

**Regional Partnering for Global Competitiveness:
The Planning-Governance Challenge
and the Calgary Regional Partnership**

by

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ABSTRACT

**Regional Partnering: The Planning-Governance Challenge
and the Calgary Regional Partnership**

Partnering between municipalities (and with others) within a city-region is not an easy task. Often there are challenges in the partnering process especially in relation to balancing planning and governance. These challenges can lead to conflicts that might impair or stall the partnership - which could ultimately affect the competitive edge of that region in a globalisation context. City-region partnerships are complex because the partners involved are often not used to working together, and thinking for/as a region. This can lead to feelings of resentment and a loss of autonomy, especially for some municipalities involved in the partnership.

This research examines how city-region partnerships can move beyond conflict to position themselves to be more successful, both locally and globally, in the short-term and long-term. The Calgary Regional Partnership (CRP) serves as the main case study. Located in one of Canada's fastest growing regions, both in terms of population and resource development, the Calgary region is struggling to move forward as a city-region partnership. The struggle appears to be rooted in past regional planning conflicts that have never been adequately resolved, current water scarcity issues growing markedly in significance, and decidedly mixed emotions over policies within a recent proposed metropolitan plan, the subject of a very protracted approval process. Based on CRP experience, the project examines how city-regions in Canada can move beyond such conflict and associated challenges, to become of greater service 'locally', and to position the city-region to better compete 'globally' with particular interest in: the role of planners, the case for collaboration, and the pursuit of a 'new regionalism' approach.

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Problem Statement and Research Questions	3
1.2. Purpose and Scope of the Practicum	6
1.3. Research Methods	8
1.4. Significance of Study	8
1.5. Assumptions / Limitations	10
1.6. Theoretical Approaches.....	10
1.7. Selected Precedent Considerations.....	11
1.8. Case Study Context	11
1.9. Outline of Chapters	14
2. Literature Review.....	16
2.1. Regional Planning & Partnerships	17
2.2. Globalisation	18
2.3. City-Regions.....	22
2.4. Governance.....	25
2.4.1. Regional Planning by Governments and Regional Governance by Partnerships.....	27
2.5. Old Regionalism and New Regionalism	28
2.6. Collaborative Planning and Consensus Building: Theory	32
2.6.1. Collaborative Planning	34
2.6.2. Consensus Building	36
2.7. Conclusions	37
3. Research Methods	39
3.1. Literature Research	39
3.2. Case Study.....	40
3.3. Precedents.....	42
3.4. Interviews.....	43
3.5. Analysis.....	45
4. Local Context and Background: The Calgary Regional Partnership.....	46

4.1.	History of Regional Planning in the Calgary Region.....	48
4.2.	Guiding Documents: Planning in the Calgary Region.....	50
4.2.1.	<i>Land-Use Framework (Alberta Government Legislation)</i>	50
4.2.2.	<i>Situation Assessment Report on Terms of Agreement for Working Together</i>	52
4.2.3.	<i>Calgary Metropolitan Plan</i>	55
4.2.4.	<i>Moving Forward Together: The Calgary Regional Partnership’s 2012-2015 Strategic Action Plan and Budget</i>	58
4.3.	Conclusions	60
	5. Case Study: Summary of Findings and Conclusions	62
5.1.	Research Experience	62
5.2.	Strengths and Weaknesses	63
5.3.	Precedents.....	64
5.3.1.	<i>Alberta Capital Region</i>	64
5.3.2.	<i>Manitoba Capital Region</i>	65
5.3.3.	<i>Precedent Conclusions</i>	68
5.4.	Interview Findings.....	70
5.4.1.	<i>Calgary Metropolitan Plan</i>	70
5.4.2.	<i>Governance</i>	73
5.4.3.	<i>Density & Water</i>	77
5.4.4.	<i>Calgary City-Region and the Role of the CRP</i>	79
5.4.5.	<i>The Ghost of Regional Planning Past</i>	81
5.4.6.	<i>Globalisation and City-Region Partnerships</i>	84
5.4.7.	<i>Conflict, Collaboration, and Consensus</i>	86
	6. Analysis and Synthesis	89
6.1.	Implications – Regional Partnering for Economic Development	89
6.2.	Implications – Results of Conflict Stalling Partnerships	91
6.3.	Implications – Planning Education	95
6.4.	Implications – Role of Professional Planner	98
6.5.	Catalogue of Findings and Implications.....	101
	7. Conclusions	106
7.1.	CRP Reflections & Recommendations	106

7.1.1. *Revisiting the qualities of successful partnerships* 106
7.1.2. *Calgary Metropolitan Plan* 111
7.1.3. *Role of Planners within the CRP* 113
7.2. City-Region Partnership Recommendations 114
7.3. Directions for Further Study 116
References **119**

Appendices:

Appendix A: Rocky View County: Calgary Regional Partnership Update June 2011

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Appendix C: Consent Form

List of Tables

Table 1 System characteristics Based on Allan Wallis’s Comparisons.....	30
Table 2 Population statistics for member & non-member municipalities	47
Table 3 Catalogue of findings and implications	102
Table 4 Pros & cons of old regionalism versus new regionalism.....	114

List of Figures

Figure 1 The Calgary City-Region – Location Context..... 12

Figure 2 The Calgary City-Region – Western Foothills Landscape..... 41

Figure 3 The Calgary City-Region 46

1. Introduction

This practicum explores the planning-governance challenges that city-region partnerships encounter when going through the partnering process. Initially, there is a catalyst that influences municipalities to see the benefits of partnering together. In a globalised economy there is pressure on all city-regions to achieve meaningful partnerships in order to remain competitive not only on a national, but also on an international and global scale. Regions are competing for economic development, new immigrants, jobs, tourism, and funding from Provincial and Federal governments. This practicum explains the importance of maintaining strong regional partnerships in order for a city-region to remain competitive in an economic sense.

A city-region is a region that has the majority of its population located within one urban centre, but also has a large portion of the city-region's population living in surrounding areas adjacent to the central urban centre. As central city growth rates continue to increase, the growing population begins to spill over into the more rural, and smaller urban, areas that surround the city. People move out of the central city to find more affordable housing and to escape the hustle and bustle of the big city - but continue to commute to the city for work, recreation, as well as arts and entertainment. This means that the central city and its outlying municipal neighbours need to work together as they collectively host a population that effectively demands *regional* services, such as roads, emergency services, wastewater and sewer, and transportation.

Often it can be challenging for these city-regions, if they can actually see themselves as such, for the constituent partners to significantly work together - due to differing and/or competing interests. There can also be a particular divide between the rural municipalities and the urban municipalities, as they each try to maintain their own identity and autonomy. However, if a self-

acknowledging city-region wants to remain competitive on a global scale, it must enable its constituents to work together as one - in order to reap the full benefits of an economically prosperous, and 'together', city-region. This may require that old ways of regional planning are succeeded by new ways of regional partnering.

The Calgary Regional Partnership (CRP) is the reference case for this practicum. The case study features a comprehensive document review and semi-structured interviews with key informants. The goal of the research is to inform other city-regions - that may be struggling with the partnering process - as to how they can overcome their conflict, in order to become a successfully collaborative city-region that is economically competitive with other city-regions in its midst.

There is a serious division within the CRP regarding rural and urban municipalities, especially between the four major rurals (Rocky View County, MD of Foothills, Wheatland County and MD of Bighorn) and the core urban (the City of Calgary), that seems to stem from: the regional planning past of the area, growth pressures, water scarcity issues, and unsustainable development (CRP, 2012, p. 2). The CRP needs to exist on a basis that it is fully collaborative and fair for all members, where member municipalities are not treated differently - based on their population size, for example.

The 'Calgary Region' within the Calgary Region Partnership is not one of unanimity at the present time; in this respect the Partnership, even though it has been around since 1999, might be considered by some as having still to reach 'first base'. This makes it a particularly interesting case at the present time for studying 'regional partnering' and for exploring the associated 'planning/governance challenge'. This research examines the Partnership's current conflict from the perspective of the larger rural municipalities; in order better understand their position, having

recently decided to withdraw from the Partnership, and how their issues might be better addressed through the Partnership.

1.1. Problem Statement and Research Questions

This Major Degree Project investigates the challenges and opportunities that city-region partnerships typically encounter. It aims for an understanding of the influence of past and present *regional planning systems*, and evolving *structures of regional governance*, in order to better influence the future of city-region planning and governance. Regional planning is more than “planning within boundaries, regional planning addresses issues across boundaries” (Seltzer & Carbonell, 2011, p. 9). This means that there is cross-boundary collaboration that occurs when regional planning is at its best. ‘Partnering’ within a regional context means that members go beyond sharing information and cooperating with one another - to truly partnering, which is when they begin to collaborate through their shared concerns (Seltzer & Carbonell, 2011).

The investigation has been grounded in the current setting of the Calgary Region Partnership (CRP). It is hypothesised that achieving the right balance between regional planning and regional governance is a major challenge at the present time, but this better balancing is a necessity if city-region arrangements, such as the CRP, are going to attain global competitiveness. It is contended that coordinated economic development, integrated with conventional land-use planning, and all-round efficacy in ‘working across boundaries’, represents the makings of a viable city-region partnership.

When seeking to build a successful city-region partnership, there is no single ‘magic bullet’ or ‘best practice’ approach; every partnership is unique and is composed of different stakeholders (Thomas, 2010). Many factors come into play. For example, what follows are the qualities of successful partnerships as listed by a prominent senior scholar in this area, Paul

Thomas (in a March 3, 2011 University of Manitoba presentation at a Regional Learning Event on Intergovernmental Collaboration):

- Shared goals and understandings;
- Clearly assigned roles and responsibilities;
- A culture of mutual respect and honesty;
- A 'business-like' approach to operations and regular meetings;
- Decision-making which is participatory and consensus based;
- Healthy conflict that does not ignore issues or personalize them;
- Communication that is strategic and operational; and
- Ongoing monitoring and feedback.

Thomas has also stressed that there are unique goals and objectives for each partnership, and unique issues or challenges faced by each city-region (*ibid*). Of particular interest for the current CRP case, Thomas' qualities of successful partnerships include a reference to conflict management. Conflict can be healthy as long as it is dealt with openly, directly and sensitively; it is clear that conflict cannot be ignored if a partnership is to be successful (Healey, 2006; Margerum, 2002, 2011; Thomas, 2011).

The CRP is viewed as a particularly good, practical, and timely example of how city-region partnerships can struggle with conflict associated with inter-municipal competition, a lack of guidance from a higher level of government, and insufficient regional governance capacity. The retreat from full partnering that has recently occurred in the CRP has been characterised by a re-surfacing of old, essentially enduring, conflicts that can be traced back to the former Calgary Regional Planning Commission (CRPC) era. These old conflicts have not been resolved, stalling

the current partnering efforts and potentially adversely affecting the global competitiveness of the city-region.

The above set of current problematic circumstances has generated the following lines of questioning, to underpin the investigation. The first set addresses the issues in general with a particular interest in the implications of a ‘new regionalism’ perspective (Wallis & Porter, 2002); the second set delves into the specific case study context, with a focus on the current apparently undermining ‘inter-municipal conflict’.

1. With a particular interest in proposals for ‘a new regionalism’, how can city-regions create strong partnerships to achieve global competitiveness?

- a. What are the challenges in terms of constituent interests that city-regions typically encounter when pursuing partnering?
- b. How can city-regions best overcome these challenges, especially the often underlying planning/governance challenge, aligning regional planning and regional governance?
- c. What is the role of city-region planners, or planners operating in city-region contexts, in effecting a good planning/governance relationship?

2. How can the Calgary city-region achieve a stable, successful city-region partnership, acknowledging past history (inter-municipal conflict) while anticipating future re-framings (from ‘old’ to ‘new’ regionalism)?

- a. How does enduring conflict (rooted in earlier experiences, such as the CRPC era) impede full development of a stable partnership?
- b. How to best overcome the most pressing conflicts at the present time, through appropriate interventions (cooperative, coordinated and/or collaborative) in regard to both the regional planning system and the regional governance structure?

- c. From a ‘planning as partnering’ perspective, and drawing inventively on the so-called ‘new regionalism’, what can city-region planners do better to catalyze, enable, shape and sustain city-regional partnerships?

1.2. Purpose and Scope of the Practicum

The study focuses on the issues and challenges that city-region partnerships typically encounter through the partnering process. Emphasis will be placed on the importance of having strong partnerships in order for regions to remain competitive globally. Through the semi-structured interviews it became clear that globalisation was a topic that did not resonate with the particular group of interviewees; therefore, its direct consideration has been limited within the final project reporting, but it is still discussed, because its relevance for many city-regions based on the literature cannot be denied. Without a strong partnership and governance structure, it might be suggested, the region will not be able to optimally compete with other regions around the world for a commensurate piece of the global economic pie. The balancing act between planning and governance has been researched in order to gain a better understanding of how the two elements can be better meshed to develop a strong partnership. The research is intended to examine city-region partnerships and other forms of relationship, between municipalities and other stakeholders, with a particular view to determining the planner’s role in efforts to overcome challenges and move forward as a region.

The initial scope reflects a primarily *inter-municipal* view of matters *regional*, in common with much past practice in the Canadian context; ultimately however, the scope will broaden to a conception of ‘regional’ as much more than merely ‘inter-municipal’. It will come to include other forms of local government, other levels of government, and other sectors of society including the private sector and civil society, as well as emerging social and environmental

movements (Wight, 1998, p. 11). It is with the wider involvement of these groups where new regionalism begins to materialize - as a more valuable and inclusive forum for practising regional planning as partnering, in a governance context, in the future (Hodge & Robinson, 2001; Wight, 1998, 2010).

The CRP is deployed as an example of a city-region partnership that is currently being dogged by past unresolved conflicts, rooted in earlier regional planning history, which is effectively blocking the flourishing of a full partnership. Several significant municipalities have recently withdrawn from the CRP, undermining its credibility as well as its integrity. This case study provides a practical example of how power struggles, and competition between municipalities, can continue for decades - if not dealt with properly. It is especially important at the present time for the whole Calgary city-region to be the basis for a successful partnership, to remain competitive globally.

The city-region economy is tied strongly to the oil and gas industry, which underpins one of the fastest-growing provinces in Canada (Hope, 2007; Statistics Canada, 2011). Other city-regions in the province, such as the Alberta Capital Region (Section 5.3.1) may be perceived as being served by better, fuller, more functional partnerships at the present time. Potentially, this could adversely affect the competitiveness of the Calgary city-region provincially, as well as nationally and globally. It could be argued that there is increasing urgency for some lasting resolution of the underlying enduring conflicts. Consequently, this study will include a consideration of dispute resolution and conflict management models with a view to helping overcome the current partnership-stalling challenges.

