

**Collaboration and Governance:
Directions for Planning
in the
Manitoba Capital Region**

BY

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A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

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Of

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ABSTRACT

Regional planning practice often incorporates the concept of governance at the city-region level, in order to avoid adding another level of government. Governance is the practice of various agencies working together to achieve common purposes. Within this definition, and outside the planning literature, the concept of governance is equivalent to inter-agency collaboration. The purpose of this research is to examine the challenges and benefits of collaborative relationships in the context of the Manitoba Capital Region. Stakeholders are interviewed to provide insight into the current relationships within the Region, as well as to provide insight into the development of new relationships. The creation of an inventory of inter-municipal relationships contributes to the development of regional initiatives at the provincial and municipal levels. Inter-agency collaboration frameworks from the social sciences field are relied upon to characterize the identified relationships. The *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* framework and *3 Models of Collaboration* are applied to the existing relationships in the Region. Four prominent themes are identified and analyzed including: resources, power differentials, expected outcomes and contextual factors. This study serves as a linkage between collaborative planning literature and social science literature related to inter-agency collaboration through the description of the specific requirements for collaboration and the applicability to the regional planning process in the Manitoba Capital Region.

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

The evolution of the Manitoba Capital Region has occurred through decades of policy changes and various degrees of conflict. This area has been the focus of extensive research by the provincial government, yet there is a sense that regional planning issues remain unresolved. Although there has been attention to these issues by various levels of government and various organizations, a coordinated regional planning effort is lacking. This research examines the collaborative process and the degree to which collaboration can be identified in the Manitoba Capital Region. The purpose is to consider the challenges and benefits of collaborative relationships within this context and to evaluate the degree to which future collaboration is possible in the Region. Key stakeholders are interviewed to provide insight into the existing relationships within the Region, as well as to provide insight into the development of new relationships. The creation of an inventory of inter-municipal relationships contributes to the development of regional initiatives at the provincial and municipal levels. This study also serves as a linkage between the collaborative planning literature and the social science literature related to inter-agency collaboration.

As a preamble to this research, it is necessary to identify that the researcher may be biased due to the characteristic of residing in a rural environment in an area that is outside the Manitoba Capital Region, leading potentially to endorsement of views of respondents from outside the City of Winnipeg. However, the research is conducted in the context of a region that is considering the possibility of regional collaboration as demonstrated by the work of the Regional Planning Advisory Committee. Through the awareness of this

potential bias, the researcher is committed to being self-critical in furthering the larger interest of regional collaboration. As a result, three key questions guide this research:

- Where do relationships exist at the inter-municipal level in the Manitoba Capital Region and to what types of services are they related?
- How can these relationships be characterized within the inter-agency collaboration literature?
- How will the existing relationships contribute to future regional planning initiatives in the Manitoba Capital Region?

To respond to these questions it is necessary to first consider the broader context within which the relationships function. This chapter explores the history of regional planning with specific reference to the Manitoba Capital Region through the consideration of several trends. Globalization, population trends and sprawl are often raised in discussions of the need for regional planning; therefore the particular circumstances regarding these trends and the Manitoba Capital Region are examined. Part of the recent history of the Region includes the report of the Regional Planning Advisory Committee released in 2003. This report articulated several recommendations for moving forward with regional planning and plays a role in the current and future climate of the Region.

In Chapter 2, this research examines the inter-agency collaboration literature and concepts of regional governance. These findings guide the development and implementation of the empirical research and the study's methodology is described in

Chapter 3. Chapters 4 and 5 contain an analysis of the data collected, in light of the social science literature on inter-agency collaboration and the predominant themes that this literature identifies. Finally, Chapter 6 responds to the research questions outlined above with an assessment of regional collaboration and its future potential in the Manitoba Capital Region.

Historical Background

In order to understand some of the current attitudes towards regional planning in Manitoba, it is important to examine the recent history of its Capital Region dating back to the 1960s. Key stakeholders are cognizant of the changes that have occurred over the past 45 years and this awareness influences the development of collaborative relationships to some degree.

In 1961, a new structure of government emerged for the City of Winnipeg called the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg.¹ This structure was established as a two-tier system of governance wherein the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg accounted for one tier and the lower tier consisted of 12 surrounding municipalities. One of the key features of this system was that the Metropolitan Corporation had the power to govern planning beyond its boundaries. The “additional zone” gave the Metropolitan Corporation planning, zoning and building controls over an area extending eight kilometres from its boundary.² It was established with the intention to prevent urban sprawl and to control development in the adjacent region. This system was in place until

¹ Hodge & Robinson 2001, p.256.

² Ibid, p.252.

the early 1990s, although some municipalities had initiated their own planning processes prior to the formal elimination of the additional zone. As a result, the City of Winnipeg played a role in some of the development activity that occurred in surrounding municipalities for approximately 3 decades. Many of today's planners and government officials were also practicing when the additional zone policy was in place, and this experience could impact these individuals to some degree.

The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg was in place until 1971 when Unicity merged Winnipeg with the 12 smaller municipalities.³ Unicity was introduced by the Provincial New Democratic Party and arose out of a desire to minimize the administrative fragmentation of the Region. A new structure of government was devised to promote economic development in terms of facilitating the administrative procedures associated with attracting new business to the area. This structure replaced the two-tier system with a one-tier planning department, responsible for both local and metropolitan planning. Unicity was therefore an amalgamation process that sought a new way of governing an entire city-region.⁴ This experience with amalgamation has influenced the way that some planners perceive amalgamation processes. It is difficult to ascertain the effects of the Unicity amalgamation on the economic development potential of the City of Winnipeg and such conclusions can be rather subjective based on an individual experience with the circumstances surrounding the amalgamation. However, since some of today's practicing planners were also practicing in the 1970s, it is likely that this

³ Thomas 2002, http://www.gov.mb.ca/ia/capreg/reports_docs/reports/related/global.html

⁴ Sancton 2000, p.57.

experience will have some impact on the general attitude towards regional planning in the Manitoba Capital Region.

In 1986, fifteen years after Unicity was established, a review was conducted to assess the government structure. One of the recommendations of this review was that the Headingley area be allowed to secede since it was perceived to be “a predominantly rural area without the status of a rural municipality.”⁵ This was an important recommendation in light of the previous amalgamation of the City of Winnipeg. In 1991 a referendum was held among the residents and property owners in the area, which showed decisive support for Headingley’s secession. In 1992 legislation was passed to separate the Rural Municipality of Headingley from the City of Winnipeg. This action is indicative of a desire to avoid amalgamation and to remain distinct from the City of Winnipeg. The perception of differences between the City of Winnipeg and surrounding rural areas are evident in this structural change within the Manitoba Capital Region.

The 1986 review also recommended the establishment of a new advisory, consultative and coordinating organization that would link all municipalities within the City of Winnipeg’s commutershed.⁶ This organization emerged out of a recognition that certain issues are more appropriately governed by a body larger than the boundaries of Unicity. As a result, in 1989 the provincial government established what is now known as the Capital Region Committee, which includes representation from the provincial government as well as the mayors and reeves of the 16 municipalities in the Region. This

⁵ Sancton 2000, p.60.

⁶ Ibid, p.61.

Committee continues to function and has contributed to the development of several recommendations regarding the Capital Region. In 1998, the Committee established an independent panel to conduct a Capital Region Review. One year later, an Interim Report was released which indicated the need for some form of regional agency to address the needs of the Capital Region as a cohesive unit. In fact, the report concluded that in some cases “there simply is no ‘Regional’ structure in place.”⁷ This was a crucial report for the Region due to its articulation of regional issues and the need for the Capital Region to coordinate efforts regarding certain areas of service provision. As well, this report led to the work of the Regional Planning Advisory Committee, which is discussed further in the next section. It is necessary to recognize the recent attention to regional planning since it influences the potential for inter-agency collaboration in the area. Particularly, the recent debates surrounding regional planning have, to some extent, shaped the perception of the key stakeholders, as demonstrated throughout the empirical study.

Regional history affects each individual in a unique manner, depending on his or her particular relationship with the evolution of the Manitoba Capital Region. It is difficult to determine with any precision the extent to which the experiences regarding amalgamation and secession have influenced current attitudes towards regional initiatives in the area. However, many of the members of the current planning community will remember these events in the regional history. Some planners will identify with the characterization of these events as “a nearly continuous seminar of success and

⁷ Quoted in RPAC Report 2003, p.17.

frustration with reorganization.”⁸ Therefore, possible tensions among levels of government and neighbouring municipalities are likely to play a continuing role in the development of regional agencies and inter-municipal relationships throughout this area.

Recent/Emerging Issues

This section discusses the contextual trends that have entered the debate regarding the potential for regional planning in the Manitoba Capital Region. These trends include globalization, population factors and concern for urban sprawl. This section also considers the emergence of the Regional Planning Advisory Committee (RPAC) and the recommendations generated by its 2003 Report.

Like many other disciplines, planning must deal with the growing trend of globalization, a term which refers to the “emergence of an international economic system in which money, goods, services, corporations and people move more freely, constantly and almost instantaneously from place to place.”⁹ As it becomes easier for business to be conducted at a global scale, cities are increasingly in competition with one another for population, industry, investment and development. Given such a global scale, there is a need for coordination at the city-region level in order for cities to compete effectively on an international and inter-provincial scale.¹⁰ A considerable degree of competitiveness among local governments, regions and countries has been fostered through the desire for communities to attract corporate headquarters or major manufacturing operations. To

⁸ Johnson 1998, p.19.

⁹ Thomas 2002, http://www.gov.mb.ca/ia/capreg/reports_docs/reports/related/global.html; see also Sanyal, B. 2002. Globalization, ethical compromise and planning theory. *Planning Theory*, 1(2): 116-23.

¹⁰ Johnson 1998, p.19.

meet these competitive demands, local governments are committing significant resources to creating the type of environment favoured by industry. The regional perspective is therefore favoured “as a means of managing change without really altering the provincial/municipal status quo.”¹¹ The Manitoba Capital Region must face the impacts of the globalization trend, and the implementation of regional action that unifies and strengthens the Region will be an asset to its development.

The consideration of globalization often focuses on the economic productivity of regions. Further considerations for the region must include a means of ensuring that the social and environmental needs of communities are not neglected due to the prominence of economic goals. Although city-regions are able to compete at an economic level with other regions across the country and on an international scale, a responsibility remains for local governments to address social and environmental goals. Globalization is therefore a powerful force that pushes cities to gain economic strength, but can draw attention away from social and environmental issues. City-regions must balance economic, social and environmental concerns in order to effectively compete on an inter-provincial and international level. Regional networks are an important component of holistic collaborative planning since “regions tend to organize themselves so as to assume a political and economic leadership role, while becoming the territories of *networks* that increasingly form the framework of social and economic development.”¹²

¹¹ Wight 1999, p.22.

¹² Trudel 1999, p.7 (original emphasis).

While a consideration of global trends is important, the local trends will also have a crucial impact on regional initiatives. A trend that has been observed throughout western Canada is strong population growth in rural-metro adjacent (RMA) areas. There are two factors causing this trend: city residents are increasingly moving out to the countryside and rural residents are moving closer to the city to be near the economic and lifestyle advantages of the cities without completely abandoning their rural roots.¹³ It is important to consider RMAs as distinct from rural areas that are experiencing economic and depopulation challenges, since they are strongly linked to the prosperity of cities. At the same time, the demographic composition of RMAs is quite distinct from that of cities, as RMAs tend to have larger family sizes, higher incomes and more expensive homes.¹⁴ RMA residents are also more likely to be employed and more likely to work in goods-producing sectors of the economy.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the distinction between RMAs and rural areas is based on ties to a large urban centre; making a compelling argument for the definition of city-regions to include municipalities that surround the urban centre.

The growth of RMAs is apparent in Manitoba where some of the strongest population growth occurs in municipalities adjacent to the City of Winnipeg. The population change in the City of Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) is presented graphically in Figure 1.1, based on the 1996 census data and 2001 census data.

¹³ Azmier & Dobson 2003, p.1.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.25.

¹⁵ Ibid, p.25.

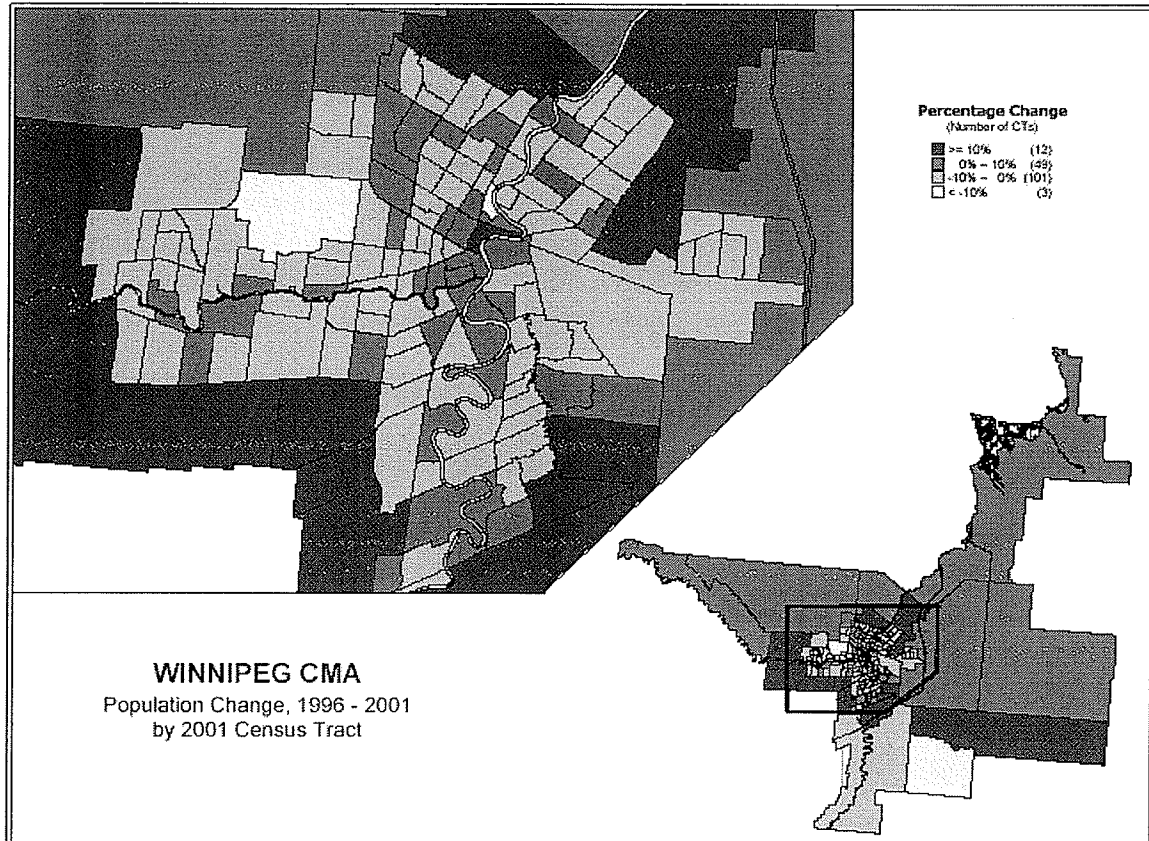


Figure 1.1 – Population Change, Winnipeg CMA 1996-2001
(Source: Statistics Canada Website
geodepot.statcan.ca/Diss/Maps/ThematicMaps/population/CMAgreEnglish/Winnipeg.pdf)

From this illustration it is evident that growth is occurring primarily within the RMAs of the Manitoba Capital Region while the rate of population growth in areas of the City of Winnipeg is much slower or, in some areas, declining. Table 1.1 demonstrates the specific rates of population change across the 16 municipalities in the Region. The majority of the municipalities experienced some population growth, with the exception of the City of Selkirk and the Rural Municipality of Ritchot. While Figure 1.1 employs percentage rates of change, Table 1.1 also demonstrates population growth based on an absolute increase or decrease in the number of people living in the municipality. This further demonstrates the contrast in the City of Winnipeg population, which grew by

1,067 people, in comparison to rural areas that have grown by more than 400 people over the same time period, such as Macdonald, Springfield, St. Andrews and St. Clements. Furthermore, the Rural Municipality of East St. Paul experienced higher absolute population growth than the City of Winnipeg.

Municipality	1996 Population	2001 Population	Population Change	Percentage Change
Cartier	3009	3120	111	3.7
East St. Paul	6437	7677	1240	19.3
Headingley	1587	1907	320	20.2
Macdonald	4900	5320	420	8.6
Ritchot	5248	4958	-290	-5.5
Rockwood	7504	7654	150	2.0
Rosser	1349	1412	63	4.7
Selkirk	9881	9752	-129	-1.3
Springfield	12162	12602	440	3.6
St. Andrews	10144	10695	551	5.4
St. Clements	8516	9115	599	7.0
St. Francois-Xavier	992	1024	32	3.2
Stonewall	3689	4012	323	8.8
Taché	8273	8578	305	3.7
West St. Paul	3720	4085	365	9.8
Winnipeg	618477	619544	1067	0.2

Table 1.1 – Manitoba Capital Region Population Change 1996-2001

(Source: Statistics Canada Website

www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/popdwell/Table-CSD-P.cfm?PR=46)

Another statistic that indicates the degree of development activity in a municipality is the measurement of new housing starts. This statistic indicates that the City of Winnipeg is getting a reduced share of new housing starts, a consequence of the trend towards growth in RMAs in the Manitoba Capital Region. Nearly half of all houses in RMAs across Canada were built in the last 20 years. In Manitoba, 65.2% of RMA houses and 41.4% of urban centre houses have been built since 1971.¹⁶ The RMA figure for Manitoba lies considerably above the provincial average of 46.4%. The examination of housing starts

¹⁶ Ibid, p.10.

thus indicates that significant residential growth has occurred outside of the City of Winnipeg and within the RMA municipalities of the Manitoba Capital Region.

One of the most cited issues in planning debates surrounding the Manitoba Capital Region is the slow population growth that has occurred over the past decade. Slowly growing cities are defined as those with population gains of under ten percent in more than ten years.¹⁷ As indicated in the above statistics, Winnipeg is a slowly growing city with a population growth rate of 0.2% from 1996 to 2001.¹⁸ Between 1991 and 1996, the City of Winnipeg population increased by 0.5%, while the population of the rest of the CMA increased by 7.7%.¹⁹ The municipalities surrounding the City of Winnipeg experienced population growth of 6.4% from 1996 to 2001.²⁰ The ten-year period from 1991 to 2001 is therefore consistent with the definition of slow population growth in the City of Winnipeg, since even with the higher population growth in the RMAs, the overall regional growth rate remains below 10 percent. However, an interesting comparison can be made to “some of the world’s great cities” such as Copenhagen, Frankfurt and Rome, which would be categorized as “suffering from slow growth or even decline.”²¹

Therefore, the discussion that accompanies the observation of slow growth should center on a type of planning that is tailored to cities experiencing slow growth.

¹⁷ (Downs quoted in) Leo & Lennon 2001, p.9

¹⁸ Statistics Canada Website, www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/popdwell/Table-CMA-C.cfm?CMA=602. Note that CMA data is used, however the Winnipeg CMA is not exactly the same as the Manitoba Capital Region, since the CMA includes only 10 of the municipalities in the Manitoba Capital Region, as well as one additional municipality. The CMA data is used to provide a comparison between the 1991-1996 census data and the 1996-2001 census data and effectively demonstrates the trend of slow population growth. Furthermore, the municipalities with the highest population growth (East St. Paul, Headingley and West St. Paul) are included in the CMA, therefore the highest growth rates have been included in the CMA average growth rate.

¹⁹ Sancton 2000, p.61.

²⁰ Statistics Canada Website, www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/popdwell/Table-CSD-P.cfm?PR=46.

²¹ Leo 2000, p.196.

Therefore, it is important to recognize the differences between slowly growing and rapidly growing cities and to design unique policy instruments for each. It is unlikely that any particular city will change from a slowly to rapidly growing city, and the City of Winnipeg population growth rate is far from entering the rapid growth category. The specific characteristics of a particular city must be taken into consideration since “policies that may be defensible in rapidly growing centers are inappropriately followed in slowly growing cities where different lines of policy would be more beneficial.”²² The most problematic result is a fear of lost growth becoming so pervasive that policy makers do not effectively manage the development that does occur. Appropriate planning for slow growth cities must accept the slow growth nature of the city and focus on identifying ways to plan for its particular circumstances. There is some criticism that such a perspective is not present in the Manitoba Capital Region, particularly given the lack of a concerted effort across the Region. Even within the City of Winnipeg, planning processes do not necessarily incorporate a slow growth perspective. An important part of moving forward with regional initiatives will be to accept the demographic characteristics of the Manitoba Capital Region and work within those parameters.

Another recent trend is to categorize RMA growth as urban sprawl. Residents who leave cities and contribute to RMA growth can also contribute to urban sprawl, and can therefore degrade areas of the city such as the inner city. There is a widely held assertion that lower property taxes are a key driver in the motivation for city residents to move to

²² Ibid, p.193.

RMAs. Urban sprawl is the outward expansion of cities and describes inefficient and inappropriate use of land due to low-density, dispersed and uncoordinated development.²³

There are many environmental, social and economic consequences of such inefficient planning. As cities expand outward, more land area is covered with pavement and other hard surfaces that impede the absorption of water into the ground. Instead, run-off is collected in sewers and can become polluted, rather than regenerating groundwater. In some cases, greenspaces are not sufficiently maintained or preserved as development occurs, thereby further degrading the natural environment. From a social perspective, sprawl can create a higher demand for social services, often in the inner city, as affluent families leave the urban centre and move to RMAs. As a result, the city is left with "all the problems associated with an inner city populated disproportionately by those who lack the resources to permit them to leave."²⁴ This concern is supported by the fact that the municipalities with higher growth rates also have higher average dwelling values. For instance, the average value of dwellings in Manitoba is \$97,670, compared to \$206,094 in East St. Paul and \$170,086 in Headingley.²⁵ The remaining city residents cannot make the same contributions through tax revenue, leading to a negative impact on the city's municipal services. Therefore, the social concerns also relate to the economic consequences since more funding is required to provide services across a widely dispersed population. There is increased demand, not only for social services, but also

²³ Thomas 2001, p.2.

²⁴ Mellon 1997, p.32.

²⁵ Statistics Canada Website,
<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/profil01/Details/details1fam.cfm?SEARCH=BEGINS&PSGC=46&SGC=4611042&A=&LANG=E&Province=46&PlaceName=headingley&CSDNAME=Headingley&CMA=&SEARCH=BEGINS&DataType=1&TypeNameE=Rural%20Municipality&ID=8147>.

for roads and other infrastructure. The difficulty arises due to the lower population densities that must support this investment. The economic costs increase as densities decrease to the point where “the greatest costs and impacts associated with the lowest densities – rural sprawl.”²⁶ A mismatch occurs between service provision and resident contributions since exurban residents no longer pay residential property taxes to the city, but typically maintain employment in the city and make use of its amenities without paying for infrastructure, policing and other services.²⁷

Discussions regarding sprawl and increased populations in RMAs often focus on the attraction of reduced property taxes outside the city boundaries. The reasons to live in RMAs are likely somewhat more complex and also reflect individual decisions made within the context of political decisions that permit development to occur in a geographically dispersed manner. It is the lack of effective planning that leads to the negative impacts of sprawl, therefore higher-density development and coordinated action is required to reduce these negative consequences. Regardless of the causes of sprawl, this research is impacted by the context of negative perceptions of sprawl and specifically the associated belief that development should not occur beyond the city boundaries. Due to the multiple jurisdictions that govern the Manitoba Capital Region, regional solutions have the potential to provide a valuable alternative to the current patterns of development. There are inherent complexities in achieving “consistent and comprehensive planning in a multi-jurisdictional environment, particularly in the face of strong urban-economic and

²⁶ Buchan 2004, p.40.

²⁷ Leo & Lennon 2001, p.6.

demographic pressures at the urban fringe.”²⁸ Therefore, the success of such a venture will depend on the Region’s ability to collaborate and identify mutual goals; a concept that has guided this research.

In October 2003, debate regarding planning in the Manitoba Capital Region was raised by the provincial government’s release of the RPAC Report entitled *A Partnership for the Future: Putting the Pieces Together in the Manitoba Capital Region*. This report was the result of a provincial government initiative that appointed the RPAC in 2001. The Committee was comprised of seven individuals representing various municipal, provincial, academic and non-governmental organizations. The final report was a product of an elaborate public consultation process that included meeting with key stakeholders, developing principles for public debate, hosting public meetings, and providing municipal governments the opportunity to comment on a draft of the final report. From this process the report established an extensive list of recommendations relating to the various economic, social and environmental aspects of regional planning. Two key aspects of the RPAC Report contributed to the development of this research: the need to avoid creating an additional level of government; and the goal of enhancing regional cooperation.

These two aspects are closely linked since working within the current government structures will require greater cooperation among the various local governments and the provincial government. The RPAC process was guided by the perspective that the

²⁸ Meligrana 2003, p. 122.

recommendations should “not contemplate the creation of a new level of government.”²⁹

This concept was reflected in the principles developed for public debate, and feedback was invited on this as well as nine other principles. As a result, much of the recommended policy action would occur through the provincial government, such as adopting principles for regional planning. It was also recommended that the provincial government establish a “regional policy plan and periodic policy statements that create the context for the planning activities of municipalities.”³⁰ These recommendations are consistent with the regional planning concept of governance, which is discussed further in Chapter 2.

The concept of enhancing regional cooperation is particularly relevant to this research. The RPAC Report proposes the broad policy initiative of working to strengthen regional cooperation with the long-term aim of fostering “regional partnerships of various kinds and [promoting] regional consciousness among residents of Manitoba’s Capital Region.”³¹ Regional approaches are also promoted through the Report’s encouragement of municipalities to join planning districts and to improve communication throughout the Region. There is thus an opportunity for the provincial government to create incentives and remove disincentives, thereby promoting voluntary inter-municipal collaboration and cooperation.³²

²⁹ RPAC Report 2003, p.2.

³⁰ Ibid, p.34.

³¹ Ibid, p.2.

³² Ibid, p.23.

The RPAC Report is considered to be reflective of emerging trends since it is the most recent publication regarding regional planning in Manitoba and it has instigated considerable debate regarding the topic. The reaction to this report was varied and will also impact the future ability of the Region to function in a coherent manner. However, its recommendations are based on the value of inter-municipal cooperation and the inability of the governments of the Region to continue to function on an entirely independent basis. Further research is required regarding the level of inter-agency collaboration that exists and this project aims to respond to that need. In fact, RPAC recommendation 8.1 proposes that:

Consistent with the RPAC's endorsement in principle of service sharing, the Government of Manitoba fund a service sharing study to examine the collaborative arrangements that now exist in the Capital Region, the nature of the arrangements, their legal status, the financing arrangements, possible provincial incentives and assistance, other possible areas of service sharing, and the perceived obstacles to further regional collaboration. The final report prepared for the committee should be a public document.

This research does not address the broad scope of this recommendation, however it could provide a basis for continuing research on this topic. The research questions outlined above guide the study through a consideration of collaborative processes, therefore aligning the study with the RPAC Report recommendations.

The history and contextual trends of the Manitoba Capital Region are expected to influence the future of regional planning. The conflict that has surrounded regional debates over the past decades will impact the level of inter-agency collaboration that

currently exists as well as the potential to develop further collaborative action. The trends of globalization, slow growth and urban sprawl all create a degree of inter-municipal competition that may also negatively impact the ability of the Region to function as a cohesive entity. These factors must be considered to form the context of this research as it examines inter-agency collaboration frameworks and applies the theories to existing service sharing relationships. From this analysis, it is possible to evaluate the potential for future regional planning initiatives and to identify existing opportunities and barriers.

