to which property therein may or may not be applied, and for limiting, regulating and controlling the portion of the area of each parcel of land which may be occupied by a building."¹⁹

The Town Planning Act, although it did not apply in the City of Winnipeg, did apply to the suburban municipalities which surrounded the City. Some use of the Act was made in these suburban municipalities during the inter-war period for the purpose of developing town planning schemes for parts of their areas. These town planning schemes were in effect zoning by-laws. The following section outlines the planning activities which took place in the Winnipeg suburban municipalities during the inter-war period by making use of the Town Planning Act.

Tuxedo:

The area which now constitutes the northern half of the Town of Tuxedo was platted by F. L. Olmstead—the landscape architect in 1910 as a "Garden City" suburb. The owners of the property decided to form a separate town and in 1913 the area was incorporated as such by the Provincial Legislature. Instead of zoning controls restrictions on the use of the land and type of development on the land was by caveat restrictions placed upon the property titles by the original owners, the Tuxedo Land Development Company. The purpose was to create a high quality residential area. No further action was taken until 1925 when a Town Planning Scheme under the Manitoba Town Planning Act was prepared and approved.²⁰

19. City of Winnipeg, The Winnipeg Zoning By-Law, By-Law No. 13060, 1928.

20. Town Planning Scheme, Town of Tuxedo, April, 1925, prepared by W. E. Hobbs, Town Planning Consultant.

The caveat restrictions controlled land use, proportions of sites to be built upon, front yards, side yards, lot widths, building heights, and building values.

East Kildonan:

The initial action on planning in East Kildonan took place in 1921 when a committee was appointed to draft a Town Planning Scheme, but it was not until 1925 that a scheme was finally presented. The scheme covered part of East Kildonan and North Kildonan and placed controls on land use, space about buildings, yard depths and widths, and heights of buildings. In 1932 and again in 1936 additions were made to the area covered by the scheme.

Fort Garry:

In 1928 a group of interested citizens formed a committee which resulted in the preparation of a Town Planning Scheme. It covered only a small portion of the municipality, the northern developed area adjacent to the City of Winnipeg, which was subsequently increased in 1929, 1931 and 1934.

St. James:

A Town Planning Scheme became effective in St. James in 1931 after committees had worked on the preparation of the scheme for a number of years, beginning in 1923. The administration of the scheme was placed under a Town Planning Commission.

The remaining suburban municipalities in Greater Winnipeg had no town planning schemes during this period. The only evidence of planning activity were various land use control by-laws, or zoning ordinances which applied to various portions of their area. However, any effective

planning activities in the suburban municipalities was practically non-existent, just as was true of the City of Winnipeg during the period between the first and second World Wars. What had begun in the 1920's was snuffed out by the effects of the depression in 1930's.²¹

An example, however, of some interest in the development problems of the suburban municipalities was evidenced by the committee which was set up by the Provincial Legislature in 1924. This Committee, called the "Select Committee of the Legislature Appointed to Investigate Suburban Municipalities Adjoining Winnipeg", gave its report on February 10, 1925. With regard to actions towards remedying conditions at that time, the Committee recommended the following:

- "(1) Create a suburban zone including all lands within say 5 miles or less of the city limits of Winnipeg and determine the boundary thereof;
- (2) Within the suburban zone, determine the boundaries of urban development areas;
- (3) Determine the localities within the urban development area that can be economically furnished with necessary services and utilities, such as water supply, sewers, etc., and under what conditions they shall be provided in the future;
- (4) Determine what building development shall be permitted and under what conditions, on subdivisions in existence in the urban development areas that cannot be provided with necessary services and utilities;
- (5) Determine under what conditions new subdivisions in the urban development area shall be approved;
- (6) Determine what building development, if any shall be permitted and under what conditions on subdivisions in existence in the outer suburban area (that portion of the suburban zone not included in the urban development area);

²¹. The virtual cessation of planning activities in the 1930's was prevalent throughout Canada and the United States. Illustrative of this was the fact that the Town Planning Institute of Canada which began its activities in 1919-20, faded out of existence in 1931.

(7) Determine what building development, if any shall be permitted and under what conditions on unsubdivided lands in the outer suburban area;

(8) Determine what subdivisions, if any, shall be approved in the outer suburban area.²²

The striking feature of the recommendations of the Committee was their commitment to the idea of planning for the urban area as a whole, that is, for the City of Winnipeg and the surrounding municipalities as one unit. In fact they proposed a zone five miles beyond the City of Winnipeg boundaries. The Committee clearly was strongly in favor of planning for future development in terms of directing the location of future building development and relating this to the provision of services and utilities.

However, the Committee was ahead of its time. No action was taken as a result of their recommendations. It was not until the Second World War was drawing to a close twenty years later, that the ideas of planning for the future development of the Greater Winnipeg urban area as a whole began to receive official attention.

3. Post War Resurgence of Planning - 1945/

The period of inactivity in planning in Greater Winnipeg which was brought about by the depression years and the Second World War drew to a close in 1943 before the cessation of hostilities. The end of the depression due to the economic growth of the war years led to an increase in development of the Greater Winnipeg area, and consequently interest in planning for future development was rekindled in the community.

22. Interim Report of the Select Committee of the Legislature Appointed to Investigate Suburban Municipalities Adjoining Winnipeg, Province of Manitoba, Winnipeg, February 10, 1925, p. 16.

A Post-War Reconstruction Committee of the Government of Manitoba began to consider future development of the urban area. In recognizing the need for coordinating the individual plans of the various municipalities attempting to work out their own future development in the Greater Winnipeg area, the Committee called a meeting in October of 1943 of representatives from the various municipal councils. These included the City of Winnipeg and twelve surrounding municipal units. The twelve municipalities were Assiniboia, Charleswood, Fort Garry, East Kildonan, North Kildonan, Old Kildonan, St. James, St. Vital, West Kildonan, Brooklands, Tuxedo and St. Boniface. The Town of Transcona was later asked to join the group.

As a result of this meeting and several others, a Metropolitan Planning Committee (Greater Winnipeg) was formed with members representing the Provincial Government and twelve participating municipalities.²³ The Committee consisted of two representatives from each of the twelve participating municipalities, two representatives from the Provincial Government, Mr. Ralph Pearson, Treasurer, and Professor W. J. Waines, as Economics Consultant, and a Secretary. Alderman Jacob Penner of the City of Winnipeg was elected Chairman of the Committee.

Mayor Garnet Coulter, when he announced the appointment of Aldermen H. C. Morrison and Jacob Penner as Winnipeg representatives on October 14, 1943,

"... made it plain that the work of this new organization would in no way intrude on the sphere of municipal town planning and zoning. He added however that it would likely be advisable to have some liaison between the two to assure of co-ordination in necessary cases."²⁴

23. The municipalities of Old Kildonan and North Kildonan withdrew because they felt they could not afford the expenditures which would be involved in membership on this committee.

24. Winnipeg Free Press, October 14, 1943.

This Free Press article went on to state that Professor Waines had submitted a memorandum to each of the municipal units concerned with naming the possible advantages of planning the metropolitan area as a unit. The memorandum stated that the gains would be:

- "(1) A planned development of the whole area to provide adequate living and working conditions and to discover advantageous future development.
- (2) An evolving plan to keep the development of the area in close contact with current conditions and guide it accordingly.
- (3) An organized framework within which both public and private enterprise can carry out projects, which will be part of the whole program of development, reasonably secure in the knowledge that investments will be safeguarded against the hazards of unplanned and uncontrolled growth.
- (4) Uniform legislation instead of the varying statutory provisions in each municipal unit.
- (5) Elimination of the possibility of disputes between existing local units on matters of physical development, and
- (6) The improvement of circulation and transportation facilities."²⁵

The creation of the Metropolitan Planning Committee in no way bound the member municipalities to any decisions made by the Committee. It was an advisory group. As Professor Waines stated: "representation on the Committee would not commit the government (of the Province) or any municipality to policy." However, the formation of the Metropolitan Planning Committee was the first step in the process of developing officially some metropolitan planning which would culminate in the Metropolitan Corporation of the present day.

25. Ibid.

In May of the following year (1944) the Winnipeg City Council appointed a Town Planning Commission consisting of the mayor, three aldermen, seven citizen members and a Secretary-Engineer. Mr. C. E. Jocelyn was elected Chairman and Mr. R. H. Avent, City Surveyor, acted as Secretary-Engineer.²⁶ The Commission was appointed under powers acquired as the result of a referendum submitted to the electorate in 1931 on the question of whether or not a town planning commission should be appointed. The inaugural meeting of the Winnipeg Town Planning Commission took place on May 25, 1944.²⁷

4. Joint-Executive Committee on Metropolitan Planning

The respective cities and municipalities in the Greater Winnipeg area realized before either the Metropolitan Planning Committee or the Winnipeg Town Planning Commission initiated any actual work, that a certain amount of duplication of effort was possible because many of their objectives were similar. Consequently on June 19, 1944, a joint meeting of the two planning bodies was held, and as a result the Joint-Executive Committee on Metropolitan Planning For Greater Winnipeg was formed on July 10, 1944.²⁸ This Committee was composed of eleven members - five from the Metropolitan Planning Committee, five from the Winnipeg Town Planning Commission and Professor W. J. Waines who was selected as Chairman. Figure 1, page 22 indicates the organization of what was called the "Metropolitan Plan Greater Winnipeg". This was the combination of the Metropolitan Planning Committee, the Winnipeg Town Planning Commission and the Joint-Executive Committee. These three organizations continued to exist throughout the period 1944 to 1949 when the Metropolitan Planning Commission was initiated.

26. Background for Planning Greater Winnipeg, 1946, prepared jointly by Metropolitan Planning Committee and Winnipeg Town Planning Commission, p. 19.

27. Winnipeg Free Press, May 26, 1944.

28. First Annual Report, Metropolitan Plan Greater Winnipeg, Report for the year 1945, Metropolitan Planning Committee and Winnipeg Town Planning Commission, p. 3.

The Committee decided to work towards the development of a comprehensive master plan for Greater Winnipeg. A planning consultant, Earl O. Mills of St. Louis, Missouri was appointed on November 13, 1944, to direct the development of the master plan.²⁹ A planning staff was engaged and a planning office opened. The planning staff was made responsible to Mr. Mills and through him to the Joint-Executive Committee and finally to the parent committees.

Work began on the preparation of the master plan which was to consist of a series of sections devoted to the different phases of planning activity in Greater Winnipeg. By the end of 1946, two reports had been published and distributed, two had been approved by the Joint-Executive Committee for publication, two were in draft form and four were still in sketch form as outlined by E. O. Mills, the consultant.³⁰ By the end of 1948 five more reports had been published, making a total of nine reports embodying the comprehensive plan proposals on various phases of development. These were submitted to the City and Municipal Councils in 1948 and were approved in principle by the City of Winnipeg and the Municipality of Charleswood as a guide for future development.³¹ The other municipalities in the Greater Winnipeg area did not officially approve the Master Plan.

The nine reports which made up the 1948 comprehensive master plan for Greater Winnipeg each took up different parts of the plan as follows:

"1. Background For Planning:

Origin, growth, area, topography, economic development and population of the metropolitan area.

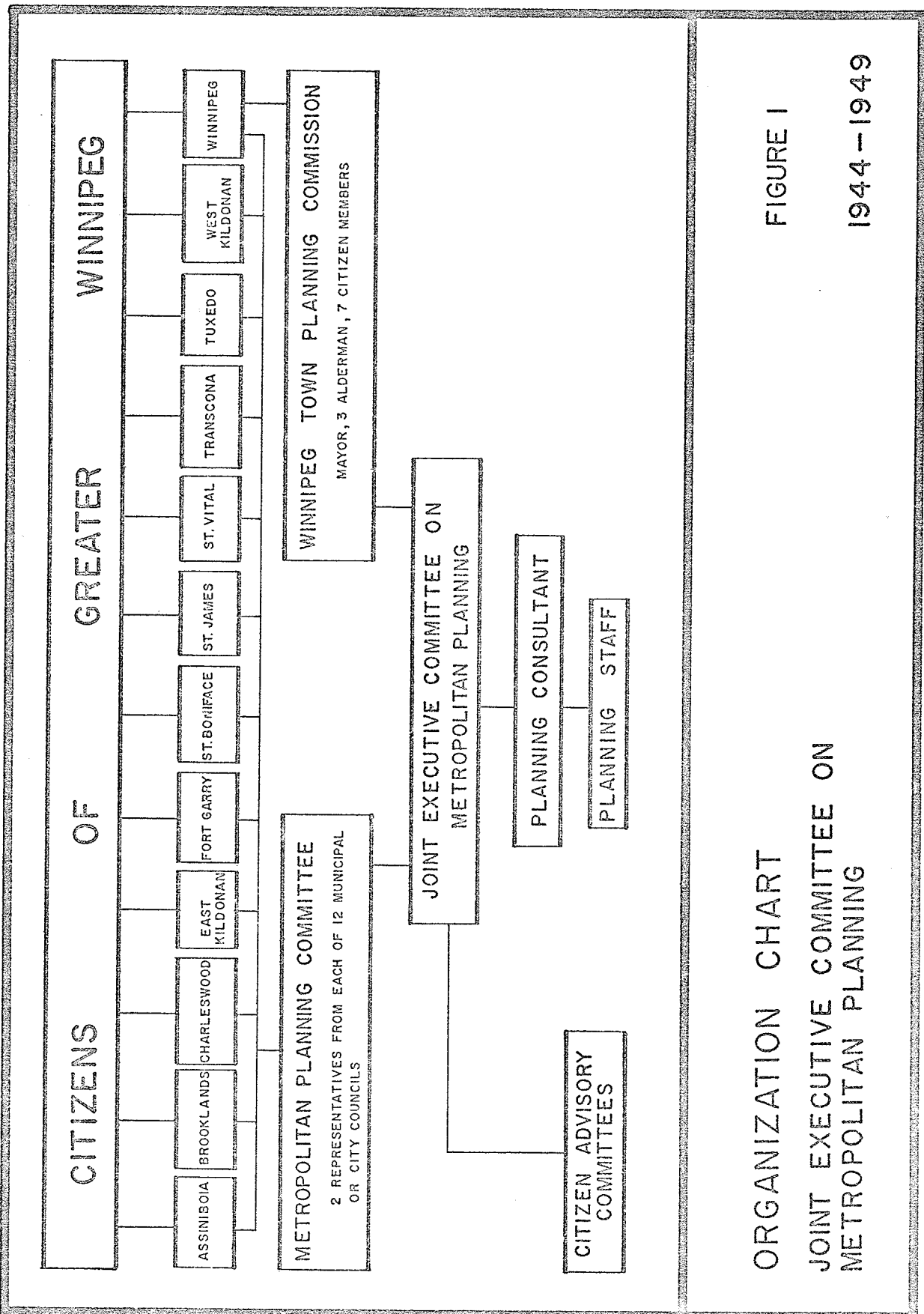
2. Major Thorofares:

A comprehensive system of major traffic routes was proposed, providing a system of wide, safe, free-flowing thorofares, serving the whole metropolitan area.

29. Ibid., p. 3.

30. Annual Report for the Year 1946, Metropolitan Plan, Greater Winnipeg 1947, p. 7.

31. Annual Report for the Year 1948, Metropolitan Plan, Metropolitan Planning Committee. Winnipeg Town Planning Commission, 1949.



ORGANIZATION CHART
 JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON
 METROPOLITAN PLANNING
 FIGURE I
 1944 - 1949

SOURCE : ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1947
 METROPOLITAN PLAN GREATER WINNIPEG

TABLE I

MEMBERSHIP OF THE JOINT-EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
ON METROPOLITAN PLANNING FOR GREATER WINNIPEG*

CITY AND MUNICIPALITY	1945	1946	1947	1948
Assiniboia	X	X		
Brooklands	X	X	X	
Charleswood	X	X	X	X
East Kildonan	X	X	X	
East St. Paul				
Fort Garry	X	X	X	X
North Kildonan				
Old Kildonan				
St. Boniface	X	X	X	X
St. James	X	X	X	
St. Vital	X	X	X	X
Transcona	X	X	X	
Tuxedo	X	X	X	X
West Kildonan	X	X		
Winnipeg	X	X	X	X

Source: Annual Reports - Metropolitan Plan - Greater Winnipeg, 1945/1948.