In terms of limiting the scope of this study, the prime consideration will be the current Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs), rather than the host natural region or bioregion. While

associated latter perspectives (e.g. Tyler & Quinn, 2010) will be borne in mind when considering planning/governance issues, they will not be of direct concern at the present time. Considerations around natural resource management, water conservation, and eco-system services, for example, may emerge as more significant later, once the current inter-municipal conflict is resolved, as part of a more evolved 'new regionalism'. These considerations will be revisited later, as part of the conclusions and recommendations of the present study.

1.3. Research Methods

In order to address the research questions the main methods used are: targeted literature review; a case study of the CRP; selected precedents review; and semi-structured interviews with projected key informants. Often there are conflicts within city-regions between stakeholders due to the fear of losing autonomy, or competition between municipalities that can stall or stymie the partnering efforts. Such conflict puts the city-region in jeopardy of being able to compete globally with other regions. The CRP was examined through a case study in order to study a real life example of an important economic region whose governance has apparently been afflicted by past conflicts and power struggles. Planners, municipal officials, and third sector activists were interviewed through semi-structured interviews in order to gain a sense of where the CRP is at currently, and how it might begin to move forward to become a globally competitive and successful city-region partnership – without qualification, without reservation.

1.4. Significance of Study

The general 'regional partnering' focus of this research has involved looking at city-region partnerships, and examining how they become successful. The specific focus on the Calgary Regional Partnership is in part because of the turbulent past of the city-region when it comes to what has conventionally been regarded as 'regional planning'. It is contended that the past

(regional) planning efforts continue to have a problematic effect on the relationships within the city-region today. It is considered important for the municipalities, politicians and citizens within this region to work together, ideally to the extent of collaboration, and not simply cooperation or coordination, in order to achieve a leading-edge position when competing with other regions around the world for economic development.

The Calgary region is already recognized as a hub for economic and resource development; however, if the relationships are not managed appropriately the region will not be able to take full advantage of its opportunities. It should also be noted that the Calgary region is currently experiencing substantial growth rates, reaching up to 50% between 2006-2011 for some of the urban municipalities - with the rural municipalities experiencing generally lower growth rates of, for example, 9.9% (Rocky View County) and 7.7% (M.D. of Foothills) (Statistics Canada, 2011). This means that planning for anticipated future continuing growth needs to happen now, especially as the region strives to come to better terms with its limited water supply.

The Province of Alberta has already halted issuances of new water licenses on the Bow River, which means that new developments within the region must request potable water from the City of Calgary (the only municipality currently with extra water licenses) to obtain water. For some surrounding municipalities this means they are reliant on the City of Calgary, and this reliance is considered debilitating for their own growth and autonomy. This practicum seeks to understand such issues by examining the CRP's role, to better understand how the Partnership can move beyond the associated issues of distrust and perceived inequity, and become a fully successful partnership that all municipalities within the Calgary region positively want to be a part of.

1.5. Assumptions / Limitations

The researcher has previously worked in municipalities that have been involved with the CRP, but has not personally worked on any projects regarding the CRP. She has worked for both the City of Calgary and Rocky View County in the past. She has been part of informal discussions that may have influenced the direction that she is taking with this project. Being from the City of Calgary, and planning to return to Calgary after completion of her studies, may be regarded as having a vested interest in all matters related to Calgary and surrounding areas.

It is possible that this research has been conducted with a particular orientation or leaning. There is an assumption that past regional planning practices within the Calgary region have created tension and challenges, especially for the rural municipalities that have opted out of the CRP. It is believed that these challenges have not been dealt with successfully at the present time, and are preventing the CRP from achieving its full potential.

1.6. Theoretical Approaches

A literature review on the subject of planning and partnerships reveals a wide range of planning concerns related to overcoming differences and challenges associated with forming partnerships. Themes discussed within the literature review are globalisation, governance and government, new regionalism, old regionalism, and conflict resolution theories (collaborative planning and consensus building). The theoretical material is meant to frame the empirical research, and offer a basis for critically reviewing the hypothesis at the core of this practicum. A well-rounded body of literature has been researched in order to convey the unique perspectives of different disciplines on the themes and theories listed above. However, a planning perspective has been privileged, seeking planning-related solutions to planning-related problems on a regional scale, in a city-region context.

1.7. Selected Precedent Considerations

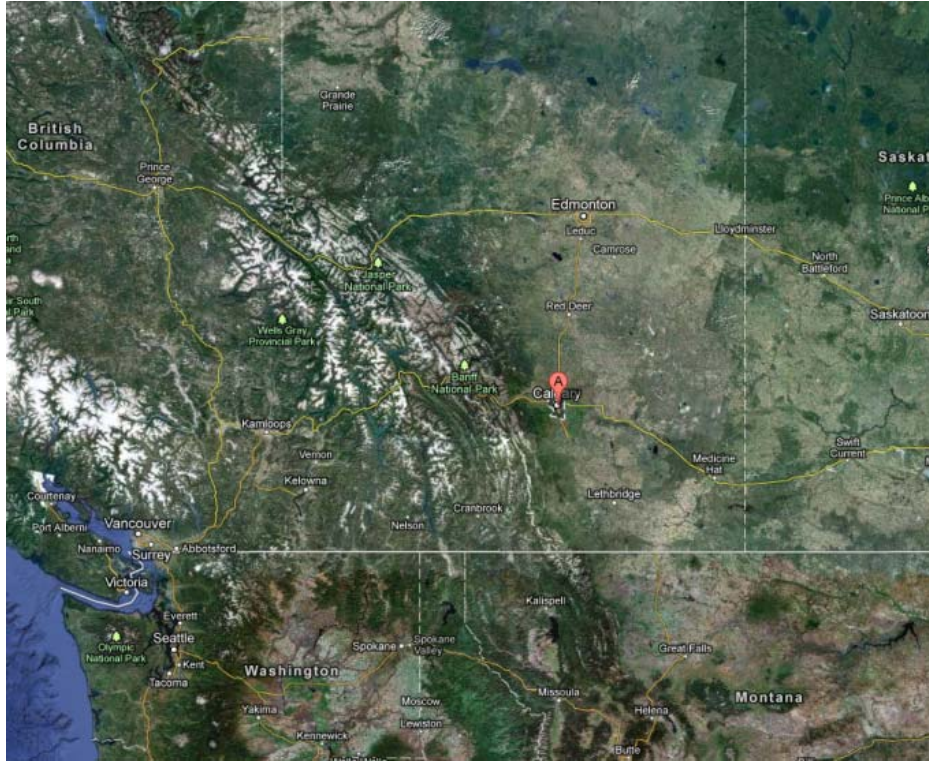
Two potentially comparable precedents were investigated, in order to supplement the CRP case, namely two other Prairies city-region partnerships: the Alberta Capital Region (ACR) and the Manitoba Capital Region (MCR). The precedents themselves are discussed in more detail in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2. It is considered important to use precedents in this project in order to examine how they are or are not related to situations facing the CRP. Have they been able to overcome similar issues that the CRP is facing? How have they been supported or not supported by their provincial governments? These two precedents have provided some perspective on the CRP, and how the CRP might overcome certain issues, especially to resolve the present 'stall'.

1.8. Case Study Context

The Calgary Regional Partnership (CRP) is the main case studied for this practicum (Figure 1). The CRP was considered as a suitable case in part because, a few years ago - in 2009, five municipalities opted out of the partnership (M.D. of Bighorn, M.D. of Foothills, Rocky View County, Wheatland County, Town of Crossfield) due to conflicts associated in part with what was developing in the then-emerging Calgary Metropolitan Plan (CMP), but also in part because of the poor, decades-long, history of regional planning within the Calgary area.

Regional planning in Alberta first began in the 1950s when the Province established Regional Planning Commissions (RPCs) (Dragushan, 1979; Climenhaga, 1997). The Calgary Regional Planning Commission (CRPC) guided the development of land in the region, not so much within the City of Calgary as in the surrounding rural and smaller urban areas. The rural municipality members in particular had a generally negative experience of the CRPC, largely because they felt their autonomy was being compromised by a City of Calgary dominated RPC. The RPCs in Alberta were abandoned in 1995 when the new Municipal Government Act

**Figure 1 The Calgary City-Region – Location Context.
Source: Public Domain**



(MGA) was adopted. The MGA anticipated that what was formerly ‘regional planning’ would now be carried out through inter-municipal development plans (IDPs) - agreements between two or more municipalities addressing how, for example, annexation and the sharing of services would be handled (Municipal Government Act, 2000).

After a few years of a regional planning ‘vacuum’, in 1999 the then Mayor of Calgary (Dave Bronconnier) initiated the Calgary Regional Partnership (CRP). The City of Calgary and 18 surrounding municipalities, including large rural municipalities and smaller urban municipalities (sizes based on land mass), came together to begin to develop a regional partnership. One of the first documents created by the Partnership was the Regional Growth and Sustainability Framework Action Plan (CRP, 2006). It seems to have suffered the same fate as the more recent

Calgary Metropolitan Plan initiative. The 2006 Framework Action Plan does seem to have played a large positive role in the CRP. Soon after it was adopted the CRP consulted with The University of Montana (Public Policy Research Institute (PPRI)) and the Consensus Building Institute (CBI), to undertake a 'Situation Assessment'. The PPRI and CBI were brought in to the Partnership to help identify some of the challenges that the Partnership was experiencing while attempting to work together, and to help move the Partnership forward with the development of a metropolitan/regional plan. The PPRI and the CBI developed a report - 'Situation Assessment Report on Terms of Agreement for Working Together' (2007). This report was developed in order to "build a common understanding of the issues and concerns related to growth and sustainability" (McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007, p. 4). The CRP was focusing on matters relating to growth and sustainability, in part because this is what the Alberta Government wanted regions to focus on at that time.

In 2008 the Province of Alberta published the Land Use Framework (Province of Alberta, December 2008). The focus of the Land Use Framework (LUF) is sustainability. The Province wants areas that are facing high growth rates to manage the growth in a sustainable way, that will protect environmental resources and the land (more discussion of this document will be presented in Section 4.2.1).

The LUF also mandates that Edmonton and the Calgary region must form regional bodies and develop a metropolitan plan that will guide development and focus on sustainable principles for the region. Therefore, by 2009 the CRP had developed a proposed Calgary Metropolitan Plan (CMP) - to be voted on by all the member municipalities. The CMP focuses on three pillars: water, transportation, and economic development. However, when it came time for the partners to consider adoption of the plan certain rural municipalities had major issues with some

fundamental components of the plan and they chose to opt out of the partnership in June 2009. At this writing (September 2012) these municipalities have not rejoined the partnership, and more recently there has also been one urban municipality (Town of Crossfield) that has opted out of the Partnership. The CRP is therefore still missing two of its largest players (in terms of land mass): Rocky View County and the M.D. of Foothills, as well as the two other rural municipalities (Wheatland and Bighorn). The present research has sought in part to understand what it would take for these municipalities to rejoin the Partnership, and how to resume building a successful full partnership, serving one of Canada's fastest growing regions.

1.9. Outline of Chapters

Chapter 1 has laid the ground for the study of regional partnerships and why they need to be strong and successful in order for a city-region to be able to compete globally.

Chapter 2 is a two-part literature review. Part 1 discusses regional planning and partnerships. It compares new regionalism and old regionalism, and their changing influences on developing partnerships. Part 2 delves more deeply into the conflict aspect within partnerships, and considers two particular conflict resolution models, collaborative planning and consensus building, discussing the theoretical components of each.

Chapter 3 features an in-depth consideration of the case, the Calgary Regional Partnership, providing local context and establishing why this partnership serves as an appropriate case study for the present main study purposes (regional partnering for global competitiveness, the planning/governance challenge). Recent applicable documents relating to the Partnership are reviewed, including provincial government documents and documents written by or for the Partnership.

Chapter 4 explains the research methods used for this study, addressing data collection and analysis. The main premise of this practicum revolves around the necessity for strong city-regions to be globally competitive, and getting the right planning/governance balance. As indicated earlier, the main methods used were: targeted literature review; a case study of the CRP; selected precedents review; and semi-structured interviews with projected key informants. The latter were selected in order to gain a broad perspective on the CRP. Informants were interviewed in regard to their roles with or within the CRP, their opinions about regional partnerships, and how to make the CRP a successful partnership. The interview data were analyzed through an open coding scheme where themes brought up in the interviews were systematically reviewed.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis and findings. This chapter begins with a brief reflection on the research experience, and a discussion of the perceived strengths and weaknesses of the project. Two precedents are examined in order to compare and contrast the Alberta Capital Region (ACR) and the Manitoba Capital Region (MCR) with the CRP. Findings are organized into themes that were further coded using the interview transcriptions.

Chapter 6 assesses the main perceived implications of the research: regional partnering for economic development; confronting conflict-stalled partnerships; planning education; and the role of the professional planner.

Finally, Chapter 7 revisits the research questions and reflects on the results of the research. Reflections on and recommendations for the CRP, as well as for other city-regions in general, are offered. Lastly, potential directions for further study are identified.

2. Literature Review

The following literature review is in two parts. The first part delves into the literature on regional planning and regional partnerships. There is a need for regional partnerships to be strong in order for city-regions to experience the benefits of being globally competitive; however, these types of partnership are complex and often struggle to fully materialise. Members of the partnerships are often used to competing against one another, which makes working together a challenge. Instead of each partner thinking just for itself, as part of a partnership for the region it now must begin to think about what is best for the region as a whole. There is a fine balance between thinking and acting as a region, without unduly compromising each partner's autonomy.

There can also be issues when it comes to governing the region and finding the right balance between regional planning and regional governance. In the past, regional arrangements, such as a regional planning commission, were previously operated through a de facto top-down hierarchy. This top-to-bottom form of planning administration is now regarded as 'old regionalism' and is no longer accepted in some circles as a suitable way to approach a regional endeavour. A 'new regionalism' model is therefore explored, as a potentially better framework for city-regions attempting to build a regional partnership that is capable of being fully successful 'locally' - and 'globally' competitive.

The second part of the literature review focuses on two conflict resolution theories: collaborative planning and consensus building. These two theories were chosen because they are, more often than not, brought up the most when it comes to efforts to move past conflict in a political environment. They are reviewed with a particular interest in understanding what may be the best theory for a city-region partnership that is facing inter-municipal conflict, especially

between large rural municipalities and the core urban municipality. The research on conflict resolution indicates that the conflict first needs to be recognised and acknowledged, before resolution can be attempted; in practice it is more often ignored or brushed aside. Clearly, if conflict is to be resolved it must be dealt with through acknowledgment by all the parties to the conflict.