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to assess the level of collaboration that is present in the Manitoba Capital Region, it is necessary to define inter-agency collaboration and the characteristics required to accomplish it. This chapter examines the social sciences literature that defines inter-agency collaboration and introduces the linkages to the regional planning theory of governance. These concepts guide the development of the empirical study and the application of the collaborative frameworks assesses the level of collaboration that is present in the Manitoba Capital Region.

The dynamics of inter-agency collaboration are varied and complex. First, it is important to distinguish between collaboration and other types of interactions such as coordination, cooperation and partnerships. The key to collaboration is that it requires relationships to be built among agencies. Within these relationships are important occurrences such as the sharing of resources and the creation of interdependencies. Inherently, agencies have varying degrees of power, which also impacts the types of relationships that emerge. The effectiveness of the relationships also depends on the establishment of shared objectives and mutually defined outcomes. In general, it is necessary to consider the internal and external contexts within which collaboration takes place in order to further understand the relationships. In terms of regional planning, inter-agency collaboration could be a part of the movement towards new forms of governance at a regional scale. The study of inter-agency collaboration is thus a valuable contribution to regional planning.

Defining Collaboration

Some uncertainty is associated with the term ‘collaboration’ since it is applied to various degrees in various circumstances. The term is commonly applied in dialogue where the definition is vague and refers only to entities that work jointly. For this reason, it is valuable to establish a precise definition of the term and to examine some related concepts such as coordination, cooperation and partnership.

As outlined in the RPAC Report, regional planning in the Manitoba Capital Region should avoid creating another level of government.³³ Therefore, collaborations among existing agencies will represent a means of effectively implementing regional planning. However, issues arise regarding collaborative planning and its confusion with coordination, cooperation and partnerships. For the purposes of this research, definitions are borrowed from Reilly where “a continuum moving from cooperation to coordination to collaboration moves generally from low to high formality.”³⁴ Cooperation occurs without a commonly defined structure or planning effort. In contrast, coordination reveals some structural complexity and some planning and division of roles. Finally, collaboration is achieved through the development of relationships and the formal structuring of these relationships through comprehensive planning, a shared vision and frequent and well-defined communication.³⁵ Definitions of collaboration consistently incorporate an element of relationship building. Another useful definition is “the *voluntary* exchange between two or more autonomous agencies of *complementary*

³³ Ibid 2003, p.48.

³⁴ Reilly 2001, p.55.

³⁵ Ibid, p.55.

resources needed to achieve *shared goals*.”³⁶ This definition refers to the mutual benefit that can be achieved through the collaborative process. The application of collaboration at a regional scale will thus require relationship building across regional agencies.

It is also useful to consider Rowe’s discussion of partnerships for its relevance to frameworks of collaboration. Foremost, Rowe cautions that the process of interaction does not imply a partnership. That is, the act of association does not build a relationship among interacting agencies or jurisdictions.³⁷ Relationships will evolve over time through ongoing interaction and information sharing. This evolution indicates that a partnership may evolve out of an existing interaction. Alternatively, partnerships can be fostered through entirely new, project-specific interactions. Partnerships and collaboration can thus emerge from an original initiative that develops more specificity as it evolves. These processes can be rather time-consuming, but a time commitment is required to allow for relationship development whereby participants engage meaningfully with one another. The views of partnership developed by Rowe, are thus highly applicable to the concept of inter-agency collaboration as each maintains a strong focus on the value of inter-personal relationships.

A key aspect of the collaborative process is that it often occurs where conflict has dominated past interactions. In these cases, an attempt is required to move past the conflict and to create a beneficial interaction among agencies. “Collaboration inherently requires us to assemble the parties who disagree, who bring divergent perspectives to the

³⁶ Padilla & Daigle 1998, p.69 (original emphasis).

³⁷ Rowe & Devanney 2003, p.388.

table.”³⁸ A history of conflict among agencies will contribute the difficulty of achieving collaboration; however, the benefits of collaboration will occur through the establishment of a process for reaching agreement among agencies with diverse perspectives. Based on the definitions outlined in this chapter, this research focuses on the applicability and feasibility of inter-agency collaboration with particular attention to the relationships that exist among agencies in the Manitoba Capital Region.

Collaborative Frameworks

The literature presents a variety of ways to evaluate the functions of inter-agency collaboration. This section examines three of these frameworks including *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* (Nunn & Rosentraub), the *Collaborative Pathway Process Model* (Reilly) and *3 Models of Collaboration* (Farmakopoulou).

Interjurisdictional Cooperation

Nunn and Rosentraub define multiple dimensions of interjurisdictional cooperation that are important to municipal planners (Figure 2.1).³⁹ This framework can be used to classify an interjurisdictional relationship with respect to Objectives/Issues, Institutional Format, Tactical Approach and Outcomes. From these processes of cooperation, an environment of relationship building, and thus of collaboration can be fostered.

³⁸ Johnson 1998, p.20.

³⁹ Nunn & Rosentraub 1997, p.209.

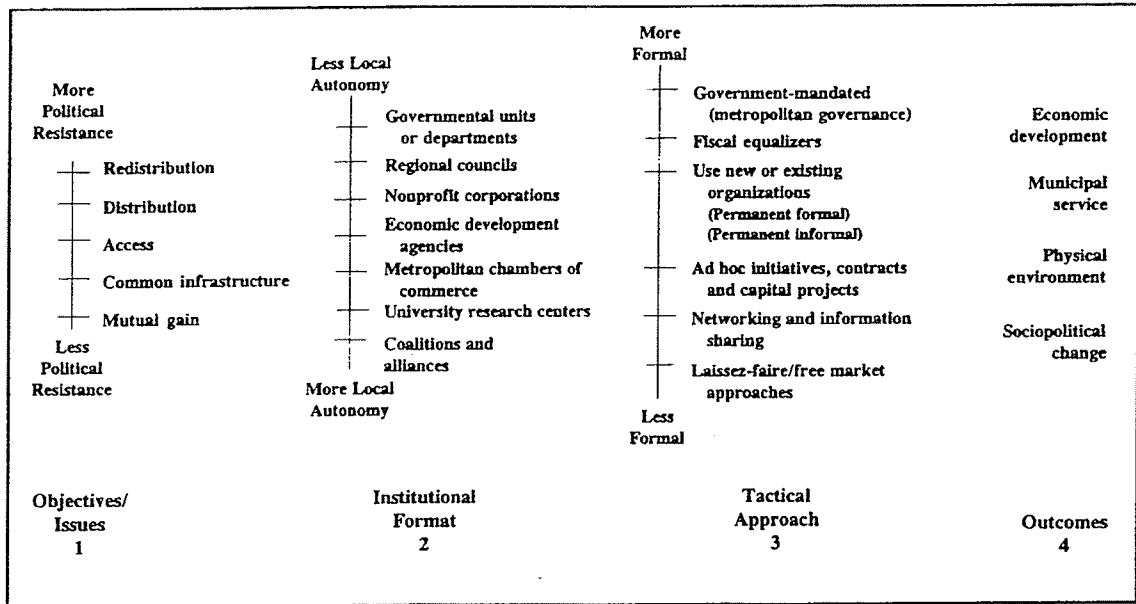


Figure 2.1 – Multiple Dimensions of Interjurisdictional Cooperation
(Source: Nunn & Rosentraub 1997, p.209)

The Objectives/Issues dimension defines the type of cooperation by classifying the response to the initiation of interjurisdictional cooperation in terms of the degree of political resistance. Where mutual gain is expected, it is likely that spontaneous cooperation will arise, exhibiting the least amount of political resistance. This is common in large-scale projects having broad regional impacts. As well, the development of common infrastructure tends to bring about less political resistance due to the ultimate sharing of the infrastructure services. Beyond this level, more difficulty arises. The concern with the three remaining levels is that of perceived winners and losers in resource distribution. Re-establishing patterns of access or resource allocation may benefit the currently disadvantaged groups. However, some groups or agencies will inevitably have to share a portion of their existing allocation, which can create some resistance. Presumably the agencies with existing allocations hold some degree of power, which may also be evident in their power to resist the change. The initial response to the

collaboration is thus characterized based on the amount of resistance to the proposed initiative.

The Institutional Format dimension defines levels of control by the degree of local autonomy that is preserved as the collaboration is implemented. The preservation of local autonomy will be a key factor, in particular for the Manitoba Capital Region where urban concerns are perceived as dominating ex-urban and rural concerns. Furthermore, local autonomy is part of collaboration since the agencies remain distinct but work effectively together through a collaborative process. The development of coalitions and alliances is therefore the preferred Institutional Format for collaboration since it provides the best fit with characteristics of collaboration and partnership building initiatives.

The Tactical Approach dimension relates to the formality of the cooperation process. As defined above, collaboration lies at the high end of the formality continuum. The high formality of collaboration is derived from the need to unite previously separated agencies into a new structure to achieve a mutual purpose.⁴⁰ The need for this type of collaboration comes from the need to share resources among agencies. The continuum presented in Figure 2.1 demonstrates a range of possibilities for the formality of cooperation and resultant collaboration. The category that defines the Use of New/Existing Organizations represents the appropriate degree of formality since it represents the establishment of the new structure that is required for collaboration.

⁴⁰ Reilly 2001, p.55.

The outcomes of the cooperation process also play a key role in how the cooperation and collaboration will develop. Establishing the desired outcomes will assist in identifying the organizations that should be involved and the process that will be undertaken. Issues of mutually beneficial outcomes are discussed in a later section. In the context of this framework, it is important to note the four classifications of outcomes: Economic Development, Municipal Service, Physical Environment and Sociopolitical Change. The ability for agencies to define mutually agreeable outcomes indicates that a collaborative process is present.

The *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* framework is therefore useful in the examination of the empirical research and the categorization of key components of an inter-agency collaboration process. It enables a detailed analysis of existing relationships and provides key insight into the level of collaboration that is present across the Region.

Collaborative Pathway Process Model

Within this model, there are steps to collaboration including: Identification, Formation, Implementation, Engagement/Maintenance, Resolution and Evolution.⁴¹ The effectiveness of the collaborative process depends on the extent to which its stated objectives are achieved. These objectives are carefully defined at the outset of the collaborative process. The achievement of objectives will be dependent upon the degree to which the components of the Collaborative Pathway Process Model are followed (Figure 2.2).

⁴¹ Ibid, p.60.

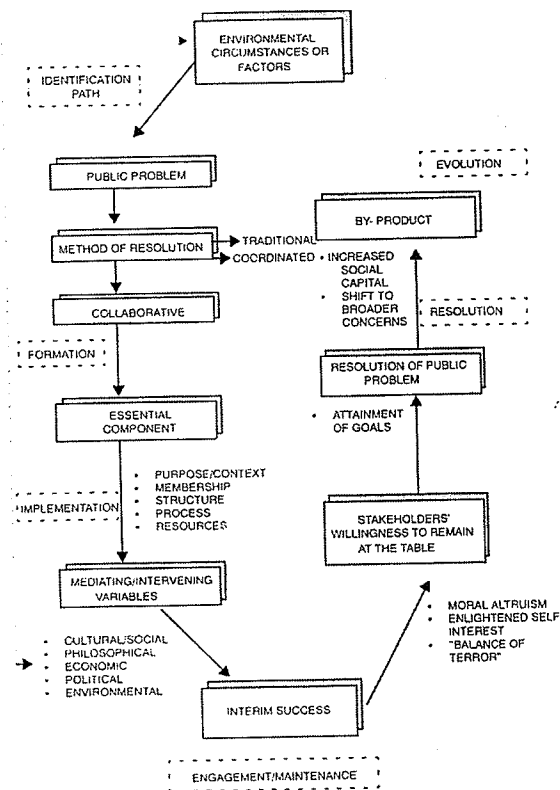


Figure 2.2 – Collaborative Pathway Process Model
(Source: Reilly 2001, p.59)

The first stage is Identification, where a method of resolution is chosen from cooperation, coordination and collaboration. Selection will depend upon three key social variables: stakeholder diversity, potential for alternative resolution, and immediacy of need for resolution.⁴² Where large numbers of varied stakeholders are present, a collaborative process incorporating consensus-based decision-making can be effective. It is important to be aware of the challenges of collaborative efforts such as the amount of time required to develop working relationships. For this reason, it is recommended that collaborative efforts be implemented when there is little potential for alternative resolution, such as appeals through politicians or litigation. Furthermore, if a more viable option is

⁴² Ibid, p.62.

available, the process may be hindered by a lack of commitment. Similarly, if the time required to develop a collaborative process is too lengthy, then another process may be preferred. In general, collaborative processes are most applicable to cases where there is a low need for immediate resolution. Examining a particular situation in light of these social variables identifies whether collaboration is optimal for a given circumstance, thus satisfying the Identification stage.

Once collaboration is identified, the Formation and Implementation steps can be regarded together. They are critical to the overall success of the collaborative process since they ensure that the key dimensions of collaboration are addressed, including: purpose, membership, structure, process and resources.⁴³ An appropriately structured process is well-equipped to respond to the unpredictability of what may arise throughout the process. As well, a careful consideration of the process structure can ensure that all relevant stakeholders are included and that clear communication channels are established.

As the collaborative process continues it is particularly important to ensure that the stakeholders remain involved. This requirement constitutes the purpose of the Engagement/Maintenance step. Stakeholders remain involved for a combination of three reasons: moral altruism, enlightened self-interest and/or a balance of terror.⁴⁴ The first motivation is strictly to achieve a broader collective good, without consideration of personal benefit. The second relates to similar moral commitments, in conjunction with a desire to accomplish personal achievements. Finally, some participants remain involved

⁴³ Ibid, p.64.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p.66.

strictly out of a fear of missing out if they do not remain involved. It was found that a majority of participants do not fall into the first category, as it represents an ideal circumstance, but are more likely to seek personal benefits or be afraid of missing out.⁴⁵ Regardless of the reasons to participate, it is important that there remains some commitment to forging relationships and collaborating. As discussed previously, simply being engaged does not result in collaboration.

The final stages of the Collaborative Pathway Process Model are Resolution and Evolution. When the originating goals of the collaborative effort are achieved, the resolution stage has been reached.⁴⁶ Evolution follows through the attainment of by-products such as increased social capital and shifting to broader concerns.⁴⁷ The evolution may complete the particular collaborative process and provide a new focus for joint efforts. It is also possible that the collaborative process will dissolve once the original goals have been achieved.

In general, this model can act as a guideline for collaborative processes that are at the inception stage. The consideration of the path of the collaborative process at the outset will contribute to a more effective process over the long-term.

3 Models of Collaboration

A study of the special education field provides valuable insight regarding collaborative processes and the motivations behind the initiation of these processes. Descriptions of

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.66.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.67.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.67.

the Social Exchange model, the Power/Resource Dependency model and the Political Economy model contribute to an understanding of why agencies choose to engage in collaborative efforts.⁴⁸

The Social Exchange model arises when the motivation to collaborate is internal to each organization. In these cases, inter-organizational relations are formed out of a perception of mutual benefits.⁴⁹ At the same time, the relationships are not always symmetrical or equal. That is, one partner may ultimately stand to benefit more than another, however, necessarily present are high degrees of cooperation and problem solving, and some mutual benefit for each. The concepts regarding Social Exchange relate to the first step in the *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* framework where spontaneous cooperation occurs. Both models describe an ideal situation where there is mutual gain for all participants.

Another reason for interaction among agencies is that of Power/Resource Dependency. This motivation is based on the assumption that organizations operate in uncertain environments and make attempts to control the environment where possible. Part of the environmental control is based on having to acquire scarce resources through interaction with other organizations. Here, relationships do not tend to be voluntary and are often based on one organization having the power to force others to interact.⁵⁰ This contributes to a highly asymmetrical relationship and represents a reality of relationships that is likely to occur in many contexts.

⁴⁸ Farmakopoulou 2002, p.49.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p.50.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.51

Finally, the Political Economy model has many similarities with the Power/Resource Dependency model. The key addition to this theory is that it is concerned with the wider context within which relationships occur. Specifically cited is the relevance of larger political and economic structures, particularly the capitalist mode of production and state apparatus.⁵¹ These external factors are beyond the control of the interacting agencies, but nevertheless have the potential to greatly impact the relationships.

It is difficult to view each of the three models of collaboration in isolation. Previous studies have found elements of each model within the study of inter-agency collaborations. This occurs because of the complex contexts within which each relationship occurs and the various aspects of particular relationships. For instance, planning departments serve member municipalities in a variety of ways, such as building inspections and development plan approvals. It is possible for each of these functions to be affected by a different set of variables based on their specific purpose. That is, the willingness to share information may vary between the building inspection function and the development plan approval function. Therefore, the planning department may exhibit primarily the Social Exchange model regarding the building inspection function and primarily the Power/Resource Dependency model regarding the development plan approval function. As a result, the three models function effectively in combination, creating a more appropriate description of the interactions among agencies.

Specific examples of inter-agency collaboration can therefore be examined in light of the three models of collaboration. Such an examination provides insight into the existing

⁵¹ Ibid, p.52.

type of relationship. It is recommended that the application of the *3 Models of Collaboration* framework should consider the following in light of the organizations involved: “similarities and differences in the aims, values and perspectives; advantages and disadvantages of inter-professional collaboration; relationship issues; and training issues and suggestions.”⁵²

Overall, each of these frameworks provides an understanding of relationships and introduces several key issues regarding inter-agency collaboration. The relationships among the frameworks and their applicability to the Manitoba Capital Region are developed throughout this study. The three frameworks function effectively together based on their mutual identification of four predominant themes. To complete an analysis using these frameworks it is necessary to consider the following themes in the particular context of the Manitoba Capital Region: resources, power differentials, expected outcomes and contextual factors.

Resources

A common motivation behind inter-agency collaboration relates to the sharing and distribution of resources since agencies are often concerned with the scarcity of resources. For instance, non-profit organizations may be in competition with other non-profit groups in order to obtain funding resources. Competition or conflict may similarly emerge across governmental departments. Another key resource is that of access to information. It is recommended that agencies with common purposes or clients should exchange information and engage in networking to effectively achieve their purposes and

⁵² Ibid, p.52.

serve their clients. Collaboration may thus take the form of “resource exchange between agencies providing a variety of services to meet interrelated needs.”⁵³ When funding and informational resources are low, an agency may still have trouble interacting with other organizations due to pressures on staff and limited time resources. It must be recognized that the collaborative process can be tremendously time-consuming and agencies with limited staffing resources may pass up the opportunities of collaboration for fear of devoting so much time to the process. Regardless of the particular resource, the sharing of resources through collaboration can be mutually beneficial. However, collaborative situations may also be somewhat conflictual due to the need to share a variety of scarce resources.

Any sharing of resources will create some degree of interdependency among the various agencies. Reciprocal interdependence would be optimal, however unilateral interdependence is also possible within the definition of collaboration.⁵⁴ Each agency can become involved in many collaborations due to the networks of interactions that are present. In general, there can be vertical relationships between a regional planning body and municipal, provincial and national planning bodies. As well, horizontal relationships can be formed among agencies at the same level that provide different types of services. Furthermore, potential partners can be quite varied due to the inherent interdependencies among economic, environmental and social concerns. As a form of collaborative relationship, networks are based on the concepts of solidarity, altruism,

⁵³ Padilla & Daigle 1998, p.70.

⁵⁴ Farmakopoulou 2002, p.49.

loyalty, reciprocity and trust.⁵⁵ These networks are characterized by high levels of contact and cooperation among agencies. The sharing of resources may be effectively implemented where positive networks exist.

The degree of interdependency among agencies will also relate to the distribution of power, as discussed in the following section. According to Leonie Sandercock, “Collaborative problem-solving can only be truly collaborative when the power of parties is balanced enough to make them interdependent, to make their problem-solving a joint enterprise, not the decision of one party visited upon the others.”⁵⁶

Power Differentials

One of the implications that has surfaced throughout the discussion of inter-agency collaboration is the inequality of power distributions across agencies. Where the Social Exchange model is present, or where spontaneous collaboration occurs, there may be little concern for the power differences among organizations. Even though there is likely to be some power difference among the organizations, it may not be exercised to the extent that is evident in other models. However, it seems that this ideally collaborative situation does not readily occur in practice. More often, the power differences among agencies are a factor in the relationship.

An agency may need to collaborate with a single agency for various purposes. In such cases, each collaborative relationship may differ considerably based on the resources

⁵⁵ Rowe & Devanney 2003, p.378.

⁵⁶ Sandercock 2003, p.178.

shared or the processes undertaken. The collaboration may also depend on the individuals who are involved in the process. As is often found in public participation processes, the input of certain groups can be downplayed if they are not perceived as having the same level of knowledge or experience as other participants.⁵⁷ Similarly, certain types of information can be perceived as more valuable or valid, as often occurs with quantitative data over qualitative information. These types of relationships can lead to extremely conflictual circumstances where a strong feeling of helplessness is experienced by one agency. Negative beliefs such as that “the same groups always win the chance to dominate the rest of us” contribute to an unproductive process.⁵⁸ In these types of situations, negativity arises from the unevenness of the power distribution. A considerable lack of collaboration occurs where the exercise of power dominates.

In order to evaluate the existence of power imbalances, Farmakopoulou suggests two key elements.⁵⁹ First, each organization should be evaluated based on how often they initiate contact in order to exchange resources. The second element examines the satisfaction of the members of each organization with the collaborative relationship. The more balanced these two elements are among organizations, the greater will be the reciprocal interdependence. In addition, organizations with no obligation to collaborate maintain a high degree of power. They may elect to collaborate based on reasons identified in the *Collaborative Pathway Process Model*, including moral altruism, enlightened self-interest or balance of terror. However, their power is maintained by the relative freedom to exit the process as a result of a lack of obligation. To optimize collaboration, there

⁵⁷ Cowell & Murdoch 1999, p.659

⁵⁸ Healey 1997, p.203.

⁵⁹ Farmakopoulou 2002, p.54.

may be an imbalance of power, but the extent to which it is exercised should be minimized. Examining the two elements described above and assessing which agencies are obliged to collaborate provides insight into the power differentials of a particular relationship.

An important factor in the consideration of power differentials is that agencies must be aware of the power distribution upon entering into collaborative arrangements. An imbalance of power does not eliminate the possibility of an effective collaborative process, however some caution or preparation could be necessary at the outset.

Expected Outcomes

There can be any variety of objectives for a collaborative process. The *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* framework identifies four categories of outcomes that are applicable to inter-municipal interactions. For instance, economic development objectives could include improving the business environment and attracting new businesses to a region. Alternatively, municipal service outcomes could be the focus, such as achieving economies of scale in providing public services. Tax and service sharing also fall into the municipal service category. It is increasingly important to include environmental objectives within any planning effort. Improving water supplies or reducing pollution may therefore be included in the physical environment objectives of inter-agency collaborations. Finally, there may be sociopolitical objectives such as the increasing engagement of community residents. These four categories can be clearly defined at the outset and provide a focus for a collaborative relationship.

In addition, the expected benefits within the collaborative process can be categorized as professional, altruistic and personal.⁶⁰ The first type of benefit accrues to the departments involved in the form of gains such as increased access to resources. Altruistic benefits often address the needs of the public through the improved service to particular groups. The last category is largely based on the relationship building aspects and benefits will accrue to participants through factors such as job satisfaction. It is likely that multiple categorizations of benefits will be expected and experienced throughout the collaborative process.

Of critical importance is the establishment of common goals and expected outcomes at the beginning of the collaborative process. Articulating the various reasons for establishing the process will contribute to the achievement of mutual gain for all agencies. The diverse nature of inter-agency collaborations is based on the unique nature of each arrangement and the context within which it is located. For this reason, "different strategies should be judged only against the expectations of the jurisdictions in the region where cooperation is being cultivated."⁶¹ That is, the success of a collaborative process will depend on its ability to achieve its stated objectives. Furthermore, consideration of the desired outcomes will allow an opportunity to determine if all key stakeholders are involved in the process. Where there is a desire to implement holistic planning, the goals of an initiative should be reviewed in order to ensure that they are responding to a range

⁶⁰ Farmakopoulou 2002, p.54.

⁶¹ Nunn & Rosentraub 1997, p.208.

of inter-related regional needs.⁶² Once the key outcomes have been identified, the appropriate processes can evolve towards their resolution.

A collaborative process can be successful for the achievement of intangible outcomes. For instance, the time and effort expended throughout the collaborative process will forge new relationships and strengthen existing relationships. This can be seen as a by-product of the collaborative process. The development of relationships and collaboration will therefore contribute to the social capital among agencies and within communities. Validating the concerns of each party involved will also translate to relational resources such as shared understanding and mutual trust, which will be useful to future interactions.⁶³ Similarly, the inter-agency collaboration could set a precedent for the usefulness of the collaborative team. Collaborative arrangements that exist over the long-term could establish legitimacy in terms of their ability to address future social and economic issues.⁶⁴ Because of the importance of relationship building within collaboration, the establishment of ongoing relationships is an important by-product.

Contextual Factors

As introduced previously, it is important to be aware of the influential factors that surround the collaborative process. Internal and external contextual factors must be considered since separating partnerships and their members from the contexts within

⁶² Wheeler 2002, p.275.

⁶³ Reilly 2001, p.70.

⁶⁴ Arndt, Gawron & Jahnke 2000, p.1917.

which they work “fails to grasp some key influences and challenges to new ways of problem solving and working.”⁶⁵

At an internal level, it is important to have an awareness of the attitudes and dispositions of those currently involved in relationships. Institutional and network theory demonstrates that there are important and powerful existing interests that have the ability to facilitate or hinder new initiatives.⁶⁶ It is therefore of critical importance to examine existing networks and the willingness of participants to enter into new collaborative arrangements. The perceived receptiveness of agencies to new collaborative relationships will influence the type of approach that should be employed when engaging in relationship building. For effective collaboration to occur, there must be a willingness to evolve existing relationships to include new partnerships or to integrate new relationships among existing ones. This is consistent with the planning literature, which “conceives regional excellence in terms of the level of intra-region ‘networking’ versus the degree of inter-local ‘fragmentation’.”⁶⁷ Therefore, the process of relationship building required for collaboration can ensure that all voices are heard, particularly those that tend to be excluded.

There will also be external tensions interacting with the collaborative processes. For instance, there may be competing mandates at the provincial and municipal levels, which could impact the ability of several agencies to work effectively together. As indicated above, voluntary and community sectors can be in conflict based on competition for

⁶⁵ Rowe & Devanney 2003, p.378.

⁶⁶ Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones 2000, p.714.

⁶⁷ (Dodge quoted in) Wight 1997, p.11.

funding resources. Although funding allocations may not be the topic of collaboration, there could be some difficulty associated with engaging organizations that are historically in competition. Community involvement may also affect the inter-agency collaboration depending on the degree to which it is undertaken. Certain inter-agency functions will require an interaction with the community and this will shape the type of collaboration that may occur. In particular, where there has been a history of public involvement but little accomplishment from the public's perspective, the public may hesitate to become involved. Similar concerns may arise among agencies that have had poor relationships with each other in the past. In general, the level of collaboration "is a function of preceding events and local history, previous efforts to cooperate, and regional culture."⁶⁸

Regional Governance

In recent years there has been an emerging trend towards the concept of governance in the regional planning sphere. This has occurred out of the need for more holistic planning practices where regional agencies are required to integrate land use, air quality and transportation planning through coordinated action among agencies.⁶⁹ As well, with the scarcity of resources, particularly those committed to the regional scale of planning, there is a need for agencies to work together to accomplish regional goals. This includes a need to leave behind concepts of "central city superiority," and to focus on the implementation of governance strategies that coordinate regional goals without a centralized government structure.⁷⁰ This means that the RPAC Report premise of

⁶⁸ Nunn & Rosentraub 1997, p.208.