* For the boundaries of the municipalities which were members of the Joint-Executive Committee see Map 1, page 44.

3. Transit:
A proposed system of local street car, trolley coach and motor bus lines in the metropolitan area.
4. Transportation:
A study of rail, air, motor and water transportation facilities and service in the metropolitan area.
5. Neighborhoods:
A long-range coordinated plan for the development of a comprehensive neighborhood system, providing adequate school, park and recreation areas.
6. Zoning:
The regulation by districts of the uses of property, heights of buildings and the yards and open spaces about buildings.
7. Residential areas:
A study of housing conditions in residential areas as a basis for suggesting a means of conservation or redevelopment in areas where improvement is necessary.
8. Central Business District:
A study of the present physical development and problems of the downtown area, as a basis for recommending general methods of improvement.
9. City's Appearance:
The location and grouping of public buildings and institutions, public places and memorials; and the design and treatment of streets, planting, lighting, signs, billboards, poles, wires and the like."³²

In 1950 a report titled "Summary of Recommendations" was published and it brought together in one volume the recommendations made in the preceding nine reports of the master plan.

The Master Plan reports completed by the Joint Executive Committee in 1948 were the first published efforts to approach the planning problems of the Greater Winnipeg area in a comprehensive manner. They and the publicity they received, undoubtedly helped to demonstrate that the problems and possible solutions were of a
32. Ibid., p. 13, 14.

metropolitan wide nature and required consequently metropolitan planning in the Greater Winnipeg area. However, it is doubtful they had much effect beyond this informational role. They were approved in principle but in a haphazard manner by only some of the member cities and municipalities.³³ There was no compulsion in the form of legislation to set about implementing the master plan. It was the repeat of a now familiar pattern over North America: a plan and recommendations but no implementation. And yet one could not be sure whether the absence of the second essential step was due to unwillingness or lack of know-how.

33. It has proved impossible to document which of the plans and proposals were approved or disapproved by the member municipalities. The Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Planning Commission do not comment on this aspect. The Reports, year after year, are positive in tone and discuss only the various planning programs undertaken by the Commission, but not whether they were approved by the municipalities.

CHAPTER III

THE METROPOLITAN PLANNING COMMISSION

1. Creation of the Metropolitan Planning Commission

The creation of the Metropolitan Planning Commission was the first major stage in the process of evolution of metropolitan planning which began in Greater Winnipeg in 1943 with the meeting of the municipal councils in the metropolitan area to discuss town planning in Greater Winnipeg. As a result of this meeting, the Metropolitan Planning Committee was formed and was later combined with the Winnipeg Town Planning Commission to create the Joint-Executive Committee on Metropolitan Planning of Greater Winnipeg in 1944. This Committee carried on the work of metropolitan planning in Greater Winnipeg during the years 1944 - 1949, resulting in the preparation of a comprehensive master plan for Greater Winnipeg which was completed in 1949.

During 1948, it was considered advisable by the representatives of the member municipalities of the Joint-Executive Committee to work out an acceptable arrangement by which the cities and municipalities in the Greater Winnipeg area could continue planning activities on a metropolitan basis through a permanent advisory planning organization.³⁴ In March 1949 a proposed Metropolitan Planning Act, which had been reviewed by the solicitors for the member municipalities and cities was approved

34. Report for the Year 1949, Metropolitan Planning Commission, Winnipeg, 1950.

by a joint meeting of the Metropolitan Planning Committee and the Winnipeg Town Planning Commission.³⁵ The proposed Act was then sent to the Councils of the various municipalities and cities in the Greater Winnipeg area for formal consideration and in due course received their approval. The draft bill was then presented to the Provincial Legislature. "The Metropolitan Planning Act" was assented to by the legislature on April 22, 1949 and the Metropolitan Planning Commission came into being.

The Metropolitan Planning Act which was officially known as "An Act respecting Metropolitan Planning and Development,"³⁶ called for the formation of a commission which was to be known as the "Metropolitan Planning Commission". The Act set out the appointment of members of the Commission as follows:

- "(3)(a) four shall be appointed by the Council of the City of Winnipeg;
- (b) two shall be appointed by the Council of the City of St. Boniface;
- (c) one shall be appointed by the Council of the Town of Tuxedo;
- (d) one shall be appointed by the Council of the R. M. of Charleswood;
- (e) one shall be appointed by the Council of the R. M. of Fort Garry;
- (f) one shall be appointed by the Council of the R. M. of St. Vital;
- (g) one shall be appointed by the council of each other municipality as herein provided."³⁷

35. Ibid., p. 4.

36. Metropolitan Planning Act, S.M., 1949, C. 40., Province of Manitoba.

37. Ibid.

As indicated above, six municipalities including the City of Winnipeg became members of the commission as a result of the passing of the Act. The Act was so written that the other municipalities in the Greater Winnipeg Area could become members simply by enacting a by-law to come under the Act. By the same token, a member municipality could withdraw from the Commission by giving six months' notice of its intention to do so.

2. Responsibilities and Organization of the Commission

The powers and duties of the Metropolitan Planning Commission were described in the Metropolitan Planning Act as follows:

- "4(1) The Commission shall take over the assets and assume the liabilities of the Metropolitan Planning Committee (Greater Winnipeg).
- (2) The Commission may appoint employees.
- (3) The Commission shall investigate and survey physical, social and economic conditions in relation to the development of the metropolitan area, and without limiting the generality of the foregoing, it
 - (a) shall prepare, on request of a member municipality or on its own initiative, plans, sketches, formulae, and reports, in respect of any matter or question regarding town planning, zoning, transit, traffic, or any other matter pertaining to the development of any member municipality or of municipalities generally;
 - (b) make such reports or recommendations in respect of any matter aforesaid to member municipalities as it may see fit; and
 - (c) perform any other duties that it may agree to perform for a member municipality."³⁸

The responsibility of the Metropolitan Planning Commission was two-fold; first, to plan for the future development and growth of Metropolitan Winnipeg and to advise on all matters arising from de-

38. Ibid.

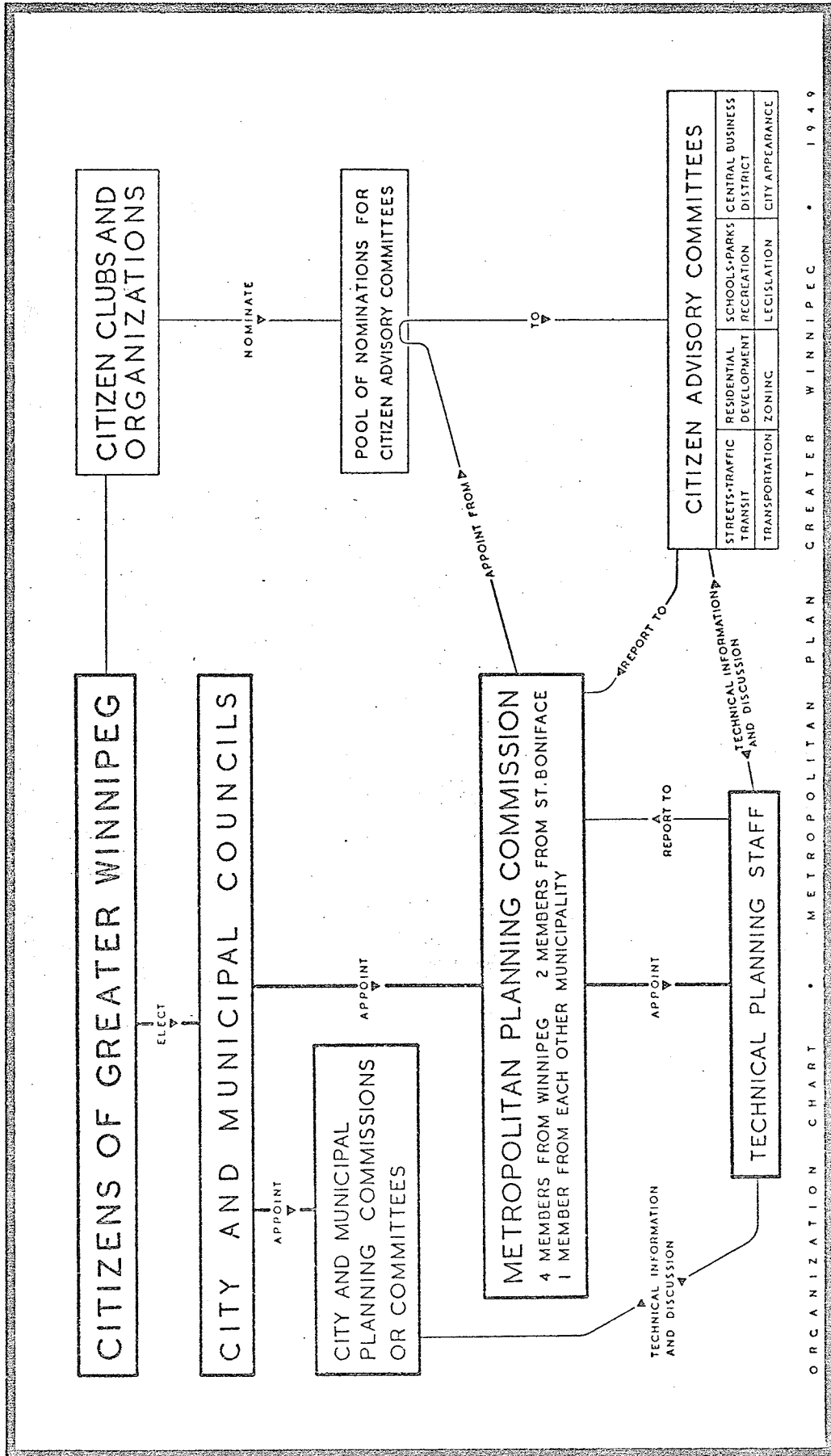
velopment which would affect the metropolitan area as a whole; and second, to give technical planning advice and assistance to the member municipalities.

However, the language of the Act was permissive in that the Commission should prepare plans, etc., "on request of a member municipality, or on its own initiative," and further "perform any duties that it may agree to perform for a member municipality." It was not the planning authority, in the sense that it could implement any of its proposals. It was set up as an advisory body, leaving the authority of decision and implementation to the member municipalities.

When the new legislation came into effect, the Metropolitan Planning Committee and the Joint-Executive Committee were disbanded. A meeting was held on July 16, 1949 for the purpose of turning over their affairs and assets to the Metropolitan Planning Commission.³⁹ A planning staff was set up for the Commission under the direction of Eric W. Thrift who had been the director of the planning staff which operated for the previous Joint-Executive Committee.

The form of the metropolitan planning organization in the Greater Winnipeg area under the Metropolitan Planning Commission as indicated by Figure 2, page 30 was similar to that under the previous Joint-Executive Committee (see Figure 1, page 22). The Commission took over the function of the Joint-Executive Committee but worked directly with the municipal councils rather than through the two parent committees (Metropolitan Planning Committee and the Winnipeg Town Planning

39. Winnipeg Free Press, June 17, 1949.



ORGANIZATION CHART • METROPOLITAN PLANNING COMMISSION • 1949

SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1949
METROPOLITAN PLANNING COMMISSION

FIGURE 2

TABLE II
MEMBERSHIP OF METROPOLITAN PLANNING COMMISSION
1949-1960

CITY AND MUNICIPALITY	1949	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
Assiniboia							X	X	X	X	X	X
Brooklands									X	X	X	X
Charleswood	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
East Kildonan					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
East St. Paul			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Fort Garry	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
North Kildonan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Old Kildonan				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
St. Boniface	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
St. James								X	X	X	X	X
St. Vital	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Transcona											X	X
Tuxedo	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
West Kildonan												
Winnipeg	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
West St. Paul									X	X	X	X
Rosser									X	X	X	X

Source: Annual Reports, Metropolitan Planning Commission, Winnipeg 1949-1960.

Note: A comparison of Table II with Table I on page 23 indicates that municipal membership had increased in the Metropolitan Planning Commission compared to the number which had participated in the Joint-Executive Committee on Metropolitan Planning. This is an indication of a growing interest by the municipalities in metropolitan planning during the era of the Metropolitan Planning Commission. The boundaries of these municipalities are indicated by Map 1, on page 44. There were no changes in municipal boundaries during the period of the Metropolitan Planning Commission.

Commission): The technical planning staff of the Commission reported directly to the Commission rather than through a planning consultant. In both cases the citizen advisory committees operated as a forum for technical information and discussion.

According to a Commission statement regarding its operation:

"..... legislation (The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act) provides the municipalities in Greater Winnipeg with a permanent organization for coordinating physical development in the metropolitan area. Cities and municipalities can discuss their individual and mutual development problems with a trained technical staff. The Commission is an advisory board, not a policy-making body. Each city and municipality retains its own planning body to advise its Council on local problems, and those Councils continue to lay down their own policies and to carry out their own public works programs.

It is now possible to look ahead to future planning operations by including in the city and municipal budgets each year, provision for payment for this work, rather than requiring a special application to each council each year. The maximum contribution per municipality is limited to ten cents per capita, but at present the rate is in the neighborhood of 8.9 cents per capita, based upon the 1946 Dominion Census population. It is understood too, that if federal money is made available for public works in the future, it is more likely to be allocated where a metropolitan plan and a continuing metropolitan planning body exist."⁴⁰

3. Planning Activities of the Commission

Since the Master Plan had been completed in 1950 the staff of the Metropolitan Planning Commission now devoted itself to the study of specific planning problems brought to the Commission by its member municipalities.⁴¹

These problems covered a very wide range of matters concerning the general welfare of the citizens of the metropolitan area. In order to present a picture of the type of work that the Commission devoted itself to during its existence, a selected list of the various matters studied is given below:

⁴⁰. Report for The Year 1949, Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1950, p.12.

⁴¹. Planning Greater Winnipeg, Annual Report for 1950, Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1951, p. 4.

- " - a report on school facilities
- a study of school population, growth and distribution
- a study of recreation and school areas
- sketch plans for park areas
- a report and plan for a proposed residential development
- subdivision plans
- transit routing
- a report on parking meters
- draft zoning regulations and a zoning district map for a municipality
- a study of urban highway costs
- possible removal of railroad lines
- truck movement on urban streets
- approval of major thoroughfare changes
- overall plans for a municipality
- land use studies
- a study of an industrial area.⁴²

This list of work carried out by the Planning Commission during a typical year reflects not only the requests for technical studies by the member municipalities, but also the work carried out as a result of how the Commission viewed its major objectives and functions.⁴³

In 1956 the Metropolitan Planning Commission was approached by the Provincial Government to discuss the possibility of organizing a provincial planning service to assist small towns throughout Manitoba. It was proposed that the Metropolitan Planning Commission undertake the

organization of a technical planning service - the costs of which would
 42. This sample list of planning work undertaken by the Metropolitan Planning Commission was taken from Planning Greater Winnipeg, the Annual Report for the Year 1950, Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1951.

43. For a detailed description on the Objectives and Functions of the Metropolitan Planning Commission see Appendix B, page 112.

organization of a technical planning service - the costs of which would be born by the Province. The members of the Commission and the Province agreed to this arrangement and in 1957 the Metropolitan Planning Act was amended to provide the Metropolitan Planning Commission with the authority to carry out the Provincial Planning Service on behalf of the Province of Manitoba.⁴⁴

4. Effectiveness of the Commission

The Metropolitan Planning Commission continued to function as described above until the end of 1960 when the Metropolitan Corporation took over the responsibility for planning in Greater Winnipeg. During this period the Commission had been assigned the major responsibility for planning in the metropolitan area of Greater Winnipeg.