2.1. Regional Planning & Partnerships

There is increased pressure on those directly or indirectly responsible for city-regions to achieve economic competitiveness, especially in the context of significant growth in the wider region, and associated infrastructure expansion more locally – infrastructure that has to be justified in the short-term and paid-off in the longer-term, through attracting the requisite growth to the city-region, in competition with other city-regions (Wight 1998, 2010; Hodge & Robinson, 2001; Scott et al., 2007). Stakeholders in any given city-region are often diverse, representing a number of different interests. These stakeholders range from smaller, urban and rural municipalities, which surround the central city, to citizen advisory groups that are interested, for example, in the protection of natural resources across political boundaries, to the central city itself as the often prime stakeholder (Wight, 1998; Margerum, 2011). In order for a region to be competitive it needs to achieve a partnership of such interests, with all stakeholders represented and/or included (Wight 1998, 2010; Innes & Booher 2002, 2010; Margerum 2002, 2011). This takes regional planning much more into the realms of partnering, and into the sphere of governance, both very different contexts from past regional planning history, that is still all too familiar for many city regions.

In the past it was thought that one large-scale municipal government for a given region was the most efficient and simplest method to achieve regional planning: “the simplest form of

municipal government for a city-region is to have one single-tier municipality covering the entire urbanized area, and perhaps immediate hinterland as well” (Sancton 1994, p. 21). Theoretically, this ‘Uni-City’ approach may appear to be an easier way to manage a region; however, practically this may not be so appealing, as this research will demonstrate. With the possible exception of the central municipality, municipalities within a region do not want to be amalgamated; they want to be recognized as being individuals. A regional governance partnership is not a regional (uni-city) government dictatorship, attempting to push everyone together within one political entity and expecting that one government will determine policy for the entire area. Municipalities within a regional partnership do not have to be officially consolidated to experience the benefits of a regional partnership. Ideally, if the regional partnership is operating successfully, they will all appreciate the benefits of “economies of scale and reducing inequities in service levels and tax burdens” (Sancton, 1994, p. 95). This is the impact that globalisation is having on city-regions. In order for city-regions to be able to compete globally, municipalities within the region must be aware that they have to work as partners and not as competitors.

2.2. Globalisation

Globalisation is forcing nation-states to become more efficient and competitive. In Canada this pressure cascades down to the provinces and city-regions, to focus on their own efficiency and competitiveness. Movement between regions is becoming more fluid, not just between nations, but between regions within a nation. Before the effects of globalisation were noticed it appeared to be mainly a case of nations competing against one another. Presently it is more common to see regions competing with other regions within the same country, or regions from different countries working together to compete with other regions. Globalisation has forced

global politics, national politics, and regional politics to change: “the issue of competitiveness is becoming a major imperative for city planning” (Wu & Zhang, 2007, p. 719). The competition is forcing planners to look at regions as economic generators for their nation. Companies are locating outside of urban areas where land is cheaper and there is more space to grow: “... policy processes related to economic development are increasingly carried out on a city-regional level involving a diverse combination of several municipalities, other public decision makers, and private stakeholders” (Holmen, 2011, p. 400). Policy is typically slow to adapt to changes; however, it is now beginning to catch up with the changes that globalisation has been having on regions and cities.

It has been assumed in the past that in order to make the region an efficient, economic development machine there needs to be some consolidated efforts among constituent municipalities, especially between a central city and its neighbours (Sancton, 1994). As introduced above, this idea has been associated with ‘uni-city’ thinking. However, although it may in theory make sense to some economists that a city-region will be more efficient if it consolidates municipally to “reduce costs, thereby making the municipal system as a whole more efficient, the problem with such a justification is that there is no empirical evidence to support it” (Sancton, 1994, p. 98). In practice, municipalities want to be recognized as individuals; they want their autonomy. This past history of resistance to merging can make ‘regional planning as regional partnering’ challenging. Municipalities need to be able to work together, sharing resources and policies in order to become efficient on a city-region scale; yet each municipality still feels that its individuality should remain intact to the greatest extent possible.

Ideally however, city-region partnering will come to be recognised as more than simply bringing constituent municipalities into the city-region mix; other levels of government, other

sectors of society also merit inclusion in some way or the other - making such partnerships more than 'inter-municipal' and more fully 'regional'. This more locally 'global' approach can be justified in terms of better responding to globalisation more generally.

Globally, it has been acknowledged by professionals and academics that regions with strong partnerships and some form of partners-based governance in place are in a better position to take advantage of certain incentives and remain more competitive (Tewdwr-Jones & McNeill, 2000). Globalisation is forcing city-regions to look at themselves as a distinct entity and better understand their role in the global economy. If a nation's city-regions are organized and competitive, then overall it would benefit the entire country. This is why it is important for city-regions to look at what they can contribute overall. These types of "pressures have driven a re-articulation of the regional space, mobilization, and coordination of action across jurisdictional and institutional borders" (Andersen & Pierre, 2010, p. 220). As regions begin to organize themselves as distinct entities in their own right, the significance of the boundaries between constituent municipalities begins to fade and "strategic regions emerge where municipalities see potential benefits and gains that exceed the costs associated with cooperation" (Andersen & Pierre, 2010, p. 221). Forming cooperative partnerships and the associated governance infrastructure is not an easy process; it takes considerable work and dialogue. However, the benefits of creating a strong city-region may quickly outweigh any transaction costs of the initial partnering effort.

There has been a "blurring of once rigid and clearly defined boundaries" that has in turn been "an integral part of the globalization process and the new information age, and this is now reflected in the increasingly ambiguous meaning of what is urban, suburban, exurban, or indeed rural or not urban at all" (Scott et al., 2002, p. 13). This is a natural progression of globalisation:

boundaries become fuzzier and less defined as people are more easily able to move around freely. The interaction of city-regions and economics comes into play when... :

Global city-regions come to function increasingly as the regional motors of the global economy, that is, as dynamic local networks of economic relationships caught up in more extended world-wide webs of inter-regional competition and exchange. (Scott et al., 2002, p. 11).

This is where the transformation of the region itself as the new ‘locality’, in a global context, begins to come into play. While formal cities themselves - as municipalities - remain in competition with other municipalities, it is the city-region (the informal global locality) that becomes the main driving economic force: the stronger the regional partnership between a central city and its surrounding municipalities for example, the more competitive and successful the city-region will be economically. Traditional regional planning practices (narrowly focused on land use regulation, and inter-municipal coordination) are no longer so applicable in this new globalising economy. Regional planning as partnering is still very much ‘under development’ or ‘in process’, which makes knowing what to do a distinct challenge for planners, citizens and political actors (Scott et al., 2002). For example, this ‘new regionalism’ is forcing planners to look at space differently. There is more of a focus on developing strategic function plans than developing plans for specific bounded areas: “city-regions increasingly function as essential spatial nodes of the global economy” (Scott et al., 2002, p. 1).

Canada’s economy is based on many different industries and is largely framed around the trading that it does with the United States,

While Canadian cities do not rank highly on a listing of world cities, the influence of other cities and other countries upon Canadian cities is wide-ranging and extremely significant. In particular, these linkages – in terms of global competition and the import of new technologies – affect economic growth through the evolving demand for Canadian products and determine population growth depending on the source of immigration and the preferred destinations within Canada. (Polèse & Simmons, 2011, p. 19).

In particular, the Calgary region is a very important component of not only Alberta's economy, but Canada's economy. As Miller & Smart (2011) suggest, "Calgary's rise in the Canadian urban system can only be understood in terms of its extreme concentration in one particular industry, the oil and gas industry, and that industry's critical role in the contemporary global economy" (p. 286). The booming economy in the Calgary region is drawing more people, especially new immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2011). This means that the Calgary region will continue to see high rates of growth, potentially with many new residents locating outside of the City of Calgary to take advantage of more affordable housing options. The Calgary region is just one example of a city-region in the world that is experiencing the impacts of globalisation; there are many other city-regions that are facing similar situations.

2.3. City-Regions

City-regions are complex areas that are inclusive of many different municipalities and the wider communities of interest that they anchor. These municipalities typically vary in size in terms of land area and population. City-regions "are understood as functional regions where centre and surrounding municipalities share the labour and social markets" (Holmen, 2011, p. 400). Statistics Canada refers to city-regions as 'self-contained labour areas' meaning areas where jobs are filled by people that live in the area (Munro, Alasia, & Bollman, 2011, p. 1). The term 'self-contained labour area' can be used for the Calgary region because it also focuses on individuals that live in the rural setting but who work close to, or within, the urban area (Munro, Alasia, & Bollman, 2011). The metropolitan centre of the region (typically in the centre of the city-region, as the central or core city) is one that is often growing quickly, spilling over into the surrounding municipalities, often taking the form of urban sprawl. As new development in one municipality creeps closer to another, without an inter-municipal development plan (IDP) in

place, competitive feelings can build up, creating tension amongst these municipalities. It is a natural reaction for municipalities to want to protect their land base, their territory, and their ‘turf’. In attempting to deal with growth pressures and economic growth, city-regions quite often encounter inter-municipal disputes.

There are typically three distinct conflicts that result from such growth pressures: development conflict, property conflict, and resource conflict (Godschalk, 2004). Godschalk (2004) lists three planning-oriented responses that seek to resolve such growth management conflict: sustainable development; new urbanism; and Smart Growth. Godschalk (2004) acknowledges that “regional land use and infrastructure planning must turn to negotiation to contend with multi-jurisdictional decision-making structures” (p. 8). However, the three approaches have been criticized for mainly focusing on design solutions, rather than really attempting to solve the relationship issues exercising the municipalities.

Historically, it was the impact of urban-type development in the countryside that led people and politicians to believe that there was a need for regional and strategic planning (Tewdwr-Jones & McNeill, 2000). After World War II more and more people began to live in suburban areas, away from the city’s core (Savitch et al., 1993, Leo, 1995). This flight from the inner city has now spilled over, beyond the central city’s borders, into the surrounding rural areas. Some people within the central city target the outlying areas to find a place to escape the high costs of living within the city, and to live in a more calming environment. However, many of these people tend to continue to work within the city, and make the daily commute into the metropolitan centre. This means that the municipalities surrounding the metropolitan centre are typically experiencing high rates of growth, and their infrastructure struggles to keep up with that

growth. The city and the outlying municipalities must work together, in order to ensure that regional resources are being used efficiently.

The term 'city-region' is not used here to imply that a particular 'city' comes first, nor is this particular city viewed as being separate from a 'region' (dominated by the municipalities that surround the city) that might otherwise be perceived as coming 'second'. The 'city-region' terminology specifically includes both the central city and the surrounding municipalities; it is an undifferentiated region-scale form of settlement. This describes a region that has a quickly growing large municipal centre, adjacent to a number of different municipalities; together they create a region. City-regions are complex because they involve a diverse group of particular interests that either have competing goals or very different goals (Dodge, 1996; Hodge & Robinson, 2001).

It is not natural for many of the current stakeholders, especially municipalities that effectively share a city-region, to actually work together on a highly collaborative level; thinking and acting like a region can feel like foreign territory, an unnatural act (Wight, 1998). However, such collaboration, much more than mere cooperation or coordination, is becoming more important for emerging forms of regional planning, especially within 'new regionalism' framings (see Section 2.5 – New Regionalism). This is probably the next step for 'city-regions' that are actually comfortable with the term, i.e. seeing themselves, collectively, as a city-region; 'old' regionalism may still in effect be the operative framework, where 'city-region' identification is actively resisted.

City-regions especially are feeling the pressures of globalisation, population growth, scarce resources, and expanding infrastructure costs (Scott et al., 2002; Andersen & Pierre, 2010). Developing a regional partnership in such contexts is challenging because there is no one

formula that sets out how it should be done; regions are typically on their own to figure out a format that works well for them, in lieu of the provincial or state government stepping in and guiding the process (Thomas 2011; McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007). The challenge again is trying to find the right planning and governance balance. In some way the provincial or state government needs to step in to help guide the process, but most city-regions would like to be left alone to work out a type of partnership that is effective for them. As much as municipalities want their autonomy, so do city-regions as a whole. Each city-region needs to be able to determine a governance structure that works well for them.

2.4. Governance

In conventional parlance, governance is an aspect of government, as is administration for example. In the city-region planning context, a distinction needs to be observed between government/s-based regional planning and governance-based regional planning. It is the latter that is mostly associated with the idea of regional planning as partnering. The two need to be distinguished from one another so as not to be confused. Government is viewed as more of a top-down process where governance is recognized as a highly collaborative process that is network-based – horizontal rather than vertical, anti-hierarchical. Often these terms, government and governance are used interchangeably, but this is not helpful in our context; they should be viewed as separate, but linked.

There has often been considerable criticism of centralized government (usually by interests favouring private sector approaches) – for example, how it is slow, inefficient, and/or reluctant to change (Osborne & Gaebler, 1993). While there needs to be a level of governance within a regional partnership in order to have a succinct coherent vision and plan for the area, this is not to suggest for example, that a regional partnership act as a centralized regional government body

for the entire region. In our context, government will always be essentially local/municipal or provincial/federal; but this should not preclude various efforts at intermediate governance. This important nuance is apt to be missed, especially where ‘old’ regionalism is the operative framework. A governance perspective naturally encompasses the public and private sector, and the non-government sector, as well as all levels of government, to the extent that they impact the city-region.

A governance structure is, ideally, all-inclusive, meaning that not only planners and elected officials are part of making decisions for the region, but so are the citizens, and non-profit groups (e.g. environmental groups), and private sector interests. The latter help to confer a form of entrepreneurial approach, a civic entrepreneurialism, on a regional scale. It has been theorized that a regional governance structure is better organized on the entrepreneurial basis conventionally associated with the commercial/private sector: “...entrepreneurial leaders instinctively reach for the decentralized approach; they move many decisions to the periphery, into the hands of customers, communities and non-governmental organisations” (Osborne & Gaebler, 1993, p. 251-252). This decentralized approach means that the resulting partnership is not so likely to be overrun by parochial politics; it remains a democratic body that is responsible to the regional citizenry that confers its civic basis. In order for the city-region to be successful it needs to be creative in the decisions it makes, and in the way it chooses to organize its governance (and not attempt to function as a government). There is so much importance on municipal autonomy “in today’s world, things simply work better if those working in public organizations – schools, public housing developments, parks, training programs – have the authority to make many of their own decisions” (Osborne & Gaebler, 1993, p. 251). There needs to be a better balance between planning for the region in a coherent manner while still allowing

individual partners (such as municipalities and others) to make their own decisions and keep their autonomy intact.