⁶⁹ Wheeler 2002, p.274.

⁷⁰ Wight 1999, p.23.

avoiding a new level of government can be satisfied through the voluntary partnerships of governance and inter-agency collaboration measures.

The principles of governance are consistent with inter-agency collaboration in that both attempt to find common goals across a broad range of organizations and communities. At a regional level, it will be important to develop a “citistate” mentality whereby the interdependencies of the central city and the suburbs are appreciated.⁷¹ A definition of governance refers to “the art of steering multiple agencies, institutions and systems which are both operationally autonomous from one another and structurally coupled through various forms of reciprocal interdependence.”⁷² One of the key benefits of governance frameworks is the ability for interacting agencies to maintain higher degrees of autonomy. This preservation of autonomy will be critically important within the Manitoba Capital Region. In order to maintain this autonomy, “what is needed may not be either amalgamation or regional government but simply a forum, with limited or no operational responsibilities and limited bureaucratic support in its own right, facilitating co-operation and coordination in service delivery.”⁷³ Therefore, mutual objectives can be achieved through governance and working towards inter-agency collaboration.

Governance is also highly relatable to inter-agency collaboration given the need to develop strong relationships throughout each process. Healey indicates that “governance processes generate relational networks.”⁷⁴ These networks are also referred to as

⁷¹ Wheeler 2002, p.275.

⁷² Cowell & Murdoch 1999, p.654.

⁷³ Mellon 1997, p.33.

⁷⁴ Healey 1997, p.59.

relational webs, which promotes the imagery of the interconnectedness of a wide variety of agencies and their interests. In addition, she recommends that greater emphasis be placed on the relational aspects of governance such that the institutional framework expands the interactions throughout the relational webs of urban regions. These recommendations support the strong link between the relationship building of the governance process and of inter-agency collaboration.

The concept of governance also emerges out of an examination of the effectiveness of policy development as a function of where it originates. Community economic development principles advise that the best way to implement change is for the community to initiate projects. Similarly, centrally imposing initiatives at a regional scale are less likely to promote genuinely collaborative action at a local level.⁷⁵ Instead, it would be valuable to support general associations between local and regional planning agencies, thus allowing relationships and collaborations to evolve. For effective collaboration, “there has to be trust, built through informal networking, and not as a result of top-down or external pressure.”⁷⁶ Because various levels of government are responsible for different aspects of policy-making, it will be important that the levels of government adopt mutually supportive policy frameworks.⁷⁷ This will ensure the preservation of local autonomy at municipal levels of government and thus ensure the flexibility that is an important part of governance. Therefore, governance principles can be beneficial for their empowerment of local governments and their connection to the affected communities.

⁷⁵ Rowe & Devanney 2003, p.376.

⁷⁶ (Livey quoted in) Wight 1997, p.11.

⁷⁷ Wheeler 2002, p.275.

At the same time, there are some concerns for the implementation of new forms of governance. For instance, similarities between governance and inter-agency collaboration extend to issues of mutual concern between the two theories. That is, the challenges inherent to inter-agency collaboration, including power struggles, the importance of the surrounding contexts and the need to establish common goals, will also be challenges for the processes of governance. Potentially the most crucial problem for governance will be that of context. Existing government structures are expected to resist surrendering the power that they have gained over time. Furthermore, public resistance can emerge out of mistrust for government and perceived complications of bureaucracy. For these reasons, concepts of governance and inter-agency collaboration are potentially problematic. A careful balance must be formed between the emerging need for new forms of governance and the feasibility of inter-agency collaboration. The effectiveness of new processes will depend upon the particular circumstances of a region.

Conclusion

Governance processes and motivations are well-aligned with those of inter-agency collaboration. However, there are a variety of issues to be considered while applying each collaborative framework. The distribution of resources among agencies will be a key factor, particularly to the extent that redistribution is discussed. It is also important to examine the power differentials among collaborating agencies and the relationship to resource distribution. The ability of the agencies to define clear objectives will play an essential role in the effectiveness of the collaborative process. Perhaps the most complex

influence will be the contextual factors, which could present significant barriers to the relationship building that is necessary in inter-agency frameworks. The context within which the relationships operate includes various levels of government and governance. While there may be a need for increasing inter-agency collaboration and new forms of governance, these concepts should not be idealized. Although there may be some merit to aspects of governance and inter-agency collaboration theories, they are difficult to implement in practice due to the complex environments in which the relationships operate.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY

An examination of the relationships in the Manitoba Capital Region requires empirical study to collect information from individuals involved in the relationships because no other source exists. This chapter describes the method of qualitative data collection and provides the rationale behind the selected methodology. With a concern for instances of collaboration, the empirical study aims to identify the potential for regional planning initiatives within the Manitoba Capital Region. If the relationships are articulated and characterized, it is possible to recommend how regional planning should be approached in the future.

To delineate the parameters of this project, it is necessary to consider how the Manitoba Capital Region is defined. According to Hodge and Robinson, regions are defined by two major attributes: “they always encompass *supra-urban space*...and they always comprise *two or more jurisdictions*.”⁷⁸ Given these two broad attributes, there are potentially limitless ways to define the Manitoba Capital Region. Furthermore, the scope of the planning field is so broad that the Region could be divided based on any specific planning purpose or any shared objectives among municipalities. In light of the subjectivity of defining a region, it is necessary to articulate a focus in order to facilitate the research.

The primary goal in defining the Manitoba Capital Region is the consideration of consistency. The context of this study lends credibility to the definition of the Manitoba

⁷⁸ Hodge & Robinson 2001, p.78 (original emphasis).

Capital Region as illustrated by the Province of Manitoba in the RPAC Report. Figure 3.1 identifies the municipalities that are included in the provincial government's definition of the Manitoba Capital Region: the Rural Municipalities of Cartier, East St. Paul, Headingley, Macdonald, Ritchot, Rockwood, Rosser, St. Andrews, St. Clements, St. Francois-Xavier, Springfield, Taché, West St. Paul, the Town of Stonewall and the Cities of Selkirk and Winnipeg.

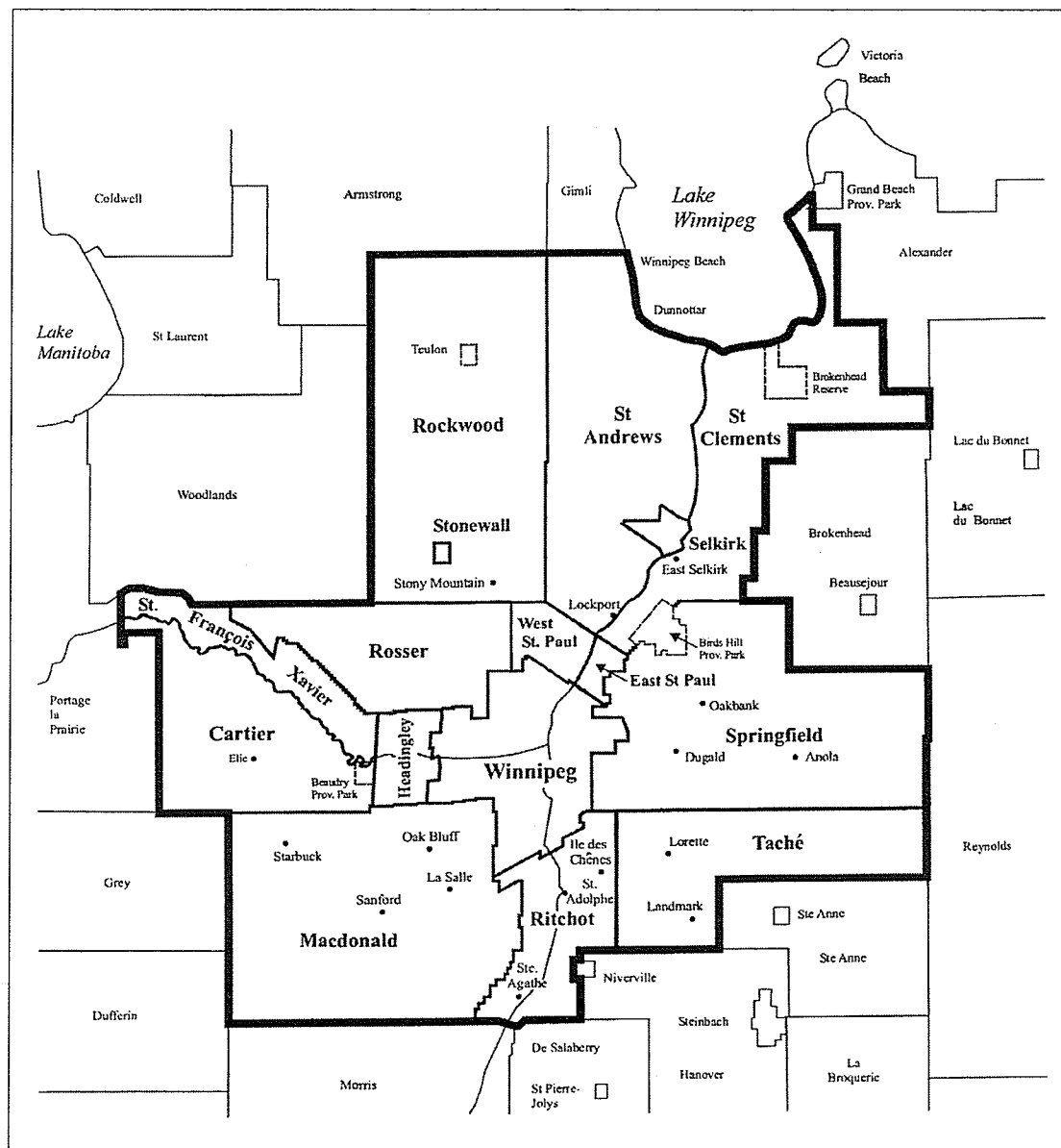


Figure 3.1 – Boundaries of the Manitoba Capital Region. (Source: RPAC Report 2003, p.16)

In order to maintain the relevance of this study, it is beneficial to consider a region that has been identified with respect to previous research and future policy directions. The provincial government has established a definition of the Manitoba Capital Region through the ongoing study of this particular group of municipalities. Therefore, the intention of this empirical research is to provide information and make recommendations that are relevant to future regional planning in Manitoba. As such, consistency with the provincial government definition lends relevance to the project outcomes through a common delineation of the Manitoba Capital Region.

Moreover, the Provincial definition of the Manitoba Capital Region also promotes consistency based on the proximity to Winnipeg. While some municipalities do not share a boundary with the City of Winnipeg, these municipalities remain in close proximity since they are separated by geographically smaller municipalities. Presumably, these 15 municipalities will have the most direct and indirect relationships with the City of Winnipeg. As well, there is an expectation of some commonality among the municipalities surrounding Winnipeg, in terms of their similar population and economic bases. For research purposes, an established method of examining the concept of rural municipalities is to differentiate between rural areas that are adjacent to metropolitan centres and rural areas that are either not adjacent to metropolitan centres or are located in remote and northern areas.⁷⁹ The categorization of Rural Metro-Adjacent areas in Chapter 1 also demonstrates the variation among rural communities based on their proximity to urban centres and this distinction provides considerably more information

⁷⁹ CMHC Report 2003, p.1.

than the limited definitions of rural and urban. It is therefore reasonable to define the Manitoba Capital Region based on adjacency to the City of Winnipeg, due to the potential for common issues and experiences among those municipalities.

The Manitoba Capital Region consists of 16 municipalities, including the City of Winnipeg and 15 surrounding municipalities. This composition is often referred to as a “nodal region,” where an area is characterized by the relationships associated with a particular node of activity, such as a city.⁸⁰ Although there is a preference in the surrounding municipalities to be considered separate, self-sufficient entities, it is doubtful that these municipalities would be able to thrive to the current extent, without the proximity to an urban centre. While the municipalities provide many services to their residents, part of the appeal to residents is the accessibility of the additional amenities offered by the adjacent urban centre. At the same time, nodal regions are also referred to as “interdependent regions,” due to the interrelatedness of the various attributes of the municipalities that form the region.⁸¹ Not only do residents from surrounding municipalities rely on Winnipeg, but Winnipeg residents also benefit from the industrial and recreational opportunities that exist outside the city. It is therefore the interconnectedness of these 16 municipalities that results in their consideration as one entity in the form of the Manitoba Capital Region.

To gain an understanding of the relationships and interactions among these municipalities, it was necessary to identify individuals with a firm understanding of

⁸⁰ Hodge & Robinson 2001, p.100.

⁸¹ Ibid, p.101.

municipal interactions and a routine knowledge of the established agreements among municipalities. For this reason, the empirical study includes interviews with the Chief Administrative Officers (CAO) of the 15 municipalities surrounding Winnipeg. In some municipalities, members of the municipal council were suggested as more appropriate respondents, based on an individual's particular knowledge of and involvement in regional initiatives. For the City of Winnipeg, it was not possible to interview the CAO due to the size of the City's administration and the greater division of responsibilities. Instead, senior staff familiar with regional issues were identified as appropriate representation of the City of Winnipeg perspective. Targeting and selecting individuals with this first-hand knowledge of inter-municipal relationships constitutes the process of identifying respondents for the empirical research.

There are several other key regional planning stakeholders in the Manitoba Capital Region. The Government of Manitoba has a clear role based on the resources that have already been assigned to the exploration of regional issues and the commitment to pursue regional planning in light of the RPAC Report. In general, provincial governments are well-positioned to undertake regional planning processes, due to their responsibility for the entire province and the associated tendency to address issues with a regional focus. Municipalities can effectively meet the local needs of their residents; however, provincial governments must consider broader issues in order to ensure the viability of communities throughout the provincial jurisdiction. For this reason, provincial perspectives were sought from the various planning offices that are responsible for municipalities in the Manitoba Capital Region. Figure 3.2 illustrates that there are four Regional Offices

responsible for the 15 municipalities that surround the City of Winnipeg. Each of these has a planning department, and interviews designed for provincial agents were conducted with representatives from these planning departments.

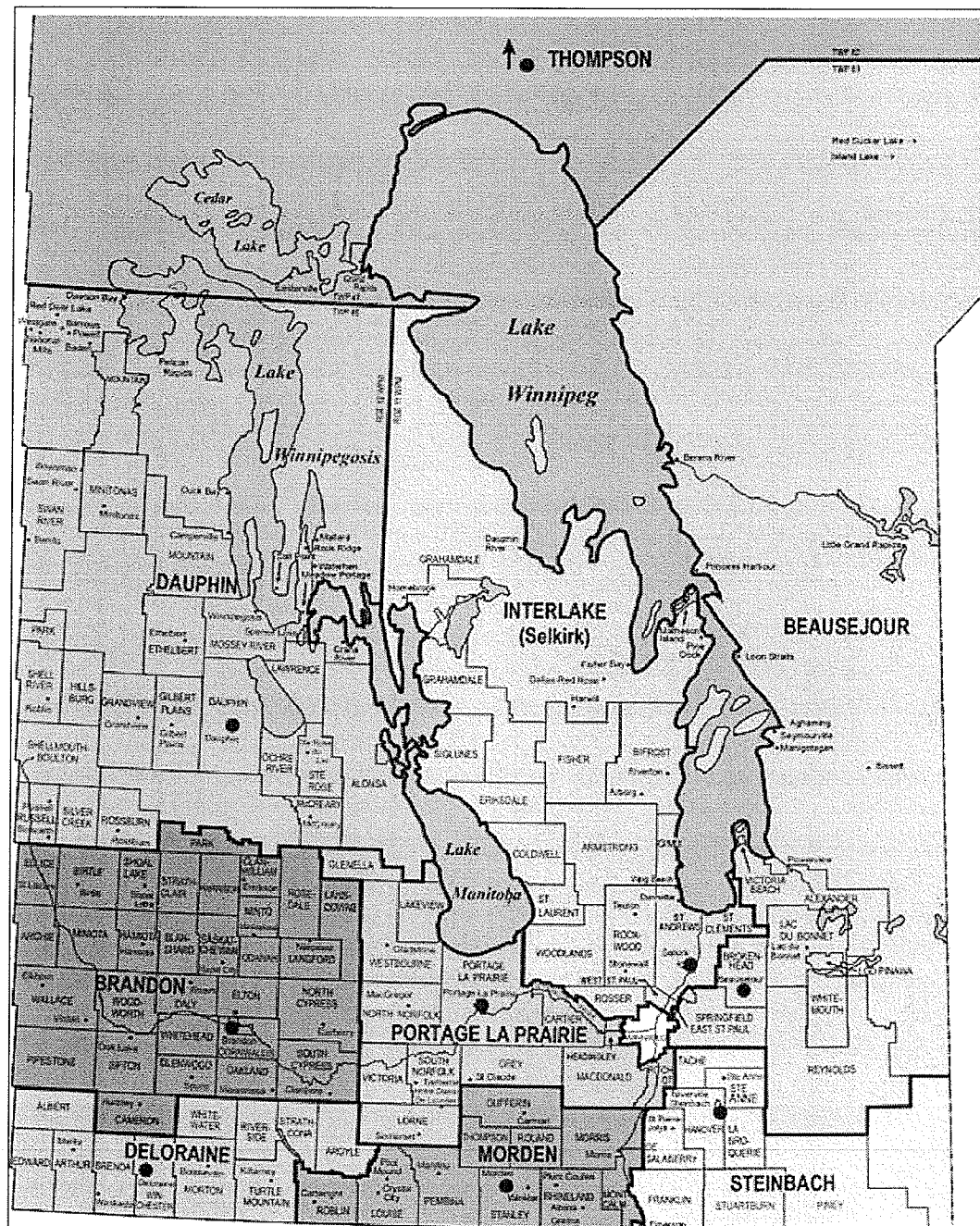


Figure 3.2 - Community Planning Services, Regional Offices
(Source: www.gov.mb.ca/ia/programs/contacts3.html)

The four planning districts in the Manitoba Capital Region are also key stakeholders. Figure 3.3 illustrates the boundaries of the three longest running planning districts, including the Selkirk and District Planning Area Board, the South Interlake Planning District and the Macdonald-Ritchot Planning District.

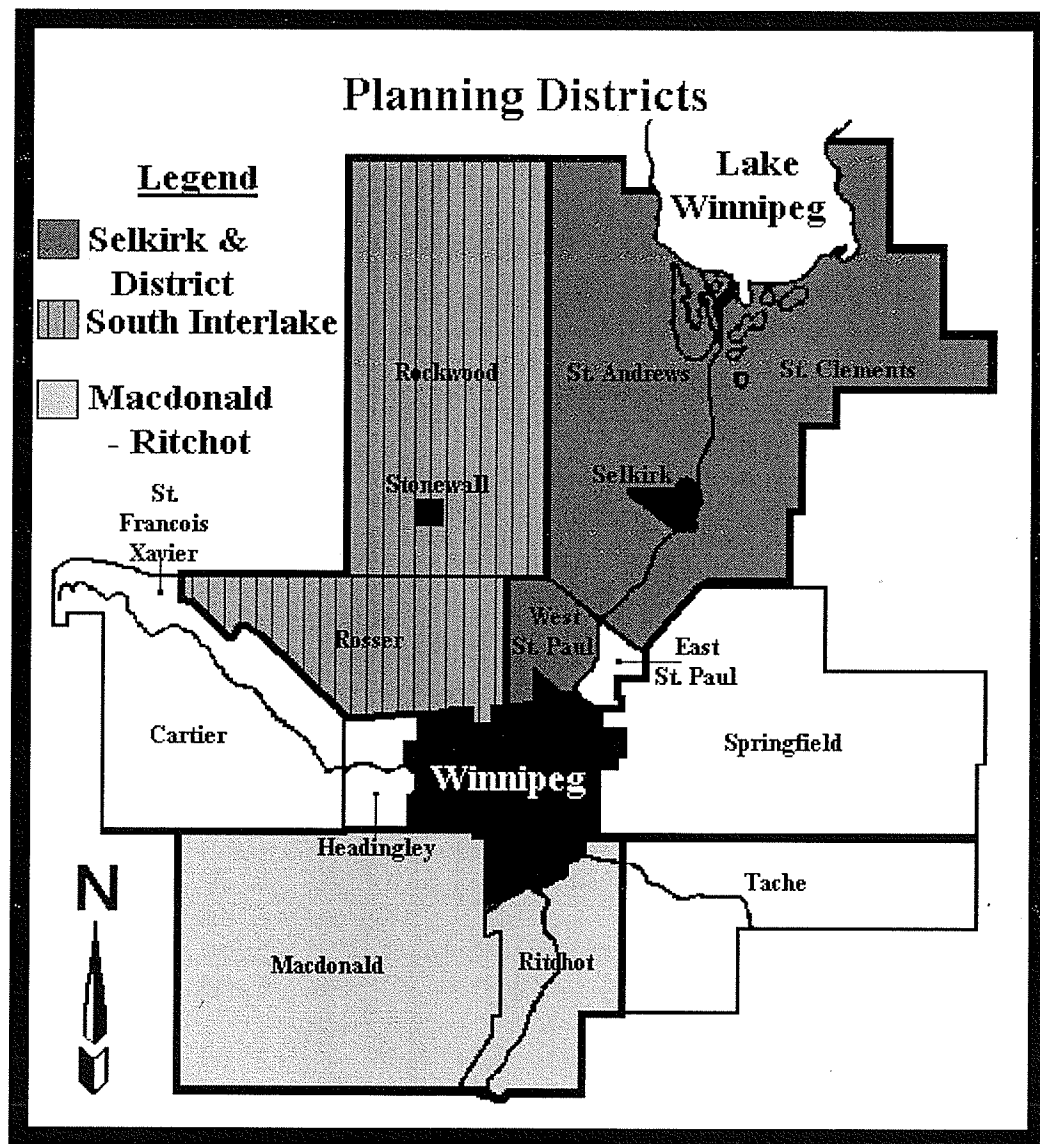


Figure 3.3 – Planning Districts in the Manitoba Capital Region.
(Source: www.gov.mb.ca/ia/capreg/reports_docs/maps/)

The fourth planning district was recently established when the rural municipalities of Cartier and St. Francois-Xavier formed the Whitehorse Plains Planning District. It is

important to include planning districts in this empirical research because of their established regional perspective. They are, by definition, examples of existing relationships among several municipalities for planning purposes and are therefore an important component of inter-agency collaborations in the Region. In addition, the provincial government assigns particular responsibilities to planning districts and supports local planning through the provision of resources. Therefore, planning districts also represent an established layer of governance that lies between the municipal and provincial governments and should provide some insight into the elements of a successful regional planning initiative. Based on this premise, planning district staff were also targeted as respondents to this empirical research.

In recognition of the potential bias that arises from the individuals who are so closely involved in the relationships, an outside perspective was sought. For this reason, an alternative perspective was provided by private consultants with experience in regional issues and dealings with municipalities in the Manitoba Capital Region, as well as inter-municipal service sharing arrangements in other areas of the province. The intention of these interviews was to act as a check on what was reported by the local stakeholders and to examine issues as identified by parties somewhat removed from the situation.

The most effective way to obtain a description of the current situation and the main issues regarding the relationships is through the interview format. One of the reasons the interview was selected as the research method was the need to allow respondents to elaborate on their responses and to tell the stories behind the collaborations. This

provided in-depth responses that sufficiently inform the research questions. The collaborative process is an organic process involving many stakeholders and many viewpoints. Because of the complexity of the relationships, the individual nature of the subject matter and the lack of existing knowledge, the semi-structured interview is the most appropriate means of gathering information. The interview guides were designed to include open-ended questioning which allows the interviews to be guided by the respondents' emic constructions.⁸² Interview guides are listed in Appendices A through E and align directly with the research questions defined for the overall study. Distinct interview guides were required for each category of respondent in order to accommodate their differing experiences with the service sharing relationships. However, there remains some consistency across the types of questions, in order to facilitate analysis of the responses. In general, the interview format was the most appropriate methodology given the study's constructivist nature. This process was approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (Appendix F).

Each respondent was presented a consent form to ensure that the research process was sufficiently explained and to confirm his or her participation in the study (Appendix G). When the interview transcripts were prepared, respondents received a copy of the relevant transcript. This process provided an opportunity for the respondents to raise additional information or to confirm the accuracy of the information as transcribed. As a result, the content of the interviews has been verified by the respondents and should represent an accurate characterization of the current relationships within the Manitoba Capital Region.

⁸² Guba & Lincoln 1989, p.175.

Obtaining responses was further facilitated by the interview format in terms of the response rate. This study achieved a high response rate of 82.6%, which can partially be attributed to the interview format. In contrast, mail-out surveys tend to have lower response rates due to the tendency of recipients not to expend the effort to return the questionnaire. Instead, this study asked respondents to participate in a recorded interview of approximately 45 minutes, at their convenience. No respondent was required to travel beyond his or her normal routine in order to participate in this research. The interviews were conducted over a time frame of several weeks to allow maximum flexibility in accommodating the schedules of the respondents. The high response rate indicates that the results obtained are thorough and thus hopefully provide a realistic illustration of the relationships that exist within the Manitoba Capital Region.

As a result of the interview process, there is sufficient material to address the first research question regarding the inventory of existing relationships. These results are published since the specific identification of the relationships provides a valuable inventory of existing relationships within the Manitoba Capital Region. The categorization of the relationships with respect to the collaborative frameworks requires a detailed analysis of the material obtained from the interview process. Confidentiality is maintained throughout the analysis by numbering the interviews and quoting respondents through the numbers assigned to each interview. Responses are also grouped into prominent themes, as applicable, thereby minimizing the publication of details that may identify respondents. The relationships identified constitute the unit of analysis, since it

is the relationship that provides insight into the level of collaboration, rather than the individual or the agency. The responses of each group are compared and analyzed to assess the types of collaborative relationships that exist within the Manitoba Capital Region. This research thus constitutes a descriptive study wherein a specific characteristic is precisely examined and related to a defined group.⁸³

The analysis develops a characterization of the level of inter-agency collaboration in the Manitoba Capital Region based on the literary frameworks. From this analysis, it is possible to make recommendations regarding how to best approach regional planning in the future. The characterization is based on an illustration of the past and present relationships and the qualitative information identified by the respondents, such as the benefits and challenges of service sharing among municipalities. This information assists in assessing the potential for collaboration across the Region as a whole. Future regional planning efforts must consider the relationships that currently exist since they provide the context within which future action will occur. In particular, the existing relationships demonstrate how well the Manitoba Capital Region is positioned to move forward with regional planning initiatives.

Whether formal inter-agency collaboration is necessary for successful regional planning is difficult to assess. There are benefits and challenges to any type of relationship and it is the parties involved that will ultimately determine how effective regional planning can be in the Manitoba Capital Region. At the same time, there are qualitative factors identified through this empirical research that should enable recommendations regarding

⁸³ Zeisel 1984, p.61.

the potential for effective regional planning in Manitoba. The ultimate goal is to support the economic, social and environmental well-being of the Region through a concerted effort by all stakeholders. The most effective means to accomplish this will depend on the current situation and the extent of the willingness to move forward as one entity.