While it may be said that the Commission achieved a certain measure of success in establishing an understanding of metropolitan problems throughout the Greater Winnipeg area, it attained a higher degree of success in the second part of its responsibilities, that is, in the provision of technical advice and assistance to member municipalities. While working with Municipal Councils, usually through the local advisory planning commission, the Metropolitan Planning Commission was able to assist in the preparation of schemes under the Provincial Town Planning Act which in effect provided zoning protection and guidance for the control of land use and buildings. It was also able to assist in the preparation of plans of subdivision for residential and industrial districts, advise on traffic and thoroughfare

44. Greater Winnipeg, Annual Report for the Year 1957, Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1958, p. 31.

problems, and produce reports on school facilities and recreation services. This part of its responsibilities was carried out with a measure of success due to the fact that the Commission was able to work directly with a responsible government that was able to act upon their advice and recommendations.

In matters of metropolitan-wide concern, effective consideration and action on overall proposals were much more difficult to attain due to the fact that there was no government which was in a position to act or make direct decisions on matters that were metropolitan-wide.

The problems associated with the effectiveness of the Commission's planning work lay in the make-up of the governmental structure⁴⁵ of Greater Winnipeg and the relationship of the policy-making authority to the planning authority. As stated in a submission to the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission:

"Experience here and elsewhere, points out that the most effective application of planning in local government is where planning is directly connected to and becomes an adjunct of the major policy-making authority in a city or municipality. This authority obviously is the municipal or city council itself.

In a metropolitan area such as Greater Winnipeg, however, there is no similar single authority to which such an organization as the Metropolitan Planning Commission can turn in order to get direct consultation with a single responsible elected body. The Commission now deals with twelve separate municipal councils and administrators. During the course of its work over the years, it has been the policy of the Commission to try to establish a common

45. During the period of the Metropolitan Planning Commission the governmental structure of Greater Winnipeg consisted of a number of individual cities and municipalities each of which was a separate political entity with complete authority over their own affairs. This fragmentation of authority within the Metropolitan Winnipeg area was the basic reason for the inability of the Metropolitan Planning Commission to implement metropolitan planning proposals.

viewpoint on major development and general agreement in the major plans for urban development throughout the area. It is obvious however, that there will inevitably be cases where different councils do not see eye to eye. Under such circumstances, it is quite possible for the Commission's basic policies to become divided and substantially impaired to the detriment on the area as a whole.

The connection of planning with urban development should not be carried on apart from the regular activities of responsible local government."⁴⁶

It is interesting to consider these statements regarding the problems associated with planning by an advisory commission under a number of constituent government entities, with the problems of planning under the Metropolitan Corporation as outlined in the following chapter of this paper. The relationship of the policy-making authority to the planning authority was changed under the Metropolitan Corporation as recommended by Thrift and Rich, but the make-up of the local government structure still retained its basic divisiveness and we shall see the major effect this has had on the effectiveness of metropolitan planning in the Greater Winnipeg area.

⁴⁶. E. W. Thrift, and S. G. Rich, Submission to the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission, September 17, 1956, pp. 21-22.

CHAPTER IV

THE METROPOLITAN CORPORATION AS THE PLANNING AUTHORITY

1. Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission

Planning on a Greater Winnipeg scale had been carried out by the Metropolitan Planning Commission since 1949, and since 1944 by the Joint Executive Committee on Metropolitan Planning for Greater Winnipeg. However, both the Committee and the Commission were advisory bodies only and therefore none of the constituent municipalities and cities of the Greater Winnipeg area were required to follow any of the planning programs put forth by these organizations.

Although most of the local governments involved themselves in the "Metropolitan Planning" of that period and indicated an interest in the idea of overall metropolitan planning, their own local interests took precedent over many, if not all of the planning proposals of a metropolitan nature made during this period.

Throughout the decade 1950 - 1960 there had been a growing awareness on the part of many people in the Greater Winnipeg area of the need for better coordination of services in the Metropolitan area, and a widespread feeling developed that indicated that the various agencies and local governments could not provide adequately for the level of services required for a metropolitan area the size of Greater Winnipeg.

In order to achieve this improvement in the level of services it was recognized that a change in the structure of local government in Greater Winnipeg was necessary. Some form of local government which could coordinate services on a metropolitan basis was required. In this respect it has been suggested that the work of the Metropolitan Planning Commission contributed somewhat to the growing awareness of a "metropolitan" feeling in the Greater Winnipeg area.⁴⁷ Throughout the decade of the 1950's the Commission had been publicizing the idea of the Greater Winnipeg area as one entity. The Commission had collected data on the metropolitan area as a whole, had initiated discussion about the area as a whole and had published plans of the area as a whole.

However, planning was by no means the major issue at stake at this period. It was only one of a number of public services which were considered to be better provided on a metropolitan basis. These included the provision of roads and public transit, assessment, parks and recreation, sanitary sewer and water, education, protection and welfare services.

The major issue revolved around the type of governmental structure proposed for the Greater Winnipeg area. Consequently, on September 6, 1955, the Government of Manitoba appointed a Commission of five members to investigate all phases of local government in the Greater Winnipeg area. This committee known as the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission was composed of the following five members:

⁴⁷. See Chapter III for a discussion of the contribution of Metropolitan Planning Commission to an increase of awareness in the Greater Winnipeg area towards a greater "metropolitan" feeling.

G. E. Sharpe, Mayor of Winnipeg
 J. G. Van Belleghem, Mayor of St. Boniface
 T. Findlay, Mayor of St. James
 C. N. Kushner, Councillor, R. M. of West Kildonan
 J. L. Bodie, East Kildonan

The Commission published its report in 1959.⁴⁸ The recommendations in this report provided the basis for the subsequent action of the Provincial Government which led to the formation of Metropolitan Government in Greater Winnipeg in 1960.

With regard to planning, the Commission was explicit in its recommendation that this service be assumed by the Metropolitan Government. In the words of the Commission:

"The need for one over-all planning authority is so evident that little comment is necessary. It is the intent of the Commission however, that the central authority has jurisdiction and authority to enforce its plans, and that these shall not be subject to change by a local council or by referendum."⁴⁹

The Commission made a number of specific recommendations concerning planning:

"(a) The Metropolitan Council should be given adequate powers to direct and control in a general way the physical development of the entire Metropolitan Area and to require local development plans and land use regulations to conform to a comprehensive plan of metropolitan development, prepared by a Metropolitan Planning Board and finally adopted by the Metropolitan Council in conformity with the provisions of the Town Planning Act.

(b) In the opinion of the Commission, a new planning area should be designated which should include the eight cities and/or municipalities in their entirety, and an outer fringe area where future land uses should be predominantly agricultural.

(c) Responsibility for the preparation of a major development and land use plan for the Metropolitan Area and the added fringe area should be given to the Metropolitan Planning Board, and responsibility for the adoption of this plan as it is progressively developed should be given to the Metropolitan Council alone. The representations of local

48. Report and Recommendations, Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1959, Queen's Printer, Province of Manitoba.

49. Ibid., p. 268.

councils or local planning boards, representing areas either within or beyond the limits of the eight municipalities, objecting to any feature of the proposed official Metropolitan Plan would be made to the Minister of Municipal Affairs, and there should be the right to require final adjudication of differences by the Municipal and Public Utility Board after public hearing provided by adequate legislation.

(d) The present Metropolitan Planning Commission, as it affects the Metropolitan Area, should be dissolved to make way for the proposed Metropolitan Planning Board, but other local planning boards and their local councils would continue to exercise their existing powers with respect to planning and zoning except that all local official plans, local zoning By-laws and Public Works would be required to conform to the Metropolitan Official Plan.

(e) The Metropolitan Council as well as the local councils should be given the power to pass By-laws designating areas of subdivision control, and all applications for approval of draft plans of subdivision shall be referred to the Metropolitan Planning Board."⁵⁰

In general, the basic points put forth by these recommendations on planning were accepted and incorporated by the Provincial Government into the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act. The basic system under which planning was to be administered in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area was outlined in these recommendations. However, there was one major difference. The Investigating Commission recommended that the Metropolitan Council should be given power to "direct and control in a general way the physical development of the entire Metropolitan Area". Also, local planning boards and councils would continue to have power with respect to planning and zoning in their areas. Their proposals were similar to the procedures used for metropolitan planning in Metropolitan Toronto. The Manitoba Government, in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, went a step beyond these recommendations and placed all planning powers with respect to land use

50. Ibid., p. 267.

and future development under the Metropolitan Council. This included local planning and zoning formerly the responsibility of the constituent municipalities of the Metro area.⁵¹ At the time, this was considered to be better method of ensuring the effectiveness of metropolitan planning over the entire Greater Winnipeg area. The degree to which the placing of all planning powers under one authority did contribute or not in making a success of the experiment in metropolitan planning during the Metro years will now be examined.

2. Organization and Functions of the Metropolitan Corporation

The metropolitan form of government for the Greater Winnipeg area was initiated by the passage of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act by the Government of the Province of Manitoba on May 26, 1960.⁵² This

51. The local planning and zoning powers were removed from the authority of the local municipalities and at the same time a new system of electoral divisions was created for representation on the Metropolitan Council which did not correspond to the boundaries of the local municipalities. However, since the local municipalities were left intact as separate political entities they therefore had no direct participation in the process of metropolitan planning because they had no individual representation on the Metropolitan Council.

52. The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, Bill No. 62, CAP.40, "An Act to establish the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg and to provide for the Exercise by the Corporation of Certain Powers and Authority." Province of Manitoba, May 26, 1960.

Act was the "enabling legislation"⁵³ for the formation of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg. The Act is similar in scope to a city charter in that it provides the legal authority for the Metropolitan Corporation's activities. The corporation was assigned jurisdiction over a number⁵⁴ of services which were considered to be of joint concern throughout the urban area.

The jurisdictional area contained within the boundaries of the Metropolitan Corporation (an area of 166.60 square miles) included all of the areas of eleven municipalities which are as follows:

53. The term "enabling legislation" is used here to describe a typical item of municipal legislation. It is used widely for this purpose. For example, T. J. Plunkett in his section on metropolitan government in Urban Canada and its Government, uses the same term to describe the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act. However, the term "enabling" with regard to the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act is used in this thesis with an added connotation. It will be demonstrated in the ensuing chapter that one of the key factors underlying the failure of the Metropolitan Corporation to effectively implement planning proposals was the fact that the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act "enabled" the Corporation to make planning proposals, but did not specifically provide the power to "implement" these proposals. As a result, the Metropolitan Development Plan which derives its authority from the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act (the "enabling legislation") was, in the end, only enabling legislation itself, and proved very difficult to implement. What is critical here is that the public considered the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act to be effective planning legislation which would permit effective metropolitan planning in the Greater Winnipeg area. This is however, not a situation which is unique to Greater Winnipeg. There are many other examples of similar planning legislation on the books in other areas of Canada and the United States.

54. See page 55 for list of services.

the cities of: Winnipeg
 St. James
 St. Boniface
 East Kildonan
 West Kildonan
 Transcona

the suburban municipalities of:

Fort Garry
 Old Kildonan
 North Kildonan

and the towns of: Tuxedo
 Brooklands

In addition three other municipalities were to have parts of their territory within the metropolitan boundaries:

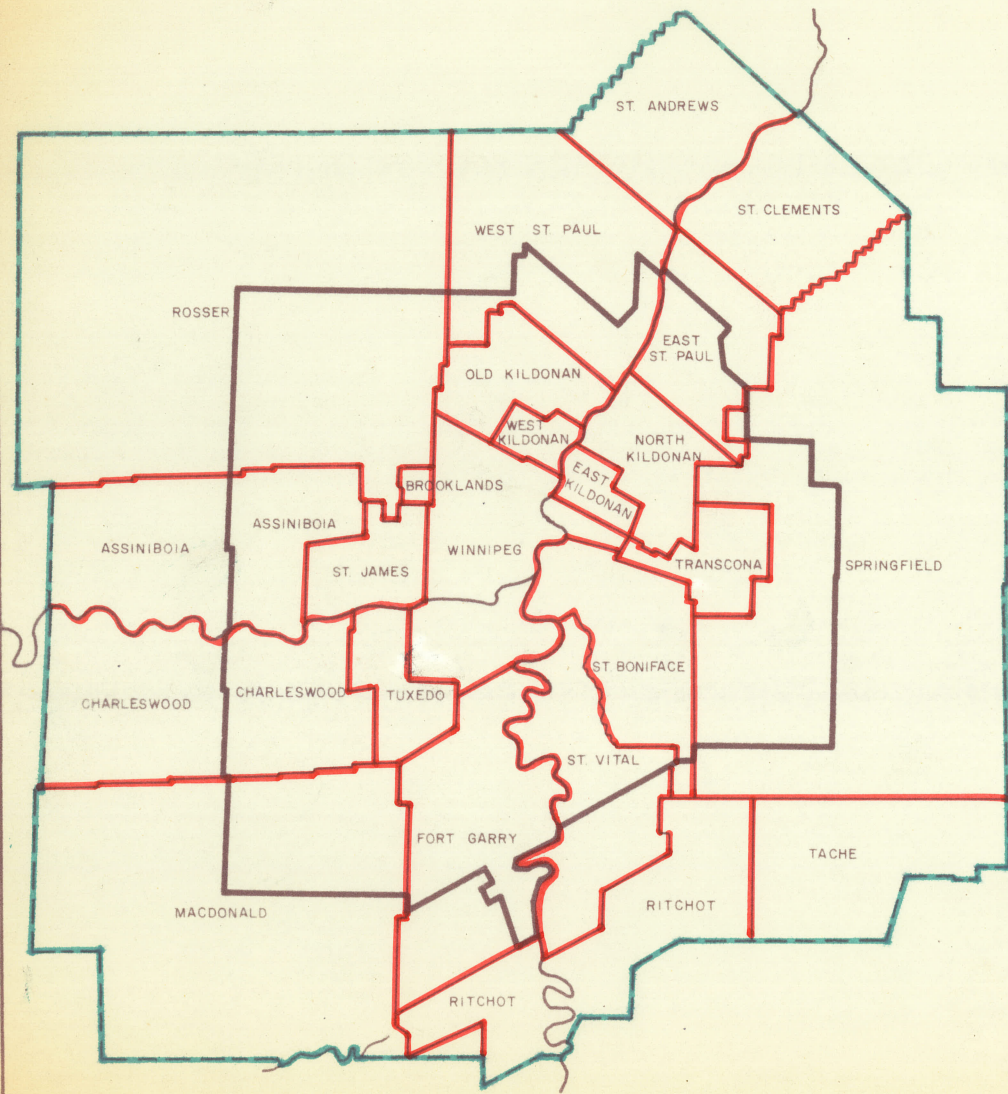
St. Vital
 Charleswood
 Assiniboia⁵⁵

The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act further defines an "Additional Zone" surrounding and extending beyond the metropolitan boundaries over which the Corporation has jurisdiction for planning and the control of pollution.

⁵⁵. For boundaries of these areas, and the boundaries of the Metropolitan Corporation, see Map 1, page 44. This map indicates the municipal and metropolitan boundaries of Metropolitan Winnipeg in 1961, and the changes in these boundaries which occurred between 1961 and 1969. The municipalities of Brooklands, St. James and Assiniboia were amalgamated into one municipality called St. James - Assiniboia. St. Clements and St. Andrews withdrew from the Metropolitan Additional Zone.