2.4.1. Regional Planning by Governments and Regional Governance by Partnerships

Regional planning is still quite new in Canada; for the short time (a matter of decades) it has been practised in Canada it has changed considerably (Hodge & Robinson, 2001, p. 3). According to Hodge & Robinson (2001) regional planning must learn from its past before it can move into the future: "... this should not be surprising, for the history of regional planning is one of adaptation to changing ideas, professional capacity, and political will" (p. 309). A continual adaptation means that "many of the themes that regional planners deal with today are new...the practice of regional planning has changed; indeed, it has had to change" (Hodge & Robinson, 2001, p. 3). Population growth, environmental protection, and expanding infrastructure are concerns that have created several shifts in regional planning (Hodge & Robinson, 2001; Scott et al., 2002; Andersen & Pierre, 2010). Thirty years ago these concerns were not so great and regions did not have these added pressures. Nowadays, these issues are so significant that they can only be dealt with on a regional scale (Hodge & Robinson, 2001). It is not only these concerns that are forcing regional planning to readjust its focus; the historical top-down perspective of regional planning, the 'old' regionalism, is no longer so tolerated by municipalities and stakeholders within a region (Hodge & Robinson, 2001). Old-regionalism focused on mainly municipal governments leading or anchoring the regional planning process. Nowadays, regional planning needs to be more integrated within governance structures, including a wider range of stakeholders leading the process together, collaboratively - regional planning as partnering. There are multiple stakeholders that need to be included in the process of planning for today's city-regions; these include public, private, and third sector interests (e.g.,

NGOs, non-profits). The old regionalism scope of only involving municipalities and the local level of government needs to be expanded: “the private sector has a role, as does civil society, as do all the emerging socio-political, environmental and ecological movements that mark the leading edge of cultural evolution...The context is not government, and the associated hierarchy, instead the context is multi-level multi-sector governance” (Wight, 2010, p. 3). All of these groups have a vested interest in the region they share, their regional commons. In the 1970s and 1980s it was common for municipal governments to be comparatively privileged as to what policies and strategies were planned for the city-region; now that functional boundaries are becoming blurred, there is a large mix of stakeholders that need to be included in these city-regional partnerships (Sancton, 1994, p. 95; Hodge & Robinson, 2001).

The following section discusses old regionalism and new regionalism. Old regionalism is a centralized government version of regional planning whereas new regionalism is more of a decentralized governance structure, centred on partnering. New regionalism seeks to allow a diverse range of stakeholders to be involved in planning for the region, whereas in the old regionalism model plans and policies are focused within a government structure that is neither collaborative nor inclusive.

2.5. Old Regionalism and New Regionalism

The main differences between old regionalism and new regionalism focus on the groups that are involved in the planning processes, and the levels of integration or interaction of these groups. Old regionalism has been identified as a process with “shallow integration” (Burfisher, Robinson, & Thierfelder, 2003, p. 2). New regionalism is a form of regional governance, as partnership, that is more inclusive of everyone within the region. It acknowledges that regional politics can have national consequences (Wight, 1998, 2010). City-regions are central to global

economics: “new regionalism is not so much an effect of initiatives flowing out from central government as it is a direct local response to stresses and strains set in motion by the emergence of the city-region as an important actor in the world economy” (Scott et al., 2002, p. 17). The importance of city-regions being able to work together, and having effective governance, reflects the potential advantage they have when competing with other regions on a global scale.

Regions are complicated because there are multiple municipalities, multiple publics, multiple levels of governments, and multiple sectors (including the private and third sectors) that fully form these regions. A purely top-down approach to governing regions, centred on the old regionalism model, is no longer desirable; there are too many different groups with different needs and wants, and an exclusively top-down government structure only creates conflict and tension, putting partnerships at higher risk (Dodge, 1996; Wight, 1998, p. 11). Regionalism needs to be perceived in a new way, “often, momentous transformations fail our perception, in part, because we try to frame them in our old ways of seeing” (Wallis 2000, p.1).

Table 1 below compares characteristics of the old form of regionalism and new regionalism, based on the work of Allan Wallis: “... the old regionalism continues to offer important solutions to significant problems, the new regionalism is most centrally a response to a new set of problems that the old regionalism was either not aware of, or not designed to address” (2000, 4). The new regionalism characteristics listed below might be considered as being more in tune with how regional partnerships should be mainly functioning in the present (the new regionalism should also be considered as transcending, while including, aspects of the old regionalism that retain validity).

Table 1 System characteristics Based on Allan Wallis’s Comparisons

Old form of Regionalism (Hierarchy Based)	New Regionalism (Network-Based)
Government	Governance
Structure	Process
Closed	Open
Coordination	Collaboration
Accountability	Trust
Power	Empowerment

Concerning *government* and *governance*, Wallis observes that:

Governance vs. government. First, the old regionalism was basically about *government*, specifically about how to insert a new layer in the hierarchy of state-local relations. By contrast, the new regionalism is about *governance*; that is, establishing vision and goals, and setting policy to achieve them (Wallis 2000, p. 2).

The challenge with regional governance is that “city-regions are finding themselves faced with important new tasks of local political integration and representation” (Scott et al., 2002, p. 6). This is why, specifically within regions, a focus on broadly-conceived governance, rather than trying to emulate ‘a government’, is more effective. There is no one level of government, nor one sector of the public domain, that can adequately meet the needs of an entire region. Governance encourages relationship-building and helps ensure that citizens can have influence over the decisions that are made regarding the future of their region (Dodge, 1996; Hodge & Robinson, 2001, p. 21; Wight, 2010, p. 2).

Wallis explains that the old form of regionalism focused on structure, such as consolidating municipalities and forming authorities to over-see them (2000 p. 3). Process, which is what is involved with new regionalism, is mainly focused on “strategic planning, resolving conflict and

building consensus” (Wallis 2000, p. 3). The process and systems way of working with a region is a new idea; rather than developing the bureaucracy to control the area, new regionalism is more focused on developing a process to deal with unique situations and developing strategies.

The *open versus closed* characteristics relates to boundaries. The old forms of regionalism were concerned with amalgamation and developing one solid boundary that unifies the region and identifies it as one. However, new regionalism is not as focused on having a solid boundary, “what defines the extent of the region varies with the issue it is trying to address” (Wallis 2000, p. 3). If water is an issue then all municipalities that share the same watershed are part of the discussion. If regional transportation regarding one specific highway is a topic, then all municipalities that have access to that highway are in the discussion. New regionalism does not depend on solid boundaries; the boundaries can be adjusted depending on the topics and issues that are being discussed.

The old form of regionalism is often condemned for its paternalistic style of ruling a region. New regionalism is celebrated for its focus on collaboration. Wallis (2000) observes that “collaboration abhors a hierarchy, because that suggests that someone, or some position, is in control..[it/collaboration] thrives when parties to it see each other as distinct yet equal” (p. 3). Collaboration is a successful method of working together as a region; this will be discussed further in Sections 2.6 & 2.6.1.

The final sets of characteristics (Accountability vs. Trust; Power vs. Empowerment) are quite closely related. In the old form of regionalism fears of too much power were “kept in check through procedures of accountability” (Wallis 2000, p. 3). The power often rested in the hands of the municipalities that were larger (in terms of population) and this is how decisions were made. New regionalism identifies more with trust and empowerment. Trust is developed

through more investments in social and civic upgrades (Wallis, 2000). Once the communities and citizens are able to see the positive impacts that come with being part of the city-region they will feel empowered and the trust will follow.

New regionalism is a unique model for regional bodies to work within; it involves a different style of governance, atop the old regionalism forms that still have a place in the new scheme. However, old regionalism is no longer the default model. In a partnership context, aligned with new regionalism, partners are supported in knowing that their autonomy will not be sacrificed. This comes through an emphasis on true collaboration - working closely with one another in new ways. Ideally, small achievements will accrue early, helping partners to appreciate what can come from a new regionalism form of partnership.

2.6. Collaborative Planning and Consensus Building: Theory

Recent works on new approaches to city-region planning encourage collaboration and consensus building (Healey, 2006; Innes & Booher, 2002, 2010). These models assist partners in a dispute resolution process, where conflict and related issues are dealt with rather than ignored. Such conflict is to be anticipated, and response-mechanisms need to be built in to partnership development, and maintenance. It is an important strategic move for a region to focus on building a partnership: a city-region's "organization, governance and range, and the intensity of collaboration vary significantly from case to case and over time" (Andersen & Pierre, 2010, p. 221). Strong partnerships ensure that each municipality, and interested citizen groups involved in a governance context, are empowered to voice their concerns and work together. These types of "inter-local partnerships have therefore become an attractive strategy of enhancing local-level organization capacity and efficiency without violating the norms of local autonomy" (Andersen & Pierre, 2010, p. 222). It is rare for such efforts to be conflict-free. This section examines two

different conflict resolution models, collaborative planning and consensus building, and how application of the related theory might help to bridge the gap between certain partners within a city-region context.

Learning to handle conflict is important for many professionals, especially planners. The fact of the matter is that conflict cannot always be resolved (it may simply have to be accommodated, perhaps with an established dispute resolution mechanism). Marcia Caton Campbell (2003) has noted that “an area of growing conflict resolution research is intractability in disputes” (p. 361) with ‘intractability’ defined as a conflict that is resistant to resolution (Campbell, 2003). Intractable conflicts are highly contentious and planners need to approach these types of conflicts differently, as opposed to conflicts where disputants are willing to work out their issues. Conflict resolution is one particular area where “planners will need greater facility and skill” (Campbell, 2003, p. 360). Typically, exposure to conflict resolution is part of on-the-job training for planners, not necessarily part of their formal education (Campbell 2003).

In the case of the CRP, the Province of Alberta has a department within Municipal Affairs that focuses on dispute resolution - Municipal Collaboration and Mediation (Municipal Affairs, Municipal Collaboration & Mediation, 2011). However, this unit has been criticized by some who have suggested that the Province does not get involved in the resolution process soon enough (McKinney et al., 2007). The University of Montana’s Public Policy and Research Institute (PRRI), and the Consensus Building Institute (CBI), worked with stakeholders in the CRP for a period of time (2006-2007) in order to assess the situation within the Calgary region and between its municipalities (McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007). Municipal officials and employees were interviewed and asked a series of questions that covered the following topics: issues and concerns related to growth and sustainability; barriers and challenges to working

together; information needed for regional growth and sustainability; mechanisms to improve coordination; potential areas of conflict; strategies to mitigate or resolve conflict; and options for cost sharing (McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007). From the interview results a report was prepared, 'Situation Assessment Report on Terms of Agreement for Working Together'. In this report stakeholders mentioned that:

Provincial-led mediation and dispute resolution services **were triggered only after relationships had seriously deteriorated**. Additionally, partners expressed a desire to devise a "home-grown" approach to resolving inter-municipal conflicts that reflected the vision and values of the CRP. (McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007, p. 5; emphasis added).

Handling conflict is often quite tricky, especially when there are multiple stakeholders involved that have issues with trust. The two dispute resolution models discussed below, collaborative planning and consensus building, are methods for dealing with conflict in a city-region context. Each handles conflict as it arises, rather than waiting for mediation (or arbitration) towards the middle (or near the end) of a conflict - when it may already be an intractable dispute. These models appear to support a new-regionalism way of thinking, marshalling resources and convening stakeholders. The introduction of these two models into the city-region partnership process could highlight how partners might work together in order to nip conflict in the bud, before it can stall or stymie partnership.

2.6.1. Collaborative Planning

In terms of conflict resolution, collaborative planning focuses on the relationships that conflicting groups create. Through these relationships groups are able to work towards a solution together while respecting and understanding each other's needs. In her book, *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies* (2006), Patsy Healey describes collaborative planning as focusing on the "relational webs or networks in which we live our

lives” (p. 59). Everyone has their own web; webs are the relations that one has with a group of people, which could be work associates, your peers, or a community circle. Healey (2006) suggests that in order for collaborative planning to deal with conflict resolution, the webs that are conflicting need to create a node where each web can join. Once these webs are able to join together, creating their own web, they will begin to discuss their conflict and work towards a solution together. When a planner is involved in a collaborative process they need to understand the motivations of interested stakeholders. Warner (1999) states that “planners need to recognize how the experience, values, and interests of different audiences condition the reception of knowledge, and [need to] tailor education programs to fit the cultural values and past experiences of each audience” (p. 201). All of these past experiences will affect how each party involved in the process will react to one another. In their book, *Planning with Complexity: An Introduction to Collaborative Rationality for Public Policy*, Innes and Booher (2010) indicate that the collaboration model is not a natural process for local governments within the developed world to follow, but by combining theory with practice a successful model will begin to solve the “wicked problems” faced by planners, and stakeholders, involved in city-region partnerships (p. 2).

Richard Margerum (2002) has observed that “collaborative planning forums will usually be more diverse, more broad-based, and more long-term than conflict resolution forums” (p. 241). Margerum’s view is that collaborative planning is an ongoing process that consists of three distinct phases: “problem setting phase (stakeholders become involved and a convener is established); direction setting phase (stakeholder group interacts in an effort to reach consensus); and an implementation phase (stakeholders work to implement, through individual and joint actions)” (2002, p. 238). A key element in collaborative planning is that it is ongoing. It cannot start up once conflict has been initiated, and end once the conflict has been resolved.

Collaborative planning is a model that ensures involved groups and stakeholders will always continue to work together in a collaborative process.

2.6.2. Consensus Building

In contrast to collaborative planning, the consensus building dispute resolution model is unique because it searches for agreement amongst the disputing partners. Through the search for agreement and understanding of the conflict, and of the different stakeholders, is built up over time - which develops a strong partnership (Barton, 1984). Consensus building can be described as “conflict resolution by seeking results which are acceptable to everyone” (Barton, 1984, p. 96). Consensus building seeks to find an agreement for conflicting parties through which each party begins to develop an understanding of one another. This understanding is developed through the process of the parties discussing their differences and the resulting conflict. The process of the stakeholders building towards a consensus is viewed by many as the most important factor in consensus building. However, power imbalances and compromises are present in this conflict resolution model; it is the planner’s role to make sure that the process is as inclusive and as fair as it can be.

Innes and Booher (1999) state that consensus building, by its very nature, challenges typical thinking about success and failure. In order for consensus building to be effective key stakeholders need to be present: “consensus building cannot work when key stakeholders have no incentive to come to the table” (Innes, 2004, p. 15). Consensus building is a method that is used for resolving conflict; often the process involved is more valuable than the outcome. The discussions held by conflicting parties become a mechanism for establishing a broader understanding (Innes & Booher, 1999, 2010).

Both dispute resolution models will be examined when assessing how the municipalities that have opted out of the CRP might begin to focus on rebuilding the relationship between themselves and the City of Calgary, through the Partnership (or at least through a new ‘new regionalism’ model of partnership). These approaches to dispute resolution will also be used to consider how a wider group of stakeholders might be better included in the partnering process. It is assumed that conflict is present, which is why the rural municipalities do not want to participate in the CRP; however, without the presence and contribution of these municipalities and allied stakeholders the city-region partnership is obviously impaired. The dispute resolution models will also be considered in terms of implications for the planner’s role, when faced with such challenges in city-regional partnerships. Are planners adequately trained to handle these types of conflicts? Does their planning education prepare them for this? Is the planning profession keeping up with the shifts in regional planning, especially as regards the emerging ‘new regionalism’?