CHAPTER 4 – ANALYSIS

This chapter addresses the first two research questions: where do relationships exist at the inter-municipal level in the Manitoba Capital Region and to what types of services are they related; and, how can these relationships be characterized within the inter-agency collaboration literature? Appendix H presents an inventory and description of the relationships that were identified through the 19 interviews. This process identified 56 relationships related to a variety of services, including:

- planning districts
- economic development
- drainage
- sewage treatment
- emergency management
- recreation
- waste disposal
- mosquito control
- weed control
- road maintenance
- conservation districts
- special-needs services
- water supply management
- information sharing
- animal control

The remainder of this chapter applies the inter-agency collaboration frameworks to the collection of relationships identified in the Manitoba Capital Region. The organization of the data illustrates the applicability of each framework in terms of the current situation in the Manitoba Capital Region. After that analysis is complete, recommendations and conclusions are drawn based on the characterization of the current situation in the Region.

The context for this chapter is the definition of collaboration that was established in Chapter 2. The purpose is to determine the extent of collaboration that is present and

to assess the capacity of developing future relationships to implement effective regional planning initiatives. Collaboration, readers will recall, is defined as highly formalized relationships involving comprehensive planning, a shared vision and frequent and well-defined communication.⁸⁴ Achieving collaboration requires a considerable time commitment in order to build the relationships among interacting agencies. The process of interacting does not equate to collaboration, rather the development of inter-personal relationships among agencies is required. In addition, the following comprehensive definition of collaboration guides this analysis: “the *voluntary* exchange between two or more autonomous agencies of *complementary* resources needed to achieve *shared goals*.”⁸⁵ These definitions as well as the inter-agency collaboration frameworks are used to characterize the relationships within the Manitoba Capital Region.

Interjurisdictional Cooperation

Based on the definition of collaboration and the various characteristics defined by the framework of interjurisdictional cooperation, it is possible to characterize the relationships identified by the respondents. This framework describes four dimensions within which relationships can be classified: Objectives/Issues, Institutional Format, Tactical Approach and Outcomes (Figure 4.1). Each of the first three dimensions is comprised of a continuum that measures particular aspects of any given relationship. For instance, Objectives/Issues defines each relationship based on the amount of political resistance related to the emerging relationship. The Institutional Format

⁸⁴ Reilly 2001, p.55.

⁸⁵ Padilla & Daigle 1998, p.69 (original emphasis).

dimension refers to the degree of local autonomy that is preserved once the relationship is established. The formality of the agreement is characterized by the Tactical Approach dimension. Finally, the type of outcome is articulated by the fourth dimension.

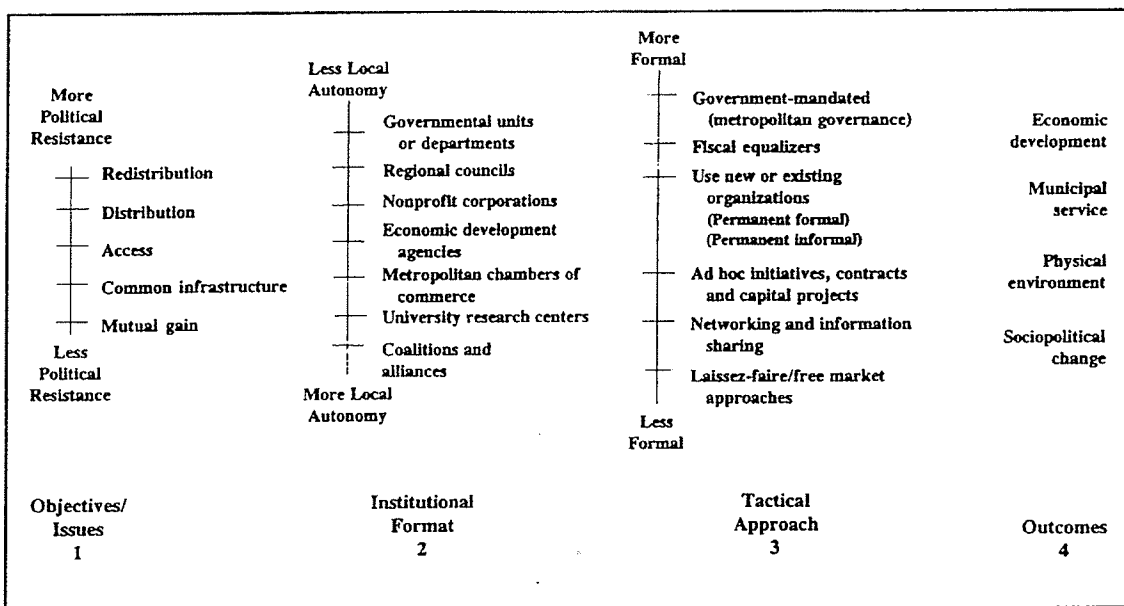


Figure 4.1 – Multiple Dimensions of Interjurisdictional Planning
Source: Nunn & Rosentraub 1997, p.209.

Using these four dimensions, relationships were categorized along each continuum and with respect to the desired outcome of the relationship (Appendix I). From these results, Tables 4.1 through 4.4 were created to further characterize the relationships based on the responses obtained through the interview process, with each of the 56 relationships assigned to one place in each Table. The following discussion proceeds through two stages. First, each dimension is examined separately in order to determine the general trends of the existing relationships and to demonstrate where collaboration can be found within each dimension. An examination of the aggregate

results is then required to assess whether individual relationships can be categorized as collaborative as a result of the application of this framework.

Objectives/Issues Dimension

More Political Resistance	
Redistribution (1)	✓
Distribution (1)	✓
Access (19)	✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
Common Infrastructure (23)	✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
Mutual gain (12)	✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
Less Political Resistance	

Table 4.1 – Objectives/Issues Dimension

From the results in Table 4.1, it is evident that relationships in the Manitoba Capital Region tend to occur with medium to low political resistance. This is due in part to the fact that the relationships are often based on physical or tangible service provision, where economic and other efficiency benefits are easily perceived. When all parties foresee some benefit from the proposed relationship, agreement on the project's usefulness is more likely to occur. In contrast, if the relationships were based on competition for resources, then more political resistance would be expected. In the majority of the relationships identified, some sharing of resources occurs, therefore less competition is apparent.

Table 4.1 also illustrates that the Redistribution and Distribution categories seldom arise and this is because there are few cases where resources are simply being allocated or re-allocated without the presence of a deeper interaction. Instead, agencies tend to interact with each other to accomplish specific goals and each agency

contributes some level of staff, financial or capital resources to the relationship. The Access category was primarily used when one agency had an established resource and another agency sought the use of that resource. Relationships thus arose through the desire of one agency to access the expertise in service provision that had been established by another agency. The Common Infrastructure category was used when agreements arose from the identification of a mutual need. In these cases, no service was in place, therefore agencies worked jointly to develop a mutually beneficial solution. The relationships in this category are largely based on physical infrastructure and related services. The Mutual Gain category was used for the broader regional organizations as well as the informal networks. These interactions are typically for economic development and information sharing. The benefits of these relationships are thus more difficult to measure, as compared to the Common Infrastructure or Access categories, since Mutual Gain relationships strive to improve the overall well-being of communities. The results of achieving such broad goals are less overtly perceptible, compared to road improvements or upgraded water treatment facilities. Within this dimension, collaboration would occur in cases where less political resistance is evident. Therefore, aspects of collaboration are apparent in the relationships categorized as Mutual Gain.

Institutional Format Dimension

The second dimension (Table 4.2) was assessed based on the degree of local autonomy that agencies have once they have entered a relationship. Local autonomy

can also refer to each agency's ability to freely enter into relationships. For the most part, there is a high level of local autonomy in the decision to enter relationships.

Less Local Autonomy	
Governmental Units or Departments (3)	✓✓✓
Regional Councils (14)	✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
Non-profit Corporations (17)	✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
Economic Development Agencies (1)	✓
Metropolitan Chambers of Commerce	
University research centres	
Coalitions and alliances (21)	✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓✓
More Local Autonomy	

Table 4.2 – Institutional Format Dimension

The cases with less local autonomy are found in the Governmental Units & Departments category. Here, parties entering the agreement are subject to government regulations or mandates. In most cases, it is provincial legislation or regulation that determines how the relationship will occur, therefore minimizing the local autonomy that can be exercised.

The Regional Council category is similar in that these are specific types of organizations that occur across Manitoba and Canada, for instance planning districts, conservation districts and community futures development corporations. While each organization can determine its mandate to some extent, the general focus of the organization, such as economic development or water resource management, is typically determined by the provincial or federal government. In some cases, certain programs must be administered by the agency. Some local autonomy can be exercised since members of the municipal council are often represented on the boards of these

organizations. Local differences are also evident, since not every conservation district, for example, will undertake the same projects. Therefore some degree of local autonomy is present within this category. However Regional Councils lie closer to the categorization of less local autonomy since the method for establishing the relationship requires the involvement of the provincial or federal government.

The Non-profit Corporation category was used to describe interactions where an agency becomes responsible for service provision. Typically, this agency is separate from the entities that benefit from the service. For example, in order to provide emergency management services, five municipalities joined together to create the South Interlake Emergency Measures Board. Each municipality contributes to the financial resources of this board, yet the agency remains separate since no municipality is solely responsible for its administration. This can include cases where a municipality provides a service to other municipalities based on its established resources, but where there is a separate board established to govern the service provision. This category has more local autonomy because local agencies control how the entity emerges and ensures local interests are preserved by the agency's actions.

When Economic Development Agencies are established, the agency itself is equipped with a greater degree of local autonomy than in the categories previously discussed. This category was used only once to describe the partnership that emerged for high-speed internet service provision. An Economic Development Agency has the autonomy to define its particular mandate; therefore it has more autonomy than the

agencies previously discussed. As well, these relationships occur in addition to the services that municipalities are mandated to provide. Although community futures development corporations and regional development organizations exist for the purpose of economic development, it is more appropriate to categorize these relationships as Regional Councils due both to their broad regional focus and to their lower degree of local autonomy. The category of Economic Development Agency was therefore used only once to describe a relationship with more local autonomy.

There are two categories within the original framework that could not be used within this study. None of the relationships identified can accurately be classified as Metropolitan Chambers of Commerce or University Research Centres. Therefore, the final category that is applied is Coalitions & Alliances, which describes the agencies with the greatest degree of local autonomy. These relationships included informal networks for the purpose of information sharing. This category was also used to characterize relationships that emerged based on joint provision of services or based on additional parties accessing an established resource. Therefore, the Coalitions & Alliances category is used for relationships such as emergency management and drainage agreements.

Based on the interview process, Table 4.2 depicts the distribution of relationships in terms of the Institutional Format, which defines local autonomy. This dimension was particularly interesting due to the commonly cited municipal concern to preserve local autonomy when threatened with amalgamation or forced tax and service sharing

arrangements. The findings indicate that the most commonly used Institutional Format is Coalitions & Alliances, where the greatest level of local autonomy is evident. However, a significant portion of the relationships are classified in the categories having less local autonomy. This division illustrates the respondents' recognition of the need to work together for greater service provision, but a desire to remain separate and in control of certain aspects of municipal service provision.

Adopting the lens of the Institutional Format dimension, collaboration occurs between two or more autonomous agencies in order to achieve shared goals. For this reason, the Manitoba Capital Region is demonstrating characteristics of collaboration through the willingness to enter relationships with other agencies while maintaining autonomy, as demonstrated by the frequency of relationships in the Coalitions & Alliances category. Agencies have demonstrated an ability to work together in some capacity, while maintaining a focus on local interests and this will be beneficial for future collaborations in the Region.

Tactical Approach Dimension

The level of formality is an important component of collaboration; therefore it is qualified within the third dimension of this framework. In the Tactical Approach dimension, five categories are employed to characterize the relationships including Government-Mandated; Fiscal Equalizers; Use New or Existing Organizations; Ad hoc Initiatives, Contracts and Capital Projects, and; Networking and Information

service provided. These relationships tend to have the Institutional Format classification of Non-profit Corporations since they often involve agencies or organizations that had existed previously without partners. Through the relationship building process, these agencies evolved into joint service organizations based on increased demand for the service. Ad hoc Initiatives, Contracts and Capital Projects are similar to the New or Existing Organizations category, with the exception that these involve a very unique sharing agreement, such as access to an arena or sewage treatment facility. The Ad hoc category is also used for projects with a finite timeline, such as the Taché-Ste. Anne road agreement, which was established for a particular road that is located in Ste. Anne but used primarily by ratepayers in Taché.

The final category applied within this dimension relates to Networking and Information Sharing, since there were no instances of Laissez-faire/free market approaches. This category was seldom applied since there are only three relationships that focus primarily on networking and information sharing. These include the informal network of Chief Administrative Officers (CAOs), the Association of Rural Municipalities (ARM) and the Mayors and Reeves of the Capital Region. In each of these relationships, the purpose includes identifying common issues and assisting participants in seeking solutions to their particular concerns. Although collaboration is defined as a more formal process, it seems that these relationships should be viewed as collaborative since they are based on mutual gain. There is a strong focus on building relationships within Networking and Information Sharing initiatives, which is also a characteristic of inter-agency collaboration. This tension makes it difficult to

characterize the Networking and Information Sharing relationships in terms of the degree of collaboration since they are not highly formalized.

In general, the Tactical Approach dimension demonstrates that the majority of the relationships are quite formal. Defining collaboration as a highly formalized process indicates that collaboration is present in these relationships. There is certainly evidence of the need to unite previously separated agencies into a new structure to achieve a mutual purpose, as evidenced by the frequent categorization of New or Existing Organizations. As well, defining more formal agreements presumably requires a greater time commitment by the agencies involved. One of the drawbacks of collaboration is the amount of time that it can take to build the relationships and establish a working agreement. Therefore, the high formality and the time required to develop such formal agreements within the New or Existing Organizations category indicates that collaboration is present in many of the relationships.

Outcomes Dimension

The final dimension of this framework relates to the desired outcomes of the process and identifies four possibilities: Economic Development, Municipal Service, Physical Environment and Sociopolitical Change. Since the respondents represented municipalities, planning districts and provincial agencies focused on municipal issues, it is appropriate that the most common outcomes were Municipal Service and Physical Environment, as illustrated in Table 4.4.

the autonomy to control its interests and the process must not be dictated by outside agencies. The Tactical Approach of a collaborative relationship should include a higher degree of formality and the expected outcomes should be clear. Given this assessment, Appendix J was developed to highlight relationships with low political resistance, a high degree of local autonomy, more formality and clear outcomes from the outset. This occurs in relationships that are classified as Mutual Gain, Coalitions & Alliances, New or Existing Organizations and have a clearly defined outcome. These characteristics will indicate the presence of collaborative relationships, based on the framework dimensions and the definitions of collaboration.

Using the aggregate results, none of the relationships can be characterized as purely collaborative since none is precisely consistent with the definition of collaboration. Excerpts from Appendix J are presented in Tables 4.5 through 4.7 and demonstrate that no single relationship is classified as Mutual Gain, Coalitions & Alliances and New or Existing Organizations.

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Objectives Issues (political resistance)</i>	<i>Institutional Format (local autonomy)</i>	<i>Tactical Approach (formality)</i>	<i>Outcomes</i>
Informal CAO	A – MG	A – C&A	B – NIS	MS
ARM	A – MG	A – C&A	B – NIS	MS
Mayors/Reeves Cap Reg	A – MG	A – C&A	B – NIS	MS
Macdonald-Ritchot PD	A – MG	C – NPC	F – GM	MS
Whitehorse Plains CFDC	A – MG	D – RC	F – GM	ED
NEICOM	A – MG	D – RC	F – GM	ED
North Red CFDC	A – MG	D – RC	F – GM	ED
Interlake Development Corporation	A – MG	D – RC	F – GM	ED
Central Plains RDC	A – MG	D – RC	F – GM	ED

Whitehorse Plains Recreation Com	A – MG	D – RC	D – N/EO	MS
SDPA	A – MG	D – RC	F – GM	MS
SIPD	A – MG	D – RC	F – GM	MS

Table 4.5 – Objectives/Issues with least political resistance (Mutual Gain)

There are several relationships that occur based on Mutual Gain, however few maintain a significant degree of local autonomy since only three relationships are also categorized as Coalitions & Alliances. These relationships are not highly formalized and are therefore not consistent with collaboration. While the outcomes of these three relationships have been identified as Municipal Service, the respondents' discussion of these relationships referred to their purpose as networking and information sharing, rather than attaining a defined outcome. In addition, only one of the relationships in Table 4.5 is classified as both a New or Existing Organization and as Mutual Gain. In this case, the level of formality and the level of political resistance are appropriate, however the local autonomy is lower than is required for collaboration.

Relationships with a high level of local autonomy are highlighted in Table 4.6. The majority of the Coalitions & Alliances are also classified as Common Infrastructure, in terms of Objectives/Issues. Common Infrastructure represents more political resistance than Mutual Gain, however this result is also on the lower end of the Objectives/Issues continuum. The majority of the relationships with high local autonomy are also classified as New or Existing Organizations, therefore having the appropriate degree of formality for collaboration. These relationships are also specific in their outcomes, such as road maintenance, drainage works or emergency

management. Therefore, these relationships are close to collaboration, with the exception that they have a higher level of political resistance.

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Objectives Issues (political resistance)</i>	<i>Institutional Format (local autonomy)</i>	<i>Tactical Approach (formality)</i>	<i>Outcomes</i>
Informal CAO	A - MG	A - C&A	B - NIS	MS
ARM	A - MG	A - C&A	B - NIS	MS
Mayors/Reeves Cap Reg	A - MG	A - C&A	B - NIS	MS
Drainage - St C, ESP	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Drainage - Ritchot etc	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Drainage - Head, STFX	B - CI	A - C&A	C - Ad hoc	PE
Drainage - STFX, Rosser, W	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road - Ritchot, Niverville	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road - Tach, Spr, Ritc, Ste Anne	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road - Tach, Ste Anne	B - CI	A - C&A	C - Ad hoc	PE
Road - ESP	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road - Ross, Wpg	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road - Springfield	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road - St Clements	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road - Macdonald	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
EMO - Rockwood, Stonewall	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
Sewage - St Clements	C - Access	A - C&A	C - Ad hoc	PE
EMO - Ritchot	C - Access	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
EMO - Spr, ESP, St C	C - Access	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
EMO - Rosser, Rockwood	C - Access	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
Ag society	E - Redist	A - C&A	C - Ad hoc	PE

Table 4.6 – Institutional Format with greatest local autonomy (Coalitions & Alliances)

Finally, Table 4.7 depicts relationships with an appropriate formality for collaboration:

New or Existing Organizations. These results confirm findings in Tables 4.5 and 4.6.

That is, it is evident that there is only one relationship in the Mutual Gain category of the Objectives/Issues dimension. As well, political resistance remains low in many

relationships that maintain a high level of local autonomy and the appropriate degree of formality, as indicated by the Common Infrastructure Category. Yet no relationships are defined strictly as collaborative based on these results.

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Objectives Issues (political resistance)</i>	<i>Institutional Format (local autonomy)</i>	<i>Tactical Approach (formality)</i>	<i>Outcomes</i>
Drainage - St C, ESP	B – CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Drainage - Ritchot etc	B – CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Drainage - STFX, Rosser, W	B – CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road - Ritchot, Niverville	B – CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road - Tach, Spr, Ritc, Ste Anne	B – CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road – ESP	B – CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road - Ross, Wpg	B – CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road – Springfield	B – CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road - St Clements	B – CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road – Macdonald	B – CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
EMO - Rockwood, Stonewall	B – CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
EMO – Ritchot	C - Access	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
EMO - Spr, ESP, St C	C - Access	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
EMO - Rosser, Rockwood	C - Access	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
EMO - Head, STFX, Cartier	B – CI	C - NPC	D - N/EO	MS
EMO – SIEMB	B – CI	C - NPC	D - N/EO	MS
Weed - Springfield, Taché	B – CI	C - NPC	D - N/EO	PE
Weed - Ritchot, Niv/Desalaberry	B – CI	C - NPC	D - N/EO	PE
Rockwood Animal Control	B – CI	C - NPC	D - N/EO	MS
Weed - Rosser, Rockwood	C - Access	C - NPC	D - N/EO	PE
EMO – Boyne	C - Access	C - NPC	D - N/EO	MS
Recreation - SI library	C - Access	C - NPC	D - N/EO	MS
Weed – Macdonald	C - Access	C - NPC	D - N/EO	PE
Recreation - WP Rec commission	A – MG	D - RC	D - N/EO	MS
Water – Rockwood	C - Access	D - RC	D - N/EO	MS
Water – Mac	C - Access	D - RC	D - N/EO	MS
Water – Cartier	C - Access	D - RC	D - N/EO	MS

Table 4.7 – Tactical Approach with some formality (New/Existing Organization)

Adhering precisely to the definition of collaboration, no single relationship can be categorized as collaborative. However, these results indicate that there is strong potential for collaboration in future relationships involving the Manitoba Capital Region. Many relationships are close to the desired combination of results, which indicates that some characteristics of collaboration exist. Furthermore, examining the broader picture illustrates that collaborative processes are present. That is, agencies are engaged in a variety of relationships, often with the same partners, to provide a wide range of services. For instance, the RM of Ritchot has relationships with each of Macdonald, Taché, Cartier, Niverville, Desalaberry, Hanover and Winnipeg. These relationships are for services including the planning district, conservation district, road maintenance, drainage, emergency management, weed control, waste disposal and mosquito control. The ongoing relationship among agencies to provide a variety of services is characteristic of the time commitment and network of interactions that are required for inter-agency collaboration. All municipalities are members of ARM and the Mayors and Reeves of the Capital Region, therefore all have access to the networking and information sharing that constitutes an important part of collaborative relationships. Overall, these relationships are subject to a minimal amount of political resistance and many respondents discussed the ease of resolving issues among stakeholders. As well, agencies maintain a high degree of local autonomy since each municipality and planning district remains separate. There is a high degree of formality in the majority of relationships since agencies express the need for formalized agreements due to the high cost of many projects. Finally, the majority of

relationships evolved due to specific needs and the agreements addressed specific measures to ensure adequate service provision to all parties. Viewing the relationships as iterations of a broader interaction indicates that there is strong collaboration in the Manitoba Capital Region.

Collaborative Pathway Process Model

This model was intended to provide a close examination of how collaborative processes evolve including the following steps: identification of collaboration as the desired course of action, formation of the relationship, implementation, engagement/maintenance of the process, resolution and evolution. However, during the course of the empirical stages of the study it became evident that it would be difficult to apply this model to the responses obtained since many of the agreements had existed long before current staff were employed. Even in some cases where the relationships had evolved recently, the respondent had not been involved with the agency at the time the relationship had developed. In the limited cases where respondents were familiar with how the relationship had emerged, the information lacked sufficient detail to appropriately apply the Collaborative Pathway Process Model. Furthermore, few of the individual relationships can be classified as purely collaborative and therefore, this framework cannot be applied in the context of this research.

3 Models of Collaboration

Engaging in inter-agency relationships is increasingly important for a variety of social service fields. For this reason, a study of the special education field was applied to identify characteristics of collaboration through three models: Social Exchange model; Power/Resource Dependency model; and Political Economy model. These models can be applied to regional planning initiatives through this empirical research since the establishment of relationships occurs in both fields.

Social Exchange Model

Just as the *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* framework identified an ideal of collaboration through the mutual gain category, so the Social Exchange model represents a form of collaboration that is difficult to achieve in practice. Social Exchange arises when the motivation to collaborate is internal to each organization and inter-organizational relations are formed out of a perception of mutual benefits.⁸⁶ Furthermore, this theory suggests that collaboration is characterized by a high degree of cooperation and problem-solving. By definition, this model is very difficult to achieve since it is difficult to categorize most of the relationships as arising out of a sense of mutual benefit and the recognition of a greater good. In some cases these characteristics are present, however it is difficult to argue that there are any relationships that are functioning at a highly collaborative level. For instance, the relationships that were categorized as Mutual Gain in the first framework are the most likely to be described by the Social Exchange model. However, while the intention of groups such as ARM and the Mayors and Reeves of the Capital Region may be to

⁸⁶ Farmakopoulou 2002, p.50.

serve mutual purposes and were characterized in a positive manner by respondents, there is also some conflict within the groups, which would be unlikely under a high level of collaboration. While respondents provided positive descriptions of the relationships, it is likely that the most beneficial aspects were discussed, even though the reality may include some degree of conflict.

The other relationships categorized as mutual gain included the informal network of CAOs, the planning districts and the economic development organizations. These relationships are more likely to represent collaboration, based on the Social Exchange model, since they represent a high degree of cooperation and problem-solving. The informal network of CAOs occurred spontaneously through a desire to seek advice and share information among municipalities. This relationship is therefore the most collaborative since there is no competition for resources and it is not strongly affected by the direct exertion of power. Participation in the network is voluntary and those engaged perceive mutual benefits from the interaction. The planning districts and economic development agencies also represent some positive characteristics of collaboration due to the focus on regional benefits. The regional perspective requires that all participants achieve benefits through participation in the relationship. Although members of planning districts and economic development agencies contribute financial resources, all of the mutual gain relationships focus primarily on sharing information and serving several agencies. As well, the motivation to participate in these relationships is internal to each agency. Such characteristics

indicate collaboration, therefore the Social Exchange model effectively identifies aspects of inter-agency collaboration in the Region.

Power/Resource Dependency Model

While the majority of the relationships cannot be adequately described by the Social Exchange model, a consideration of the Power/Resource Dependency model provides greater insight. This model states that relationships occur due to the need to acquire scarce resources through interaction with other agencies. In all of the relationships, resources figure prominently in motivations to participate. Respondents were concerned with an inability to achieve adequate service provision on an individual basis, and consistently expressed the benefit of improved service provision as a motivation to engage in relationships. These relationships can be asymmetrical due to an imbalance of power among participating agencies, since certain agencies were not faced with resource scarcity. The uneven distribution of resources can therefore result in an imbalance of power.

In order to examine the balance of power within the relationships, Farnakopoulou recommends comparing the frequency that each agency initiates contact in order to exchange resources to each organization's level of satisfaction within the relationship.⁸⁷ The interview process specifically sought to establish this comparison by asking how relationships had emerged and asking respondents to characterize the existing relationships. Two of the respondents were unclear when asked how the relationships had emerged, and this was due to the fact that they had recently entered

⁸⁷ Ibid, p.54.

their current position with the agency. Many of the relationships for services such as roads and drainage had existed for a significant amount of time and 11 of the respondents explicitly identified one or more relationships that had emerged prior to their tenure with the agency. Of the 56 relationships, only 12 had emerged more recently and respondents were able to clearly identify the agency that had initiated the interaction. In seven of these cases, there was little evidence of a power imbalance, since the agencies were equipped with a similar set of resources and the relationship emerged as a joint effort. Some power imbalances are evident in the remaining five relationships since one agency clearly has more resources than the other(s). The imbalance in resources relates to financial resources or staff resources, in terms of experienced and qualified staff. Imbalances are typically observed in situations where agencies request access to established services or infrastructure. This type of situation skews the power to the agency with the established resource. In all five of the relationships with some imbalance of power, the participants were very positive about how the relationships function and their level of satisfaction with the relationship. This indicates that the parties are generally able to minimize the effect of the power imbalance and work together for mutual purposes.