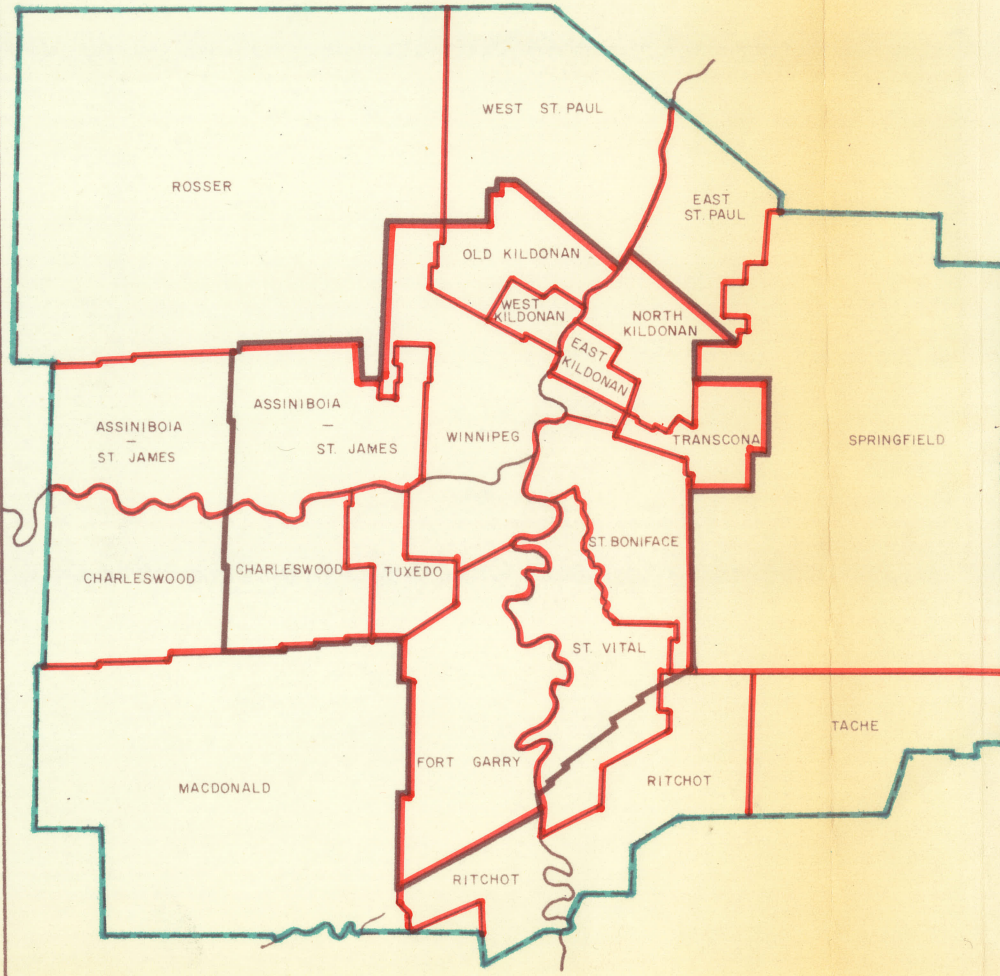
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

- METROPOLITAN BOUNDARY
- ADDITIONAL ZONE BOUNDARY
- MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY



1961

THE BOUNDARY OF METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG WAS CHANGED THROUGH LEGISLATIVE ACTION BETWEEN 1961 AND 1969



1969



This additional zone area covered 492.86 square miles in 1961. In total the Corporation had planning powers over an area which contained 659.46 square miles in 1961, (see Map No. 1, page 44).

In 1969, the Municipalities of St. Clements, St. Andrews and a portion of the Municipality of Springfield - formerly within the additional zone - withdrew from the additional zone jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Corporation.⁵⁶ This reduced the area of the Additional Zone to 453 square miles, making the total area under Metropolitan jurisdiction 619 square miles.

The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act assigns the following functions, powers and responsibilities to the Corporation:

- Assessment on a uniform basis of all realty property for purposes of both Metropolitan and local taxation.
- Area-wide planning including Development Plan, subdivision approval, zoning by-laws, building, electrical and plumbing permits.
- The supply, storage, treatment, pressure and arterial distribution of water to area municipalities. (The Municipalities are responsible for local distribution).
- Trunk sewage collection and disposal, not including local collection.
- Public transportation, major streets and bridges, including traffic control.

⁵⁶. The Municipalities of St. Clements and St. Andrews withdrew from the Metropolitan Additional Zone for the main reason that they felt their problems of development were of a different nature than those under the authority of the Metropolitan Corporation, and the municipalities wished to exercise their own control. The withdrawal, which was approved by the Provincial Legislature, was precipitated by the proposed location of a brewery in the St. Andrews area. The Metropolitan Corporation did not approve of the proposed location on the grounds that such an industrial use was incompatible with the surrounding land uses and the general agricultural nature of the area.

- Major parks, and municipal golf courses
- Civic Defence
- Mosquito Abatement
- Weed Control

The functions which were assigned to the Metropolitan Corporation were the result of a compromise by the Provincial Government due to the pressure from the local municipalities for the retention of certain powers. Among the functions recommended by the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission which were not included in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, or which were included but have not been proclaimed are: the financing of capital and certain operating costs of education; the supply of water including retail distribution; the distribution of electric power; rivers and streams and harbours authority; housing and urban renewal; financing the municipal share of welfare; the exclusive power to issue debentures, both for its own purposes and that of the constituent municipalities and the assumption of all outstanding debenture debt on assumed facilities; the pooling of industrial taxation; a metropolitan police force; and garbage disposal. The fact that the above functions were left under the authority of the local municipalities strongly contributed to their power base and therefore strengthened them considerably in their opposition to the metropolitan government.

The function of the Metropolitan Corporation which is of particular interest here is the responsibility for area-wide planning which was given to the Corporation. As stated in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, the Metropolitan Corporation has the "sole responsibility for and authority and jurisdiction over the planning and development of the Metropolitan

Area."⁵⁷ The importance given by the government to this function is illustrated by the following extract from the introduction to Bill 62, the Act to Establish the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, by Premier, Duff Roblin who said:

"The principle on which this Bill rests consists of two rather simple thoughts. First of all, that we should develop a central planning authority for this metropolitan area that would be charged with the responsibility of providing a unified development plan. And Secondly, that we should also provide for the central control of certain essential services to the public within this same urban area

The key to the major portion of the services to come under metropolitan jurisdiction is to be found in the central planning function. The Council is charged with the preparation, revision and adoption of a development plan for the whole of this metropolitan area and is established as the sole authority in that field. The adoption of an overall development plan must, of course, include long term planning with respect to major roads and bridges, traffic control, transit, sewer and water functions, the establishment of major parks and garbage disposal.

An orderly and economic expansion in any one of the above fields can be successfully achieved only if it is integrated and fitted into the whole picture of the future development of the area Any individual development in any one of these fields, if carried on separately and without due regard to other requirements will lead only to unnecessary expenditure of public funds which cannot be recouped at a later date when that particular service is fitted into the overall program.

It is, of course, impossible to have an orderly and desirable development of the area unless such development is planned, having regard for the problems which will be presented it in each of the individual fields that I have just referred to. The time to plan for this growth is at the beginning and the planning in all its phases must be co-ordinated under one central authority. Such being the case, it follows logically that the same central authority should as well control and provide the services themselves."⁵⁸

57. Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, op. cit., Part IV, Section 78(1), p. 77.

58. Extract from the Debate and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, February 17, 1960.

This quotation is of particular interest because of the emphasis it places on the importance of the central planning function to the provision of metropolitan services, and the relationship between this planning function and these services. The Premier stated, quite strongly, that the planning function and the provision of services should be controlled by the same authority, and further, that these services should be provided as a result of planning for the development of the overall urban area. This clearly implies that the planning function should be the key coordinative activity in the structure of the metropolitan government. In practice this did not turn out to be the case. The planning function of the Corporation became the responsibility of the Planning Division which was but one of a total of seven divisions within the structure of the Corporation (see figure 3, page 49 for the organizational structure of the Corporation). Each division was in effect equal, in terms of its jurisdiction and responsibilities within the Corporation. A case can be made that the Premier meant the planning operation of the Corporation to function as a coordinating body for all the services provided by the Corporation and to integrate the provision of these services into planning for the future development of the metropolitan area.⁵⁹

The difference between what was said by the Premier and what happened in fact has been of considerable significance to the effectiveness of planning in Metropolitan Winnipeg under the Metropolitan Corporation. The various divisions of the Corporation have worked closely together in matters pertaining to the provision of services in relation to future development. However, it has been apparent that due to the administrative

59. See page 45 for list of services provided by the Metropolitan Corporation.

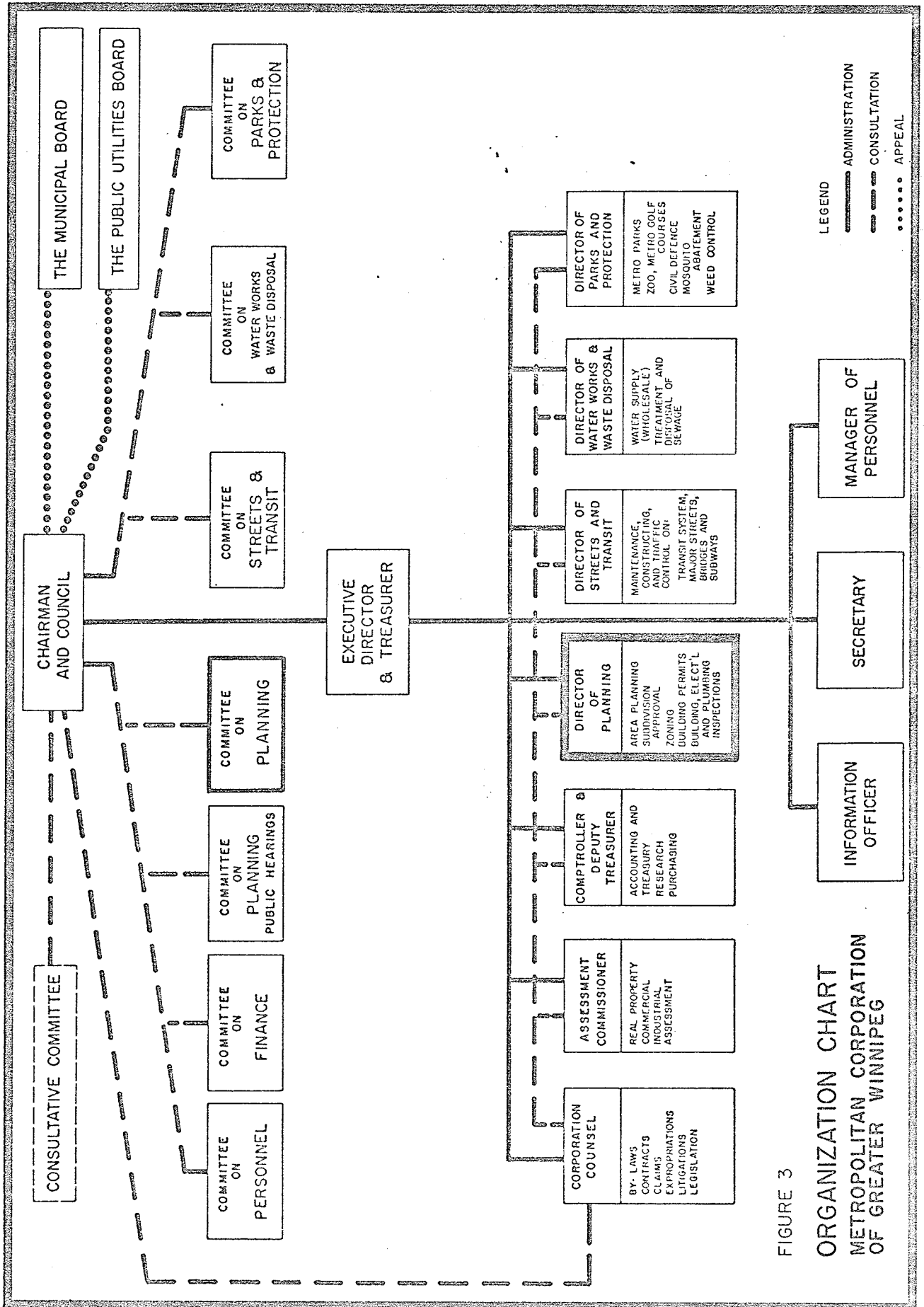


FIGURE 3
ORGANIZATION CHART
METROPOLITAN CORPORATION
OF GREATER WINNIPEG

structure of the Corporation, the planning function has been relegated to the status of just one other facet of the Corporation's function. It has not been in the position of a coordinator for all the functions of the Corporation with regard to planning for future development.

Whichever way the Premier's statement is interpreted, there can be little argument about what he intended at that time. The Metropolitan Government was to be the sole planning authority in the Greater Winnipeg area. In the light of the difficulties of the Corporation in the ensuing decade in exercising this authority, the significant factor is the lack of support subsequently given to the Corporation as the planning authority by the Provincial Government. This⁶⁰ lack of support by the Provincial Government, as will be discussed later, was primarily the result of a lack of a clear-cut interpretation of this planning authority, as well as the fact that too much planning power was left with the constituent municipalities of the Metro area by the Provincial Government.

3. Planning Under the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act

Part IV of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, entitled "Planning", provides the legislative basis for the planning function which has been

60. It is difficult to interpret the underlying meaning of what Premier Roblin meant by the phrase "planning authority". It is the writer's opinion that he meant, or rather that his speech was to give the impression, that the Metropolitan Government was to have complete control of planning for future development. In the light of what happened to that concept of complete control, one can speculate that he, or his government, was not aware at that time of the way that the division of municipal power set up by the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act was to evolve. An alternative view is the assumption that the government was aware of what would happen, but felt that the local political structure demanded the current type of system. A further view is that the Roblin Government did not want to give complete authority to a Metropolitan Winnipeg government which would clearly represent a very strong power base in potential opposition to a rurally-oriented Provincial Legislature.

carried out by the Metropolitan Council as a part of the overall responsibilities of the Metropolitan Corporation since the inception of that body in 1961.

The general authority of the Corporation to engage in planning activities is contained in Section 78(1) of Part IV of the Act and reads as follows:

"..... On coming into force of this Part, the Corporation has within the metropolitan area and the additional zone, sole and full responsibility for and authority and jurisdiction over:

- a) the planning and development of the metropolitan area and the additional zone, including the design, lay-out, and plan of the highways and public places;
- b) encroachments on streets and public places and the permitting or licensing of any act or the placing or maintaining of anything on a street;
- c) the prevention or control of nuisances or dangerous conditions on or near a street;
- d) the erection and placing of buildings and other structures;
- e) the fixing of electrical, plumbing and other building standards to be observed in connection with the erection, maintenance or repair of buildings and other structures;
- f) the numbering and naming of buildings facing on or adjacent to a highway; and
- g) generally, the uses to which land and buildings may be put;

but not including the engineering aspects of any such designs, lay-outs, and plans and save as expressly otherwise provided herein, the jurisdiction and powers of every municipal council and every other person, board, or authority, within the metropolitan area and the additional zone, in respect of the matters to which reference is made in this subsection is terminated on the coming into force of this Part."⁶¹

Section 78 therefore, contains an overall statement of the responsibilities of the Corporation with respect to a range of planning

⁶¹. The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, CAP 40, No. 62, 1960, Part IV, p. 77-78.

matters. First of all Section (1)(a) provides an umbrella statement giving the Corporation responsibility for "planning and development of the metropolitan area and the additional zone". This is a very broad statement and it is qualified to a certain extent in the following sections of this part of the Act. However, the point here is that this statement is open to a wide interpretation of what is exactly meant by "the planning and development of the metropolitan area." As will be shown later, this statement has led to much argument as to its definitive meaning, not only between the public and the Corporation but more often between the Corporation and the constituent local municipalities. The lack of explicit wording in the original Act can be said to have been a definite drawback to the application of planning in the metropolitan area since its inception in 1961.

Parts (1)(b) to (1)(f) of this general statement of authority are more specific in their application. They relate to specific areas of control such as encroachments on streets, prevention and control of nuisances, permission for erecting buildings, electrical, plumbing and building standards and the numbering and naming of buildings. Part (1)(g) can be considered as a general statement regarding regulation of the use of land and buildings under which would come the zoning by-laws and other land-use controls.