2.7. Conclusions

The type of dispute resolution model that is incorporated into a partnership will always depend on the partnership, and the type of conflict that is being dealt with. Consensus building can be perceived negatively as people assume that there are always compromises that have to be made; this could be true, but is not always the case. Collaboration is more a matter of the preferred and valued mode of standard conduct; ideally, it should be present in the partnership from the very beginning, the partnership should be fundamentally a collaboration (rather than simply a vehicle for some cooperation and/or coordination). New regionalism models are built upon collaboration; without the collaboration the partnership will not feel empowered, and will lack the trust between partners that is needed. Trust between members in a partnership means

that there is little or no degenerative competition and/or power imbalances; this is what is needed to have a successful partnership, where the emphasis is on generative rather than degenerative forms of power (Kahane, 2010).

Past conventional approaches to regional planning, that Wallis (2000) refers to as ‘old forms of regionalism’, are no longer solely appropriate when it comes to working with multiple partners within a city-region. Globalisation brings opportunities for city-regions to work together in order to become more efficient and globally competitive. If city-region partnerships are not able to work out, and resolve, the conflicts they face, they will miss the opportunities and benefits that are generally acknowledged to accrue when partners work together efficiently.

A key part of the conditions for a successful city-region is having good governance. This is a challenge that many city-region partnerships struggle with, in order to find a balance between earlier regional-planning-dominated and newer regional-governance-oriented approaches. The often top-down ‘old regionalism’ ways associated with the favouring of a centralized, regional form of government, is not appealing to most of the municipalities involved in a regional partnership. A fully evolved regional governance approach would ensure that there is no hierarchy structure; all partners would be viewed as equals. A city-region partnership must have a form of governance that is agreeable to all partners, or else the partnership will stall and the city-region may not be able to compete well globally.

3. Research Methods

In order to address the research questions the main methods employed were: targeted literature review; a case study of the recent inter-municipal conflict challenges of the CRP; selected precedents review; and semi-structured interviews with a sample of key informants. The underlying research problem investigated is the planning/governance challenge associated with effective regional partnering, how to get the balance right, especially in the face of inter-municipal conflict.

The Calgary Regional Partnership (CRP) has been referenced as a relevant case in order to study a real life example of an important economic region, which is the subject of a city-region partnership that is currently stalled due to past conflicts and power struggles. Planners, municipal officials, and third sector activists were interviewed, through semi-structured interviews, in order to gain a sense of the current situation, and how the CRP might begin to move forward to become a globally competitive, unreservedly successful, city-region partnership. The research methods are discussed thoroughly below.

3.1. Literature Research

Targeted literature review in a number of different fields, from a number of different sources helped to frame the project, and flesh out relevant concepts. The review included, first and foremost, the UM Libraries' City Planning collection, which ensured the underlying planning focus. Literature on regional planning and regional partnerships provided an understanding of these topics and how they might inter-relate. Documents published on the CRP were reviewed in order to understand where the Partnership has been, and where it might be heading. Researching the history of the CRP, and the preceding regional planning in the Calgary region, helped to answer the research questions regarding how regional planning has changed in the Calgary

region over time, and how this has impacted current regional planning practice in the area. Finally, work in the field of dispute resolution processes, and more specifically, collaborative planning and consensus building models, were researched in order to provide insight on how to approach the conflict-based challenges that partnerships face. These dispute resolution models have been examined in order to better identify the planner's role in helping regional partnerships to bridge the gap between members in conflict, and contribute to conflict resolution. The literature review provided background, and generated insights, to help shape the questions for the semi-structured interviews, and to frame/interpret the analysis of the results of the primary research.

3.2. Case Study

Case study is a research method best used “when a ‘how’ or ‘why’ question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which a researcher has no control” (Gray, 2009, p. 247). The Calgary Regional Partnership (CRP) is the main case employed for this practicum. A number of documents have been released that have charted the progress of the CRP since its inception. These documents as well as previous findings from interviews (by the Public Policy Research Centre at the University of Montana, and the Consensus Building Institute) have been reviewed. Case study is relevant to this project because it provides a ‘real-life’ example of the processes and challenges that city-regional partnerships must deal with [It should also be noted, that, although centred on the City of Calgary, the city-region includes a broad spectrum of landscapes - from mountain headwaters and foothills (see Figure 2) in the west, to vast open prairie expanses in the east – with the Bow River flowing through the whole region].

Figure 2 The Calgary City-Region – Western Foothills Landscape
Photo credit: Author



Firstly, the CRP case has been used as a practical example of a regional partnership. It is a fairly new partnership, but has enough of a past that the process can be examined from the very beginning in 1999. The history of regional planning in the Calgary region, from the early 1950s to the early 1990s, has been reviewed in order to understand the importance of the past - the heritage or legacy of regional planning (and especially the CRPC) in this area. The CRP case has been referenced to understand how this city-region partnership was developed, the initial intentions in developing this partnership, how these intentions might have changed over time, and the role of the CRP provincially, nationally, and globally.

Secondly, the case study has provided knowledge and understanding of how challenges associated with inter-municipal conflict play a role in city-region partnerships. A single case study is best used when “only a single case is examined...The single case study should be chosen when it can play a significant role in testing a hypothesis” (Gray, 2009, p. 256). The hypothesis

for the case study is that the CRP is currently experiencing challenges, and compromised partnering, due to past unresolved conflict. Some municipalities disagree with the fundamental direction of the recent metropolitan plan effort; they struggle to be engaged in planning for the region while upholding their individual autonomy. Their experiences have influenced the particular focus in the case study on the inter-municipal conflict between the four large rural municipalities (Rocky View, Foothills, Wheatland and Bighorn) and the central core municipality (the City of Calgary).

The issues and challenges that have been experienced by the municipalities that are actively part of the partnership, as well as those that have recently opted out of the partnership, have been researched in order to gain a broader understanding of the typical issues and challenges that partners face in city-regional partnerships. These issues and challenges have been explored in terms of the dispute resolution models, as mentioned in the literature review, in the context of the inter-municipal conflicts involving the four large rural municipalities.

Finally, the CRP experience potentially contains lessons for other city-regions involved with such partnerships, or interested in such regional partnering. It also provides a basis for exploring an understanding of the planner's role when working with regional partnerships. A better understanding of the challenges associated with this partnership will potentially assist policy makers and planners in future city-region partnership endeavours.

3.3. Precedents

The research has also addressed two other potentially comparable city-region partnerships that are currently in operation and recognized by their provincial governments: the Alberta Capital Region (around Edmonton) and the Manitoba Capital Region (around Winnipeg). Both precedents are prairie city-region examples of partnerships that are currently in progress, and

which have been in operation for a number of years. These precedents afford an opportunity to consider how they are managing to overcome conflict situations, and achieve strong partnerships, especially in the context of their large rural municipality members, and their relationship with the central city in each case.

3.4. Interviews

The case study has been augmented by primary research consisting of six semi-structured interviews. The interviews were held with planners, representatives of advocacy groups (e.g., non-government organisations), and private sector consultants that have been involved in the CRP. Representatives of a broad range of stakeholders have been included in the interviewing process in order to provide insight on the many different angles of the partnership.

Each interview was semi-structured, meaning that “the interviewer has a list of issues and questions to be covered, but may not deal with all of them in each interview” (Gray, 2009, p. 373). Questions were prepared to guide the interview, but the focus was on having meaningful dialogue, which could change direction based on ideas and comments brought up in the interview (Appendix B – Interview Guide). Responses were recorded through taking notes and interviews were also tape-recorded. Responses were only recorded when the participant had given permission. The location of the interviews depended on who was being interviewed; interviews were mainly done in the participant’s office.

Prospective interviewees were approached in December 2011 and January 2012. Initially the researcher contacted potential interviewees to meet with them before the actual research began. While in Calgary in December 2011 the researcher was able to meet with two interviewees in order to gain a broad perspective on issues involving regional partnerships within the CRP. Neither of these discussions were recorded or used within this document as they were

preliminary meetings. However, reaching out to interviewees well ahead of when the initial semi-structured interviews were scheduled was a great benefit - as the researcher was able to build a relationship with some of the interviewees before the interviewing began. This was important when it came to obtaining a rich interview in April and May 2012. Unfortunately, one of the interviewees, representing the Siksika Nation, was unable to meet at the scheduled interview time; however, they were able to provide the researcher with written responses to the interview questions that had been provided. It is important to the research that the Siksika Nation is represented since they are one of two First Nations that are near the CRP border, have been part of some of the CRP meetings, and will be affected by CRP policy and plans.

In total six interviews were conducted. The first two interviews were conducted on Monday, April 30 in Crossfield, AB and Airdrie, AB. These two interviews were important to have first as one was representing an urban municipality that had recently opted out of the partnership, and the second was with an individual who used to be the Executive Chair of the partnership, and a previous mayor of an existing urban municipality that is part of the partnership. Through the interviews it was important to meet with people that had different views of the CRP, and of the inter-municipal conflict involving the four large rurals. Rather than just representing one side of the Partnership the research needed to be able to present all sides, while still focusing of the perspective of the large rurals. The final four interviews were held over the course of the week from May 1, 2012 to May 4, 2012 and were conducted in the participants' offices in Calgary, AB. The final four interviews were held with a planner from the City of Calgary that has been extensively involved with the Partnership, a planner that has worked for the CRP since its inception in 1999, an individual that sits on the Bow River

Watershed Alliance (and who provided comments to the CRP in regards to the environmental components of the CMP), and a representative from Rocky View County.

The semi-structured interviews attempted to engage a cross-section of supporters of the CRP as well as those that have had issues with the CRP. By representing the different views and opinions about the CRP the research is meant to be objective. The interviews were as objective as they could be. Most interviewees had strong opinions about the CRP and about city-region partnerships in general, making objectivity a challenge in some interviewee comments. However, the research benefited through interviewing a number of people holding diverse views on the CRP. Discussion of how the semi-structured interviews were analyzed is discussed below.

3.5. Analysis

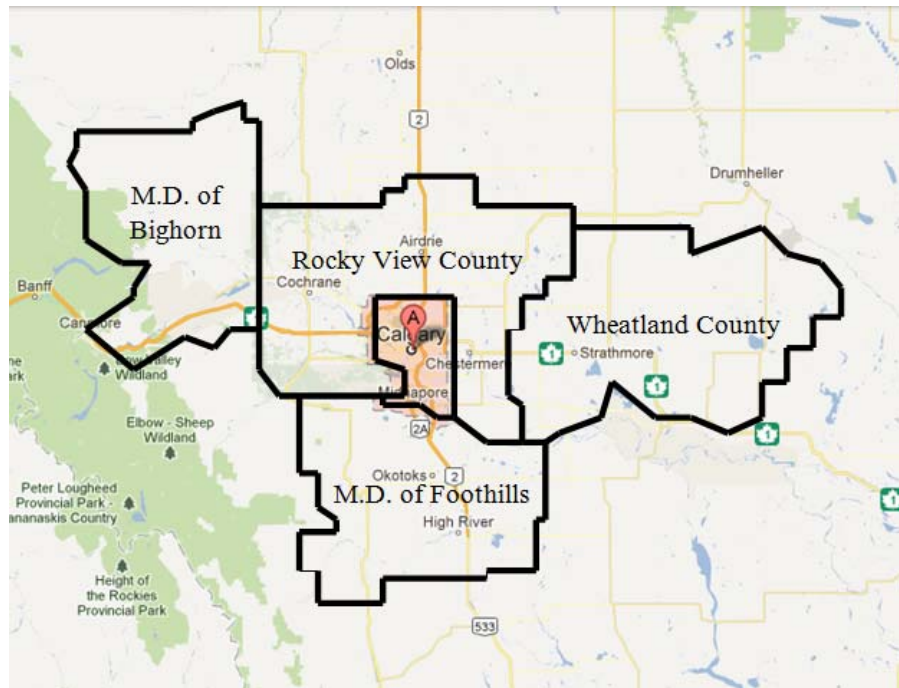
The qualitative data within this document consists of literature review, interviews, precedent research and a case study. While qualitative research may be considered “less valid and reliable than its quantitative cousin, qualitative data can be a powerful source for analysis” (Gray, 2009, p. 166). Qualitative research requires rigorous review of collected data in order to identify and elaborate the concepts and values that are being investigated.

Qualitative research can be very complex in that there is not one method used to sort through the data; there can be multiple strategies used (Gray, 2009). The data collected were subjected to what Gray (2009) terms “analytic induction” (p. 495). The data were reviewed for themes and patterns, and coded accordingly. Following organization of the data, the interview data was reviewed again to further narrow down the operative themes (which are the themes that are identified in Section 5.4).

4. Local Context and Background: The Calgary Regional Partnership

The Calgary region is one of Canada's fastest growing regions in terms of population (Statistics Canada, 2011). People from all over the country, including immigrants, have moved to southern Alberta, and particularly the areas surrounding Calgary, in order to take advantage of the economic development and wealth of opportunities for employment. Municipalities within this area cannot work alone; they share services, transportation networks and populations.

Figure 3 The Calgary City-Region
Source: Public Domain



The Alberta Government does not want to force the Calgary region municipalities to partner, as was the case for the Alberta Capital Region (Edmonton and surrounding areas). In addition, the municipalities in and around Calgary do not want the Province to direct them down a particular path. Autonomy is very important for all the municipalities involved; however, it has also been a factor holding back certain municipalities from remaining part of the Partnership. Currently there are 14 member municipalities involved as partners within the CRP. The majority

of these members are experiencing high rates of growth (see Table 2). There are no other ‘non-municipality’ partners at the present time; it is essentially a partnership of municipalities, and has been since its inception. It mainly mirrors aspects of the old RPC structuring – rather than a new regionalism structuring.

Table 2 Population statistics for member & non-member municipalities
Source: Statistics Canada, 2011

Member & Non-member Municipalities	Population (2006)	Population (2011)	Population Growth % (2006-2011)
Chestermere	9,923	14,284	43.9%
Airdrie	28,927	42,564	47.1 %
Okotoks	17,150	24,511	42.9%
Cochrane	13,760	17,580	27.8%
Banff	938	1,175	25.3%
Black Diamond	1,900	2,373	24.9%
High River	10,716	12,920	20.6%
Strathmore	10,280	12,305	19.7%
Turner Valley	1,908	2,167	13.6%
Calgary	988,812	1,096,833	10.9%
Nanton	2,055	2,132	3.7%
Canmore	12,039	12,288	2.1%
Irricana	1,243	1,162	-6.5%
Redwood Meadows	n/a	1,777	n/a
Rocky View County (non-member)	33,173	36,461	9.9%
M.D. of Bighorn (non-member)	1,264	1,341	6.1%
M.D. of Foothills (non-member)	19,731	21,258	7.7%
Wheatland County (non-member)	8,109	8,285	2.2%
Town of Crossfield (non-member)	2,668	2,853	6.9%
Total population of the region (members and non-members)	1,164,596	1,314,269	12.8%

Ten of the current 14 member municipalities are experiencing growth rates higher than 10%, and three of the ten are experiencing growth rates above 40%. These are very high rates for the smaller urban communities. This is probably why the region and the Province are so concerned with the development of a regional/metropolitan plan that focuses on progressive sustainable development principles that encourage infrastructure sharing, cost sharing, and future development patterns. The following sections briefly touch on the regional planning past of the Calgary region, and the present situation. It references the guiding documents that are important to the area that have been developed by the Province and the CRP.