The majority of these 12 relationships involved rural municipalities and/or towns and the participants expressed general satisfaction with the process. In these cases, either the power was somewhat equitable or any imbalances did not hamper the interaction among agencies. One relationship that should be highlighted is the mosquito control relationship that was identified as an initiative of the City of Winnipeg and the

provincial government through Regional Health Authorities. This is one of few examples of a partnership between the City of Winnipeg and any rural municipality, and is particularly unique since it was viewed in a positive manner by respondents. Some respondents even felt that working together on mosquito control could establish a precedent and allow rural municipalities to work effectively with the City of Winnipeg on future service sharing arrangements.⁸⁸ This finding was inconsistent with many of the negative comments regarding the relationship between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities. However, it may indicate an opportunity for establishing agreements that could lead to future collaborative efforts across the Manitoba Capital Region, even though there is a considerable imbalance of power.

This imbalance of power between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities is also evidenced by the extent that each municipality is obliged to participate in relationships with other agencies. The key difference between these two groups is that the City of Winnipeg has no obligation to participate in relationships with neighbouring municipalities. This was demonstrated in the interviews with the rural municipalities since many indicated that they had approached the City of Winnipeg to enter a service sharing arrangement, for example water, sewer and waste disposal services. However, very few relationships exist between the City of Winnipeg and the other municipalities due to the City's ability to decline to participate in the proposed relationship. This tends to foster a perception within some agencies that the City of Winnipeg does not want to be involved in any relationships with its neighbours. The fact that the City is able to make this choice indicates that it is in a

⁸⁸ Interview #14.

position of power. In contrast, while there is no formal obligation requiring rural municipalities to participate in relationships with one another, many feel that entering partnerships is necessary in order to provide an appropriate level of services. In designing agreements among municipalities, it is not uncommon to include clauses that ensure all parties continue to participate or provide sufficient notice that they will withdraw. This provision formalizes the participation in relationships among rural municipalities and indicates a greater reliance on one another. This difference between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities further defines the imbalance of power that exists between the two groups.

This model is a realistic representation of the majority of relationships since it begins to consider unavoidable factors that complicate inter-agency collaboration. Even if relationships exist to share resources and both parties willingly enter a relationship, the imbalance of power and the agencies' reaction to that power can influence the development of the relationship. As well, the motivation for participation is considered in terms of the obligation of each agency to participate. However, the Power/Resource Dependency model may not be entirely appropriate since it also states that one agency will have the power to force the others to interact. In practice, there are no instances of forcible interaction, however the ability of the provincial government to mandate services does act as a catalyst to establishing relationships. This provincial authority arises under the Political Economy theory and is discussed further in the next section. The Power/Resource Dependency model is effective in

identifying some of the external factors that will influence the way that inter-agency relationships are established and function in the Manitoba Capital Region.

Political Economy Model

The roles of the provincial government and the City of Winnipeg in establishing relationships demonstrate the Political Economy model within the Manitoba Capital Region. Political Economy theory refers to larger political and economic structures that influence inter-agency collaboration. Since the provincial government is responsible for assigning authorities to the municipalities, its ability to enact legislation is a crucial factor in this context. As well, the City of Winnipeg represents a larger political and economic structure due to its large size in relation to the rural municipalities. The Power/Resource Dependency model highlighted the imbalances between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities, but the political processes are also a significant factor as demonstrated by the political economy theory.

There is a perception that the Province is indirectly causing relationships to be established through the provision of incentives such as free information services to planning districts. As well, municipalities feel that they must establish relationships when the Province mandates additional service provision because it is only with the support of other municipalities that the additional services can be provided. The primary example of this occurrence is the emergency management boards. It is more appropriate to cite the political and economic structure of the Region as the reason that these relationships emerged, rather than to characterize the situation as one of forced

relationships. The provincial government has the political authority to mandate municipal responsibilities and the economic resources must be shared among municipalities in order to meet the additional responsibilities. Thus the motivation to enter relationships is largely external and although the municipalities have the autonomy to determine how the services will be provided, the most feasible solution is to enter relationships. It is uncertain whether the provincial government was motivated by a desire to encourage service sharing when it mandated emergency management boards. Nevertheless, due to its broad influence, the provincial government has the ability to create incentives for municipalities to enter relationships to further its own agenda and this ability is a key factor identified by the Political Economy model.

The authority of the provincial government leads to a consideration of the political decision-making that occurs in the Manitoba Capital Region. The majority of the relationships emerged based on the rational need to improve physical services and were therefore somewhat easily established. Conflict tends to occur regarding municipalities that are in competition for resources or population. The existence of competitive factors results in an increased role for political decision-making. In these cases, agreements are more difficult to achieve due to competing interests that may or may not directly relate to the service in question. For instance, many respondents identified difficulties in establishing service sharing agreements with the City of Winnipeg to access the city water and sewage treatment facilities. Although there is a widespread perception that the City's facilities can accommodate the additional

demand, the relationships are not being established. Given the competition for development between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities, it is reasonable to conclude that the decision not to participate is based on political reasoning. Therefore, an examination of Political Economy model identifies the lack of political will to enter relationships as an influential factor.

Each of these three models illustrates a particular aspect of the way that inter-agency relationships function. The differences among the models and the complexity of relationship building require that the three models be examined together. No single model provides a complete and realistic portrayal of all inter-agency relationships as they occur in practice. In terms of the Manitoba Capital Region, there are several layers of relationships and each interaction can be characterized in a variety of ways. The information obtained through this empirical research only begins to describe the power dynamics and motivations for collaboration. By considering the three models in combination, it is possible to examine spontaneous collaboration as well as the external, large-scale factors and their positive and negative influences. The political and economic dynamics among the City of Winnipeg, the provincial government and the rural municipalities are recognized as key factors structuring the establishment of relationships and this is a valuable insight emanating from the application of this framework.

The three models of collaboration provide a general characterization of the relationships based on respondents' discussion as well as on the broader political and

economic context. To further characterize each relationship would require additional information regarding the intricacies of each relationship in order to gain a better understanding of the power dynamics and the motivations for collaboration.

Conclusion

The inter-agency collaboration frameworks can effectively be applied to the information collected through the interview process. The *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* framework provides a detailed examination of the characteristics of the 56 relationships with respect to the four key dimensions of collaboration: the degree of political resistance, local autonomy, formality and the outcomes obtained. The internal factors were examined through the lens of this framework and provide important insight into how future collaborative efforts should be formed. On an individual basis, this framework did not identify any relationships that could be purely characterized as collaborative, however the framework did identify broader indications of collaboration across the Region. This emerged through the consideration of each interaction as part of a larger relationship among all municipalities. From this perspective, the variety of existing relationships contributes to an established collaborative network that includes all agencies within the Manitoba Capital Region. This analysis also supports the usefulness of the framework based on the ease of categorizing relationships within the framework's four dimensions.

Additional analysis was possible through the framework *3 Models of Collaboration* due to its focus on the external contextual factors that influence relationships. This

categorization of the relationships was more difficult due to the interconnectedness among the three models. As a result, it was possible to identify some elements of collaboration within the relationships. The principal contribution of this framework was the identification of obstacles to collaboration, particularly at the external contextual level. This framework demonstrated the presence of factors beyond the control of interacting agencies and their impact on the motivations for developing relationships as well as on the participants' attitudes and willingness to engage. It is necessary to consider these broader factors when engaging in relationships and this framework adequately identified this concern.

The two frameworks identify various characteristics of collaboration as being present within the relationships. This suggests that there is little pure collaboration throughout the relationships, yet strong elements of collaboration are present in many instances. The analysis also demonstrates that ideal conditions are not required for effective relationships to occur since issues such as power imbalances can be present within inter-agency collaboration. As long as the participating agencies perceive that the benefits and opportunities outweigh the challenges and drawbacks, there is significant potential for collaboration. Hence it is essential for future efforts to clearly demonstrate the gains that are available to all participants through the establishment of a clear plan for the Manitoba Capital Region. Identifying common ground may be a substantial challenge, but these frameworks have also identified several opportunities that provide a basis for establishing broader regional initiatives. Building upon the

perception of the individual relationships as elements of a broader web of relationships will be pivotal to creating effective relationships in the future.

The wider context and the complexities of the actual relationships must still be considered and this occurs in Chapter 5 through the examination of the four predominant themes that arise from the inter-agency collaboration frameworks. The first theme examines resources as a catalyst to service sharing agreements as well as the issues that have arisen related to the distribution of resources across the Manitoba Capital Region. The most significant of the resource related issues is the power that is associated with access to greater resources. Recognizing and working effectively within the power imbalances will be an important part of establishing inter-agency collaboration in the Region. As well, working together will require the identification of common interests among the agencies through the clear delineation of expected outcomes. The fourth theme examines the external and internal contexts that influence the relationships and the related challenges that future collaborative efforts will face. The combination of these themes provides crucial insight into the existing relationships as well as the potential for future interaction among these agencies.

CHAPTER 5 – FRAMEWORK COMMONALITIES

In the initial examination of each framework, four predominant themes were found: Resources, Power Differentials, Expected Outcomes and Contextual Factors. The particular analysis of each framework provides an effective characterization of the existing inter-agency relationships; however, part of the effectiveness of these two frameworks is the fact they each identify common issues that affect collaborative relationships. Therefore, the examination of these four predominant themes provides additional insight into the Manitoba Capital Region with respect to the inter-agency relationships.

Resources

The role of resources is evident throughout the relationships identified by the interview process. Without exception, the reason that inter-agency relationships exist in this Region is some form of shared resources. The three main resources that are sought are financial contributions, information sharing and expertise in a particular field (for example by-law enforcement or weed control). This demonstrates that a key motivation to enter into service sharing relationships is the scarcity of resources coupled with the desire to provide a high level of services to residents. While some municipalities must deal with resource scarcity, others have access to more resources due to long-established infrastructure or a greater population and assessment base from which to raise revenues. This uneven distribution of financial resources across the Manitoba Capital Region is an important catalyst to the establishment of inter-agency relationships.

Many of the respondents made some reference to the imbalance in resources by discussing the opportunity of matching excess supply with excess demand. This was particularly evident in discussions related to the City of Winnipeg. Quite often, municipalities having considerable development in close proximity to the Winnipeg boundary referred to an excess supply at the City's water and sewage treatment facilities. In these cases, several respondents presented arguments such as "the City has the capacity and ability to provide water services to pretty much everybody in the Capital Region and far beyond that."⁸⁹ These respondents also expressed that such a system would be the most efficient means of providing services to the Region. The efficiency gains would occur where a particular development is located closer to Winnipeg's facilities than to the rural municipality's facilities, or where the rural municipality would have to create a new facility in order to serve the same purpose. Less efficient action is likely to be associated with a high cost of service provision, not only to the residents of the particular rural municipality or town, but across Manitoba. This occurs in cases where the provincial government allocates resources to a water or sewage treatment project in a rural municipality since such funding is derived from taxpayers across Manitoba. Therefore, many municipalities expressed the desire for efficient service provision as the reason to access the City of Winnipeg's resource of established water and sewage treatment infrastructure.

The matching of supply and demand is also relevant in relationships that identified Access as an Objective/Issue in the *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* framework. As

⁸⁹ Interview #1.

indicated previously, the Access category was used in cases where one agency had an established resource that another agency wanted to provide to their own residents. In these cases, the agency that provides the resource determines whether the excess supply exists to meet the excess demand created by the other agency. While this same reasoning forms the basis for proposed relationships between the City of Winnipeg and neighbouring municipalities, few relationships have been formed between the City of Winnipeg and any other municipality. In contrast, several relationships were identified among the rural municipalities that successfully matched excess supply and excess demand. This was particularly evident in terms of access to expertise and infrastructure through the recognition that “by pooling resources you’re able to gain a higher level of expertise.”⁹⁰ For instance, in cases where municipalities had established recreational facilities, there was an opportunity for other agencies to gain access to that infrastructure through the establishment of an agreement. The facilities could meet the demands of additional participants, and the agencies were able to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement to enable greater service provision to more residents. This type of relationship was common among rural municipalities.

The uneven distribution of resources also demonstrates the degrees of interdependence that are established when agencies enter relationships in order to access resources. Collaboration optimally involves reciprocal interdependence, where each agency gains approximately the same amount as the other participant(s). This type of interdependence is difficult to achieve; however, collaboration can also be present with unilateral interdependence. Meeting excess demand with excess supply is an

⁹⁰ Interview #2.

example of unilateral interdependence, since the agency with excess demand has a greater reliance on the agency with excess supply, yet these relationships can be effective where both sides experience some form of gain. This is the key difference with relationships that are established among rural municipalities, as compared to the lack of relationships between the City of Winnipeg and neighbouring municipalities. There is a strong perception that the City of Winnipeg does not foresee what it will gain by entering into service sharing relationships with neighbouring municipalities. In fact, the rural municipalities perceive the fear of negative results – such as ex-urban sprawl and increased competition between the City and the rural areas – as a hindrance to the City of Winnipeg entering relationships with other municipalities. This was evident from comments such as “the City of Winnipeg seems to have the attitude that they are the only ones who are supposed to be allowed to grow and to prosper and everything has to be directed towards the City.”⁹¹ These perceptions act as an obstacle to effective relationship building between the rural municipalities and the City of Winnipeg. Nevertheless, the rural municipalities have established collaboration that takes the form of “resource exchange between agencies providing a variety of services to meet interrelated needs.”⁹² The municipality with excess supply finds that their needs are also met by entering into relationships to meet excess demand in another municipality.

The fact that there are some effective relationships in the Manitoba Capital Region illustrates that agencies perceive benefits from the establishment of these relationships.

⁹¹ Interview #3.

⁹² Padilla & Daigle 1998, p.70.

Specifically, the main resources sought are based on finances, expertise, infrastructure and information. The most commonly cited benefits are economies of scale and the financial efficiencies that arise from pooling resources. Discussions regarding service sharing often focused on the fact that it “enables a higher level of service mainly because you have greater resources to draw from.”⁹³ Working together in this manner was also beneficial for gaining access to provincial government resources, due to the perception that Provincial funding is often contingent on demonstrating that projects have a regional focus. As well, the sentiment that “you have a bigger voice when you go to the Province and ask for amendments, you work as one,” indicates that the concept of strength in numbers was recognized as a benefit of working together.⁹⁴ Joint service provision could take the form of enhancing a service that was already provided on a smaller scale or the establishment of entirely new services based on joint contribution from several agencies. The motivation of financial benefit was also identified as leading to efficiency and consistency of service provision to neighbours across municipal boundaries.

Another important benefit that was identified by several respondents is access to a higher level of knowledge or experience. In many cases, such as planning districts, weed control boards and emergency management, the staff require a unique type of training. Municipalities expressed that “one municipality doesn’t really have enough to keep a corps of people busy,” which means that qualified staff could only be hired if full-time work was available, therefore several municipalities work together to hire

⁹³ Interview #1.

⁹⁴ Interview #4.

common employees.⁹⁵ Due to the variety of services that municipalities provide, each agency can become involved in many collaborations due to the networks of interactions that are present. Vertical and horizontal relationships are therefore present since resources come from a variety of different sources including levels of government and other organizations.

The relationships that are most appropriately categorized as collaboration were established for the purpose of sharing information. The frameworks identified that agencies with common purposes or clients should exchange information and engage in networking to effectively achieve their purposes and serve their clients. This is evident in certain relationships, including the informal networks of CAOs, ARM and the Mayors and Reeves of the Capital Region. Information resources figure prominently in these relationships since information is the primary purpose that keeps participants involved. Some respondents identified that these relationships and the sharing of information contribute to creating a unified voice for the Region. As well, these organizations “lay the foundation for working together on a bigger scheme in the Capital Region, because you’re used to sharing the responsibilities.”⁹⁶ Mutual gain and reciprocal interdependence are readily identified in these cases since there should be no competition for the experiential information sharing that occurs within these relationships. Instead, the benefit of learning from common experiences and sharing new ideas was valued by many municipalities and indicates a strong basis for future collaboration.

⁹⁵ Interview #5.

⁹⁶ Interview #5.

At the same time, the respondents also identified a resource-related challenge that is based on the imbalance of resources among municipalities. While the unevenness of resources among rural municipalities and small towns does create opportunities and motivations for these agencies to work together, the severe imbalance between the City of Winnipeg's resource base as compared to the neighbouring municipalities presents a tremendous challenge. In particular, there is a strong perception that the City of Winnipeg does not value the surrounding municipalities and this perception leads to mistrust and conflict. One respondent went as far as stating that "we don't believe what the City is saying."⁹⁷ In addition, although ARM provides a valuable opportunity for rural municipalities to present a unified voice, it is difficult to equate that group with the City of Winnipeg's broad resource base, including its large professional staff.

Ultimately, the respondents identified more benefits than challenges associated with resource sharing relationships. However, the identification of benefits and the willingness to participate in mutually-beneficial relationships does not, in itself, equal collaboration. It is difficult to categorize the majority of the existing relationships as truly collaborative since many occur on a very limited basis in order to satisfy a very specific purpose. In many cases, the relationship is viewed as complete once the service is being provided and all parties have made an appropriate financial contribution. As well, the scarcity of resources can lead to considerable conflict, which is not characteristic of a collaborative relationship. The challenges based on

⁹⁷ Interview #6.

resource distribution, especially the conflict between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities, begin to illustrate the concerns surrounding the second common theme of power differentials. There is a linkage between the agencies with adequate or excess resources and those agencies that have power in inter-agency collaborations, as evidenced by the Power/Resource Dependency model.

Power Differentials

In examining the balance of power among agencies in the Manitoba Capital Region, it must be reiterated that collaboration can be present even where there is an imbalance of power. For this reason, the theoretical frameworks adequately reflect the actual situation since there will be power inequities in any practical situation. It is the extent to which the power is exerted that will determine whether collaboration is present in any given relationship. Based on the findings of this study, there is some connection between the resources available to an agency and the power that agency wields. This is particularly evident in the case of the City of Winnipeg, which is perceived as having considerable resources and power. This discussion also highlights the difference between actual and perceived power as both will factor into the development of inter-agency collaborations. To achieve a collaborative relationship, the parties must be aware of the power imbalance and strive to minimize the extent that power is exercised.

In order for collaborative relationships to occur in the Manitoba Capital Region, there are significant challenges that must be overcome with respect to the clear imbalance of

power that exists between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities. The City of Winnipeg is a much larger agency than any of the other municipalities in the Region, both in terms of the staff it employs and the financial resources at its disposal. This creates the sense that “the City of Winnipeg is definitely viewed separately because of resources – the other municipalities don’t have the same capacity to hire staff to do the same kinds of things.”⁹⁸ Another major difference between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities is the governing provincial legislation. The provincial government established the City of Winnipeg Charter to provide additional authorities to the City, particularly in terms of its financial responsibilities. All other municipalities in Manitoba are governed by the Planning Act, yet the provincial government maintains a significant level of authority, such as the power to approve municipal development plans. The Province plays an important role in the perceived power imbalance between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities due to the relationship between the Province and the City of Winnipeg. Many municipalities feel that the City of Winnipeg is given more credibility when presenting arguments to the Province, due to its representation of a greater population and its access to greater financial and staff resources. Many Capital Region municipalities share a boundary with the City of Winnipeg, which gives the City the opportunity to comment on rural development and “sometimes those comments, because the City of Winnipeg is big, seem to carry more weight than we feel they should.”⁹⁹ Municipalities fear that this position could result in lost autonomy or annexation if the City of Winnipeg chooses to exert its power in such a manner. This imbalance of

⁹⁸ Interview #7.

⁹⁹ Interview #8.

power leads to severe conflicts between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities.

The political process also plays an important role in establishing the power dynamics between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities. Since common media serve the entire Manitoba Capital Region, the views of the City's mayor and councillors are ultimately broadcast across the Region. Comments regarding the need for development to occur primarily within the City of Winnipeg boundary in order to counteract ex-urban sprawl are met with strong objection by rural politicians and stakeholders. When members of the Winnipeg City Council make such statements, it is difficult to move forward and create a positive working environment since these statements are not easily forgotten. Instead, perceptions that the rural municipalities are not important to the City of Winnipeg infiltrate the Region and fuel the conflict. "[Mayor] Murray's words can reverberate – he can make a toss-up comment that can reverberate for some time."¹⁰⁰ Since politicians have the ultimate decision-making authority, any conflicts between urban and rural politicians will significantly impede the collaborative process. Negative comments add to the feelings of mistrust, suspicion and hesitation that rural municipalities feel when they are approached by the City of Winnipeg. This indicates that perception is an influential factor in establishing collaborative relationships. In the Manitoba Capital Region, the perceived power of the City of Winnipeg to serve its interests by exerting power in the media and at the political level contributes to the inability to establish collaborative relationships across the Region as a whole.

¹⁰⁰ Interview #9.

The power dynamic is thus a crucial factor in establishing collaborative relationships in the Manitoba Capital Region. While inter-agency collaboration can exist with an imbalance of power, it is important for the agencies to be aware of the imbalance and ensure that the power is not inappropriately exerted. Within this study, it is difficult to determine the extent to which power is actually exerted since the responses are likely biased towards presenting positive experiences. Among rural municipalities, there appear to be positive working relationships based on the balance between the agencies that initiate relationships and the overall satisfaction with the relationship. Regarding the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities, it is particularly difficult to determine the actual extent of the power imbalance, since perception is such a key factor in the relationships. Whether the perceptions are founded or not, they undeniably lead to an environment of conflict between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities and collaborative processes cannot occur where such conflict is present. There are some opportunities for collaboration since many agencies identified a willingness to work together; however, the conflict and lack of understanding between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities will have to be resolved before the Manitoba Capital Region can function collaboratively.

Expected Outcomes

The establishment of clear and mutual objectives is an essential component of the collaborative process, and the ability for relationships to satisfy clearly established outcomes can be regarded as a measure of the success of those relationships. There

are two major types of outcomes: tangible and intangible results. The empirical study was effective in determining that respondents easily identified common outcomes for service sharing relationships, yet they also identified several challenges that could inhibit future collaboration at the regional level. Within the consideration of expected outcomes it is also necessary to consider the role of perception regarding the expected reactions of other agencies.

The relationships identified clearly focused on certain aspects of service sharing, such as water resource management or road maintenance. This demonstrates that the agencies are able to identify precise purposes for the relationships they develop and to implement agreements on that basis. As well, the ease of categorizing the outcomes in the *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* framework (Economic Development, Municipal Service, Physical Environment and Sociopolitical Change) provides additional evidence of the clarity of the outcomes within these relationships. Furthermore, in the majority of cases, respondents readily identified several tangible outcomes that emerged from their relationships, such as economies of scale for service provision. As well, the pooling of resources provides access to highly trained staff and higher levels of knowledge, skill and experience. This is facilitated through the ability to offer full-time employment through service to several agencies. Improved access to resources demonstrates the professional benefits that are present within the relationships.

Accessing additional resources also promotes efficiencies in service provision and creates the opportunity to provide services that otherwise would not be available.

Furthermore, working together leverages resources and provides access to provincial

government information and financial resources that would not be available without formalized joint efforts. The increased ability to provide service to the public indicates that altruistic benefits were sought within these relationships. The high frequency with which these outcomes were cited as key benefits demonstrates that these agencies perceive many benefits to the development of inter-agency relationships.

Intangible outcomes are equally important, particularly with a view to developing future collaborative relationships. When agencies are able to recognize the intangible benefits of developing relationships, there is strong potential for further partnerships to be created. This type of benefit is defined as a personal benefit and is evident throughout this study since respondents appreciated the extensive intangible benefits that are achieved through the relationships. Many also noted that creating such relationships is valuable for the networks that are created among participants. "It also exudes teamwork – demonstrating to other agencies and the public that you're not parochial, you're thinking and you've got a plan."¹⁰¹ There was a strong sense that building relationships established a precedent for working together that could be built upon in the future. They recognized the goodwill that was developed and the fact that helping other agencies would encourage reciprocation in the future. These are examples of the strong relational resources that have been created throughout the Manitoba Capital Region. The explicit discussion of these benefits only occurred with some of the respondents; however, even where these benefits were not articulated, positive precedents for future relationships can be developed.

¹⁰¹ Interview #10.

Another intangible outcome that was raised on several occasions was the ability for the Region to work together as a cohesive unit. Regarding the established relationships, many references were made to the benefits of coordination and the consistency of services it provides. Agencies often recognized that they could achieve greater services or greater benefits from working together than they could on a stand-alone basis. "If you work together you can achieve all your goals."¹⁰² Beyond the existing relationships, some respondents also discussed a regional entity that would occur through the coordination of efforts across the Manitoba Capital Region. The potential for such action creates opportunities in terms of regional marketing and was identified by one respondent as "sending a particular economic signal of harmony and ease of setting up new businesses in a cooperative region."¹⁰³ The expressed desire to create future opportunities for the entire Region will create a positive environment to implement broader regional initiatives.

The clear focus of the relationship outcomes and the achievement of professional, altruistic and personal benefits are indications of collaborative processes. The fact that these elements are evident in the Manitoba Capital Region translates to some evidence that collaborative processes are present. This is based on the probability that establishing clear expectations at the outset contributes to all agencies achieving some benefits through the process. Each agency agrees to participate based on the near

¹⁰² Interview #4.

¹⁰³ Interview #7.

certainty that it will experience some gain. Therefore, the desire to achieve benefits for all agencies indicates that collaboration is possible in the Manitoba Capital Region.

However, two main challenges were also identified regarding the expected outcomes. Although some municipal respondents discussed the broader Manitoba Capital Region, the majority of this discussion occurred with the provincial government respondents. This raises the concern that the municipalities may not entirely support Capital Region initiatives. This concern is due to the identification of two challenges: concern for lost control and difficulty identifying commonalities among all municipalities in the Manitoba Capital Region. Local autonomy is very important to the municipalities and it is difficult establish agreements that subvert the existing autonomy. However, at least eight of the respondents explicitly referenced a tension between maintaining local autonomy and a need to work together at a regional level. “We still want to have that autonomy, but we want to work together for the Region.”¹⁰⁴ This desire for local autonomy is characteristic of collaboration and illustrates the significant time commitment that is required for effective collaboration. There are many stakeholders in the Manitoba Capital Region and creating a relationship that ensures some local autonomy will require considerable negotiations to satisfy all parties. The expected outcome of maintaining local autonomy while establishing a regional planning agency to represent all 16 municipalities therefore represents a significant challenge to the process.

¹⁰⁴ Interview #3.

The second challenge will be more complex since it requires the identification of commonalities across the entire Manitoba Capital Region. Where relationships are established, there is a clear purpose for these relationships. However, some respondents expressed the difficulty of identifying common needs, either within the municipal boundary or with directly adjacent municipalities, as a reason not to be engaged in many relationships. When asked to identify the benefits of partnering with other municipalities/agencies, one respondent indicated that “for the entire municipality it’s a pretty hard question to answer,” since only parts of the municipality would benefit from each relationship.¹⁰⁵ This is also evident since some municipalities are engaged in considerably fewer relationships than others. In some geographically large municipalities there are substantial differences between the areas closest to the City of Winnipeg and the rest of the rural municipality. Other differences emerge within the boundaries of a single rural municipality due to their inclusion of several small urban centres. In other cases, geographically small municipalities are difficult to categorize as rural due to their more densely populated residential and commercial developments. These types of differences caused some respondents to remark on the heterogeneity of the Region, for example: “we don’t have a lot in common with the other municipalities.”¹⁰⁶ The identification of and focus on such differences creates significant difficulties in finding common issues with immediate neighbours. Therefore, attempting to identify commonalities across 16 diverse municipalities presents an additional challenge. This is further complicated since one of the municipalities is a large urban centre of over 600,000 people and there

¹⁰⁵ Interview #11.