One of the major aspects of planning activity which was explicitly stated in the Act was the preparation of a "plan". As defined in the Act,

"'plan' means a statement of policy of the metropolitan council set out in a text, in maps, or illustrations, or in any of them, designed to secure and promote the orderly growth and economic development in the metropolitan area and the additional zone or any part thereof in the manner most advantageous to, and that will best promote those amenities that are essential to, or desirable for, the well being of, the inhabitants thereof;"⁶²

The Corporation was charged with the preparation of such a plan which was to be known as "The Metropolitan Development Plan"⁶³ and whose purpose in general terms was to establish the pattern of the future use of land.⁶⁴ With regard to procedure after the passing of a Metropolitan Development Plan, the Act states in Section 83(1):

"On the Metropolitan Development Plan being established, the Corporation has exclusive authority in the metropolitan area and the additional zone for the purpose of the administration and enforcement of the Plan; and for that purpose, and for the purpose of developing any feature of the Metropolitan Development Plan, the Metropolitan Council may enact by-laws, having force in both or either the metropolitan area and the additional zone, or in parts of both or either the metropolitan area and the additional zone"⁶⁵

There follows in this section a long list of specific matters for which the Corporation may enact by-laws, including:

- the use of land and buildings
- minimum area of lots
- floor area of buildings
- regulating the location, height, dimensions and cubic contents of a building
- the amount of land which may be covered by buildings
- regulating public outdoor advertisement

62. Ibid., Section 77(c), p. 77.

63. Ibid., Section 79(3), p. 79.

64. Ibid., Section 79(2), p. 78.

65. Ibid., Section 83(1), p. 86.

- a permit system for control of erection of buildings
- building restrictions and standards
- plans of subdivision

What must be emphasized here, lest a wrong impression be given, is that although the above mentioned sections appear to give the Corporation a wide range of control over planning matters of many kinds,⁶⁶ in fact this did not turn out to be the case. The inclusion of a particular item in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act has not meant that it would be dealt with by the Council. The inclusion of these items in the Act merely gives the Corporation the right to enact and enforce by-laws with respect to these matters. The point is that the Corporation must enact a specific by-law on a specific matter before it can enforce specific items in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act. In other words, the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, as previously mentioned, is only "enabling legislation". A further step is needed before planning proposals can be implemented. This further step is an action which must be taken by the Metropolitan Council, a political body which is subjected to political pressures. The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act has therefore created a situation where a maximum of political influence can operate for each situation that arises. Thus, non-planning rather than planning, is being encouraged by the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act.

The "enabling" aspect of the planning legislation has had a number of serious effects on the planning process in the metropolitan area. Two examples may be cited. One is subdivision control. The Corporation through its Planning Division does have the power to approve or reject applications for subdivision of land in the metropolitan area and the additional zone on

66. See page 45 for the list of planning matters which were under the authority of the Metropolitan Corporation.

the basis of whether the particular subdivision complies with the standards laid down for road allowances, minimum lot sizes, etc., and whether it is in an area which is considered ready for or not ready for urban development. However, since a subdivision by-law has not been enacted, the Corporation has no legal right to require that specific standards for any subdivision be carried out. For example, the particular design of a subdivision is not regulated, nor is the provision of open space.

The other example is the concept of implementing metropolitan planning proposals through the purchase and holding of land by the Corporation for development purposes in the urban area. In other words the idea of a "land bank" which would enable the Corporation to use the ownership of land as a means of directing and controlling development in the metropolitan area, and as well, reduce speculation in land. Section 83B of the Act states as follows:

"For the purpose of developing any feature of the Metropolitan Development Plan, the Corporation may at any time and from time to time:

- a) acquire land within the metropolitan area or the additional zone;
- b) hold land heretofore or hereafter acquired within the Metropolitan area or the additional zone; and
- c) sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of land so acquired or held when no longer required."⁶⁷

As is evident from the above quotation from the Act, this is a provision which could have had a very important effect on the application of planning principles in the metropolitan area. If such a provision was really effective a much greater degree of control over the type of development and the extent of development in the Metropolitan 67. Ibid., Section 83B, p. 92.

area could be exercised. However no by-law has ever been passed to bring these provisions into effect by the Corporation.

A recent amendment to the Act (1968) has had an important restriction placed on the geographical extent of the planning authority's powers.⁶⁸ Section 83(7) was amended to read as follows:

"Notwithstanding any other provision of the Act, except by the enactment of the Metropolitan Development Plan or by a land use by-law passed to implement that plan, the Corporation shall not enact a by-law that would have the effect of changing the use to which any land in the additional zone might be put unless the council of the municipality in which the land is situated has by resolution consented to the change."

Therefore, in terms of the growth and development of the Metropolitan Corporation, the planning power is restricted by the requirement of approval by the municipalities in the additional zone surrounding the metropolitan area. While this may be of little significance at the present time, because there is enough land now within the boundaries of the Corporation to contain urban development for a very long period - probably into the next century - at the present rate of growth. It may eventually prove to be a severe restriction of the planning power of the Corporation.

Another section of particular interest in Part IV of the Act relating to planning is the provision for the creation of a Board of Adjustment. The purpose of this Board is to deal with minor variations in zoning regulations in special cases where the actual application of the regulations may result in unnecessary hardship to the owners of the land. In dealing with a request for a variation, the Board must be satisfied that:

a) the intent and purpose of the by-law scheme and the Metropolitan Development Plan are maintained;

b) the amenity and convenience of adjoining lands and of the adjacent community as a whole will not be adversely affected by the order; and

68. Ibid., S.M. 1968, C77 S19, Section 83(7), p. 91.

c) the variance granted is one that will require the least modification of the prescribed regulation and the minimum variance that will accomplish the purpose."⁶⁹

The Board is permitted to vary a zoning regulation only within a single zoning classification. That is in a residential zone if an area is zoned R1 (single family residential) the Board may give a variation to an applicant on a specific plot of land to another residential classification only. It cannot give a variation to another zoning category, e.g. to industrial or to commercial. Where this has proved to be of significance has been in requests for variations in the residential category, since many applications are received to change a low density residential use to a higher density use for a multiple family structure.⁷⁰ It has been charged that this is in effect "spot zoning", and should not be allowed to be carried out by the Board on a single-lot basis. This should be the responsibility of the Metropolitan Council since it constitutes a change in use, rather than a minor variation. The point made is that the Board of Adjustment although appointed by the Metropolitan Council is in fact a quasi-judicial instrument and is not responsible to the Metropolitan Council once it is set up.

The decisions of the Board of Adjustment can be appealed to the Municipal Board by either the appellant or the Corporation. However, the decision of the Municipal Board is final. This again raises the point that significant variations in zoning and the use of land are decided by a body which is not directly responsible to the people. The Municipal Board is also a quasi-judicial board set up by the Provincial Government. Decisions of this nature should be the responsibility of the Metropolitan Council which is responsible to the people of Metropolitan

^{69.} Ibid., Section 84(3), p. 92.

70. For the purpose of illustrating a situation where the Board of Adjustment could be considered to have exceeded its powers under the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act and contravened the purpose of the Development Plan and the Zoning By-Law, an actual case considered by the Board is described in the following paragraphs.

In June of 1969, an application was made to the Board of Adjustment (Case no. 266-69(u)) to vary the RA zoning restrictions to permit the construction of two five story intensive care homes for the aged in a suburban area of one of the municipalities in the Greater Winnipeg area. Under the Zoning By-Law for this municipality, the "RA Suburban District" provides for a relatively low density of residential development requiring a minimum lot area of one-half acre per dwelling unit. Where municipal water and sanitary sewer facilities are installed and in operation, the "R-1 District" regulations of 5000 square feet in area per dwelling unit prevail.

The particular area in question was located on the fringe of urban development in this municipality and a small number of single family residences had been scattered on one-half acre lots along the frontage of the street. During the past two years urban development had begun in the area, principally multiple family structures to the south of the proposed site of the intensive care homes. The proposed homes were to be located north of the multiple family area, and adjacent to an established single family area to the north.

The Planning Division objected to the proposed variation in the zoning regulations to allow the construction of the intensive care homes which are considered a multiple family use. Their objection was based on the fact that a Detailed Area Plan (an extension of the Metropolitan Development Plan) had been prepared for the area which indicated the site in question should be utilized for single family development, while the area to the south was in large land holdings under municipal ownership and was adjacent to a hydro power transmission line right-of-way and the proposed suburban beltway. The subject area consisted of smaller land holdings under a number of private owners and was proposed to be developed as a series of bays and cul-de-sacs linked by means of walkways to proposed parkland and tot-lots, and thus integrated with proposals for redevelopment of the existing single family residential area to the north.

The Board of Adjustment disagreed with the Planning Division and issued an order permitting the variation which would allow the large increase of density on this area and permit the construction of the intensive care homes. Their conclusion was based on the consideration that the subject variation would comply with Section 84 of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act (see quotation on page 56), and that the Board was acting within the powers vested in it by the Act.

Winnipeg for decisions regarding the use of land.⁷¹

The major point to be emphasized is that the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act appears on the surface to be a comprehensive legal apparatus for effective planning in the Metropolitan area. This has not been the case in the crucial area of control of development because of the need for specific by-laws which must be enacted by the Metropolitan Council for each application. As mentioned previously the Act is "enabling legislation" only and we will see in the examination of the Metropolitan Development Plan which follows that the Act has not provided a legislative base for the effective implementation of metropolitan planning in Metropolitan Winnipeg.

4. The Metropolitan Development Plan

The following discussion of the planning activities of the Metropolitan Corporation is not intended to be all inclusive. For the purpose of making an assessment of the experiment in metropolitan planning which took place during the Metro years, the major planning for planning undertaken by the Planning Division of the Metropolitan Corporation has been selected for presentation and discussion. This planning - The Metropolitan Development Plan - constitutes the key land use planning activity which has been undertaken by the Metropolitan Corporation.

The approach outlined in the preceding paragraph has been specifically selected as a means of evaluating the Metro era of planning for the following reasons: First, it is the Metropolitan Development Plan

⁷¹. In practice, the Board of Adjustment and the Municipal Board have in a number of instances, usurped the planning function of the Planning Division of the Metropolitan Corporation. Their function was to be a means whereby the public-at-large could obtain variations from planning and zoning regulations which could be considered to effect a hardship in particular cases beyond the intent and purpose of these regulations. This has operated to the detriment of the effective implementation of a coordinative Metropolitan Development Plan for future development in the Greater Winnipeg area.

which forms the basis of metropolitan planning for future development as seen by the Metropolitan Corporation and its Planning Division; second, it is the attempt by the Corporation to plan the use of land for future development on a metropolitan basis, which is considered by the writer to be the key planning function of the Corporation, and the document in question is the vehicle used for this purpose; and third, the success or failure of this document with regard to its stated objectives is a measure of the effectiveness of metropolitan planning during the Metro years.

This chapter will examine the preparation, acceptance, and effectiveness of the Metropolitan Development Plan through several stages. First, the early stages of preparation leading to the publication of the first Development Plan in 1964; second, the reaction to the 1964 Plan and its subsequent withdrawal; third, the change to a policy plan with the introduction of the 1966 Development Plan; and fourth, the effectiveness of the current Metropolitan Development Plan.

The preparation of a master development plan was considered to have been the major responsibility of the Planning Division of the Corporation during its existence to date. This major responsibility was given to the Planning Division by the passage of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act in 1960. The Act stated that the Metropolitan Corporation "as soon as is practicable"⁷² is to prepare a plan.⁷³ The development plan, ultimately to be called "The Metropolitan Development Plan" was to be a statement of the Metropolitan Corporation's policy relative to

72. Ibid., Section 79 (1), p. 78.

73. For a definition of this "Plan" as stated in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, see page 53. This meant that the Corporation was to have a Plan prepared for them, in this case by the Corporation's Planning Division.

the future growth and development of the metropolitan area and the additional zone.

a) Early Stages of Preparation

Work began on the preparation of the development plan during 1961. By the end of the year the Planning Division had prepared a Progress Report⁷⁴ on the plan which dealt with "the planning process, the scope of the plan and the projected development of the urban area in 1966 and 1986."⁷⁵ The basic function of this Progress Report was to organize the approach and to report on the organization of the preparation of a master development plan - "to prepare a 'plan for the Plan'".⁷⁶

The Progress Report was published by the Planning Division on November 1, 1961. Copies were made available to the public and the contents of the report were reported in the daily newspapers.⁷⁷ There was no specific procedure set up for obtaining the reaction of the public to the report. The first edition of the Development Plan followed the outline set up by the Progress Report. There is no indication that the basic objectives for the preparation of the Plan were altered after the presentation of the Progress Report until the change to a policy plan was made with the preparation of the 1966 Development Plan.

The Planning Division stated in 1961 that approximately two years were needed to prepare the development plan. On the 3rd of September, 1963, almost two years later, a Draft Development Plan was released.⁷⁸

74. Progress Report No. 1, Development Plan Report, Planning Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, November 1, 1961.

75. Metropolitan Winnipeg: 1961, First Annual Report for the year 1961, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, 1962, p. 10.

76. Ibid., p. 2.

77. Winnipeg Free Press, November 3, 1961.

78. Draft Development Plan, Metropolitan Winnipeg, Planning Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, September 3, 1963.

During the year preceeding, the Corporation had held discussions on the draft plan with a consultative committee which contained representatives from the municipal councils, school boards and school divisions.

The purpose of the Plan, as described in the document itself, was to:

"guide the development of this metropolitan area in an orderly, economic and aesthetic manner, making the urban community a pleasurable place for work, relaxation and the raising of one's family."⁷⁹

The Plan itself was basically a "physical plan". That is, it dealt almost exclusively with the improvement of the physical environment. In this sense, the Draft Development Plan was similar to the "master plans" which had been made for many North American cities throughout the past half century. In keeping with this type of plan, the major component of the Draft Development Plan was a projected future land use map. In the words of the Plan itself:

"The main part of this report deals with the General Land Use Map. This map shows which areas will be developed, which areas will not be used for urban purposes and the routes of present and future metropolitan thorofares ...

The General Land Use Map forms a statement of the Corporation's policy for the future use of land and will therefore be of considerable value to both public and private agencies involved in the development of land as it will provide a basis for their planning."⁸⁰

In fact, the future land use map was titled the "Metropolitan Winnipeg Development Plan" and therefore this map really was the "Plan".

This method was very much akin to the zoning approach to planning. The

79. Ibid., p. 1.

80. Ibid., p. 4.

future land use map can be thought of as a somewhat generalized zoning map dealing with the location of land uses.

The Draft Development Plan was different from the "master plan" type in that it did not describe in detail all of the major aspects of the community. It did however, contain a section devoted to population which was considered to be basic to "serious planning for future development of the area."⁸¹ This emphasis on population is again characteristic of the features of the physical "master plans".

The Draft Development Plan states that:

"The basic purpose of the Plan is to establish policies and objectives for urban growth."⁸²

However, an examination of the Plan reveals little emphasis on this "basic purpose". The whole Plan revolved around the future land use map and which was the key to the degree of acceptance for the Plan by other governments in the Metro area and the public-at-large. It was ultimately because of the emphasis on the future land use map that the official acceptance of the Plan was delayed until 1968.

b) Reaction To The First Plan

The negative reaction to the Draft Development Plan began when the City of Winnipeg, in November of 1963, issued a statement regarding the Plan. The City claimed it had discovered a major flaw in the Plan. This was described in a newspaper report of that time as follows:

"The Metro Act provides that persons 'adversely affected by changes brought about by the plan may get compensation paid to them by Metro. It also gives Metro the power to enact by-laws to put the plan into force.

81. Ibid., p. 15.

82. Ibid., p. 45.

The city's report states: 'It follows therefore that nothing can be included in a by-law which is not, at least in general terms contained in the plan. That is, the plan is intended to be binding and to govern - and if the by-law is to be different it would be necessary first to amend the plan.'

Since the plan would seem to be binding and there is only three months given a person to appeal any part of its implementation, 'it would seem desirable that the land uses determined by the Plan as well as the location of future thoroughfares should be clear and definite.' the report continued.

'It is difficult to determine to what extent the population density requirements (set out in the plan as the basis for many of Metro's ideas) will affect particular lands and therefore difficult for an owner to know to what extent, if any, he will be damaged.

It seems that in fairness the Development Plan should either not have the binding effect given it by the Metro Act or should indicate the changes in permitted land use more clearly, or should omit the proposed changes which cannot be clearly defined.'⁸³

There were two major interrelated issues raised in the above statement by the City of Winnipeg. The first refers to the use of the future land use map, which was the basis of the 1964 Development Plan, as a means of setting out the future planning proposals of the Metropolitan Corporation. The second issue refers to whether the Development Plan should have a binding effect on the use of land in the metropolitan area. Both of these issues relate directly to the theme of this thesis. That is, that the enabling legislation does not permit effective implementation of future planning on a metropolitan basis in Metropolitan Winnipeg.