4.1. History of Regional Planning in the Calgary Region

Regional planning in the Calgary region has been a sensitive topic, at least since the days of the Calgary Regional Planning Commission (CRPC). Planning in Alberta began early, just after the Province was created in 1905 (Dragushan, 1979; Climenhaga, 1997; Hodge and Robinson, 2001). The history of regional planning within the Calgary city-region began with the Calgary Regional Planning Commission (CRPC) (Dragushan, 1979; Climenhaga, 1997). The CRPC was formed in 1951; it was put in place to be the guiding hand for subdivision and development for the municipalities that were part of the CRPC (Hodge and Robinson, 2001, p. 260-261). The CRPC regulated subdivision and development in the rural municipalities, which the rural municipalities did not always appreciate (Dragushan, 1979; Climenhaga, 1997; Hodge & Robinson, 2001). The CRPC was disbanded in 1995 as the Province of Alberta began to withdraw funding from regional planning commissions, and because the new Municipal Government Act (MGA) became the legal guiding framework for planning in Alberta (Climenhaga, 1997; McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007).

Some of the rural municipality members felt that they were not being treated fairly within the CRPC, with the City of Calgary being advantaged; to this day they continue to have a negative view of such past regional planning in the Calgary area. Some of the more rural municipalities felt that the focus was not on the region as a whole during that time; it seemed most important to focus on the central city, Calgary. Interaction between municipalities involving annexations and land use agreements are now guided by the MGA through Inter-Municipal Development Plans (IDPs) (McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007). Typically between two municipalities, these plans set out terms of agreement for cross-boundary interaction (McKinney & Johnson, 2009). However, given the scale of growth of the population, subdivision development, and associated infrastructure, the Calgary city-region is an area that clearly needs 'city-region-scale' regional planning, and new forms of governance – currently being pursued in the form of a partnership (McKinney & Johnson, 2009; personal communication, December 29, 2011).

The introduction of a new city-region partnership approach in the Calgary region began in late 1999 (McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007). By 2009 a proposed Calgary Metropolitan Plan (CMP) had been developed setting out strategies for the partnership over a 70-year time-frame - focusing on economic development, subdivision and development, and infrastructure (CMP, 2010). The production of the CMP has been a contentious issue for the rural municipalities. Issues relating to the governance structure and the density range targets, set out in the CMP, do not sit well with the rural municipalities; this will be discussed further in Section 5.4.

A well-rounded, collaborative regional plan needs to be designed for this area; if not done in a collaborative and inclusive way then it is unlikely to become a successful plan. Since completion of the proposed CMP four of the largest rural municipalities (in terms of land mass)

in the city-region have opted out of the Partnership: M.D. of Bighorn, Rocky View County, MD of Foothills, and Wheatland County (Markusoff, 2009). This is obviously a concern for the future of ‘regional planning as partnering’ in the Calgary region.

4.2. Guiding Documents: Planning in the Calgary Region

The Calgary Regional Partnership has developed a few documents that aim to guide the Partnership in future years. The Province of Alberta has also developed a provincial plan in response to the high rates of growth, in order to promote sustainable development and the sharing of resources throughout the Province. The documents are summarised below, in order to provide some insight into the Partnership’s goals and objectives for the future. These documents were reviewed as part of the case study component of the research.

4.2.1. Land-Use Framework (Alberta Government Legislation)

The Land-Use Framework (LUF) was developed by the Government of Alberta in order to “manage growth and sustain Alberta’s growing economy, but balancing this with Albertans’ social and environmental goals” (Alberta Government, 2008, p. 2). The LUF identifies seven regional plans that will need to be developed. These regions are identified based on their watersheds (Lower Peace, Lower Athabasca, Upper Peace, Upper Athabasca, North Saskatchewan, Red Deer, South Saskatchewan) (Alberta Government, 2008. p. 24). The Province recognizes that it needs to be more of a steward of the land due to the high rates of population growth within certain watershed regions, specifically the North and South Saskatchewan regions. Calgary’s census metropolitan area (CMA) is located within the South Saskatchewan region. Currently there is a regional plan being developed for the South Saskatchewan region in order to determine future direction for the environmental protection of this area.

The South Saskatchewan region is a very large area. It comprises the majority of southern Alberta. Calgary's CMA only takes up a small portion of the South Saskatchewan region. The Land Use Framework also states that 'metropolitan plans' must be developed within the Province and it explicitly states that the Calgary region must develop a metropolitan plan (Alberta Government, 2008, p. 4). In terms of priorities for the Alberta Government, within the LUF the development and approval of a metropolitan plan for the Calgary region has been considered a top priority. The LUF lists six components that must be included within each metropolitan plan:

- (1) "A vision of the region's pattern of development in the short-, medium- and long term;
- (2) A transportation and utility plan that identifies the infrastructure and services that are of regional benefit and protect transportation and utility corridors from encroachment and development;
- (3) A long-range regional perspective on the plans developed for key infrastructure, such as water and sewer systems, etc.;
- (4) Complementary policies between municipalities to eliminate conflicts before they occur, and manage them where they already exist;
- (5) Support for higher density infill development across the region which preserves the natural environment, conserves agricultural land and makes more efficient use of existing infrastructure; and
- (6) Future growth areas and areas where growth would be limited" (LUF, p. 43).

The six components listed cover a diverse area and need to be put into policy in a metropolitan plan, as per the Alberta Government. The CRP has attempted to do this within its proposed plan. However, the current Calgary Metropolitan Plan (CMP) has not yet been approved by the

Province, and is presently awaiting approval (in part because the Province is hoping that the CRP can resolve the current inter-municipal conflict over certain plan provisions, involving the four large rurals).

4.2.2. Situation Assessment Report on Terms of Agreement for Working Together

The Situation Assessment Report was prepared for the CRP by consultants from the Public Policy Research Institute (PPRI) from the University of Montana, and the Consensus Building Institute (CBI) based in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The report was prepared for the CRP to identify areas that the partnership needed to strengthen within itself before it branched out into the development of a metropolitan plan. The PPRI and the CBI were contracted to develop a ‘Terms of Agreement for Working Together’ for the CRP. Before they could begin with the terms of agreement they needed to assess the current situation of the CRP (McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007). Through their research they found that “municipalities in the Calgary region are facing a number of challenges related to rapid economic and population growth” (McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007, p. 3). The consultants conducted interviews with member municipalities to understand common concerns and issues in relation to members working together, and to determine the viewpoints on growth and development within the region. The following themes were generated from the interviews:

- Issues and concerns related to growth and sustainability;
- Barriers and challenges to working together;
- Information needed for regional growth and sustainability;
- Mechanisms to improve coordination;
- Potential areas of conflict;
- Strategies to mitigate and/or resolve conflicts;

- Options for cost-sharing;
- Role of the CRP; and
- Role of the Provincial Government (McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007).

From these findings the consultants were able to develop a list of potential topics that could be a starting point for the CRP in terms of building on the relations within the Partnership (McKinney, Field, & Johnson, 2007). This report provides an in-depth look at some of the issues that were stalling the partnering efforts in the past and also identifies what the rural municipalities are struggling with:

A recurring comment heard during the interviews was **that the historical role and definition of rural and urban municipalities is undergoing significant changes** and is continuing to evolve. The region's rapid growth and the shift in municipal planning authority that resulted from the 1995 Municipal Governance Act is resulting in a **paradigm shift in the nature and character of rural municipalities** (where, in fact, "rural" is no longer an accurate description of their character). (p. 14; emphasis added).

Clearly, the rural municipalities are striving to maintain their identities while also dealing with the large growth rates the region is experiencing (Table 2). This can create some division between the rural municipalities and the more urban municipalities. Based on relevant findings in the Situation Assessment report the rural municipalities are trying to maintain their rural identity and character - in a region that is becoming more urban every year, due to boosts in the population.

The Situation Assessment report was developed two years before the first draft of the proposed CMP was completed. The report stressed the need for the region to come together to plan for the future, however it also identified areas that are weak within the Partnership (mentioned above). From the Situation Assessment report came a "Terms of Agreement for Working Together". These terms were organised based upon 11 goals that all municipalities were to sign off on:

1. CRP Regional Vision and Mission;
2. Regional Land-use Plan;
3. Core Values (i.e., development of a regional plan that does not become another level of government and respects each municipality's autonomy);
4. Local and Inter-municipal Plans (i.e., certain areas of the regional plan may be better addressed through inter-municipal plans);
5. Inter-municipal Cooperation;
6. Align Local and Inter-municipal Plans with Regional Goals and Aspirations;
7. Regional Action (i.e., aligning local plans to regional plans in order to deal with issues on a regional scale);
8. Decision Making and Dispute Resolution (i.e., continue to seek consensus);
9. Duration (i.e., to review the terms of agreement once the regional land-use plan is complete);
10. Intent (i.e., the Terms of Agreement will only refer and deal with the municipalities that have signed); and
11. Voluntary and Binding (i.e., although the partnership is voluntary, municipalities are binding themselves to the policies developed) (CRP, 2007, p. 2-4).

The initial CMP proposals were completed in 2009, at which time member municipalities were asked to vote either in support of the proposed CMP, or not. If a member municipality did not support the CMP then they withdrew, voluntarily, from the partnership. This is when (in June 2009) the four large rurals effectively opted out of the partnership. A local newspaper article reported on the rurals leaving the partnership, and identified some of the reasons why they had withdrawn:

“Calgary, which holds most of the water-scarce region's water allocation licences, says it is willing to share water and extend sewer lines if its neighbours minimize the footprint of development and allow corridors for possible future city growth or annexations... But Rocky View said the growth plan makes regional servicing conditional on urban densities that even most Calgary suburbs don't have, while Foothills derides the plan's map suggesting growth along its boundary with Calgary as ‘blue blobs’ of unwanted development” (Markusoff, 2009).

Although the Situation Assessment Report appeared to succeed in identifying and highlighting some of the constraints within the Partnership at the time, the Partners did not appear to address them in the lead-up to the 2009 vote on the proposed CMP, since there were still municipalities that had issues regarding the metropolitan plan - that had clearly not been addressed.

The 2007 Situation Assessment report was initially framed as a document in support of the development of a ‘Terms of Agreement for Working Together’ - for the partners within the CRP. Given what has emerged since its completion, its ongoing usefulness may be questioned; it was developed more than 5 years ago, and with the subsequent opting out of the Partnership by some of the members, it may need to be updated to reflect what is currently occurring within the CRP. Perhaps it could be revisited with a ‘new regionalism’ perspective, assessing the current situation in terms of what might usefully change to better realise a ‘new regionalism’ form of Partnership for the Calgary city-region.

4.2.3. Calgary Metropolitan Plan

The Calgary Metropolitan Plan (CMP) sets out future direction for the Partnership as well as future development patterns, densities, and communication techniques. It has been mandated within the Provincial Land Use Framework that a metropolitan plan be developed, due to the stresses of population growth and supplying adequate supportive infrastructure to areas within the Calgary region. The CMP has been strongly oriented towards sustainable principles in order to deal with issues of scarcity of water, sprawling development, and sharing regional services within the Calgary region. The CMP states that “the area’s growth is fundamental to protecting the elements we value most: the natural environment, our communities, fresh air, clean and plentiful water and economic prosperity” (CRP, 2012, p. 2). The CMP sets out goals and priorities for each of its five priority areas (discussed below) as well as describes the governance structure that is used by the CRP. When the partners were developing the CMP they recognized the importance of being “committed to achieving our regional decisions by consensus first” (CRP, 2012, p. 50). However, the CMP has also become a contentious issue for the five municipalities that have opted out of the Partnership over the past three years (Rocky View

County, Wheatland County, M.D. of Foothills, M.D. of Bighorn and the Town of Crossfield). Each of these municipalities were part of the process - and consultation periods - when the CRP was developing the CMP, but when it came to vote on the CRP, adopting the plan as its guiding document, these municipalities had fundamental complaints about the governance structure (specifically the voting structure, referred to as the City of Calgary veto), the required densities (density ranges) being imposed on municipalities, and concerns that the City of Calgary was using its water licenses as bargaining chips. These issues will be discussed in detail in Section 5.4; for now, only the main points of the CMP will be discussed.

The CMP focuses on five principles to promote sustainable infrastructure and a prosperous economy:

Protecting the natural environment and watershed; Fostering the region's economic vitality; Accommodating growth in more compact settlement patterns; Integrating efficient regional infrastructure systems; and Operating with a regional governance approach. (CRP, 2012, p. 2).

Each of these principles has been developed with the knowledge that the Calgary region is one of the fastest growing regions in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011). By the year 2076 it is expected that the population within the Calgary region will reach 3 million (CRP, 2012, p. 10). The high rate of growth in the Calgary region speaks to the necessity for a functioning and cooperative regional governance structure, in order for municipalities to make decisions together about the future of the region. The decisions that these municipalities make will influence how regional servicing, transportation, and waste will be organized throughout the region. The CMP is the guiding document about how these decisions will be made; therefore it is important that all municipalities that are part of the region agree to the terms within the document, and that the document accurately reflects the vision that all members of the Partnership support.

Section 5.b.2 in the CMP discusses how the partnership will deal with dispute resolution.

The policy states that there are certain matters that may be requested by a member to be dealt with through dispute resolution and these matters are:

- An allegation of a breach of process or improper administration;
- A complaint about fairness or breach of natural justice; and
- A complaint about discriminatory treatment of a member municipality by the Executive Committee (CRP, 2012, p. 48).

This should indicate to member and non-member municipalities that the CRP is trying to deal with dispute resolution in a way that is fair to all members, treating each equally. The CMP also suggests that if a dispute resolution process is requested, the Executive Committee can follow up on it in one of three ways:

- a. “By discussing the issue with the municipal members or executive representative, with a view to **finding a mutually agreeable settlement** of the matter;
- b. If the matter cannot effectively be resolved by discussion, **mediation may be entered into**, either privately or through Dispute Resolution Services provided by the Province of Alberta through the Ministry of Alberta Municipal Affairs; or
- c. If the matter is not resolved through mediation, **binding fast-track arbitration through a mutually acceptable arbitrator** may be used to bring resolution” (CRP, 2012, p. 49; emphasis added).