¹⁰⁶ Interview #12.

is a history of conflict between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities. In order for collaboration to function across the Manitoba Capital Region, clear objectives must be agreed upon and all parties must participate in the planning process. Working towards such an agreement will be one of the most difficult aspects of a regional planning initiative that includes all municipalities in the Manitoba Capital Region.

Overall, the established relationships indicate some degree of collaboration through their focused aim to accomplish specific outcomes. Agencies are typically satisfied and express some ease in developing relationships due to common interests. This includes both tangible and intangible types of outcomes and includes the professional, altruistic and personal benefits that are characteristic of collaboration. However, it is difficult to conclude that the current situation will effectively promote broader collaboration at the level of the Manitoba Capital Region due to municipalities' expressed desire to maintain local autonomy and due to the difficulties associated with identifying commonalities. Although the established relationships are effective, these two major challenges must be overcome in order to achieve regional planning at the Capital Region level.

The following section on contextual factors further examines factors that influence both the establishment of current relationships and the potential for effective regional planning initiatives in the Manitoba Capital Region.

Contextual Factors

As demonstrated by the second framework successfully applied, *3 Models of Collaboration*, relationships cannot be characterized without an examination of the context within which they function. For this reason, the interview process also aimed to identify the internal and external contextual factors that influence relationships in the Manitoba Capital Region. Through this process, it became evident that there is a positive environment for certain types of relationships; however, there are also several challenges for building future relationships. Issues surrounding the provincial government and the City of Winnipeg are important considerations due to the size of each body and the major influence that each agency has over inter-agency collaboration in the Manitoba Capital Region. This section also examines the context of the historical relationships among agencies in the Region.

Opportunities for future collaborative efforts exist primarily within the category of internal contextual factors. The consideration of internal factors determines whether participant attitudes are supportive of collaborative efforts and willing to engage in additional relationships. Therefore, the interview process asked all municipal and planning district respondents if the agency they represent is involved in extending existing relationships or developing relationships with different municipalities or agencies. Of the 15 respondents who were asked this question, 11 responded affirmatively and only four indicated that the agency was not extending relationships at the present time. Within these four, two expressed an openness to engage in relationships, which indicated that the agency was not actively pursuing any

opportunities at that time but supported inter-agency relationships in general. The interviews also inquired as to whether the agency was currently considering restricting existing relationships. All 15 respondents who were asked this question indicated that they were not restricting any relationships. These two interview questions indicate a strong willingness for municipalities and planning districts to continue to work together based on positive internal attitudes and contextual factors.

In addition to these two interview questions, the majority of respondents indicated that the relationships are working effectively at present. There was a strong sense that the rural municipalities worked well together and could easily resolve issues. Much of this success was recognized to occur as a result of the strong communication networks that have been established among rural municipalities. "Communication may not resolve all matters, but it is a start towards mutual appreciation and understanding of issues and lifestyles."¹⁰⁷ There was an appreciation of the variety of organizations that facilitate communication and provide a forum for municipal officials to interact and establish inter-personal relationships. Conferences and regular meetings, such as those held by ARM, provide a point of contact and encourage ongoing discussions as part of the day-to-day operations of municipalities and planning districts. Along with identifying beneficial expected outcomes, there is a generally positive attitude towards the current relationships and establishing similar relationships in the future.

The consideration of future relationships was evident since several respondents discussed the broader impacts of establishing positive relationships. Some

¹⁰⁷ Interview #6.

respondents indicated that it is important for each participant to take a turn to benefit from accessing resources shared by other participants, since they “know that when their turn comes up, the others will also help and contribute and work together.”¹⁰⁸ As well, many respondents discussed the importance of establishing relationships as a precedent for future action. This was discussed on a smaller regional basis in terms of planning districts, as well as regarding the City of Winnipeg and mosquito control efforts. The appreciation that not every municipality or agency may gain from each initiative therefore indicates potential for effective regional planning initiatives in the future. Based on the difficulties of identifying common issues across the Manitoba Capital Region, it will be important for municipalities to support one another and recognize that as each municipality gains strength, so the Region as a whole gains strength. The interviews identified that this perspective was evident in a limited number of cases, therefore it may be a challenge to ensure that all participating agencies agree to a relationship that at times focuses benefits in other parts of the Region.

An examination of the external contextual factors identifies several challenges related to the current situation and the history among agencies. An important aspect of the external context is the lack of population growth in the Manitoba Capital Region. As illustrated by the historical background study in Chapter 1, the City of Winnipeg is experiencing very slow population growth. At the same time, certain rural municipalities are experiencing significant population growth due to the trend of increasing Rural Metro-Adjacent residential development. This situation creates an

¹⁰⁸ Interview #4.

environment of competition where all municipalities want to attract the incremental population growth and locate development within its boundaries. It was evident from the responses obtained that negativity can be directed towards the municipalities experiencing higher population growth and development rates. This has led to a divided region, rather than a region focused on attaining growth and prosperity across the entire area. The competition established by the slow population growth of the Manitoba Capital Region is therefore a key challenge based on the need to change the perception of decision-makers.

The concept of decision-makers also isolates the challenge of planning as a political process. Many respondents discussed the ease of reaching agreements at the bureaucratic or administrative level, as opposed to the difficulty of establishing agreements at the political level. Respondents felt that their agency's administrator could interact effectively with other administrators; however, the politicians did not always reflect this ability to work together. "The actual employees are willing, it's more the political higher level."¹⁰⁹ This situation is exacerbated by the fact that decision-making occurs at the political level where "decisions are ultimately made by mayors, reeves and councils, so it's all political."¹¹⁰ The majority of respondents indicated that the main reason that progress is impeded is a lack of political will. Decisions to participate in collaborative relationships are taken at the political level and these decisions are influenced by a variety of factors that may not be readily identifiable. While effective relationships are valuable to establish at the

¹⁰⁹ Interview #11.

¹¹⁰ Interview #13.

administrative level, without support from the political level, regional planning initiatives may not be implemented. It is therefore necessary to further examine the politics that influence the establishment of relationships within the Manitoba Capital Region, however that is beyond the scope of the current study.

Nevertheless, this study can examine some of the history that has led to the current perspectives on inter-agency collaboration and the establishment of relationships across the Region. Nunn and Rosentraub state that the level of collaboration “is a function of preceding events and local history, previous efforts to cooperate, and regional culture.”¹¹¹ For this reason, each respondent was asked to discuss how the history of regional planning in the area affects the current attitudes towards capital region initiatives. The majority of the respondents made reference to the fact that history continues to play an important role and it is difficult for some stakeholders to move beyond the negative aspects of the Region’s history. For instance, many respondents discussed the additional zone, which was established in the 1970s and existed until the mid-1990s. The additional zone gave the City of Winnipeg full veto on any development that occurred within eight kilometres of the City boundary. This policy is now perceived to have given the City of Winnipeg considerable control over the way that development has occurred, and some municipalities voiced the concern that it is therefore unreasonable for the City of Winnipeg to blame the rural municipalities for the development patterns that have emerged across the Region. Instead, some rural municipalities stated that the City of Winnipeg should take some responsibility for the pattern of increasing suburban and ex-urban development. “The

¹¹¹ Nunn & Rosentraub 1997, p.208.

additional zone was a prime example of rational comprehensive planning, where one group of experts made unilateral decisions for a variety of communities.”¹¹² This policy is still perceived very negatively by some municipal stakeholders and not all parties have been able to forget its influence. “That fight is still in everyone’s mind and they’re still mad at the City of Winnipeg. Some people are never going to forget about it.”¹¹³ This is particularly the case between the City of Winnipeg and the inner ring of municipalities that are directly adjacent to the city, hence those that were impacted by the additional zone. The other impact of the additional zone was that if a municipality wanted to fully control its own planning processes, it was required to become a member of a planning district. The South Interlake Planning District and the Macdonald-Ritchot Planning District both identified this situation as the reason for forming the planning district. The development of planning districts has been viewed more positively by rural municipalities because it gives them access to additional provincial resources. Therefore, some positive results and a considerable amount of negativity were created by the additional zone policy.

Although some historical conflicts were identified among rural municipalities, the additional zone is only one example of the conflicts and difficulties that have occurred between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities. Another important aspect is the influence of the mayor of the City of Winnipeg in guiding the relationships with the rural municipalities. As indicated previously, comments made by Winnipeg’s mayor can have a significant impact on rural municipal officials in

¹¹² Interview #13.

¹¹³ Interview #14.

terms of their willingness to enter relationships with the City of Winnipeg. Many respondents expressed feelings of frustration, suspicion, hesitation and cynicism related to the prospect of entering relationships with the City of Winnipeg. These perspectives can be influenced by the mayor of Winnipeg through the expression of attitudes regarding development and competition across the Region. At the time these interviews were conducted, the mayor of Winnipeg was viewed somewhat negatively by the rural municipalities regarding his lack of appreciation of rural municipalities for their contribution to the prosperity of the Region as a whole. Some respondents referred to previous mayors and discussed their greater ability to promote the entire Region on an inter-provincial and international level while communicating a willingness to involve rural municipalities in a meaningful manner. In contrast, respondents discussed the mayor at the time of the interviews as only seeking the involvement of other municipalities in order to further his own agenda. "They're suspicious of why he suddenly became interested in involving them."¹¹⁴ The perceived intentions of the mayor of Winnipeg therefore contribute significantly to the inter-personal relationships between rural and urban stakeholders. The reality is that all members of the Manitoba Capital Region can play a role in the prosperity of the Region since, as a nodal region, there is an important interdependence between the large urban centre and the surrounding municipalities. Establishing an appreciation of this interdependence may be a major challenge for the Manitoba Capital Region, and the change in Winnipeg's mayor since the interviews were conducted may improve the potential for successful working relationships to be established.

¹¹⁴ Interview #15.

One of the common challenges regarding the interaction between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities is the inability to establish effective communications between the agencies. The discussion of the communication networks among rural municipalities indicates the importance of easily identifying individuals and initiating contact. The difficulty rural municipalities find in dealing with the City of Winnipeg is that the administration is so large that it is often unclear how to initiate contact. "That's very difficult to do with the City of Winnipeg because of the large bureaucracy, we don't have the contacts with the individuals."¹¹⁵ This concern was identified both by the rural municipalities and by the City of Winnipeg staff. It is common for the CAO of a rural municipality to contact other CAOs by telephone. In contrast, rural CAOs indicated that they had never spoken to the CAO from the City of Winnipeg. This is simply due to the variety of staff that are employed by the City of Winnipeg and the division of responsibility within that staff. As a result, the communication between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities is not as effective as the communication that occurs among rural municipalities. This situation is further complicated by the fact that the City of Winnipeg does not have a formal policy for regional planning. Without a formal policy, there are no dedicated staff to focus on regional issues. Communication would be facilitated if the City had a particular department to deal explicitly with inter-municipal and regional issues. Improving the communication between the City and rural municipalities will be an essential part of establishing regional initiatives in the Manitoba Capital Region.

¹¹⁵ Interview #12.

The relationship between the Province and the municipalities is also a crucial external contextual factor in this study. Since the 1970s the provincial government has undertaken several studies of the Manitoba Capital Region in an attempt to identify methods to establish a cohesive region. The RPAC Report was met with mixed reactions by the municipalities and other stakeholders. Therefore, the implementation of regional planning initiatives must consider this feedback and incorporate some suggestions when moving forward. The consideration of a variety of stakeholders is also necessary based on the provincial government's responsibility to serve all Manitobans. Action taken by the provincial government is likely to be supported by some members of the Manitoba Capital Region and disliked by others. The extent that the Province guides the process and the degree of compromise that is achieved will impact the effectiveness of regional planning efforts. Although the provincial government is responsible for the broader issues that extend beyond municipal boundaries, maintaining local autonomy remains a principal factor and regional planning efforts must emerge as a joint effort between the Province and municipalities. However, the provincial government has the authority to legislate participation in a regional planning initiative. Many respondents are seeking action from the provincial government, particularly due to the extensive research that it has undertaken on the subject of the Manitoba Capital Region. In contrast, others believe that regional planning initiatives should be voluntary and not legislated by the provincial government. The complexity of this situation indicates the extensive impact that the Province's action could have, and further supports the political economy model in terms of the influential provincial political process.

The consideration of internal and external contextual factors is one of the most vital aspects of inter-agency collaborations. Frameworks are useful to the extent that they can characterize existing relationships and provide suggestions for ideal processes. Establishing a link between the theoretical bases of collaboration and the practical application of the theories occurs through the consideration of contextual factors. The Manitoba Capital Region is greatly influenced by the attitudes of relationship participants and the history of regional planning. The examination of contextual factors presents both opportunities and challenges for existing and future relationships.

Conclusion

The combined analysis of the four predominant themes provides insight into the broad factors that are present within collaborative relationships in the Manitoba Capital Region. Each relationship exists for the common purpose of sharing resources and is driven by the desire to share information, expertise or financial resources.

Respondents recognized the benefit of matching of excess supply and excess demand, yet implicit in such a recognition is the power imbalance among municipalities.

Collaboration can occur where power imbalances are present, and this will be particularly critical due to the existing imbalances between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities. Municipal officials have identified a need for improved communication across the Region in order for collaborative efforts to move forward. This is consistent with the need to build relationships among the 16 Capital Region municipalities in order to achieve collaboration. Coordination of regional initiatives

would ensure that expected outcomes are clear and mutually agreeable. The empirical study has demonstrated a strong commonality across the identified benefits and challenges of working with other agencies for service sharing purposes. Common perspectives from the outset will facilitate future regional planning initiatives. From an internal perspective, there are opportunities to collaborate based on a general willingness to participate in service sharing arrangements among municipalities. However, existing challenges continue to represent significant barriers to collaboration, including a potentially detrimental sense of competition with and mistrust for the City of Winnipeg on the part of the rural municipalities. The historical context also has the potential to hinder collaborative processes since there will be challenges associated with building trust in a historically conflictual region. The consideration of resources, power differentials, expected outcomes and contextual factors is thus an important component of the ability to establish inter-agency collaborations across the Manitoba Capital Region.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study is to determine the potential for future collaborative efforts in the Manitoba Capital Region, based on the existing level of inter-agency collaboration among its 16 municipalities. This research has synthesized two collaboration frameworks from the social science literature with empirical qualitative information obtained from key stakeholders in the Region. The results have demonstrated that while there is no clearly defined collaboration within the set of relationships, there are certain valuable characteristics of collaboration in place. Therefore, opportunities are available from which to build collaboration regarding regional planning in the future. However, there are significant barriers in terms of the challenges identified by respondents and the participants' ability to overcome these barriers will determine the success of future collaborative efforts in the Manitoba Capital Region.

It is necessary to review the three guiding questions in order to illustrate the contribution of this research. The first research question sought to find where relationships exist at the inter-municipal level in the Manitoba Capital Region and to what types of services they are related. The interview process identifies a collection of 56 relationships involving agencies in the Manitoba Capital Region for various service sharing purposes. These relationships demonstrated that agencies readily entered service sharing agreements primarily for municipal service and physical environment purposes. The inventory of relationships that was created in Appendix H is an important contribution to regional planning in this area because it illustrates that

significant inter-municipal interactions are occurring and that there is a solid basis for establishing future inter-agency relationships.

The second research question aimed to characterize the existing relationships through the lens of the inter-agency collaboration literature and the frameworks that are used within that field. The examination of the *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* framework was beneficial since it provided a detailed analysis of each relationship in terms of four key dimensions: Objectives/Issues, Institutional Format, Tactical Approach and Expected Outcomes. It was found that collaborative relationships were defined as those having less political resistance, more local autonomy, high formality and clear, mutually defined outcomes. However, the categorization of the 56 relationships did not identify any that were consistent with the definition of pure collaboration along all four dimensions. Instead, the relationships tended to be in the medium to low range of political resistance, split among relationships with higher and lower local autonomy, with medium to high formality and clearly defined outcomes related to municipal service and physical environment. While the description of the actual relationships is not precisely consistent with the collaboration definition, the general trend is approaching collaboration.

The framework, *3 Models of Collaboration*, effectively illustrated the impact of external and internal contextual factors on the existing relationships. It was also evident that some characteristics of collaboration are present through the combined analysis of the Social Exchange model, the Power/Resource Dependency model and

the Political Economy model. Certain relationships indicated that aspects of the Social Exchange model were present since they emerged out of a desire to share information and demonstrated reciprocal interdependence. More often, relationships exhibited an imbalance of power and not all relationships were able to overcome this imbalance. The most apparent power imbalance occurred between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities, indicating a lack of collaboration between the two groups. Finally, this framework highlighted the impact of external political and economic factors such as the provincial government and the City of Winnipeg. The Political Economy model provided the valuable insight that relationships occur in a complex environment that cannot be controlled by the agencies, but within which collaboration is still possible.

Taken together, these two frameworks found no instances of pure inter-agency collaboration within the Manitoba Capital Region. However, there were several relationships that were close to collaboration, therefore demonstrating that there is some potential for collaboration in this Region. The existing advantages and challenges that are present within the Region are considered in relation to the third research question.

The Future of Regional Planning

The third research question examines how the existing relationships contribute to future regional planning initiatives in the Manitoba Capital Region. Although the definition of collaboration based on the *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* framework

cannot be strictly applied due to a lack of highly formalized relationships involving comprehensive planning, a shared vision and frequent and well-defined communication, there is a close proximity of the existing relationships to the definition. For instance, the division within the Institutional Format dimension, which characterizes local autonomy, illustrates the tension between agencies' desire to autonomously control local priorities and a recognition of the benefits that can be gained by entering relationships with other agencies. Therefore, some characteristics of collaboration are demonstrated by the fact that relationships that have been established and the participants have the ability to work together to some degree. As well, the higher formality of these relationships implies a considerable time commitment and ongoing interaction among agencies, which is required for collaboration. The ease of clearly defining relationship goals and the lower political resistance that is present are also beneficial aspects of the relationships. These established relationships could therefore set a valuable precedent for future collaborative efforts in the Region, as evidenced by the application of the *Interjurisdictional Cooperation* framework, since many relationships are approaching the definition of pure collaboration.

Approaching the definition of collaboration as the most formal end of a continuum that includes coordination and cooperation also indicates the potential of these relationships to move towards collaboration. It is more appropriate to categorize the existing relationships as cooperation since there is some structural complexity as well as some planning and division of roles. Since cooperation represents the mid-point

along this continuum, the Region is well-positioned to move towards collaboration based on the willingness of the respondents to participate in additional inter-agency relationships. Increasing the formality of the relationships will be required to accomplish further inter-agency collaborations.

In addition, the ongoing relationship among agencies to provide a variety of services is characteristic of the time commitment and network of interactions that are required for inter-agency collaboration. Therefore, it is appropriate to consider that collaboration can be identified when the collection of relationships is viewed as elements of a region-wide relationship among all agencies in the Manitoba Capital Region. All municipalities are members of regional organizations that exist for the purpose of networking and information sharing, including the Association of Rural Municipalities and the Mayors and Reeves of the Capital Region. Access to this type of qualitative interaction is essential for accomplishing collaboration. As well, the majority of the existing relationships are subject to a minimal amount of political resistance and this was evident in the respondents' discussion of the ease of resolving issues among stakeholders. A high degree of local autonomy is illustrated by the ability of each agency to remain a distinct entity. There is an appropriately high degree of formality in most of the relationships and this is expected to continue because agencies expressed the ongoing need for formalized agreements. Finally, the relationships emerged to address specific needs and the agreements focus on specific measures that ensure adequate service provision for all participants. Viewing the relationships as iterations of a broader interaction therefore indicates that there is strong collaboration

in the Manitoba Capital Region. This perspective implies that the Region is well-positioned to move forward with a clear vision of holistic regional planning that will benefit all agencies in the area.

Although the *Collaborative Pathway Process Model* could not be applied based on the information that was obtained through the interviews, it is a valuable framework to consider with regard to future collaborative efforts in the Region. This framework defines the components of a collaborative process as Identification, Formation, Implementation, Engagement/Maintenance, Resolution and Evolution. Since there are no existing regional initiatives that encompass the entire Manitoba Capital Region, it is appropriate to characterize the current stage as Identification. As a regional strategy is developed it may be based on collaboration, however stakeholders may determine that cooperation or coordination are more applicable. Collaboration may be the most suitable since it can effectively incorporate consensus-based decision-making for large numbers of varied stakeholders.¹¹⁶ The time commitment that is required is often cited as a hindrance to collaborative processes, yet it will be necessary in this case due to the significant need for relationship building among stakeholders.

This framework also demonstrates that as the regional initiatives move forward it is necessary to address the key dimensions of collaboration, including: purpose, membership, structure, process, and resources.¹¹⁷ These issues relate to the development of a clear vision for the Region, which will be necessary to ensure that

¹¹⁶ Reilly 2001, p.71.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p.64.

all stakeholders are appropriately engaged in the process. It is also related to the concept of Engagement/Maintenance, which ensures the ongoing participation of stakeholders throughout the life of the relationship. Efforts to promote engagement and maintenance will be necessary to remind participants of the benefits they can and will receive for their particular agency and the wider benefits that will be achieved by the Region as a whole. Effective engagement will only occur if participants are committed to forging relationships and collaborating, since superficial participation does not result in collaboration. Finally, the process will arrive at the stages of resolution and evolution where the goals of the process are reached and by-products such as social capital are attained. In order to be successful, it will be valuable to set short- and long-term goals that can be met through the collaborative process, in order to demonstrate the effectiveness of the process as soon as possible. Therefore, as a guide for moving forward with regional initiatives, the *Collaborative Pathway Process Model* demonstrates the critical steps that are required for future regional inter-agency collaboration.

The framework, *3 Models of Collaboration*, identifies the internal and external factors that influence the establishment of collaborative relationships. The application of this framework highlighted the general trends that emerged as the three models were examined in combination. Similar to the first framework, an ideal collaborative relationship is defined through the Social Exchange model. Although this conceptualization is difficult to achieve, certain characteristics of the model are present in the Manitoba Capital Region since the information sharing relationships

have emerged based on a sense of mutual benefit and the recognition of a greater good. The informal networks are based on a high degree of cooperation and problem solving and since there is no competition for resources, these relationships will not be strongly affected by the direct exertion of power. Although it is difficult to argue that any of the relationships are functioning at a highly collaborative level, there is room for optimism based on the fact that some characteristics of the Social Exchange model are present. Therefore, it may be possible for a broad regional planning initiative to be developed if it can demonstrate the benefits of increased access to resources for all members of the Region.

More often, some degree of power imbalance was identified, as described by the Power/Resource Dependency model. Collaborative opportunities are available since respondents tended to be satisfied with the relationships that had some imbalance of power. Therefore, these agencies are typically able to minimize the effect of power imbalances in order to work towards mutual goals. This identifies an opportunity since collaboration is possible when an imbalance of power exists, as long as participants are aware of the imbalance and the more powerful agency does not actively exert its power. However, there is a challenge in overcoming the perception of an obligation to participate in service sharing arrangements. None of the agencies has any formal obligation to enter inter-municipal agreements, however the rural municipalities tended to be motivated by the perception that they could not provide adequate services without partnering with other agencies. In contrast, the City of Winnipeg has access to a greater range of resources and has the flexibility to decide

not to enter service sharing arrangements with neighbouring municipalities. This is sometimes construed as an exertion of power and overcoming this imbalance will require all parties to be willing to work together, a prerequisite that is difficult to accomplish given the tendency towards disagreement between the City of Winnipeg and the rest of the municipalities in the Manitoba Capital Region. However, the information obtained from the respondents is only a starting point in terms of a characterization of power dynamics and motivations for collaboration. Further research could examine these issues and illustrate in greater detail how to overcome the major power imbalance that is present.

The Political Economy model suggests that a lack of political will to enter service sharing arrangements is an influential factor in the current levels of collaboration in the Manitoba Capital Region. This model suggests that a consideration of political and economic influences is required since these types of factors will impact the collaborative process. Within the Region, there are many political jurisdictions, which complicates the process and creates a degree of competition among the agencies. The presence of competitive factors results in strategic political decision-making and the competing agency interests may or may not directly relate to the most efficient provision of a particular service. Instead, issues such as historical conflict may play a greater role in decisions of whether to enter service sharing arrangements and how to interact with other agencies. This finding is consistent with the planning literature that discusses the tensions between the political and planning process, but suggests “to achieve planning visions, it is essential to have political leadership and politicians who

can work together in spite of political differences.”¹¹⁸ This demonstrates the consistency and linkage between the planning literature and the inter-agency collaboration literature. These concepts highlight the fact that the political and economic dynamics among the City of Winnipeg, the provincial government and the rural municipalities are key factors in the emergence of inter-agency relationships. The illustration of this concept is a valuable result of the political economy model as it raises the need to consider the political and economic context of any region.

The Political Economy model also shows that the creation of a regional planning authority and the implementation of regional planning initiatives will be a delicate process, based on the complex combination of factors that exist in the Manitoba Capital Region. The process by which regional initiatives move forward must be balanced such that all stakeholders actively participate. It will be difficult for the provincial government to mandate regional strategies since some agencies will resist imposed measures of governance, while others will support proactive government action. The extent that the provincial government guides the process and the degree of compromise that is achieved will impact the effectiveness of regional planning efforts. Although the provincial government is responsible for issues that extend beyond municipal boundaries, the preservation of local autonomy will continue to be a key criterion for municipalities. This perspective will require that regional planning efforts emerge as a joint effort between the provincial and municipal governments.

“Greater attention to bottom-up process details and sequencing, compared to emphasis

¹¹⁸ Cowie 2003, p.18.

on structure and top-down impositions, may also be a best practice consideration.”¹¹⁹

However, the political dynamics of the Region as highlighted by the Political Economy model will have a substantial impact on how regional initiatives actually emerge.

In combination the *3 Models of Collaboration* contribute to the identification of obstacles to collaboration, particularly at the external contextual level. There will inevitably be factors beyond the control of the interacting agencies that will impact the motivation for establishing relationships and the attitudes of the individual participants. The major challenge for collaboration is that these factors cannot be controlled; yet relationships must function within this uncertain environment. It is the awareness of these factors along with the establishment of mutual goals and the common commitment to achieving these goals that will allow collaboration to be attained.

The analysis of the collaborative frameworks also emphasized four predominant themes that provide crucial insight into the existing relationships in the Manitoba Capital Region: resources, power differentials, expected outcomes and contextual factors. All of these relationships exist for the purpose of sharing resources, including financial contributions, information sharing and access to expertise in a particular field. It is the uneven distribution of these resources among the agencies that requires the establishment of service sharing relationships, thereby creating unilateral interdependence among agencies. Each participant can experience some form of gain

¹¹⁹ Wight 1997, p.12.

from resource sharing relationships through the economies of scale and the financial advantages that result from matching excess supply and excess demand. Respondents identified more benefits than challenges regarding the sharing of resources, yet this does not mean that the relationships are necessarily collaborative. The conflict that arises due to resource scarcity and the limited scope of most relationships are characteristics that are inconsistent with definitions of collaboration. Therefore, relationships in the Manitoba Capital Region must overcome the conflict related to resources in order achieve collaborative relationships. Establishing collaboration wherein all agencies perceive some benefits from the process will be necessary to overcome this conflict.