⁸³. Winnipeg Tribune, November 30, 1963.

These comments and the issues raised by them started a process of change in the direction of the application of land use planning by the Metropolitan Corporation which was to be of major significance to the process of planning as carried out by Metro in the succeeding years, and in fact, at the present time.

Up to the end of 1963 (and even somewhat later, as will be described presently) the Planning Division had based its concept of planning for future development in the Greater Winnipeg area on a Development Plan - the major constituent of which was a detailed future land use map. This implied, first; that the future development of Greater Winnipeg was to evolve as set out in this future land use map, and second; that the official acceptance of this map by the Corporation would make this concept of the future binding upon the community.

This approach hinged on an interpretation of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act which stated that the Corporation was to prepare a Plan which was "designed to secure and promote the orderly growth and development in the metropolitan area,"⁸⁴ and the statement that the Corporation had the sole authority over "the planning and development of the metropolitan area".⁸⁵ In other words, the Corporation had, by this interpretation of the Act, the authority to prepare a Plan for the future development of the Greater Winnipeg area and the authority to impose it on the community.

The approval process for the Plan under the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act provided for the hearing of the views of the public through

84. Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, p. 77.

85. Ibid., p. 77.

special public hearings set up for this purpose. From the Corporation's point of view, these hearings permitted the public-at-large to make their views known regarding the planning proposals in the Plan. The Corporation also made a point of emphasizing that the Plan was not forever committed to the proposals contained in it at the time of publication - it was to be a flexible document. That is, the planning proposals would be revised from time to time as conditions warranted. However, the public hearing procedure and the stated flexibility of the Plan did not come through to the community as a means of effecting changes in the Plan. At least, not to those members of the community who felt they were to be deprived of the right to do as they wished with their land as a result of the future land use pattern displayed in the land use map of the Development Plan.⁸⁶

The issues raised by the City of Winnipeg⁸⁷ revealed a real weakness in the Plan, and in fact in the planning authority of the Metropolitan Corporation. Their argument was based on the fact that if the Corporation indicated, or intended to indicate, the future use of land in one of its by-laws (in this case the Development Plan) and this intention constituted an adverse effect on the property of various individuals, then those people must be compensated for any loss in land value by the Corporation. Therefore, if an action by the Corporation could be proved to have deprived an individual of his rights in regard to the use of his land, then the Corporation was required to pay him adequate compensation.

⁸⁶. Draft Development Plan, p. 3.

⁸⁷. See quotation on p. 62.

It was apparent here, that the Corporation was caught in a trap. It had indicated changes in land use on its future land use map in the Plan. Those changes may or may never happen. They were intended to present a generalized picture of the possible future development, a vision as it were of the urban area at some future time. However, the map was in sufficient detail for individual land owners to determine what was proposed for their particular property. On the other hand it was also so general that other people could not determine what would happen to their property. Either case was considered to constitute grounds for adverse effect. The map, as stated by the City of Winnipeg, should either be explicit in the changes suggested, or not show them at all.

If any of the changes proposed by the Corporation on the map could be proved to have an adverse effect then the Corporation was liable for compensation at the time the map was made official. However, the Corporation did not know at that point whether it would ever actually carry out those changes. Therefore, if a proposal was altered sometime in the future the Corporation would be required to compensate for the original proposed change (which was not effected) and then for the later change. Obviously this would place a large financial drain on the Corporation, certainly one that was considered politically unpalatable by the Metropolitan Council.

The point then, of compensation in relation to changes proposed by the future land use map was conceded by the Corporation. The method by which this was done was to state that the Development Plan was not to be binding upon the community. George Rich, Metro's Planning Director

at that time stated that:

"The Development Plan itself is binding on the Metropolitan Corporation while the zoning and building by-laws will be binding on the community."⁸⁸

As will be discussed later in this chapter, the whole idea of the "binding effect" of the Development Plan was a very indefinite concept. However, from this point on in 1963, the binding effect of the Development Plan only on the Corporation and not on the community was accepted as an article of faith by the Corporation. It was meant to imply, from the viewpoint of the Corporation, that the changes proposed by the future land use map were not binding upon individual landowners. Therefore, the Development Plan, in its form at that time, could be made official by the Corporation without hurting land owners. That is, the future land use map was to be a guide to the Metropolitan Council as it made its decisions once planning got under way. This viewpoint however, was not shared by the public, and the effect of this opposition will be discussed as the Development Plan is traced through its later stages.

In February of 1964 a report was published by a Commission which had been appointed by the Provincial Government to review the operation of the Metropolitan Corporation.⁸⁹ Known as the "Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg Review Commission", it was commonly called the Cumming Commission after its chairman, Lorne R. Cumming. The Commission reported on February 25, 1964, and in its report it commented on the Metropolitan Development Plan;

88. Winnipeg Tribune, December 24, 1963.

89. Order in Council, No. 1250/62, the Government of Manitoba, October 2, 1962.

The Commission upheld the necessity of a development plan. It considered:

"the establishment of a single regional authority authorized to prepare and adopt such a plan is undoubtedly one of the most important functions and responsibilities of the metropolitan council."⁹⁰

The Commission made two recommendations which were of major significance to the application of the Corporation's planning authority. The first referred to the Plan itself as follows:

"(1) That the expression "metropolitan development plan" be defined so as to make it clear that it is to be a statement of land development policy and not in itself a legal restriction upon the use of lands or buildings in the metropolitan area."⁹¹

This statement was made at an opportune time because it bolstered the argument put forth in the preceding months by the Corporation and, in effect, lent support to the Corporation in its later efforts to pass the 1964 Development Plan in the form of a typical master plan based on a future land use development map. As the above statement of the Commission indicates, the land use map would be an expression of land development policy, and not in itself a legal restriction on the use of land.

The second recommendation involved a suggestion to provide a means of appeal by individual land owners from the provisions of the Plan. The Commission recommended that an appeal procedure be instituted by which the Plan could become effective only after approval by the Minister of Municipal Affairs of the Provincial Government. This approval involved, if thought necessary by the Minister, a review by the Municipal Board. The method of appeal which was in effect at that time involved the Board of Adjustment, which was appointed by

90. Report and Recommendations, The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg Review Commission, February 25, 1964, Province of Manitoba, p. 23.

91. Ibid., p. 23.

the Metropolitan Council. The Commission thought this unfair, and thus recommended an appeal to an independent body, in this case the Municipal Board, which was appointed by the Provincial Government. The effect which this has had on subsequent actions of the Corporation will be discussed at a later point in this paper.⁹²

It was not until August 4, 1964 that the Draft Development Plan was released as the "Development Plan, Metropolitan Winnipeg". This edition of the Plan was basically the same as the Draft Plan, with the exception of some changes in detail on the future land use map, and different density ranges for residential areas. An important textual addition was a sentence added to the implementation section of the Plan, which read as follows:

"These policies and objectives will guide and influence the actions of the Corporation;"⁹³

This sentence refers to the change in respect to the binding effect of the Plan. The Plan was now binding only on the Corporation, not on the Community. This whole question about the "binding effect" of the Plan is a somewhat hazy notion. It was stated continually by the Corporation that the Development Plan was not a legal restriction upon the use of land or buildings in the Metro area. Yet as later events indicated, the public never accepted this point of view. The Corporation also continually stated that the Development Plan was binding only on the Corporation itself. But what does this mean? It was also stated that the Plan was to "guide and influence the actions of the Corporation". This was a contradiction in terms. Could the Plan be binding on the Corporation if it was to be only a

guide and an influence? It could not, of course, and this was to have
 92. See Chapter V, section 1, for a discussion of the effect of the role of the Municipal Board on the implementation of metropolitan planning.
 93. Development Plan, Metropolitan Winnipeg, Planning Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, July 4, 1964, p.55.

the effect of making the Plan almost useless as a vehicle for planning future development in the Greater Winnipeg area. This was because the Metropolitan Council was not required to adhere to the Plan, but could, and did, make ad hoc decisions.

The Corporation began proceedings for the passage and official acceptance of the Plan when the Metropolitan Council gave first reading to the Plan on August 6, 1964, as By-Law No. 705. The first step in the acceptance procedure involved public hearings at which representations could be made regarding the Plan. A very large percentage of those who made representations were in violent opposition to some aspects of the Plan, principally the land use changes proposed by the future land use map in the Plan. As a result of this opposition, the Corporation allowed By-Law 705 to die, and the Plan went back to the Planning Division for revision on the basis of the changes requested during the public hearings.

c) The Change to a Policy Plan

The Development Plan then underwent a long revision period which extended throughout 1965 and the first half of 1966. On July 15, 1966 the first draft of the revised Development Plan was released to the public. An examination of the "Development Plan 1966"⁹⁴ reveals the reason for this long period of revision. The 1966 version of the Development Plan was completely changed from the previous edition of 1964. The Plan was now basically a "Policy Plan". That is, the major portion of the document was a "Statement of Objectives and Policies" relating to future development of the metropolitan area. As stated in the Plan:

94. The revised development plan published in July of 1966 was called the "Development Plan 1966". The second and final draft of this edition of the Plan, which was to become the official development plan of the Corporation in 1968 was called "The Metropolitan Development Plan".

"The Plan is defined as a 'Statement of Policy of the Metropolitan Council' therefore it is the 'Statement of Objectives and Policies' as set out in the following section A2 that forms the operative part of the Plan. The balance of the document is explanatory. It provides the basis for the Statement of Objectives and Policies and indicates the anticipated effect of their implementation. This explanatory material which consists of text, maps and illustrations must be used as part of the Plan and is essential to the proper understanding of the Statement of Objectives and Policies."⁹⁵

The introduction of the Plan goes on to state that:

"As the Plan is the beginning and not the end of a continuing process it is necessarily a statement of broad basic principles

The Plan's prime function is to act as the means by which the Corporation may confirm existing policies and initiate new policies relative to urban growth, and through subsequent amendments can modify or supercede these policies in the light of changing circumstances or additional experience and understanding."⁹⁶

It can be seen from the foregoing quotation that the two major former objections to the previous plan had been acceded to in the current Plan. First, the Plan was now not binding on the community, but only on the Corporation in so far as it determined the policies to be set by the Corporation with regard to future development of the Metropolitan area. Second, the detailed future land use plans which had created a great deal of opposition against the former plans, had been removed and replaced by a very generalized future land use map, on which no one could ascertain with any certainty the location of a specific property.

The Statement of Objectives and Policies outlined the Corporation's policies for future development during the "time and growth period 95. Development Plan 1966, Planning Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, July 15, 1966, p. 1.

96. Ibid., p. 1.

of the Plan."⁹⁷ That is, the document applied during the period of time it took for the Metropolitan area to reach a population of approximately 800,000 persons. This was estimated in 1966 to be about 20 years or up to 1986.

The explanatory part of the Plan covered a wide range of topics set up in basically the same manner as the previous plans. There was a section called the Basis of the Plan which contained data on population, economic and social activities. A section titled "Urban Growth" contained concepts, objectives and policies related to the component parts of the urban structure. The physical appearance of the urban area was discussed under a section titled Urban Design. In conclusion a chapter called "Future Planning Tasks" outlined the Planning tasks to be undertaken once the Plan was adopted.

In July of 1966 a panel of five planning experts gathered in Winnipeg to act as consultants on the first draft of the Development Plan.⁹⁸ On the 13th of October, the Metropolitan Council gave first reading to By-law 1117 adopting the Metropolitan Development Plan. The next step in the adoption procedure was to initiate public hearings at which representations regarding the Plan could be made by the public.

97. Ibid., p. 38.

98. The five planning consultants were:

M. J. Bacon, Planning Consultant and partner in the Toronto consulting firm of Proctor, Redern, Bowsfield and Bacon.

Professor Benoit Begin, Professor of Planning at the University of Montreal.

Dr. G. A. P. Carrothers, Director of the Institute of Environmental Studies, University of Pennsylvania.

Professor James Milner, President of the Town Planning Institute of Canada and professor of Law at the University of Toronto.

Professor J. Dakin, Head of the Department of City Planning, University of Toronto.

The first public hearing was held on January 9, 1967. There were a total of 12 hearings at which forty-nine representations were made. These representations were made by local government bodies, professional organizations, homeowners, associations, and individual members of the public at large. The hearings ended on April 3, 1967.

An amendment procedure was carried out during the summer of 1967. During this period a large number of minor amendments were made to the Plan as a result of the representations made at the public hearings and as a result of further comments by the panel of planning experts who reconvened in July of 1967. The only major change was the removal of the section of the plan which advocated the prohibition of overhanging signs as a result of representations by the local sign industry.

On November 16, 1967, the amended Metropolitan Development Plan was given second reading by the Metropolitan Council. It was then forwarded to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Urban Development of the Provincial Government. This was done according to the specific procedure laid down for the passing of by-laws by the Metropolitan Corporation. The Minister had two choices; he could approve the Plan and send it back to the Corporation for third and final reading; or he could send it to the Municipal Board for further public hearings. If the latter was chosen the Municipal Board, after hearing representations could require the Metropolitan Corporation to make any changes it required. In the case of the Metropolitan Development Plan, the Minister chose the first course of action - approval of the Plan. He gave approval on April 2, 1968, and sent it back without change to the Corporation for final reading. On April 11, 1968 the Metropolitan Council gave final reading, and the Metropolitan

Development Plan became an official by-law of the Metropolitan Corporation.

Thus ended a process which had begun seven years before and the Metropolitan Corporation now had an official document of policy and objectives on which it could base decisions regarding future development of the metropolitan area.

d) Effectiveness of the Metropolitan Development Plan

The Development Plan which went through major changes during its seven year gestation period had a major effect on the approach by the Corporation to the exercise of its planning authority in the Metro area. The Metropolitan Development Plan in its final form is now a " policy document ". It sets out in considerable detail ⁹⁹ the objectives of the Corporation with regard to future development of the Greater Winnipeg area, and accompanies these objectives by policies which are intended to be followed by the Corporation and thereby enable the Corporation to attain the objectives.

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99. The objectives of the Metropolitan Development Plan were set out under three main headings and sub-headings as follows:
(taken from the Metropolitan Development Plan - 1968)

URBAN GROWTH: Living areas, Working Areas, General Service Areas, Downtown, Areas for Special Metropolitan Programs, Areas for Joint Programs, Areas for Urban Expansion, Areas of No Urban Expansion, Water Supply System, Waste Disposal System, and Land Drainage Systems.

URBAN DESIGN: Downtown, Existing General Service Areas, Major Thorofares, Community Service Buildings in Living Areas, Residences, Local School and Park Sites, Working Areas, Signs and Billboards, and Overhead Wires.

FUTURE PLANNING TASKS: Detailed Area Plans, Fiscal Planning, Systems and Standards for Joint Responsibilities, Administrative Techniques, Development Control, Regional Context, and Data Bank.

In theory, if the Corporation were to follow the policies set out in the Plan for all of its decisions which might have an effect on future development, then the Plan could be termed effective in its stated purpose. The question which arises is not: does the Corporation follow the Plan? Rather: Does the Corporation have to follow the Plan, since it only claims to be a "guide", and an "influence" on the decisions of the Corporation. No one has yet studied the Corporation regarding the question of whether it is or is not following the policies set out in the Plan. For that matter, why should anyone take the trouble to inquire about the matter because the Plan is so ambiguous that anyone would find it difficult to relate an injurious effect to themselves from anything stated in the Plan.

The preceding arguments indicate that it would seem that the Metropolitan Development Plan is not an effective instrument for land use planning for future development. However the preceding analysis only examines the Plan itself and does not place it in the context of the current and past situation of the Metropolitan Government vis-a-vis the Provincial Government and the local governments within Metro.

The degree of effectiveness of the Metropolitan Development Plan is directly related to the legislation from which it receives its authority - the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act. This Act created the structure of local government in the Greater Winnipeg area during the years of metropolitan government. The conflict between the local municipalities and Metro during these years has been, and still is, a further contributing factor to the lack of effectiveness of the Metropolitan Development Plan. Chapter V will examine the local government structure in Greater Winnipeg from the point of view of its effect on the inability to implement metro-

politan planning by the Metropolitan Corporation during the era of metropolitan government in Greater Winnipeg.