It appears that the CRP is willing to deal with conflict in three different ways. It is also important that the conflict be dealt with by the final step of arbitration, or else it runs the risk of becoming an intractable dispute (Campbell, 2003). However, policies designed to deal with dispute resolution are a positive way to attempt to ensure that issues are dealt with rather than ignored; they make the conflict less likely to become intractable.

The CRP is aware that the partners are currently located in a well-positioned region in terms of economic development opportunities: “the CRP and member municipalities will work together to ensure a diversified and globally competitive region” (CRP, 2012, p. 25). The CMP focuses on economic development because the CRP is aware that the region needs to work

together in order to become a globally competitive force. The CRP understands - and the policies within the CMP show this - that the key to becoming a competitive force is that partners have to be able to work together and work towards what is good for the region, rather than focusing on their own individual needs.

The CMP identifies how decisions will be made within the Partnership. If member municipalities cannot agree (by consensus) on a direction or decision, then a vote is held. Decisions are considered final if a vote has been made (CRP, 2012, p. 44). A decision has been made if there is representation of two-thirds of the Partnership's members (each member municipality is given one vote), and 50% of the region's population is represented (CRP, 2012, p. 44). This means that since Calgary represents the majority of the region's population, they effectively have a veto; they can make a decision by voting on it and win the vote because they have over 50% of the region's population. This sways the decision making heavily to one side. However, to this day there has never actually been recourse to a vote within the Partnership.

4.2.4. Moving Forward Together: The Calgary Regional Partnership's 2012-2015

Strategic Action Plan and Budget

The most recent document that has been published by the CRP is "Moving Forward Together: The Calgary Regional Partnership's 2012-2015 Strategic Action Plan and Budget". This document identifies why regional planning in the Calgary region is important. It highlights the important benefits that will be recognized through the adoption of the CMP and through thinking regionally (cost sharing, infrastructure sharing, service sharing, etc.). There are seven "priority implementation programs" that have been listed within the document for 2012-2015:

- Regional growth and management planning;
- Regional economic development;

- Regional transportation and complete mobility;
- Regional servicing and watershed stewardship;
- Regional Geographic Information Systems (GIS);
- CRP communications and public engagement; and
- CRP governance and implementation capacity. (CRP, 2011, p. 11)

Actions and priorities are set out in tables that show how the CRP will accomplish said tasks.

The last few pages address the logistics of completing the tasks, by setting out budgets for the projects and work to be done over the next 3 years.

There is a General Assembly (GA) twice a year; it is within this forum that governance decisions are made. The GA does the following:

- Approves the CRP's regional mandate and governance approach;
- Approves the CMP;
- Confirms the appointment of CRP's Executive Officers;
- Sets annual membership fees;
- Receives and approves audited financial statements;
- Appoints and sets remuneration of the Auditors;
- Makes changes to the organization's articles of incorporation, when necessary;
- and
- Receives regular reports from CRP Executive on CMP implementation progress and monitoring. (CRP, 2011, p. 3).

The organizational structure is important to understand because it establishes how decisions are made within the CRP. The seven main areas on the bottom of the pyramid indicate what the CRP is focusing on at the present time. The seven foci are well rounded and represent some of

the pressing matters that the Calgary region is currently faced with. The document also focuses on the seven aspects and discusses how the CRP will work towards implementing these over the 2012-2015 period.

Regarding the focus on “CRP Governance and Implementation Capacity” the CRP generally states that they will focus on working with the Province to adopt the CMP, develop strategies as to how municipalities can align their Municipal Development Plans (MDPs) with the CMP, and continue to align their goals to that of the Province’s goals (CRP, 2011, p. 32). The governance component of this focus is not explicitly stated, which makes future direction of how the region will be governed vague.

4.3. Conclusions

The City of Calgary and the surrounding municipalities have had a turbulent history when it comes to regional planning. The Regional Planning Commissions that were initiated by the Province of Alberta created an environment where some rural municipalities felt they were surrendering their autonomy. Based on findings reported in the ‘Situation Assessment’ document, some of these feelings continue to exist. A ‘new regionalism’ perspective could possibly help address this issue; it puts the focus on collaboration among multiple interests on cross-cutting concerns (instead of mainly inter-municipal cooperation - government to government - on regional land use planning matters) (Wight, 2010, p. 1). Collaboration needs to play a larger role as a fundamental aspiration of the Calgary Regional Partnership (CRP). In order to move from communication to collaboration, McKinney and Johnson (2009, Chapter 9 – Improving Regional Collaboration, p. 141-145) list the conditions necessary for a strong regional partnership:

- Recognize that regional collaboration is both a process and a goal;

- Increase the understanding and skills of people involved;
- Build a constituency for regional collaboration;
- Prepare tomorrow's leaders;
- Create legal and institutional incentives to foster and support regional collaboration;
- Encourage philanthropic foundations to invest in regional collaboration;
- Develop and refine the prescriptive framework for regional collaboration; and
- Expand the practice of regional collaboration.

This highlights elements that the CRP can work on in order to improve their partnership. Each point listed above is a separate process and takes time to complete.

Before a city-region can begin working as a strong partnership, the current challenges over old conflicts need to be worked out in order for the city-region partnership to be successful; the work done by the PPRI and the CBI merits revisiting. The underlying conflicts remain; they do not appear to have been dealt with. It is important to establish why they still exist, and what this says about the quality of the partnering effort. Even though members have opted to 'voluntarily' withdraw from the Partnership the CRP is continuing to move forward. The option to voluntarily withdraw is important to members because for them it shows that they still have some control over their level of input into the Partnership, but it is also a passive aggressive way to deal with the issues and concerns. There is some good to this; as Table 2 shows, the population growth is not slowing down and therefore planning must continue to occur, although the planning can only go so far without some of the larger players being involved in the Partnership. Section 5 will discuss the conclusions and findings of the case study through semi-structured interviews that were held through April-May, 2012.

5. Case Study: Summary of Findings and Conclusions

This chapter outlines the findings from the fieldwork conducted in Calgary, Alberta during April 30 to May 6, 2012. It begins with a reflection on the research experience and outlines some strengths and weaknesses of the methods employed. There are two prairie city-region precedents that are also discussed (the Alberta Capital Region and the Manitoba Capital Region) in order to draw some comparisons between them and the CRP. After these reflections, the findings from the semi-structured interviews are presented, according to themes determined through coding.

5.1. Research Experience

The research gathered for this practicum was done in a manner to represent all sides and different opinions of the CRP, with a particular focus on understanding the perspectives of the rural municipalities who have withdrawn. The research benefited from the diverse views that were brought forward in the semi-structured interviews. Previously, and presently, elected officials were interviewed in order to understand the political motivations behind municipalities either wanting to join the Partnership or opt out. Other participants that were interviewed had worked with, and are continuing to work very closely with, the CRP. The research and the interviews benefited from the researcher reaching out to prospective interviewees early on in the process. Having this initial introduction, months prior to the interviews, with a few selected participants, allowed the interviews to cover more detail since an initial bridge had already been made. Nothing substantial from those initial meetings is in the practicum; the connections were made to begin to build a relationship.

Initially, before the semi-structured interviews, globalisation played a main focus for the research. However, after interviewing it became clear that globalisation was not a theme that

was resonating with this particular set of interviewees, as much as had been initially anticipated. As a consequence, in writing up the research, 'Globalisation' as a major theme has been scaled back in importance. Instead, 'economic development' has been accorded greater prominence, as it was a theme that these interviewees seemed to relate to better. Globalisation is still discussed as a Finding (Section 5.4.6) since it is still affecting the Partnership; it is simply not being expressed in these terms, yet. Globalisation - and global competitiveness - may seem to some to be something that is comparatively intangible, whereas economic development is more tangible and can take on more of shape - in the form of more familiar policy, structures, and goals.

5.2. Strengths and Weaknesses

The ethics approval certificate was received April 23, 2012, one week before the interviews began. There was a small window of time when the researcher could travel to Calgary and interview the participants in person. Unfortunately, this meant that the researcher had to undertake as many interviews as possible within the week of April 30 – May 4, 2012. There is the possibility that the research could have been richer if the researcher had been able to have a longer period of time to interview participants, and there is the possibility that greater insight could have been gained through interviewing more individuals, representing a wider range of experiences (different levels of government, different sectors etc).

In terms of strengths, the interviews held did furnish rich, honest and heart-felt perspectives on the current Calgary region situation. The research benefited from the diversity of opinions and ideas that were presented in the interviews. The researcher greatly benefited through reaching out to the proposed participants well ahead of when the interviews began, in order to build relationships with the interviewees - which made the interviews better and more fruitful in the end.

5.3. Precedents

This section considers two Prairie Region city-region partnerships, the Alberta Capital Region (ACR) and the Manitoba Capital Region (MCR). Both partnerships have faced their fair share of conflicts when trying to work together, and are in the process of dealing with similar issues to the CRP. These precedents shed some light on the typical challenges that city region partnerships encounter and help to indicate how to possibly overcome some of these challenges.

5.3.1. Alberta Capital Region

Prior to 1995 regional issues were handled by the Edmonton Metropolitan Regional Planning Commission (Dragushan, 1979; Climenhaga, 1997). This is the same type of regional planning commission that was set up by the Province to plan the Calgary region. In 2007 the Province mandated a Capital Region Board which included Edmonton and the surrounding 25 municipalities (CRB, 2010). Unlike the CRP, this was not a voluntary partnership; the provincial government forced these municipalities to become part of the Capital Region Board. Currently there are 24 participating municipalities (Capital Region Board, 2010).

The voting structure set up within the ACR shares similarities with the CRP. All decisions within the ACR will be voted on, and in order for a motion to pass there must be 75% of the region's population represented (or 17 out of the 25 municipalities) voting in favour (Edmonton Journal, 2007). Edmonton has a veto similar to what Calgary has; however, 'opting out' is not an option in the ACR. Within the Alberta Municipal Government Act is an appendix: "Capital Region Board Amendment Regulation" (Municipal Government Act, 2010). This appendix mandates the formation of the Capital Region Board, the duties of the municipalities involved with the Board, the voting structure of the board, and the implementation of a growth plan. This regulation explicitly states which municipalities sit on the Board and what their duties

and responsibilities are. Many times, throughout the semi-structured interviews, this approach was identified as not how the CRP wants to be treated; they want their Partnership to remain voluntary.

Once the Capital Region Board was established it developed a growth plan that focused on four main pillars: regional land use; regional transit plan; a regional GIS database; and a focus on affordable housing (Capital Region Board, 2010). The CRP has focused on some of these themes as well - such as regional transit, land use, and a comprehensive GIS database. However, the CRP has also widened the perspective to include economic development, regional service sharing and regional waste collection. It appears that the ACR has more of a focus on social issues and not just technical land use issues. GIS databases have been more recently recognized by regional partnerships as a means to project growth scenarios and keep track of development within the region. Although the ACR has experienced its own conflicts between the more rural municipalities and the City of Edmonton - and the stresses that large growth rates bring to a region - it is moving forward, with all municipalities, in developing plans in order to promote the successful growth of its region. However, from the research and semi-structured interviews, it was clear that such a forced partnership would not be welcomed in the Calgary region at this point.

5.3.2. Manitoba Capital Region

The Manitoba Capital Region is in the southern portion of Manitoba. There are 13 municipalities involved in the Partnership, including the City of Winnipeg. This Partnership faces similar struggles to those faced by the Calgary and the Edmonton partnerships. However, the Manitoba Capital Region is unique when it comes to the role of the provincial government. Some municipalities within the Partnership are also in a planning district together, meaning they

make their own decisions about subdivision and development (University of Manitoba, 2012). Municipalities that are not within a planning district must have those decisions approved by the provincial government (University of Manitoba, 2012). Finally, the City of Winnipeg has its own Charter, which means that it is not so tied to provincial planning regulations; it is the only municipality within the Partnership that has this option.

In 2003 a Regional Planning Advisory Committee (RPAC) (chaired by Paul Thomas) released a report - based on their 2 two years of work – titled: “A Partnership for the Future: Putting the pieces together in the Manitoba Capital Region”. The RPAC was put together because there was a lack of regional cooperation at the time, and a perception that regional partnership was “about more than improved intergovernmental cooperation” (RPAC, 2003, p. 1).

RPAC called for:

“...the Government of Manitoba and the leaders of the sixteen Manitoba Capital Region municipalities to engage in **a conscious exercise in region building**. Through this process, the Region’s citizens, leadership, resources, and communities can **begin to unite around a shared agenda** for improving economic vitality, environmental sustainability, and quality of life within the Region. Regionalism in this sense is about **more than improved intergovernmental cooperation**. It involves **creative problem solving** and the identification of opportunities **by all segments of the regional community**: business, labour, non-profits, community-based organizations, research institutes, the Aboriginal community, universities and colleges, and others” (RPAC, 2003, Executive Summary, p. 1) (emphasis added).

The report made 69 recommendations that focused on: “the creation of a Partnership of Manitoba Capital Region Governments; service sharing; tax sharing; economic development; and improved mechanisms for conflict resolution” (RPAC, 2003, p. 1). Typically, there is a catalyst that makes municipalities, governments, and citizens want to work together; this is often more than just better cooperation between the municipalities in a given region. Ideally a range of partners, more than simply municipalities, want to work together to begin to see the benefits of being a more competitive region, and achieving efficiency through sharing services and costs.

For the MCR to become a global competitor, as the RPAC pointed out in their document, there needs to be, among other matters, more from the Province in terms of supportive policy statements. For example:

“The issuing of regular provincial government policy statements represents another important tool that can be used to improve the clarity, transparency, and accountability of the land-use planning process in Manitoba (RPAC, 2003, p. 157).

Concerns with transparency are common in the ACR, MCR, and the CRP. Transparency, communication, and trust all go hand in hand; without these it will be difficult to build a successful regional partnership.

In 2008 the PPRI and the CBI (both of which worked with the CRP on their Situation Assessment report) developed a similar “Situation Assessment of the Winnipeg-Manitoba Capital Region” (Birkhoff & Johnson, 2008). The PPRI and the CBI worked with the MCR to identify its challenges, issues, and strengths. This document identifies many of the same issues that the CRP is currently dealing with, such as:

- A desire to work collaboratively with all members, but partners are facing challenges with this in terms of maintaining autonomy;
- Focusing on regional water and wastewater; municipalities within this region are worried about drinking water and environmental concerns;
- A need to focus on economic development in order to “strengthen the region’s economic vitality in the global market place” and to “coordinate activities related to the Asia-Pacific Gateway initiative” (p. 4);
- The partners are also dealing with “historical misunderstandings and differences, including personality and political differences” (p. 5); and

- Feelings that the province could take more of a leadership role (Birkhoff & Johnson, 2008).

Similar to the CRP, the MCR has been trying to develop a successful partnership for many years, now decades. The partnering process is not one that develops quickly; it takes time for municipalities - that are used to competing with each other - to refocus their efforts on developing the region, and thinking about what is best for the region.