Another key challenge for collaboration in the Region is that the uneven distribution of resources is strongly related to the imbalances of power that exist across agencies. There is a correlation between agencies with adequate or excess resources and agencies with power. The main concern for the Manitoba Capital Region is the imbalance in resources and power that exists between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities. This imbalance of power figures prominently into rural perceptions of the City of Winnipeg, thereby hindering the ability to establish collaborative processes between the two bodies. This will be a considerable obstacle to future collaborative processes since the mistrust and suspicion of the City of Winnipeg is so pervasive throughout the relevant political and administrative bodies. In terms of the relationships among the rural municipalities, it is difficult to determine the extent that power is actually exerted by each agency since responses are based on

individual perception. However, the difficulty in identifying common concerns for the entire Region indicates that some relationship building activity would be beneficial among the rural municipalities as well. Opportunities are evident in the expressed desire of many agencies to work together and the Region's ability to build on these positive attitudes to overcome the power imbalance between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities will determine the success of future collaborative relationships.

A notable opportunity lies in the ability of the agencies to perceive tangible and intangible benefits from the collaborative relationships. The set of established relationships have effectively focused on specific joint service provision by several agencies. These are the tangible outcomes and they provide benefits such as economies of scale. Furthermore, the identification of intangible results was valuable since it demonstrates that respondents were cognizant of the qualitative benefits of service sharing among agencies. Working together with one voice and sending a positive economic signal were raised as intangible benefits, which indicates considerable potential for further partnerships to be established. Collaboration is based on relationship building and fostering communication among participants, therefore the respondents' ability to identify these benefits is a positive indicator for future action at the regional level.

There will certainly be challenges related to the articulation of common goals since agencies are concerned with losing autonomy and some respondents expressed

difficulty in identifying commonalities across the 16 municipalities in the Region. Collaboration requires that local autonomy be preserved and municipalities tend to support this principle. However, there is a need to define common goals in order for the Region to function as a cohesive unit; therefore, a formalized process would be beneficial to the development of a vision for the Region. Part of this concern is that some municipalities are engaged in fewer relationships as compared to other municipalities. This indicates that the desire to remain autonomous may preclude the establishment of an effective regional entity. If certain agencies cannot identify commonalities with their direct neighbours, it is less likely that they will be able to identify commonalities with widely dispersed agencies. A collaborative process for this Region will thus require an explicit focus on commonalities while embracing differences and ensuring that agencies maintain a significant degree of local autonomy. This will likely require substantial negotiating and encouragement of communication to ensure that all participants perceive some benefit from the collaborative regional process.

The context and history of the Manitoba Capital Region also raise issues that must be considered as regional planning moves forward. In this regard, there are both opportunities and challenges that must be taken into account as regional initiatives emerge. In terms of opportunities, there is a demonstrated willingness for municipalities and planning districts to work together based on positive internal attitudes since most respondents indicated that the relationships are working effectively at present. It is important to note that even agencies with greater resources

indicated a willingness to work with their neighbours, due to the perception of mutual gain from these arrangements. More commonly, the positive attitudes were identified with respect to the relationships among rural municipalities and their ability to work well together and easily resolve issues. A frequently identified issue was the ability of agencies to take turns benefiting from sharing resources and working with other agencies. Many respondents recognized that this was part of the process and were willing to support the other agencies knowing that those agencies would extend their support in future initiatives. This is one of the most positive findings, especially in light of the respondents' difficulty in identifying issues of common concern for the entire Region. Overall, there are some very positive attitudes towards regional collaboration based on the respondents' appreciation of the widespread benefits that will occur.

The context of the Manitoba Capital Region also raises the issue of inter-municipal competition. Resource related competition has been discussed, yet a crucial aspect of competition is the slow population growth that the Region is experiencing. The various jurisdictions within the Region all seek access to the minimal population growth that occurs, however the slow rate of growth means that not all municipalities will experience the same population gains. This uneven population growth creates competition among agencies to attract taxpayers and is a common source of disagreement between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities. The differing perspectives include a focus on the negative aspects of ex-urban sprawl in contrast with a focus on the attraction of a rural lifestyle. Therefore this sense of

competition will present an additional obstacle to collaboration, due to the widely differing perspectives of urban and rural stakeholders.

Another important dichotomy is the variation between the administrative and political levels. Respondents often identified that reaching agreements and working together at the administrative level is far easier than at the political level. However, it is at the political level that decisions are made; therefore, the appropriate political will is necessary to accomplish regional objectives. The political process is another instance where there are a wide variety of factors influencing perceptions and actions. The desire to collaborate may be overshadowed by other concerns that do not necessarily relate to the most efficient service provision or the betterment of the Region as a cohesive entity. The interface between the political process and the administrative planning process will be an important area for future study since it will greatly impact the ability of the Manitoba Capital Region to function effectively.

Another important finding from the analysis of the collaborative frameworks is that ideal conditions are not required for effective relationships to occur. Instead the collaborative frameworks recognize that imperfections will arise within interactions, such as imbalances of power and the uncertainty of political influences. As long as the agencies perceive some form of gain from the collaborative process, they will be willing to engage in the relationship. Therefore, the effectiveness of these frameworks is based on their applicability to practical circumstances, rather than an assumption of a theoretical vacuum within which the relationships function. The identification of

common barriers and opportunities is thus possible and alternative action is required to overcome the barriers and seize the opportunities in the most effective manner. Achieving collaboration in imperfect circumstances will still require the commitment of all participants and a willingness to accomplish regional goals.

A key component of future collaboration will be the level and type of communication that occurs among the participants. The rural municipalities tended to identify effective communication patterns among direct neighbours and there is a high comfort level in interactions among agencies that have a strong history of working together. Where communication appears lacking is among rural municipalities that are not directly adjacent to one another, as well as between the City of Winnipeg and the rural municipalities. This issue is partly related to the need to establish a common vision across the Region, since such action would require greater communication among all agencies. At the same time the linkages between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities should be strengthened through facilitated communication. If done appropriately, improving the level of communication has the potential to increase the agencies' understanding of one another, thereby improving the ability to implement regional initiatives.

The recommendation that improved relationship building is required for collaboration indicates that individual participants play a key role in the success of the process. Each participant's perception of the benefits and challenges of collaboration will influence their willingness to remain engaged in the process. In addition, each

individual perception of other stakeholders, the history of interactions and the optimal structure for regional planning is a significant factor in the approach that each individual will have regarding the collaborative process. These individual attitudes and perceptions can neither be controlled nor entirely understood by the other participants, however, they will shape the evolution of the relationships. Therefore, consideration must be given to the positive and negative biases that each individual brings to the relationship in order to effectively engage the participants and ensure that the needs of the agencies can be addressed. This process will include establishing an appreciation of the interdependence across this nodal region, between the large urban centre and the surrounding municipalities; a fundamental challenge for the Manitoba Capital Region.

Governance and Collaboration in Regional Planning

Although planning literature does not discuss inter-agency collaboration as explicitly as it is discussed in the social science literature, the concept of governance provides a very close link between the two bodies of literature. The potential for inter-agency collaboration is directly related to the opportunities to establish governance processes in the Manitoba Capital Region. Particularly, the trend towards governance in regional planning takes into account the need to establish more holistic planning practices and to find common goals across a broad range of organizations. In fact, Hodge and Robinson define regional planning as concerned with the “interrelated impacts of development on the location of social, physical, economic and

environmental facets of large areas.”¹²⁰ At the same time, governance frameworks enable interacting agencies to maintain a high degree of local autonomy while engaging in various forms of reciprocal interdependence. It is possible to create a one-tier system where “several autonomous municipalities exist side by side and may co-operate in various ways but without an upper-tier or regional government.”¹²¹ Since collaboration in the Manitoba Capital Region could potentially be related to a variety of services, it is likely that reciprocal interdependence would occur. This form of interdependence would be based on the notion of some alternation among the agencies that gain advantages from a particular collaborative initiative. As well, establishing collaboration in several areas of municipal service provision would work towards the holistic regional planning that governance supports.

One of the most important commonalities between inter-agency collaboration and governance theory is the need to develop strong relationships within each process. Healey specifically recommends that a greater emphasis be placed on the relational aspects of governance in order to expand the interactions throughout the relational webs of urban regions.¹²² Thus, building relationships among agencies in the Manitoba Capital Region will support the ability to move forward with regional initiatives. In order to accomplish this task, the theoretical frameworks and definitions of inter-agency collaboration should be applied. As has been identified, collaboration is not currently present throughout the Region and significant work is required to achieve pure collaboration. Similarly, there is no cohesive governance within the

¹²⁰ Hodge & Robinson 2001, p.10.

¹²¹ Mellon 1997, p.32.

¹²² Healey 1997, p.60.

Region that can provide a clear vision for planning processes. Therefore, in order to achieve collaboration and governance, agencies and stakeholders must focus on the ability to work together towards a common vision.

Effective governance will empower local governments, however some obstacles may occur. The four predominant themes identified with respect to the collaborative frameworks will also influence governance processes. In particular, it will be critically important to approach governance in an appropriate manner. Municipalities must not feel that a strategy is being imposed by a higher level of government or other organization, since this could lead to disengagement from the relationship. It is essential that municipalities participate actively in the establishment of the governance structure and agree to its terms. Governance can maintain autonomy at the local level and this benefit will have to be emphasized, since considerable resistance would be associated with lost autonomy. Rather, there is the possibility for governance to take the form of a voluntary association, which would be initiated by the municipal governments and take shape as determined by the initiators.¹²³ An important component of regional planning will include relationship building across groups that were previously in conflict. Although much of the required relationship building relates to the interactions between the City of Winnipeg and the neighbouring municipalities, the provincial government is also a subject of mistrust to the extent that it is perceived to favour urban interests. There is thus a need to remove the dichotomy of rural-urban conflict and to create networks where hierarchies once dominated.¹²⁴

¹²³ Hodge & Robinson 2001, p.250.

¹²⁴ Wight 1999, p.24.

Planning literature also focuses on the need for networks of trusting relationships to transform struggling regions into collaborative, cohesive city-regions.¹²⁵ Therefore, an effective regional strategy will also require good faith negotiations between the provincial government and the 16 municipalities in the Manitoba Capital Region. These issues must be resolved in order for effective regional planning to take place.

Ultimately the concepts of governance and inter-agency collaboration are so closely linked that the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the collaborative frameworks apply directly to the establishment of governance strategies in the Manitoba Capital Region. To accomplish regional governance, the opportunities and challenges identified by the inter-agency collaboration frameworks must be addressed.

Limitations and Opportunities for Future Research

To fully explain the results of this study, it is necessary to examine the limitations of the research. This discussion includes aspects that were beyond the control of the researcher as well as issues that arose throughout the analysis of the results.

From the outset, this research dealt with the bureaucratic and administrative levels of planning and service sharing. This was necessary in order to identify individuals with firsthand knowledge of the service sharing relationships among the municipalities and planning districts. However, based on the finding that service sharing decisions are made at the political level, it would have been beneficial to include more politicians in the interview process. This is particularly important since the establishment of

¹²⁵ Johnson 1998, p.20.

collaborative relationships and the relationship building aspect that is required will depend on the individuals involved. The individuals involved in the political process are thus key determinants of the collaborative process. Therefore, this study could have gained greater insight from a focus on the political decision-making aspect of service sharing arrangements.

A consideration of the respondents' perspectives can also be viewed as a limitation. This would occur in cases where respondents attempt to present the most agreeable examples of service sharing relationships. Some negativity was expressed, but there may have been a resistance to extensively discuss all of the obstacles to effective service sharing, based on a desire to represent the particular agency in the most agreeable fashion. Negative responses tended to focus on problems caused by other agencies, rather than identifying problems within the agency itself. This bias is to be expected due to the desire to portray the most positive image of the agency that is represented. The assurance of anonymity likely assisted in the ability of respondents to identify challenges or negative experiences, but the close association to a particular agency tends to bias responses towards the most positive experiences. Therefore, the results are based on the information expressed by respondents and their individual characterizations of the relationships. There may be important additional information beyond what was described by the 19 individual respondents within this empirical study and further efforts would be required to identify this information.

Since these relationships depend heavily on the personalities involved, it would be valuable to conduct a larger number of interviews. This could be accomplished by interviewing an additional representative from each agency. Such a process would allow for comparisons among responses to determine how individual perception can influence the description of benefits and challenges related to inter-agency collaboration and service sharing in a particular organization. Additional interviews would also include greater representation from the City of Winnipeg. Overall, this research is somewhat biased towards the perspective of the 15 municipalities surrounding the City of Winnipeg since only one individual was interviewed from the City's administration. Attempts were made to contact additional City representatives, however, the lack of existing inter-municipal relationships created difficulties in identifying appropriate representatives. Therefore, this study would benefit from additional interviews both to confirm the experiences that were described as well as to allow for greater representation from the City of Winnipeg.

It is also relevant to note that the provincial government is currently reviewing the RPAC Report with a view to moving forward with a regional strategy for the area. The action taken by the provincial government will have a considerable impact on the Manitoba Capital Region since it has the authority to change municipal legislation. The current review of *The Planning Act* is proposing to enable regional strategic plans as an initiative of a group of municipalities. The particular decisions of the municipalities in the Manitoba Capital Region and the provincial government will create significant opportunities to continue studying collaboration in the area through

evaluation of outcomes and participant responses to policy decisions. As well, it will be interesting to examine which recommendations of the RPAC Report are implemented and the reasons behind the decision of whether or not to implement each recommendation.

A further opportunity for future study is the economic development aspect of service sharing. There are several organizations throughout the Manitoba Capital Region that focus on economic development, including community development corporations, community futures development corporations and regional development corporations. Although this study identified these relationships, the specific details related to each agency could contribute to a greater understanding of the potential for regional economic development in Manitoba. This research suggests that regional economic development will be the issue of greatest commonality across the entire Region, however these relationships were more focused on physical service sharing agreements. Examining linkages between existing economic development agencies and economic development initiatives across the entire Manitoba Capital Region would be an important further contribution to regional planning research in this area.

Conclusion

This research has not intended to assess any particular regional strategy, but to examine the role of collaboration in regional planning, the current level of collaboration in the Region and the potential for future collaboration from that basis. Once the stakeholders commit to a collaborative process that includes representation

from across the Region, it will be possible to address issues such as growth management for a slow-growth region. Without this commitment to a collaborative process or another forum for working through regional concerns it is difficult to see how a regional strategy could be developed with the support of all stakeholders. The application of two frameworks provide a different way of examining the existing relationships, and each indicates that there is some potential for collaboration in the Manitoba Capital Region. It is also important to identify the barriers to collaborative relationships, and the inter-agency frameworks provide a valuable, realistic source for such analysis. From these findings, a coordinated regional effort can be formulated that examines the particular planning needs of the Region.

The empirical study demonstrates a strong consistency across the identified benefits and challenges of service sharing among agencies in the Manitoba Capital Region. These consistent perspectives will facilitate future regional planning initiatives, however there are significant barriers to overcome. Foremost are the challenges of a potentially detrimental sense of competition with and mistrust for the City of Winnipeg on the part of the rural municipalities. This is largely based on the negative aspects of the historical context, which requires the establishment of trust among agencies and the common desire to work as a distinct regional entity. Overcoming a sense of resource scarcity and perceiving the Region as one entity with common issues will also be required. These obstacles necessitate the establishment of effective communication patterns among all agencies, however the negative personal biases will have to be overcome in order to accomplish this objective. Yet none of these barriers

can be adequately overcome if there remains a lack of political will to establish a vision and plan for the Manitoba Capital Region. Therefore, there are significant challenges facing the Region that will have to be recognized and addressed in order to facilitate regional planning initiatives.

Moving forward with regional collaboration will require agencies to build upon the opportunities and strengths that already exist in the Region. As the lens of the 3 *Models of Collaboration* framework demonstrates, perfect conditions are not required to achieve collaboration. This analysis has illustrated that the relationships have a strong degree of local autonomy and often have high levels of formality, which are both characteristics of collaboration. The high formality indicates the time commitment that the agencies have made, an important indicator of future commitments to inter-municipal service sharing arrangements. Other opportunities include the internal perspectives of a general willingness to participate in service sharing arrangements among agencies. These internal factors will serve as a starting point from which collaborative relationship building can occur. The existing relationships have also demonstrated an ease of defining the purpose of each relationship, and the past ability of agencies to work together will contribute to the future ability for the Region to work together. The individual recognition of qualitative and quantitative benefits and the sense that each agency will have a chance to benefit from some aspect of the collaborative process are also valuable precedents. The positive findings of internal attitudes will therefore facilitate future collaborative efforts in the Region and ongoing planning should build upon that optimism.

In the case of the Manitoba Capital Region, significant relationship building is required in order to work towards collaborative regional initiatives, due to the identified tensions that are present among municipalities. Participating agencies must perceive that the benefits and opportunities will outweigh the challenges and drawbacks in order to maximize the potential for collaboration. It will be essential for future regional initiatives to clearly articulate the gains that are available to all participants, and this will require a defined plan for the Manitoba Capital Region. Developing a mutually agreeable plan may be a significant challenge, but these frameworks have also identified several opportunities from which to build collaborative relationships throughout the Region. Building upon the perception of the individual relationships as components of a larger, regional relationship will be pivotal to building effective relationships in the future.

APPENDIX A – RURAL MUNICIPALITIES INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

I would like to speak to you today about the types of interactions that you have with other municipalities and other agencies. When I talk about interactions, I am referring to established relationships between your agency and other groups for the purposes of service sharing. The types of agencies I want you to consider could be planning districts, conservation districts, levels of government, government departments or non-governmental organizations.

Rural Municipalities

What is your current position with the municipality?

How long have you held your current position?

What types of responsibilities does this position entail?

Is your municipality a member of a planning district? If not, why not? If yes, what are the benefits and costs?

Does your municipality interact with other municipalities or agencies for the purpose of service sharing?

Would you please briefly describe the services and the roles of your municipality and your partner, for each of these relationships?

If yes, what do you see as the benefits and challenges of partnering with other municipalities/agencies?

How did these relationships emerge? Who initiated them?

Why did your municipality become involved?

Have there been trans-boundary issues with other jurisdictions and how have they been resolved?

Do any of these formalized relationships involve signed agreements or contracts?

In terms of how well they function, how would you characterize these relationships?

Is your municipality currently involved in extending existing relationships, or with developing relationships with different municipalities or agencies? Please describe.

Is your municipality currently considering restricting existing relationships or allowing any to expire without renewal?

What kind of interactions for service sharing, if any, do you have with the City of Winnipeg?

What do you think are the strengths/weaknesses of this interaction with the City of Winnipeg?

How do you think the history of regional planning in the area affects the current attitudes towards capital region initiatives?

Would I be able to call you or email you with any follow-up questions?

Thank you for your time and cooperation!

APPENDIX B – CITY OF WINNIPEG INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

I would like to speak to you today about the types of interactions that you have with other municipalities and other agencies. When I talk about interactions, I am referring to established relationships between your agency and other groups for the purposes of service sharing. The types of agencies I want you to consider could be planning districts, conservation districts, levels of government, government departments or non-governmental organizations.

City of Winnipeg

What is your current position with the City of Winnipeg?

How long have you held your current position?

What types of responsibilities does this position entail?

The following questions will relate to the relationships identified by other municipalities. Please consider these specific relationships when providing your responses.

What do you see as the benefits and challenges of partnering with other municipalities/agencies?

How did these relationships emerge? Who initiated the relationship?

Why did the City of Winnipeg become involved?

Have there been trans-boundary issues with other jurisdictions and how have they been resolved?

Do any of these formalized relationships involve signed agreements or contracts?

In terms of how well they function, how would you characterize these relationships?

Is the City of Winnipeg currently involved in extending existing relationships, or with developing relationships with different municipalities or agencies? Please describe.

Is the City of Winnipeg currently considering restricting existing relationships or allowing any to expire without renewal?

How do you think the history of regional planning in Winnipeg affects the current attitudes towards capital region initiatives?

Would I be able to call you or email you with any follow-up questions?
Thank you for your time and cooperation!

APPENDIX C – PROVINCE OF MANITOBA INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

I would like to speak to you today about the types of interactions that you have with other municipalities and other agencies. When I talk about interactions, I am referring to established relationships between your agency and other groups for the purposes of service sharing. The types of agencies I want you to consider could be planning districts, conservation districts, levels of government, government departments or non-governmental organizations.

Province of Manitoba

What is your current position with the provincial government?

How long have you held your current position?

What types of responsibilities does this position entail?

With what municipal agencies do you most commonly interact?

Do any of these formalized relationships involve signed agreements or contracts?

In terms of how well they function, how would you characterize these relationships?

What is your role when municipalities are in the process of developing new relationships and partnerships? Please describe.

What do you see as the benefits of partnering with other municipalities/agencies?

What do you see as the biggest challenges in partnering with other municipalities/agencies?

Have there been trans-boundary issues with other jurisdictions and how have they been resolved?

What kind of interactions for service sharing, if any, do you have with the City of Winnipeg?

What do you think are the strengths/weaknesses of this interaction with the City of Winnipeg?

How do you think the history of regional planning in the area affects the current attitudes towards capital region initiatives?

Would I be able to call you or email you with any follow-up questions?

Thank you for your time and cooperation!

APPENDIX D – PLANNING DISTRICTS INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

I would like to speak to you today about the types of interactions that you have with other municipalities and other agencies. When I talk about interactions, I am referring to established relationships between your agency and other groups for the purposes of service sharing. The types of agencies I want you to consider could be planning districts, conservation districts, levels of government, government departments or non-governmental organizations.

Planning Districts

What is your current position with the planning district?

How long have you held your current position?

What types of responsibilities does this position entail?

When and how was this planning district developed?

Which municipalities are included in this planning district? Is this a formal relationship with an agreement or contract?

What purposes does the planning district serve?

In terms of how well they function, how would you characterize the planning district's relationships with the municipalities it serves?

Have there been trans-boundary issues with other jurisdictions and how have they been resolved?

Is the planning district currently involved in extending existing relationships or with developing relationships with different municipalities or agencies? Please describe.

Is the planning district currently considering restricting existing relationships or allowing any to expire without renewal?

What do you see as the benefits of partnering with other municipalities/agencies?

What do you see as the biggest challenges in partnering with other municipalities/agencies?

What kind of interactions, if any, do you have with the City of Winnipeg?

What do you think are the strengths/weaknesses of this interaction with the City of Winnipeg?

How do you think the history of regional planning in the area affects the current attitudes towards capital region initiatives?

Would I be able to call you or email you with any follow-up questions?

Thank you for your time and cooperation!

APPENDIX E – CONSULTANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

I would like to speak to you today about the types of interactions that you have with other municipalities and other agencies. When I talk about interactions, I am referring to established relationships between your agency and other groups for the purposes of service sharing. The types of agencies I want you to consider could be planning districts, conservation districts, levels of government, government departments or non-governmental organizations.

Consultants

What is your current position?

How long have you held this position?

What types of responsibilities does this position entail?

What kind of experiences have you had with inter-municipal/inter-agency interactions in the Manitoba Capital Region specifically for the purposes of service sharing?

In terms of how well they function, how would you characterize the relationships that you have observed?

Have you been involved with municipalities that are currently involved in extending existing relationships, or with developing relationships with different municipalities or agencies? Please describe.

What do you see as the benefits of partnering with other municipalities/agencies?

What do you see as the biggest challenges in partnering with other municipalities/agencies?

How do you think the history of regional planning in the area affects the current attitudes towards capital region initiatives?

Would I be able to call you or email you with any follow-up questions?

Thank you for your time and cooperation!

APPENDIX F – ETHICS APPROVAL CERTIFICATE



UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

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APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

06 April 2004

TO: Rachel Philippe (Advisor I. Skelton)
Principal Investigator

FROM: Karen Duncan, Interim Chair
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFERB)

Re: Protocol #J2004:061
"Inter-Agency Collaboration in the Manitoba Capital Region"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement. This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note that, if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

Get to know Research ...at your University.

APPENDIX G – CONSENT FORM

Research Project: Inter-Agency Collaboration in the Manitoba Capital Region

Researcher: Rachel Philippe

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The purpose of this research is to inform a Master's thesis project which will study the challenges and benefits of interactions between agencies throughout the Manitoba Capital Region. As well, this research will serve as a linkage between the collaborative planning literature and the social science literature related to inter-agency collaboration.

Your participation in this study will include a single interview of approximately 60 minutes in length. The session will be recorded and the information you provide will only be used for this thesis project. Your anonymity will be maintained as respondents will be referred to by pseudonyms such as Municipal, Provincial or private sector Respondent 1 etc. Identifying details will not be used in preparation of the final report. You may review the results before the thesis is finalized so that you have the opportunity to clarify or edit your comments.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

APPENDIX H – DESCRIPTION OF PARTNERSHIPS

Selkirk and District Planning Area Board (SDPA)

SDPA was formed in 1977 by Manitoba Order in Council #576/77 making it the oldest planning district in Manitoba. Member municipalities include the City of Selkirk and the Rural Municipalities of St. Andrews, West St. Paul and St. Clements. Each of these municipalities passed a by-law committing to membership in this planning district.

SDPA serves many functions including the provision of planning services to member municipalities. These services include zoning by-laws, development plans, subdivisions, building permits, conditional use approvals and variances. In addition, the Board has participated in a wide range of land use and resource management issues. By attending council meetings, the SDPA is able to provide planning advice on an individual basis, while maintaining a perspective on the existing regional issues.

In order to join the SDPA, municipalities would have to submit a \$75,000 buy-in fee that would cover some of the costs that SDPA has invested. By entering the Planning District, municipalities would have access to a broad base of information technology and individual expertise that has been developed over nearly 30 years. The SDPA is able to hire planners, building inspectors and other trained employees that would not necessarily be available to individual municipalities, given their limited resources. Member municipalities currently pay \$32,000 per year to maintain membership. These revenues, along with other fundraising activities, support the projects undertaken by the SDPA and the staff dedicated to its work.

South Interlake Planning District (SIPD)

In 1979, SIPD was established to include the RM of Rosser and the Towns of Stonewall and Teulon. In 1980, the RM of Rosser chose to join the Planning District in order to break away from the City of Winnipeg's additional zone. Each member municipality is part of a formal agreement that identifies SIPD as the entity responsible for their planning activities. Each of these municipalities has 2 representatives on the SIPD Board and the chair of the Board is elected on a yearly basis.

According to the Planning Act, the Planning Districts act in place of the Municipal Board when there are by-law amendment objections. Approving authority has been delegated by the Province to the Planning District to promote greater local control. The SIPD is therefore also responsible for ensuring compliance with the area's development plan for issues such as subdivision approvals. As well, through the work of the Planning District, consistency of building inspections and building codes, policies and procedures can be ensured. This removes all responsibility for planning issues from municipalities which results in additional administrative capacity for other issues at the municipal level.

Macdonald-Ritchot Planning District

In 1962, Winnipeg's additional zone covered part of the RM of Macdonald and the RM of Ritchot, making these areas under the control of the City of Winnipeg's planning department. A willingness in Macdonald and Ritchot to have planning dealt with by one agency across the entire municipality, leading to the formation of the planning district. At that time, when municipalities joined together in a planning district they were able to take planning decision making away from the City of Winnipeg. The Macdonald-Ritchot Planning District was formed as a vehicle to centralize planning services locally. It was decided at the outset that there would not be enough activity to hire staff to look after building permits and other responsibilities. Therefore, those types of activities remain the responsibility of each municipality. The planning district is governed by a board of directors and is supported by the CAO of the RM of Macdonald, who acts as the secretary-treasurer. A formal agreement between the two municipalities was required to establish the planning district.