CHAPTER V

METROPOLITAN PLANNING AND THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

1. Local Government Structure in Greater Winnipeg

As recounted earlier in Chapter IV the present structure of local government in Greater Winnipeg was formed in 1960 when the Provincial Government created the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg. The metropolitan form of government was instituted as a means of coordinating the provision of essential public services throughout the Metropolitan Winnipeg area and to provide a single authority which was empowered to plan for the future development of the urban area as a whole.

Under the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act which was the enabling legislation for the creation of metropolitan government in Greater Winnipeg, a two-tier system of municipal government was formed. The Metropolitan Corporation as the senior government was given the responsibility for a number of functions which were considered to be of a metropolitan nature.¹⁰⁰ The cities and municipalities within the Metro area retained authority over local capital works programs and the right to collect taxes for this purpose. They were made responsible for the provision of local sanitary sewage, storm drainage, and water distribution systems. In addition they retained responsibility for the collection of taxes for the provision of education, housing and urban renewal,

¹⁰⁰. See page 45 for a list of the functions for which the Metropolitan Corporation was made responsible.

fire, police, and garbage collection.

The cities and municipalities within the metropolitan area retained their boundaries, and thus their identities, as they were at the time of the passage of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act in 1960. They have retained this identity to the present date. These cities and municipalities were not however, represented as such on the Metropolitan Council - the elected political representatives of the metropolitan government. A new set of electoral divisions was created in 1960 for election of representatives to the Metropolitan Council. These divisions did not coincide with the existing municipal boundaries. They were so devised that each division contained parts of several of the existing cities and municipalities. The reasoning behind the creation of these new electoral divisions was to attempt to break down the parochial attitudes which would have found expression if representatives to the Metropolitan Council were drawn from the existing local municipal units.

The result of this system was to deny direct representation on the Metropolitan Council from the cities and municipalities which had been left in their existing form at the time of the formation of the metropolitan government. In fact, there were then three political units resulting from the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, instead of just two; the metropolitan area, the existing municipalities and the electoral areas for the Metro Councillors.

This fragmentation of authority between the Metropolitan Government and the local municipalities coupled with the non-representation of the local municipalities on the Metropolitan Council led to constant

friction between the two tiers of municipal government to the detriment of development in the urban area as a whole.

The division of powers between the Metropolitan Corporation and the cities and municipalities within the Greater Winnipeg Area can be traced back to the recommendations of the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission. The Commission recommended the formation of a metropolitan government, but at the same time strongly recommended the retention of the local municipalities within the Greater Winnipeg area. The Provincial Government, in acting on the recommendation to form a metropolitan government retained the original cities and municipalities but did not give them direct representation on the Metropolitan Council. This is a key point in relation to the ability of the Metropolitan Corporation to exercise its planning authority effectively. Although the Corporation had been charged with the responsibility of planning on a metropolitan basis, the municipalities, with no representation on the Metropolitan Council, had no voice in the plans for future development of the metropolitan area.

The only way that any planning proposal for metropolitan development could be implemented in Greater Winnipeg was by imposition of the will of a higher government on the local municipal governments. Since these local governments had no say in the preparation of these proposals it is understandable that they would object to them. These objections have been based on the argument by the local municipalities that the metropolitan planning proposals were detrimental to local interests to date throughout the Metro years. The allocation of powers between the Metropolitan Corporation and the local municipalities resulted in these local areas retaining enough power to successfully prevent implementation

of metropolitan planning proposals. In addition, the retention of the cities and the municipalities within the Greater Winnipeg area as continuing political entities allowed them to exert considerable political pressure, particularly on the Provincial Government, in order to frustrate metropolitan planning.

The local cities and municipalities retained jurisdiction over several functions which have tended to make the implementation of metropolitan planning a virtual impossibility. First, each municipality is responsible for its own capital works program and for the issuing of debentures to finance these projects. Therefore, there has been no coordination of capital works on a metropolitan basis and no way of assigning priorities based on an overall development plan for the metropolitan area. Second, the local municipalities are responsible for the provision of local water distribution, sanitary sewage collection and storm drainage. The Metropolitan Corporation is responsible for the wholesale supply of water to the municipalities, and the collection and disposal of sanitary sewage from the municipalities. The control over provision of local sanitary sewage and water supply has been of considerable significance to the implementation of metropolitan planning. The municipalities through the provision of these services have been able to influence the extent and direction of development independently of whether or not this local development coordinated with the proposals of the Metropolitan Development Plan for overall metropolitan development.

Based on the authority which has been retained by the local municipalities with regard to development, and on the fact that the municipalities have no representation on the Metro Council, it has, as has been discussed previously, been difficult to gain agreement on a metropolitan

plan of development, let alone achieve any measure of success in implementing such as plan.

Greater Winnipeg is governed, in fact, by a three-tier system of government. Responsibility for local government matters is divided between the Metropolitan Corporation and the cities and municipalities within the Greater Winnipeg area. But, superimposed over these two levels is a third tier, represented by the Provincial Government. The powers of the local municipalities and of Metro are delegated to them by the Province, which retains the ultimate authority in municipal affairs. The power of the Province over the actions of the Metropolitan Corporation has placed a definite constraint on the ability of the Corporation to implement proposals for metropolitan development. This has been demonstrated in two ways:

First, despite the fact that a Provincial Act specifically gives the Metropolitan Council the planning authority in the Metro Winnipeg area, the Metropolitan Development Plan and any other by-laws which are a part of it, must be approved by the Provincial Minister of Municipal Affairs. If the Minister so desires, the by-laws may be passed on for approval by the Municipal Board, a quasi-judicial board appointed by the Province. There is no appeal from the Municipal Board. Therefore, as an elected body, the Metropolitan Council cannot have the ultimate authority in matters of future development - this is reserved for an appointed body which has no direct accountability to the public. This was intended to act as a safeguard for the public and it has undoubtedly served this purpose. But, it has also served effectively to reduce the effectiveness of the Metropolitan Council in

implementing a cohesive plan for future development of the area, because it has enabled ad hoc decisions to be made which have contravened the intent of the plan for future development. In other words, the effect of the appeal system to the Provincial Municipal Board (and to the Board of Adjustment as discussed in Chapter IV) has tended to produce a state of non-planning.

Second, the existence of the cities and municipalities within the Greater Winnipeg area as independent entities with sufficient political power to effectively put forth their case to the Provincial Government has also worked to weaken the authority of the Metropolitan Corporation, particularly in matters pertaining to metropolitan planning. This constant pressure on the Provincial Government by the individual municipalities, which has been in total more effective than that exerted by the Metropolitan Corporation, has worked effectively to prevent any changes in the governmental structure which might have strengthened the Metropolitan Government in its attempts to plan for future development.

The inability of the present structure of local government in Greater Winnipeg to allow the implementation of any planning proposals for integrated future development leads this writer to conclude that a different form of municipal government structure is needed for the Greater Winnipeg area.

2. The Case for Total Amalgamation

As long as there are independent cities and municipalities within the structure of metropolitan government in the Greater Winni-

peg area with sufficient power to direct development in their own local areas, the concept of land use planning for future development on a metropolitan basis in the Greater Winnipeg area may well prove to be impossible to implement. The local cities and municipalities have a vested interest in protecting what they see as their local developmental needs, and will therefore resist any proposals of a metropolitan nature which they see as contrary to these needs, regardless of any arguments which may be made based on the needs of the metropolitan community as a whole.

The key point in the issue of local planning powers versus metropolitan planning powers is that it has proven difficult to make a distinction between the two areas of authority. The local planning authority of the municipalities within Greater Winnipeg - such as the provision of local capital works programs - is in fact an integral part of the overall capital works program for the Metropolitan Winnipeg area. The long range planning for municipal programs cannot be separated from the planning for future development of the metropolitan area. However, under the present system of municipal structure, the enabling legislation - the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act - attempts to divide the planning authority between the Metropolitan Corporation and the local cities and municipalities. As a result, in practice, as has been demonstrated earlier in this paper, the allocation of planning powers between the metropolitan government and the local municipalities has operated to effectively hamper the implementation of metropolitan planning.

It is the writer's conviction that in order to provide a municipi-

pal government which is capable of governing the Greater Winnipeg area in an efficient manner, providing the services which are needed, and the ability to implement plans for future development on a metropolitan basis, a different form of municipal government is needed. The case will be advanced here that a better form for the Greater Winnipeg area is total amalgamation under one central civic administration. The reasons for this conviction are outlined in the following pages.¹⁰¹

The first reason is based on the size of the Greater Winnipeg area. At the present time the metropolitan population of the Greater Winnipeg area is only 516,000 and the projected growth rate of the urban area is expected to increase this population to about 750,000 in twenty years time. Although Greater Winnipeg is the fourth largest metropolitan area in Canada, it is about one-half the size of the third largest - Vancouver - and less than a quarter of the size of Toronto and Montreal. Greater Winnipeg can be termed a small to medium-sized metropolitan area. It is therefore, of a size which can be administered effectively by one municipal authority, rather than by twelve separate municipal organizations and a metropolitan government, with a consequent fragmentation of authority.¹⁰²

101. It should be emphasized here that the writer considers that these reasons for total amalgamation would apply only in the Greater Winnipeg area. That is, there are a unique set of circumstances operating in the Greater Winnipeg area which lead to the conclusion that total amalgamation would provide the appropriate way to organize effective urban government.

102. The twelve municipalities referred to here are those which are either wholly within or partly within the boundaries of the Metropolitan Corporation. There are an additional seven municipalities which are partly within the Additional Zone area surrounding the Metropolitan Corporation boundary.

This leads to the second reason for amalgamation. Greater Winnipeg is essentially a compact, cohesive and medium sized urban centre where all aspects of development in any sector of the urban area are closely interrelated. The major reason for local loyalties and the consequent demand to retain the present individual independent municipalities is based on an economic argument. The property taxes in the suburban municipalities are lower than in the City of Winnipeg. There is a difference of twenty-five mills between the lowest tax rates of the municipalities and the City of Winnipeg.¹⁰³

¹⁰³. The residential municipal mill rates for the year 1969 for the twelve municipalities within the Metropolitan boundary are as follows:

Tuxedo	40.00
Charleswood	46.57
St. James- Assiniboia	49.89
North Kildonan	53.00
St. Vital	58.40
Fort Garry	58.82
Old Kildonan	60.57
St. Boniface	60.63
Transcona	63.87
East Kildonan	64.25
West Kildonan	64.32
City of Winnipeg	65.95

Source: Research Department, Finance Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg.

Yet the heart of the urban area of Greater Winnipeg is the City of Winnipeg. The suburban residents use the commercial, institutional and recreational facilities of the central city. Yet, the suburban residents are not paying their share of the costs of maintaining the services available to them in the central city. Thus, we have a third reason for amalgamation - the urgent need to equalize the tax rates throughout the metropolitan area in order to utilize the tax base for the benefit of the metropolitan area as a whole.

Equalization of the tax base is particularly important in view of the fact that the Greater Winnipeg area has a very low growth rate and does not have a vigorously expanding economic base. Therefore, the argument is put forth that the allocation of the limited resources of the Greater Winnipeg area must be administered from a central government with the clear authority to establish priorities and coordinate development on the basis of the needs of the community as a whole.

A fourth argument for the need for a central authority arises from the process of urban renewal of the older, blighted areas of Greater Winnipeg. This concerns not only the redevelopment of the downtown and the surrounding area, but also the replacement of the residential housing stock which is in a barely habitable condition. At the present time housing and urban renewal are the responsibility of each of the individual cities and municipalities within Greater Winnipeg. The Metropolitan Government is specifically excluded from this function by Provincial legislation. Urban renewal is one of the most pressing problems of future development in Metropolitan Winnipeg,

and it must be part of the overall development proposals for the entire metropolitan area. Urban renewal cannot be handled in a fragmented manner, from a local point of view by individual municipalities. This has been demonstrated by the lack of implementation of any urban renewal schemes by the municipalities; the costs of such schemes are beyond the resources of the local municipalities.¹⁰⁴

And finally, a further reason relates to the problems of future development created by the split authority of the present municipal structure. If control of future development is considered of prime importance in the metropolitan area; if public services are to be provided in an orderly and economic manner; if urban government should have the ability to initiate and undertake development as a means of coordinating activities in the public and private spheres; then these factors plus those that have been previously advanced lead the writer to the conclusion that total amalgamation would be the most desirable organizational form of government structure which would have the authority and the capacity to effectively govern the Metropolitan Winnipeg area in the future.

An alternative form of government structure for Metropolitan Winnipeg which can be considered is the retention of the present Metropolitan Government, but with a change in the system of representation. As has been previously mentioned, one of the reasons for

the difficulty of implementing metropolitan planning during the 104. With the exception of the City of Winnipeg which has implemented an urban renewal and housing scheme in North Winnipeg. However the City's plans for further urban renewal have been held up because of the cost, which the City cannot meet, and because Federal Government financial assistance has been limited by the new policy.

Metro years was due to the lack of direct representation of the local municipalities on the Metropolitan Council with a consequent loss of direct participation in the planning process. This lack of direct representation has been a constant source of friction between the Metropolitan Corporation and the local municipalities. If the Metropolitan Corporation in Greater Winnipeg were to be retained and the local municipalities were given direct representation on the Metropolitan Council, one of the serious drawbacks of the present system would be removed, therefore possibly providing an alternative to total amalgamation.

However, the writer believes that this alternative form of government would not do away with the fragmentation of authority in the Greater Winnipeg area which has been, and still is, the basic reason for the lack of effectiveness of urban government in Greater Winnipeg. The reason for this assertion is that a change in the basis of representation¹⁰⁵ for the Metropolitan Government would not alter the power struggle between the local municipalities and the metropolitan government. Since the local municipalities would still exist under this form of metropolitan system as independent political entities they would be in a position, similar to the present one, whereby they would be able to exert political pressure to circumvent metropolitan government by using this political pressure to influence the provincial government to achieve their local needs.

105. The change in the basis of representation for the Metropolitan Government which is suggested here would be from the present system whereby representatives on the Metropolitan Council are elected from electoral divisions which cut across existing municipal boundaries, to a system where the electoral divisions would coincide with existing municipal boundaries and therefore provide direct representation on the Metropolitan Council from each of the local municipalities within the metropolitan government.

In other words, even if the system of representation under a metropolitan government was changed, or even if some other alternative form of metropolitan government was proposed, there would still be the basic problem of a number of individual governments within the government structure of a single urban metropolitan area. Each would retain authority of some kind, and each would use this authority to further their own interests. As has been described previously, the furtherance of these local interests in the past in Greater Winnipeg has been at the expense of programs for the development of the Metropolitan Winnipeg area as a whole.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The experiment in metropolitan planning which has occurred in Greater Winnipeg during the post second world war period has been examined through an appraisal of the two major stages of this experiment. The first stage was the period of advisory metropolitan planning under the aegis of the Metropolitan Planning Commission during the years 1949 to 1960. The second stage involved the period of what may be termed nominal metropolitan planning under the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg from 1961 to the present day. These two periods of metropolitan planning have been reviewed in the context of earlier planning activities in Greater Winnipeg which provided some preparation for these two major stages.

The selected approach to the examination of the experiment in metropolitan planning in Greater Winnipeg revolved around the ability of the local governments to implement land use planning for future development on a metropolitan basis. Planning on a metropolitan basis has existed in Greater Winnipeg for over twenty years. How does one judge its effectiveness? The ability to implement the planning proposals which have been made during this period has been singled out as the means of appraising the success or failure of metropolitan planning. "Implementation" is the key word.

Throughout its development in Greater Winnipeg, land use planning has been a function of the municipal governments of the area. It has evolved from a function of the individual cities and municipalities to a combination of the former with an advisory metropolitan planning organization, and finally, to a metropolitan planning authority with an intended strong legislative base.