Whitehorse Plains Planning District

In 2004, the RMs of Cartier and St. Francois-Xavier joined together to form a planning district. The CAO of each municipality is responsible for performing planning district duties, such as zoning by-laws and development planning for its municipality. This is to ensure that planning processes are more regionally consistent.

The formation of the planning district provides benefits to each municipality based on the support that the Province provides to planning districts. For instance, the Province provides tangible services such as mapping and paperwork to planning districts. In addition, planning districts are better able to access the expertise of Provincial planners and the advice they provide is valuable.

Informal Network of Chief Administrative Officers

This concept was referred to explicitly in one area of the Capital Region and implied in almost all other municipalities. In some areas, CAOs have regular meetings to discuss common problems and solutions that emerge in their municipalities. In other instances, CAOs indicated that they are very comfortable contacting neighbouring CAOs for advice and consultations. This ease was evident across the Capital Region, with the exception of the City of Winnipeg. Since the City has such a different administrative structure, CAOs from surrounding municipalities are not commonly in contact with the CAO from the City of Winnipeg.

Whitehorse Plains CFDC

This Community Futures Development Corporation will provide assistance for the development or expansion of local businesses. Its main function is to support businesses in the region through the provision of access to business resources and financial assistance. Whitehorse Plains specifically focuses on the areas of Business Development and Counselling, Community Development, and Access to Capital. Whitehorse Plains contains Manitoba Capital Region municipalities, including Cartier, St. Francois-Xavier, and Headingley. The RM of Portage la Prairie is also a member, but is not within the Manitoba Capital Region. Each municipality is a part of a formal agreement with the CFDC in order to establish a service relationship between the CFDC and municipalities.

North East Interlake Community Futures (NEICOM)

NEICOM was established in 1985 and includes part of the Capital Region by providing services to the RM of Rockwood and the Towns of Stonewall and Teulon. Member municipalities also include Arborg, Armstrong, Bifrost, Dunnottar, Fisher, Riverton and

Winnipeg Beach. This Community Futures Development Corporation provides support for a variety of activities, including Community Economic Development Services, Business Services and Industry Development and Promotion. Within each of these services, NEICOM is involved in project assistance, strategic planning, market surveys, information collection, facilitation, mediation and negotiation. NEICOM acts as a vehicle to bring municipalities together through common interests.

North Red Community Futures Development Corporation

Selkirk, St. Andrews and St. Clements are all members of the North Red CFDC. Their role is to support the sustainable growth of the region through community based programs and financial services to residents, entrepreneurs and community organizations. For instance, North Red CFDC provides access to resource material and assistance in developing business plans. As well, a small business loan is available to new or expanding businesses through North Red and through the Western Youth Entrepreneur Program.

Interlake Development Corporation (IDC)

Founded in 1969, IDC was tasked with the objective of exploring economic and social development opportunities in the region. Capital Region municipalities that are a part of the IDC are Stonewall, Rockwood, Rosser, St. Andrews, St. Clements and West St. Paul. Members from outside the Capital Region include: the City of Selkirk, the Towns of Arborg and Winnipeg Beach, the RMs of Armstrong, Bifrost, Gimli, Coldwell, Eriksdale, Fisher, the Village of Riverton and eight First Nation Communities. The IDC works on issues such as housing and recreation development and infrastructure improvements within the region.

Central Plains RDC

The membership of Central Plains RDC own this non-profit organization through their contributions of \$0.75 per capita. Municipal members include Cartier, Headingley and St. Francois-Xavier, along with MacGregor, North Norfolk, South Norfolk, St. Claude, Treherne, Victoria and the City and RM of Portage la Prairie. Several associate members

also support the work of the RDC, including Provincial Government departments, local Chambers of Commerce, Red River College and Whitehorse Plains CFDC. Services are provided to entrepreneurs starting, expanding or relocating a business, industries looking for a location and local governments focused on economic development. The RDC board of directors are appointed by the member local governments and associates.

High-Speed Internet Venture

This particular venture includes the RM of Taché, the Town of Niverville, and the RM of Ritchot. The three municipalities are working together to ensure that local communities are receiving effective high-speed internet services. As such, they have provided the capital and seed money to initiate the project and set up the infrastructure for the network. A private third party partner manages the business on behalf of the municipalities.

Agricultural Society

The Town of Stonewall entered into an agreement with the Agricultural Society due to the expropriation of land in town that belonged to the Agricultural Society. The purpose of this expropriation was to build the Memorial Sports Complex in Stonewall. The Agricultural Society was ultimately able to purchase land outside of town with settlement money from the Town. As well, the Town of Stonewall completed a strategic plan for the Agricultural society and is willing to undertake other low-cost, high impact projects to maintain a positive relationship between the two parties. Another example of looking for complementary initiatives relates to the snow cross races held on Agricultural Society land. An agreement has been reached whereby the Town dumps their snow at the snow cross location as a mutually beneficial solution.

Drainage

There are a variety of arrangements between municipalities for drainage. These arrangements typically include a small number of municipalities that are directly adjacent to one another. Only a portion of drains in Manitoba are managed at the municipal level, while the remaining drains are provincial jurisdiction. Established relationships include:

- St. Clements and East St. Paul share a drain for a portion of their mutual border. Work on this drain is cost-shared on a 50-50 basis and this type of arrangement is fairly common between the two municipalities.
- Ritchot works with Taché, Hanover, Niverville and Macdonald through formal agreements to manage drainage.
- Headingley and St. Francois-Xavier have cost-shared work on certain drains. This came about as a result of drainage improvements in St. Francois-Xavier which affected a drain in Headingley. After discussing the issue, a cost-sharing arrangement was established for the upgrading of a shared drain. This was a project-specific agreement.
- St. Francois-Xavier, Rosser and Woodlands have formal agreements in place in order to manage drainage. Due to the proximity of St. Francois-Xavier to the Assiniboine River, water flows from Rosser and Woodlands through St. Francois-Xavier. Therefore, when drains affect all three municipalities, there is cost sharing on aspects such as maintenance work and upgrading.

Sewage Treatment

Due to the high costs of infrastructure for sewage treatment, it is often more efficient to share these services among municipalities. Established relationships include:

- Headingley has a formal agreement with the Province of Manitoba in order to purchase sewage disposal services from the Province. The municipality has invested in the Headingley Correctional Institute sewage treatment plant in order to provide sufficient services to its residents. This can be rather costly due to the distances that must be covered to connect with residential development and the age of the system which will require continual upgrading to meet environmental standards.
- St. Clements is working towards sharing services with the City of Selkirk to provide sewer and water services. They will share capital costs and obtain future upgrades to their treatment plant.
- The municipality of Rosser shares the services of Rockwood's Stony Mountain lagoon through a formal agreement.

Emergency Management and Mutual Aid

There is a high investment associated with the equipment required for emergency services. The costs of the vehicles and all the related supplies are often more than individual municipalities can bear, given their other financial responsibilities. The recent Provincial Government mandate that all municipalities must develop and implement emergency plans also initiated some decisions for municipalities to work together for emergency management.

- The Boyne River Mutual Aid District provides emergency services and fire protection through a formal agreement with several municipalities, including Cartier and Headingley. Services provided focus on backup and support on an as required basis. Municipalities submit a yearly fee of \$200 to access these services.
- An Emergency Management Board has just been established to provide services to Headingley, St. Francois-Xavier, and Cartier. In light of the new requirements the Province had imposed on municipalities for emergency preparedness, it was decided that the three municipalities would work together and share costs, rather than duplicating services. A committee was formed with representatives from each municipality, to work out details and make a proposal to each council. Once accepted by all three councils, a joint emergency coordinator was hired to develop a joint emergency plan, to test and help with training emergency personnel and do an assessment of risks in the municipalities. This is a formal agreement between the three municipalities to set out the operations of the Emergency Management Board.
- Ritchot has mutual aid agreements with all its neighbouring municipalities: Taché, Hanover, Desalaberry, Morris and Macdonald. They have agreed to help one another in responding to flooding, such as evacuating people or providing equipment during a disaster. Firefighting is also subject to mutual aid, such that each municipality has a certain level of equipment and personnel, but in extraordinary circumstances neighbouring municipalities could be called upon for assistance.

- Springfield, East St. Paul and St. Clements have a mutual aid district for emergency support services, established by Memorandum of Understanding. Each has an emergency services coordinator that will call upon the other municipalities in exceptional circumstances that cannot be managed by the resources of one municipality.
- Rosser and Rockwood have formed a mutual aid district through a formal agreement. The mutual aid agreement is exclusively for firefighting services and involves a board of municipal representatives that meet and discuss upgrading and education.
- Rockwood also officially partners with the Town of Stonewall for fire and ambulance services through a formal agreement.
- The South Interlake Emergency Measures Board (SIEMB) includes the Rural Municipalities of Armstrong, Rockwood, Rosser and Woodlands and the Town of Teulon. As a result of the Provincial mandate that each municipality must have an emergency plan, the SIEMB was created jointly to develop and exercise an Emergency Plan for these municipalities. Each municipality makes a yearly contribution to SIEMB, thereby jointly paying its expenses.

Recreation and Culture Agreements

Few relationships of this nature were identified. This is likely because residents of neighbouring municipalities are often subject to fees when they use the facilities of a given municipality, rather than contributions being made at the municipal level.

- The Whitehorse Plains Recreation Commission consists of a formal agreement between Headingley, Cartier, St. Francois-Xavier and Macdonald.
- East St. Paul and St. Clements have established an agreement regarding East St. Paul's arena facility. Residents in St. Clements can make use of the arena due to a grant that is paid by their municipality to East St. Paul.
- The South Interlake Regional Library Board includes several municipalities such as Rosser and Stonewall. The formal agreement between the entities requires a levy to be paid by each municipality for services provided at a regional level.

This includes the library building as well as a bookmobile that travels between the municipalities to share library resources.

- The Veterans Memorial Sports Complex in Stonewall was established through an agreement with the RM of Rockwood. Both contribute financially to the project in order to provide services to the residents of both municipalities. The Veterans Memorial Sports Complex was a recent construction project and includes a variety of sports and recreation facilities.

Waste Disposal

This is often an issue for municipalities due to the effects that waste disposal can have on a large geographic area, including land beyond a given municipality. The siting of waste disposal grounds is a complex matter due to the need to consider environmental assessments and adjacent land uses.

- In the RM of Ritchot an agreement has been reached whereby the Town of Niverville (in the RM of Hanover) brings their waste to the established site in Ritchot. This Class 1 facility is run on the basis of a private-public partnership and has been in existence prior to 1995.
- The RM of Headingley has a formal agreement with BFI to provide garbage collection services to a facility north of Rosser.
- The RM of Macdonald has an agreement with the City of Winnipeg to allow waste from the LaSalle area to be disposed at the Brady Landfill. This agreement is in the form of a contract for services between the City and the RM. Since a waste disposal site had just been closed in the LaSalle area, the RM decided to approach the City of Winnipeg to establish an agreement. A flat rate fee for use is imposed on a certain portion of the Macdonald population and is contracted on an annual basis.

Mosquito Control

In recent years, an increased risk of West Nile virus has placed pressure on municipalities to control the mosquito population. Prior to the concern for West Nile virus, the City of Winnipeg was responsible for mosquito control in a six kilometre buffer zone outside the

city boundary. Several adjacent municipalities contribute funding to the City of Winnipeg in order to obtain the City's mosquito control services within the adjacent municipalities. Capital Region municipalities involved include Ritchot, Headingley, Taché and West St. Paul. There is concern that municipalities should not be funding mosquito control since West Nile virus is a health matter, which is the responsibility of the Provincial Government.

Weed Control

Based on the particular scientific expertise that is required for the control of weeds, municipalities can benefit from the joint establishment and implementation of weed control plans.

- The Springfield-Taché Weed District was established through a formal agreement to jointly manage all weed control processes.
- The RM of Ritchot has established a Weed Board with the Town of Niverville and the RM of Desalaberry. Each municipal council has two representatives on the Weed Board, which was established prior to 1995. The need for trained weed supervisors with a certain level of expertise in dealing with weeds and chemicals led these municipalities to establish a joint service.
- The RMs of Rockwood and Rosser have established a Weed Board. Each municipality pays a levy to the board, which then administers all activities related to weed control. A formal agreement was developed when Rosser identified the need for weed control in the municipality. Since Rockwood had a system in place, it was decided that a joint Weed Board would be established and be funded by both municipalities.
- The Macdonald Weed Control District was originally established to serve only the RM of Macdonald. Since then, several neighbouring municipalities approached the Macdonald Weed Control District and services have been extended to the RMs of Headingley, Cartier and Grey. Each additional municipality pays for services based on their selected needs. The services are more extensive in Macdonald, but decisions were made by the additional municipalities to focus on priority issues, such as grasshopper control or particular roadside control

measures. As well, the Weed Supervisor prepares an annual program for each of the municipalities to indicate the services that will be provided and to seek approval from council. Since Macdonald had the staff and resources in place to administer the Noxious Weeds Act, it was efficient for the other municipalities to partner with this established organization.

Transboundary Road Agreements

There are two key issues in terms of responsibility for road maintenance: boundary roads; and roads that are used by residents from an adjacent municipality. The resolution of these two issues forms the basis of the majority of transboundary road agreements. Since municipal boundaries were established so long ago, many of these agreements have been in place for several decades. Municipalities sharing a boundary road with the City of Winnipeg are not responsible for that road because the City of Winnipeg Charter gives the City full jurisdiction of the entire right-of-way for their boundaries.

- The RM of Ritchot has an agreement with the Town of Niverville to share maintenance and road work. This includes the maintenance of inter-municipal roads as well as snow clearing on these roads. The municipalities have had this agreement for many years.
- The RM of Taché has established agreements for inter-municipal roads with Springfield, Ritchot and Ste. Anne's. In particular, Taché recently signed a formal agreement with the RM of Ste. Anne's for a road upgrade. The road in question is located in Ste. Anne's, however the main user of the road is a Taché business. In recognition of the benefit to a Taché ratepayer, the municipality has agreed to contribute to an upgrade that is entirely within the RM of Ste. Anne's.
- East St. Paul has just established an agreement to develop a 50:50 cost share agreement on inter-municipal boundary roads. The costs will include both construction and maintenance of the roads.
- The RM of Rosser has an established agreement with the City of Winnipeg for boundary roads. Each municipality is responsible for entire sections of various roads, rather than cost-sharing for maintenance services. This agreement was struck when the municipalities were established.

- The RM of Springfield is beginning to enter agreements to ensure that all bordering roads are jointly maintained. Some agreements are in place with the RMs of Taché, St. Clements and Brokenhead, however they are looking at extending these agreements to accomplish broader coverage. Typically these agreements assign responsibility to a particular municipality for portions of boundary roads, rather than cost-sharing or each being responsible for half the roadway.
- The RM of St. Clements has agreements with East St. Paul and Springfield, where each municipality is responsible for half of the boundary roads. This does not require significant negotiations or discussions, merely the settling of costs at the end of the year.
- The RM of Macdonald has different types of agreements with each neighbouring municipality. In some cases, boundary road issues are resolved by Macdonald providing services and invoicing adjacent municipalities for half the cost of that service. In other cases, each municipality is responsible for certain portions of the boundary road.
- Some residences in East St. Paul front onto a street that fully belongs to the City of Winnipeg, due to the jurisdiction outlined in the City of Winnipeg Charter indicated above.

Cooks Creek Conservation District (CCCD)

The CCCD is one of the oldest conservation districts and was incorporated in 1979.

Water management targets the Cooks Creek watershed and parts of the Carrs Creek and lower Seine River basins. Parts of Taché and Springfield are included in the CCCD, along with Ste. Anne, Brokenhead and Reynolds. There is some interest in expanding the coverage of this conservation district to include parts of East St. Paul, St. Clements and Brokenhead. The district also focuses on the maintenance and upgrading of agricultural drainage channels, sealing abandoned wells and public education.

LaSalle RedBoine Conservation District (LSRBCD)

Formed in 2002, the LSRBCD is one of the largest conservation districts in Manitoba, covering over 7,000 km². The RMs of Macdonald, Ritchot and Cartier are members, along with several other rural and urban municipalities. This conservation district offers many different soil and water management programs including grassed waterways, offshore watering systems, permanent cover programs, rotational grazing systems and pasture pipelines. The LSRBCD can also address drainage issues by bringing the member municipalities together to discuss and coordinate solutions.

South Interlake Handi-Van

The municipalities of Rosser, Rockwood and Stonewall have jointly developed this service. The purpose is to provide transportation through the use of a wheelchair accessible van. The handi-van is jointly funded by the member municipalities through an established formal agreement.

Water Supply Management

- The RM of Rockwood belongs to both South Interlake Water Management and North Interlake Water Management which are multi-municipality boards that address inter-municipal drainage issues. Since Rockwood extends to the North and South of the Interlake, the municipality is a member of both organizations.
- The RM of Macdonald has a regional water system that supplies water beyond its boundaries. From Macdonald there are water lines into Ritchot, Cartier and towards Morris.
- The RM of Cartier operates a regional water cooperative with the municipalities of Headingley, St. Francois-Xavier and Portage la Prairie. The water supply is produced at a plant outside of Elie and shipped to each of the member partners. A formal agreement was signed at the outset of the cooperative.

Association of Rural Municipalities (ARM)

This committee is comprised of the mayors and reeves of all Capital Region municipalities, with the exception of the City of Winnipeg. A formal agreement was

established between these municipalities to discuss various issues of common concern. Meetings are held monthly and any council members and senior staff of the member municipalities are invited to attend. This provides the municipalities surrounding Winnipeg with an opportunity to speak with a unified voice when entering negotiations with the City of Winnipeg, the Province and other organizations.

Mayors and Reeves of the Capital Region

This is an exclusively municipal organization and all Capital Region municipalities are members of this committee, including the City of Winnipeg. When Susan Thompson was the mayor of Winnipeg, she initiated this committee. Meetings are held throughout the region to allow for dialogue amongst all municipalities. Once a year, an All-Council meeting is held to bring all elected officials together to discuss issues and share information.

Capital Region Committee

The mayors and reeves of the 16 capital region municipalities also have a relationship with the Provincial Government to work on issues of regional planning. A steering committee was established in April 2004 to include six representatives from the Capital Region; 2 from the Province, 2 from the City of Winnipeg, and 2 from the remaining municipalities. The steering committee will be responsible for developing priorities and proposing those priorities to the larger Capital Region Committee for ratification and authority to move forward.

Province and City of Winnipeg

The Province has a different relationship with the City of Winnipeg as compared to other municipalities, due to the fact that two different pieces of legislation apply. The City of Winnipeg Charter allows that municipality to exercise additional control over its fiscal expenditures. The Province therefore funds the City of Winnipeg's projects through block grants that are primarily unconditional. In contrast, all other municipalities in Manitoba are governed by The Municipal Act and The Planning Act. These acts can require approval from the Provincial Government on actions such as development plan

amendments. In these cases, most of the Provincial funding that flows to the municipalities is conditional.

Rockwood Animal Control

A formal agreement exists between the RMs of Rockwood and Woodlands to share the services of animal control professionals.

APPENDIX I – PARTNERSHIP RESULTS: INTERJURISDICTIONAL COOPERATION

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Objectives/Issues</i>	<i>Institutional Format</i>	<i>Tactical Approach</i>	<i>Outcomes</i>
Planning Districts				
SDPA	MG	RC	GM	MS
SIPD	MG	RC	GM	MS
MR PD	MG	NPC	GM	MS
WPPD	Access	RC	GM	MS
Informal CAO Network	MG	C&A	NIS	MS
Community Futures Development Corporations				
Whitehorse Plains CFDC	MG	RC	GM	ED
NEICOM	MG	RC	GM	ED
North Red CFDC	MG	RC	GM	ED
Development Corporations				
Interlake Dvpt Corp	MG	RC	GM	ED
Central Plains RDC	MG	RC	GM	ED
High-speed internet	CI	EDA	Ad hoc	ED
Ag Society	Redistribution	C&A	Ad hoc	PE
Drainage				
St C, ESP	CI	C&A	N/EO	PE
Ritchot etc.	CI	C&A	N/EO	PE
Headingley, StFX	CI	C&A	Ad hoc	PE
St FX, Rosser, Woodl	CI	C&A	N/EO	PE
Sewage Treatment				
Headingley – Prov	Distribution	GU&D	Ad hoc	PE
St Clements	Access	C&A	Ad hoc	PE
Rosser-Rockwood	Access	NPC	FE	PE
Emergency Management				
Boyne	Access	NPC	N/EO	MS
H, StFX, C	CI	NPC	N/EO	MS
Ritchot	Access	C&A	N/EO	MS
Springfield, ESP, St C	Access	C&A	N/EO	MS
Rosser/Rockwood	Access	C&A	N/EO	MS
Rockwood/Stonewall	CI	C&A	N/EO	MS
SIEMB	CI	NPC	N/EO	MS
Recreation				
Whitehorse Plains Rec Commission	MG	RC	N/EO	MS
ESP, St C	Access	NPC	Ad hoc	MS
SI Reg Library Board	Access	NPC	N/EO	MS
Memorial Complex	Access	NPC	Ad hoc	MS

Waste Disposal				
Ritchot – Niverville	Access	NPC	FE	PE
Headingley – BFI	Access	NPC	FE	PE
Macdonald – Brady	Access	NPC	FE	PE
Mosquito Control	Access	GU&D	GM	MS
Weed Control				
Springfield-Tache	CI	NPC	N/EO	PE
Ritchot – Niv, Desal	CI	NPC	N/EO	PE
Rockwood/Rosser	Access	NPC	N/EO	PE
Macdonald	Access	NPC	N/EO	PE
Transboundary Roads				
Ritchot – Niv	CI	C&A	N/EO	PE
Tache – Springfield, Ritchot, Ste. Anne's	CI	C&A	N/EO	PE
Tache – Ste. Anne's	CI	C&A	Ad hoc	PE
ESP	CI	C&A	N/EO	PE
Rosser – CoW	CI	C&A	N/EO	PE
Springfield	CI	C&A	N/EO	PE
St. Clements	CI	C&A	N/EO	PE
Macdonald	CI	C&A	N/EO	PE
ESP	Access	GU&D	GM	PE
Cooks Creek CD	CI	RC	GM	PE
LSRBCD	CI	RC	GM	PE
South Interlake Handi- van	CI	NPC	Ad hoc	MS
Water Supply Management				
Rockwood	Access	RC	N/EO	MS
Macdonald	Access	RC	N/EO	MS
Cartier	Access	RC	N/EO	MS
ARM	MG	C&A	NIS	MS
Mayors and Reeves of Capital Region	MG	C&A	NIS	MS
Rockwood Animal Control	CI	NPC	N/EO	MS

APPENDIX J – AGGREGATE RESULTS: INTERJURISDICTIONAL COOPERATION

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Objectives Issues (political resistance)</i>	<i>Institutional Format (local autonomy)</i>	<i>Tactical Approach (formality)</i>	<i>Outcomes</i>
Informal CAO	A - MG	A - C&A	B - NIS	MS
ARM	A - MG	A - C&A	B - NIS	MS
Mayors/Reeves Cap Reg	A - MG	A - C&A	B - NIS	MS
Drainage – StC, ESP	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Drainage – Ritchot etc	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Drainage – Head, STFX	B - CI	A - C&A	C - Ad hoc	PE
Drainage – STFX, Rosser, W	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road – Ritchot, Niverville	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road – Tach, Spr, Ritc, Ste A	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road – Taché, Ste Anne	B - CI	A - C&A	C - Ad hoc	PE
Road – ESP	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road – Rosser, Wpg	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road – Springfield	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road – St Clements	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
Road – Macdonald	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	PE
EMO - Rockwood, Stonewall	B - CI	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
Sewage – St Clements	C - Access	A - C&A	C - Ad hoc	PE
EMO – Ritchot	C - Access	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
EMO – Spr, ESP, St C	C - Access	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
EMO – Rosser, Rockwood	C - Access	A - C&A	D - N/EO	MS
Ag society	E - Redist	A - C&A	C - Ad hoc	PE
High-speed internet	B - CI	B - EDA	C - Ad hoc	ED
EMO - Head, STFX, Cartier	B - CI	C - NPC	D - N/EO	MS
EMO – SIEMB	B - CI	C - NPC	D - N/EO	MS
Weed – Spr, Taché	B - CI	C - NPC	D - N/EO	PE
Weed – Ritchot, Niv/Desalaberry	B - CI	C - NPC	D - N/EO	PE
South Interlake Handi-van	B - CI	C - NPC	C - Ad hoc	MS
Rockwood Animal Control	B - CI	C - NPC	D - N/EO	MS
Weed – Rosser, Rockwood	C - Access	C - NPC	D - N/EO	PE
EMO – Boyne	C - Access	C - NPC	D - N/EO	MS
Recreation – ESP, St C	C - Access	C - NPC	C - Ad hoc	MS
Recreation – SI library	C - Access	C - NPC	D - N/EO	MS
Recreation – Memorial complex	C - Access	C - NPC	C - Ad hoc	MS
Waste – Ritchot, Niverville	C - Access	C - NPC	E - FE	PE
Waste – Headingley, BFI	C - Access	C - NPC	E - FE	PE
Waste – Macdonald, Brady	C - Access	C - NPC	E - FE	PE
Weed – Macdonald	C - Access	C - NPC	D - N/EO	PE
Sewage – Rosser, Rockwood	C - Access	C - NPC	E - FE	PE
Macdonald-Ritchot PD	A - MG	C - NPC	F - GM	MS
Whitehorse Plains CFDC	A - MG	D - RC	F - GM	ED

NEICOM	A - MG	D - RC	F - GM	ED
North Red CFDC	A - MG	D - RC	F - GM	ED
Interlake Development Corporation	A - MG	D - RC	F - GM	ED
Central Plains RDC	A - MG	D - RC	F - GM	ED
Recreation – WP Recreation Com	A - MG	D - RC	D - N/EO	MS
SDPA	A - MG	D - RC	F - GM	MS
SIPD	A - MG	D - RC	F - GM	MS
Cooks Creek CD	B - CI	D - RC	F - GM	PE
LSRBCD	B - CI	D - RC	F - GM	PE
Whitehorse Plains PD	C - Access	D - RC	F - GM	MS
Water – Rockwood	C - Access	D - RC	D - N/EO	MS
Water – Macdonald	C - Access	D - RC	D - N/EO	MS
Water – Cartier	C - Access	D - RC	D - N/EO	MS
Mosquito Control	C - Access	E - GU&D	F - GM	MS
Road – ESP	C - Access	E - GU&D	F - GM	PE
Sewage – Headingley, Province	D - Dist	E - GU&D	C - Ad hoc	PE

Legend:

Objectives/Issues

- A – MG: Mutual Gain
- B – CI: Common Infrastructure
- C – Access: Access
- D – Dist: Distribution
- E – Redist: Redistribution

Institutional Format

- A – C&A: Coalitions & Alliances
- B – EDA: Economic Development Agencies
- C – NPC: Non-profit Corporations
- D – RC: Regional Councils
- E – GU&D: Government Units & Departments

Tactical Approach

- A – LF: Laissez-faire/Free market approaches
- B – NIS: Networking and information sharing
- C – Ad hoc: Ad hoc initiatives, contracts and capital projects
- D – N/EO: Use new or existing organizations
- E – FE: Fiscal Equalizers
- F – GM: Government Mandated

Outcomes

- ED: Economic Development
- MS: Municipal Service
- PE: Physical Environment
- SC: Sociopolitical Change

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