During the first stage of metropolitan planning, the Metropolitan Planning Commission was successful to a certain extent in publicizing the concept of metropolitan planning throughout the Greater Winnipeg area. During its eleven years of existence it disseminated these ideas by means of various plans, reports and surveys which spoke about the advantages of planning for the future development of the Winnipeg area on a metropolitan basis. In addition it provided a professional planning service to the cities and municipalities within Greater Winnipeg on an individual basis and attempted to coordinate their individual projects.

However, from the point of view of the actual implementation of metropolitan planning the Commission was not successful. The cities and municipalities within the metropolitan area were free to accept or reject any proposals made for the development of the urban areas as a whole. In the main, the municipalities rejected most proposals for metropolitan development which required their approval. They argued that the recommendations were not advantageous to the interests of their local areas.

Since planning proposals of a metropolitan nature could not be implemented under the system of advisory metropolitan planning, a system was needed whereby metropolitan planning could be implemented by a unit of higher government over the local cities and municipalities. The Greater

Winnipeg Investigating Commission recommended that the authority for metropolitan planning be placed under the metropolitan government which they proposed, and which was instituted in Greater Winnipeg in 1961. At the same time however, the Investigating Commission also recommended that the metropolitan planning function should be separated from the "local" planning function. That is, the local municipalities were to retain control of zoning, building permits and regulations, but these local planning functions should be required to conform to an overall metropolitan plan and zoning by-laws proposed by the metropolitan government.

When the metropolitan government was created by the Province, the recommendation of the Commission was not followed. The Metropolitan Corporation was given complete authority over planning in the metropolitan area. The local municipalities did not retain any of their former planning functions. In theory, with complete control of all planning functions in the metropolitan area the Metropolitan Corporation should have been able to effectively implement metropolitan planning proposals. Even though the Province took away the planning function from the local municipalities it left them intact as separate political entities with sufficient powers (as outlined in Chapter V) to enable them to seriously interfere with the implementation of metropolitan planning. Because the municipalities had no direct representation on the Metropolitan Council they were excluded from participation in the process of metropolitan planning, and therefore tended to operate their own development programs, and resisted coordination of these programs into an overall metropolitan plan.

As recounted in Chapter IV, the period of metropolitan planning during the years of the Metropolitan Corporation was examined by examining the preparation and acceptance of the Metropolitan Development Plan which was to be the principle instrument for effecting metropolitan planning by the Corporation. In so far as a Metropolitan Development Plan is now in force as an official by-law of the Metropolitan Corporation, the Corporation has fulfilled a major planning function that it was charged with under the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act. But this is only a part of the planning function, really only a starting point, despite the fact that it took the Corporation nearly seven years to reach that point.

At issue here is the fact that the Metropolitan Development Plan is not an effective planning instrument from the point of view of the ability of the Corporation to implement the Plan's proposals for future development. This is because the Plan claims to be only a "guide" and an "influence" on the decisions of the Corporation, and because the Plan itself is so general in its proposals that there can be a very wide interpretation of the Plan. This leaves much scope for a difference of opinion as to the intent of the Plan amongst the local governments within the Metro area, the private investment sector, the public-at-large, the Provincial Government, and the Metropolitan Corporation.

In addition to the difficulty of implementing a plan so general and ambiguous in nature, there is the added difficulty of the same ineffectiveness in the parent legislation of the Plan - The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act. This Act is the "enabling" legislation for the planning authority of the Metropolitan Corporation. It does not however, provide

the means of implementing any planning proposals (as discussed in Chapter IV). This must be done by the Metropolitan Council through its own by-laws. The Metropolitan Development Plan itself has become merely "enabling" legislation of the same kind as the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act. The Plan enables the Corporation legally to make planning proposals for future development, but it does not allow for implementation of these proposals. The implementation of these proposals must be specifically acted upon by the Metropolitan Council by the passage of implementing by-laws. Therefore, it was not only the ambiguity of the wording of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Act which was at fault, but the fact that the Act is "enabling" legislation and not "implementing" legislation.

Since the Metropolitan Development Plan has become an official by-law of the Metropolitan Corporation, the Corporation has not been able to implement its proposals for future development. This is best illustrated by the fact that despite the existence of a Plan for future development of the metropolitan area, the Corporation has not been able to control the direction or scope of development in the urban area. Development has and still is taking place on an ad hoc basis, mainly at the instigation of and under the direction of the individual cities and municipalities within the Metro area. There is no coordination of this development. The Corporation has not been able to say, for example, that development should not be initiated in a certain sector of the metropolitan area because there are sufficient other areas available for development at the present time. And therefore, it would not be economic in terms of the provision of public services to allow development in a certain sector of the metropolitan area.

The discussion of metropolitan planning in this paper has demonstrated that advisory metropolitan planning was not successful in achieving the implementation of planning proposals on a metropolitan basis because the local cities and municipalities were not required by law to accept metropolitan planning proposals. Neither has the Metropolitan Corporation been able to successfully implement metropolitan planning despite the fact that the Corporation was set up under legislation which intended that planning be implemented. The inability of the Corporation to implement metropolitan planning rests on the premise that first; the enabling legislation for metropolitan planning does not permit implementation of planning proposals; second, the instrument of the Corporation for carrying out its metropolitan planning function - the Metropolitan Development Plan - has been difficult to implement because it is also only "enabling" legislation; third, the establishment of electoral constituencies for the Metropolitan Council independently of the existing municipal constituencies did not allow the individual municipalities a direct voice in the metropolitan planning process; and fourth, the division of municipal power between the Metropolitan Corporation and the local cities and municipalities within the Metro area has worked to the detriment of successful implementation of metropolitan planning.

The result of these reasons for the failure of metropolitan planning demonstrates that the present form of municipal government structure is intimately associated with the capacity to implement planning legislation on a metropolitan basis.

The description of the municipal government structure in Greater Winnipeg, and its relationship to metropolitan planning illustrates that

this structure was inappropriate to the implementation of the planning function as attempted by the Metropolitan Corporation. The division of power between the Metropolitan Corporation and the local cities and municipalities is the fundamental reason for the failure of the implementation of metropolitan planning.

Therefore, this thesis concludes that the successful implementation of metropolitan planning in Greater Winnipeg requires the amalgamation of the metropolitan area under one central civic administration.

It could be argued that the failure of metropolitan planning at the implementation stage is a reflection of the fact that the people of the Metropolitan Winnipeg area are unable to attain sufficient unity of purpose. If this is the case then the achievement of a single urban government for the Greater Winnipeg area may be beyond the political mood and skills of the people of the Winnipeg region. The writer concludes however, that this is not the case, and that indeed the people of the Greater Winnipeg area are ready for, and capable of, supporting one central urban government. But this is the subject of a study in municipal government, and the writer leaves that to the political scientists.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Winnipeg City Planning Commission Report - 1913.

The conclusions and recommendations of the Report of the Winnipeg City Planning Commission of 1913 are quoted in full as follows:

- "(1) Your Commission finds unquestionably that there are serious defects in the present plan and in present conditions and many dangerous tendencies, which must be corrected to provide properly for the development of the City.
- (2) That there is overcrowding in many quarters.
- (3) That, with the encroachment of business structures and the increasing price of land, the tendency of buildings that were once private residences and good class apartment blocks to degenerate into crowded, low class tenements is marked and already constitutes an evil.
- (4) That there is much poor construction, particularly perhaps in the smaller houses, and that this faulty construction tends to produce discomfort and insanitary conditions.
- (5) That many rows of houses are so arranged on narrow lots as to prevent the proper access of light and air to certain rooms.
- (6) That the infantile death-rate in Winnipeg is too high and varies strikingly in different wards, proving that conditions in certain districts are unfavourable and calling for educative work along the lines of child welfare.
- (7) That provision should be made for still further parks and open spaces, the most marked present deficiency being in the central district, and that more playgrounds, or "neighborhood centres," should be established at properly distributed intervals.
- (8) That the erection of examples of "Model Housing" should be urged upon the attention of private capital, and, failing a response from that source, upon the Civic Authorities.
- (9) That a further revision of the City Building By-Law is necessary, and that the amendments which were for so long a time before the Committee of the Council, and which have recently been adopted by the Council, do not in many important respects meet the needs of the situation.

(10) That both the Building Inspector's and the Health Department's staff are undermanned and that larger appropriations should be made to enable these departments to adequately cope with the problems before them.

(11) That many new highways must be planned by extending, straightening and in some case widening existing streets and by building bridges or subways and perhaps by opening up entirely new thoroughfares.

(12) That all main highways should extend directly far beyond the present limits of the City.

(13) That the idea of boulevards around the City should be encouraged and advantage taken of the River banks in the neighborhood of the City to establish picturesque driveways, so that a great natural opportunity which has been largely lost within the City itself may be worthily utilized wherever it still remains in the interest of the district as a whole.

(14) That the problem of a more systematic planning of extensions of the street railway should at once engage attention, the present method by which a decision as to routes is arrived at between the City and the Company being most unsatisfactory. In this connection much may be expected from the supervision of the Public Utilities Commission, but experts must be employed who will study the problem in its connection with the general city plan, with the ascertained movements of population and with the probable and desirable growth of business and residence districts.

(15) That there are already conditions which threaten future congestion of traffic in certain districts, such as that between Notre Dame Avenue and Portage Avenue from their junction westward to Donald Street and particularly toward the apex of this triangle after the convergence of Ellice and Notre Dame Avenues. The erection of office buildings, too high for the width of the narrow streets and therefore attracting a disproportionate number of people, will inevitably increase the difficulty at such points.

(16) That, as it is certain that more railway tracks will be required within the City and in the future new railways will seek to enter the City, this problem should be carefully studied without delay with a view to indicating, in justice to the citizens and in the interests of the railways, the areas in which such development can take place to the greatest general advantage.

(17) That there is a more urgent duty upon private citizens and upon the civic authorities in Winnipeg, than in many other places of more striking and varied natural location, to create by architecture and by the landscape gardener's art pleasing vistas in the streets, effectively breaking wherever possible, by an attractive resting place for the eye, an otherwise vacant stretch of straight and level roadways; that the City Council should take power to regulate the height of buildings in proportion to the width of streets; and that partly in some cases by municipal control, but chiefly by the voluntary observance of private individuals, the heights and styles of architecture of adjoining buildings should be correlated.

(18) That it is as clearly a dictate of common sense to plan a city as it is to plan any other intricate and important structure rather than trust to the partial and divergent views of individual workmen; that it is a saving of money to work to a comprehensive plan, for it does not mean that the complete conception shall be put under contract at once or that more should be done at any one time than the community can well afford, but it does mean that every bit of work carried out is done in the right place and in the right way, so that it need not be undone in the future and loss through waste is largely eliminated, even if no account be taken of the greater value in public convenience created by the expenditure; that in other respects also it is the highest economy, for in addition to producing the maximum of convenience with its saving of time and effort it will conserve and promote the health of the citizens and will enlarge and elevate the spirit of the common life."¹

1. Report of the Winnipeg City Planning Commission, 1913, pp.10-12.

APPENDIX B

OBJECTIVES AND FUNCTIONS

METROPOLITAN PLANNING COMMISSION

"The principles guiding the activities of the Metropolitan Planning Commission are directed towards the ultimate achievement of the wishes of the public and not merely limit to immediate needs. Generally, the Commission must plan for the unified development of Greater Winnipeg relating all of its various physical and functional parts. More specifically, the objectives and functions of the Metropolitan Planning Commission have been established by the Commission as follows:

For Living: Planning for the development of accommodation adequate for healthful, comfortable and convenient living and for the provision of facilities reasonably required for employment, recreation, education, culture, beauty and other amenities of living for the people of greater Winnipeg. These functions normally include such matters as:

- (a) Zoning protection for homes
- (b) Adequate public utility services, such as sewers, water, power and light
- (c) Schools distributed to suit population concentrations
- (d) Convenient, rapid public transit properly located to best serve residential areas, recreational, social and cultural centres, places of employment, downtown shopping and major transportation terminals
- (e) Thorofares designed to permit safe and rapid movement to and from the various functional centres by both public and private transportation without undue congestion and with adequate and convenient parking accommodation at these centres.
- (f) Elimination of slums, the rehabilitation of blighted areas and the development of new areas.
- (g) Provision of facilities so that business, finance, manufacturing and industry generally may function and flourish and consequently provide adequate and suitable employment opportunities for the people of Greater Winnipeg.

For Business and Industry:

Plans for facilities and space adequate for establishing and carrying on those normal industries, manufacturing, commercial and financial businesses, rail transportation and the like, necessary to serve the people of Greater Winnipeg, and to provide them with employment. This normally includes such matters as:

- (a) Adequate public utility services
- (b) Streets, free from undue congestion, adequate for heavy trucking where necessary, and in residential areas convenient for delivery of merchandise to homes.
- (c) Adequate facilities for public and private transportation to business and industrial areas similar to (d) and (e) above
- (d) Zoning protection for commercial and industrial developments of various types to prevent the encroachment of nuisances and to prevent the use of desirable industrial areas for residential purposes
- (e) Improvement in the appearance and efficiency of the downtown area so as to maintain and improve opportunities for business.

For Manitoba:

1. In connection with University to plan for good transportation facilities and good living accommodation for students.
2. To plan the provision of adequate grounds for hospitalization, for research and technical work essential for adequate treatment of complicated diseases and difficult surgical cases, in a centre complimentary to the work of the health centres established throughout the Province; provision of adequate urban transportation to and from the centre.
3. To plan for provision of facilities for receiving, warehousing and processing primary products of the Province.

For Western Canada and the Dominion:

1. To plan the provision of suitable living accommodation at reasonable prices for visitors and tourists, many of whom come to the Winnipeg area because it is the only large urban centre within convenient reach which time and means will permit them to visit.
2. To plan the provision of facilities to enable Greater Winnipeg to perform the functions in Western Canada of:
 - (a) The focal point for rail shipments of grain and livestock products to the head of the lakes and to Eastern Canada.
 - (b) The market place for its grain, i.e., the Winnipeg Grain Exchange.
 - (c) A convention city.
 - (d) A cultural centre.

General:

Superimposed over all these objectives would be the general concept that in the development of the comprehensive plan, the ideas of service and responsibility would dominate; that Greater Winnipeg has a responsibility to its citizens, its business interests, the Province, the

Prairie Provinces and the Dominion. The objective of the Commission in development and maintenance of a comprehensive plan is to provide facilities, services and regulations to meet these responsibilities.

Moreover, the outward forms, the architecture of the City (using architecture in the widest sense, comprising streets, buildings, parks, rivers) will be so envisaged in its basic planning as to express the Spirit of Winnipeg. It comprises a love of beauty, well ordered gardens, a love of open spaces and vistas, a warm hospitality for fellow Canadians and for the stranger within its gates. As the comprehensive plan in time approaches these ideals, the architecture of the City will play its part in maintaining these ideals in the hearts of the people.

FUNCTIONS

To maintain an up-to-date general plan for the development of Greater Winnipeg so as to be competent to assist the city, town and municipal councils and their civic and municipal officials in formulating public policy in respect of the problems of the community as a closely knit whole.

To be in a position to assist adequately involves:

- (1) Assembly of information about Greater Winnipeg and the problems which face it and its various parts
- (2) Study of this information to find out what it means to the metropolitan area and its future development
- (3) Recommending action which appears necessary or desirable as a result of research and analysis

More specifically, some of these functions include:

- Co-ordination of various plans for development with the projects of municipal departments and authorities and study of problems of inter-municipal character
- Provision of information based upon a comprehensive view of problems for the use and advice of municipal officials
- Assembly of local data and research material, studies carried out or data assembled by other agencies, local or foreign, for correlation and coordination

e.g. Dominion Bureau of Statistics
 Provincial Government Departments such as the
 Highways Branch, Vital Statistics Office,
 Department of Education
 Greater Winnipeg Dyking Board
 Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation
 Planning Advisory Service, Chicago
 Urban Land Institute, Washington
 Eho Foundation for Traffic Control
 University and other research authorities

- Maintain means of obtaining the views of the public on matters of civic development and provide information to the public on proposals formulated."²

2. Greater Winnipeg, Annual Report for the Year 1951, Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1952, pp. 25-28.