5.3.3. Precedent Conclusions

Of the two precedents reviewed it appears that both experienced similar circumstances when going through the partnership-development process. In earlier decades they were both faced with legislation that focused on amalgamating the municipalities in the region (including Unicity in the Manitoba case in 1971); however, this top-down, centralized form of regionalized municipal government, as a new 'regional' planning context, did not appeal much for either region. This is also similar to the Calgary region when the Calgary Regional Planning Commission was in charge of development, and which appeared to some to favour centralization and municipal consolidation. The semi-structured interviews, reported later, indicate that the CRPC era has bequeathed a lack of trust within the Calgary region, for decades. The ACR is unique with respect to both the MCR and the CRP because it is not a voluntary partnership; the provincial government has mandated that a Capital Region Board be organized and a growth plan be written to guide future plans in the ACR. This is not something that either the MCR or the CRP wants, and their provincial governments are currently respecting this wish. Through the research it has become clear that each municipality within a partnership values its autonomy, and does not want anything to compromise its independence. This is obviously a challenge when involved in a partnership, as there are often compromises and decisions that have to be made for

the region. This position also precludes the collaboration that is considered the hall-mark of a successful partnership; at best the partnership may be a vehicle for some cooperation or coordination - but not collaboration. The difference between the three is that collaboration is a process by which groups cooperate and coordinate. Collaboration *also* includes proportionate amounts of decision making, conflict resolution, open and honest communication, and sharing of ideas and information in a transparent manner.

The precedents illustrate how city-region partnerships can struggle to approach collaboration. Their coming together can be dogged by historical conflicts, which limit possibilities; these conflicts can effectively stall a partnership from moving beyond some cooperation or coordination. However, the underlying conviction to partner to at least some extent seems to outweigh the undermining influences of particular inter-municipal conflict; there are elements of these partnerships that have endured over decades, with always some commitment - by most partners - to work through the issues that might divide them.

The three partnerships have also been formed for very similar reasons; the city-regions want to be globally competitive and are interested in cost-sharing activities, in order to be more efficient with the expenditure of tax dollars. Regional partnerships can enable better access to provincial funds, and have more influence over the Province's spending of infrastructure monies, all of which can benefit the city-region as a whole. Regional transportation, waste collection, emergency services, and economic development are all catalysts for bringing municipalities together within a region. This will be discussed further in the following section (5.4 Findings) where some themes from the semi-structured interviews, in the CRP context, are presented.

5.4. Interview Findings

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in and around the Calgary region in April and May 2012; the interviews are complemented by other research into the literature, CRP documentation and the CRP as a case study. A number of professionals from the private and public sectors, elected officials, a community activist and a representative from a First Nations community discussed the concept of regional planning, how they have seen it play out in the region's past and present, and how they hope to see it develop in the future.

The following sections present the findings from the in-person semi-structured interviews, to provide insight into how regional partnerships can be successful and globally competitive. It was acknowledged throughout all the interviews that regional planning for the Calgary city-region is important; however, there are problems with some municipalities having issues with the fundamental components of the Partnership. In this case, professionals from the Calgary region who understand the past and present situations were interviewed in order to understand how the CRP might become the successful partnership that all want it to be. The findings have been organised into the following categories: Calgary Metropolitan Plan (Section 5.4.1); Governance (Section 5.4.2); Density and Water (Section 5.4.3); The Calgary City-Region and the Role of the CRP (Section 5.4.4); The Ghost of Regional Planning Past (Section 5.4.5); Globalisation and City-Region Partnerships (Section 5.4.6); and Conflict, Collaboration, and Consensus (Section 5.4.7).

5.4.1. Calgary Metropolitan Plan

A crucial aspect of the interviews was to gain a better understanding of the Calgary Metropolitan Plan (CMP) and the influence of this initiative on the Partnership in general, and on particular relationships within the CRP. The perception of the CMP was highly individualized,

depending on who was talking about it. One particular interviewee stated that the CMP ‘has to be revisited’, that there were some fundamental issues within the CMP, and if they are not addressed that particular interviewee would ‘never see’ their municipality being part of the CRP.

As another participant stated:

There are certain things within the CMP that need to be reviewed and there needs to be a full consultation process.

The particular ‘fundamental’ issues that some of the participants, particularly those that are associated with the more rural municipalities that have opted out of the partnership, have issues with will be discussed further in sections 5.4.2 (Governance) and 5.4.3 (Density & Water). It is clear to some interviewees that there needs to be a full review of the CMP and a thorough consultation process held with all members (past and present members) in order to cooperate on creation of a plan which all within the CRP can approve and uphold.

Presently, the proposed CMP is being shopped around to all municipalities, following its updating in early 2012; however, the fundamental policies that were the reason for some municipalities leaving the Partnership have not changed. The Province is currently reviewing the plan (summer 2012) and it has been reported that it is expected that the Province will approve the CMP sometime in the fall of 2012. However, the Province has held off approving the plan for the last three years (since the CMP was completed in 2009); it has been hoping that the CRP could continue to have communication with the disaffected municipalities, in hopes that they may want to rejoin the Partnership at some point; however, this has yet to come to pass.

Two of the interviewees identified an issue around the name of the plan. The ‘Calgary Metropolitan Plan’ appears to some participants to be (City of) Calgary-centric and too urban. One interviewee stated:

Rural is not urban and they do not want to be treated like urban, and the fact that you have one document, called the Calgary Metropolitan Plan – is this Calgary’s plan or is this a regional plan? And are we just all a part of metropolitan Calgary or are we still Airdrie, or Crossfield?

The particular name actually stems from in the Provincial Land Use Framework, which specified that the regional plan be identified as a Metropolitan Plan. When provincial officials were initiating the plan, they were probably unaware of how the naming of the document might impact perceptions of the plan. Clearly the naming of the document is important to all members and non-members within the Calgary area. For some of the interviewees, referring to the regional plan as ‘a metropolitan plan’ brings back thoughts and memories of the Calgary Regional Planning Commission (CRPC). This was when the CRPC was perceived by some to be working towards consolidating the region as a single regional municipality, rather than working with each municipality’s unique character, and treating them as individuals.

City-region-scale centralisation and consolidation is not supported by municipalities within the Calgary region. It was not supported by anyone that was interviewed for this project. It should be noted that the CMP is not meant to consolidate the region under a single municipal authority. Some of the interview data indicate that something as simple as the naming of a document can be barrier to a successful partnership for some, and needs to be treated sensitively within the Calgary city-region due to problematic aspects (for some) of the regional planning past of the area. There were other names that were brought forward at the initial stages of the development of the CMP, such as the ‘Chinook Regional Plan’, but one interviewee pointed out that Calgary had to be in the name since that is what would be recognized around the world and would draw in economic development:

...any other name and no one would know where this city-region was.

Part of the naming of the CMP was done with economic development in mind; the other part of the naming of the CMP came directly from the Province of Alberta, as laid out in the Land Use Framework: “the development of metropolitan plans for the Capital and Calgary region...Both of these are scheduled to be completed by 2009” (LUF, 2008, p. 43). The CMP is an important document for the Partnership as it lays the ground work for future planning for the region; therefore, it is important that it be a document that all members can support, openly and wholly.

5.4.2. Governance

The term ‘governance’ (as stated in this document) is that governance is not a form of government; rather it is an action of a group working together to help govern some of the regional affairs, such as protecting natural resources. As put by one interviewee:

I'm okay with regional governance, but that is with a caveat, there are other definitions out there that I do not agree with...

This interviewee agrees that governance should play more of a role in facilitation, they do not like that the CRP refers to their voting structure as a governance structure and do not agree with the term ‘governance’ that is used by the CRP. Top-down forms of regional *government* are not supported by the public; when decisions become mandatory the public feels that their autonomy is being jeopardized. This needs to be in place in order for regional plans and regional *governance* to be successful (Scott, 2007). Governance was asked about during the interviews in order to understand how a balanced regional planning/regional governance model could come about. It appears that some of the interviewees were confused about the term governance and this is because the CRP refers to their voting structure as a governance structure. There were opposing views as to whether the CRP is becoming another level of government. This is clearly a point of contention between municipalities, especially in the context of what might arise once the CMP has been approved by the Province:

Whether you are part of the Partnership or not, your land is part of the plan and your municipality has to align its municipal plan to the CMP, that's what the land use framework says. Whether the rural governments choose to do that, we don't know; that is up for this government to decide.

To some interviewees it feels that the CMP and the CRP is part of another layer of government that is telling them what to do with their land. Municipalities that have opted out of the Partnership have issues with the CRP/CMP appearing to tell them how to develop their land in a way that they do not support. One interviewee compares the CMP to the Municipal Government Act (MGA):

It becomes another MGA, so it does actually become another layer of government and bureaucracy, we've got three I think that's enough, do we really need a regional level of government? I know they have it in the Capital Region (Edmonton area) and Vancouver has a regional government as well, and that part of it we just didn't believe in.

As mentioned in the beginning, not all municipalities feel this way:

I'm not sure if you'll ever get it to be another level of government, and it would never be that, it's not about implementing taxes, this is about a group of elected officials getting together to work collaboratively, and that's what I see, so you're making a decision on how you would market the area together. Reality is you have a body that comes together; you have to have rules and engagement.

Clearly, there are opposing viewpoints when it comes to the discussion of governance. Should the CMP be forced upon all municipalities who are located within the CRP boundaries? Or is this something that should be left up to a higher-level document, such as the South Saskatchewan Regional Plan?

Municipalities that have opted out of the Partnership have also done so because of the voting and 'governance' structure that has been organized within the CRP. The Calgary region is a challenging area to govern; there is the City of Calgary which has about 80% of the CRP population while the surrounding populations only have a fraction of the population each. For example, Rocky View County accounts for 2.7% of the overall population and the largest urban

municipality in terms of population, Airdrie, makes up 3.2% of the region's population. Calgary by far holds the largest percentage of the region's population. This makes it challenging when it comes to making decisions for the Partnership. Members are challenged to either side with the larger population or allow each municipality an equal say, even if it goes against the majority of people. When it comes to the voting structure, and how decisions are made within the CRP, there are some sharp divisions:

Respondent 1: (In response to a question about the barriers to a successful partnership) I think very generically and particularly in the Calgary region is the whole governance model; the voting mechanism under which decisions are made. You've got an extremely disparate type of environment here, with 14 existing members, anywhere from 200 people in Redwood Meadows and one million in Calgary, so how do you balance the interests of big powerhouses, urban municipalities like Calgary, 85% of the population within this region is within Calgary.

Respondent 3: (Issues that have caused conflict within the CRP) One of them is obviously the voting structure. Which is probably the pervasive part of conflict that we have had, it is a rural urban split. The rurals flat out disagree with that model, in recent times they have said that if they come back they want all decisions to be made by consensus, of course we try consensus, but the Partnership thinks that's a recipe for complete inaction.

Respondent 4: I'm supportive of CRP, I should say that, but it's the Calgary Metropolitan Plan governance that I am definitely against.

The voting structure within the CRP is organized so that each municipality gets one vote. Within the CMP a vote must contain "at least two-thirds of the CRP's regional municipalities, and a majority (50 per cent) of the region's population" (CRP, 2012, p. 48). The City of Calgary, being the largest municipality in terms of population size, effectively holds a veto. The fact that the City of Calgary has this veto does not sit well with some municipalities; in the end this was a large part of the reason for leaving the partnership:

Respondent 1: The other side of that is that Calgary has the veto. If Calgary is not onboard with something then it is not happening because they have the majority of the population. The people within the municipality want to have the ultimate say, they want to have a veto for their municipality, and I could live with their structure if they gave every municipality a veto.

Respondent 4: It allows one urban jurisdiction to have veto power over all the other partners. If you're going to be in a regional partnership, partners need equity in all aspects.

While some participants felt that everyone should have a veto, others felt the opposite:

(In response to the question of whether every member should have a veto) No, none. Otherwise you're not partners. Partner to me has its own connotation, that means you're all equally at the table.

The issue with the veto and the governance structure is that some municipalities feel that Calgary could use it to make their own decisions solely on their own interests. Whenever the City of Calgary was not in agreement with the likely outcome of a vote, they could use their veto power to achieve their own desires. However, to this day there has not been one single decision by a formal vote within the CRP. One interviewee stated that:

It is so funny because this is the battle that the rurals have, and they believe that Calgary is going to control their lives hence they can control their water, and that is the furthest thing from the truth. We have never experienced that.

From the range of interviewee responses it is clear that there are some significant trust issues within the partnership. Members need to be able to trust that one municipality will not try to dominate themselves over another. The CRP is not prepared to change the voting structure within the CMP. The most recent draft of the CMP has been sent to the Province with the governance structure intact. There is a fine balance between amending the CMP so that municipalities that have opted out of the Partnership will want to rejoin, and not swing the power balance so much so that municipalities feel that they can fight any issue they want, and win. Issues of present lack of trust need to be addressed, and more trust restored, before a full partnership can be expected.

5.4.3. Density & Water

Within the Calgary region, preferred density of residential development and potable water service provision need to be discussed together. The CMP requires that in order for member municipalities to obtain water from the licenses that the City of Calgary holds they must be developing at a minimum of 8-10 units per acre (CRP, 2012). The CRP is trying to be progressive and sustainable, which means it does not support sprawling, country residential developments (which is regarded as unsustainable development):

Respondent 3: I think the other piece of conflict has been around the whole settlement pattern. So, this plan first and foremost is about the future of the Calgary region by 2076, by that time we will have grown from 1.6 million to 3 million, everyone pretty much agrees with that number. So, business as usual settlement patterns, sprawling environments, it is a recipe for disaster for the Calgary region. Where the conflict is, is how does that settlement pattern manifest itself over the long term, for the region?

Respondent 5: It was debated several times over the course of developing the plan if country residential subdivision development would be eligible for regional water, and each time the steering committee indicated that it is just not consistent with sustainable principles, the sprawled out use that is completely homogenous, car-dependent, no jobs, very little mixed use, doesn't work for transit – they said that it was not consistent with how the Partnership was defining sustainability under the plan and we aren't giving you water for that.

Most interviewees agreed that, in the end:

If you want to get down to it; it all comes down to water.

The area of the Bow River watershed is 6,982 km², which accounts for the majority of the Calgary region (CRP, 2012, p. 14). In 2006, the Province of Alberta placed a moratorium on water licenses for water coming from the Bow River (Water Matters Society of Alberta, 2007, para. 2). When this occurred, Calgary was the only municipality that had licenses, therefore, any development that happens within a member municipality's jurisdiction (except for the Town of Crossfield whose water comes from the Red Deer River) needs to be accepted by the City of Calgary before they can get water. This allows the City of Calgary, in the opinion of some

interviewees, to have an upper hand and to effectively control development within the whole Calgary city-region. This triggers bad feelings about the former regional planning commission experience, and the subdivision development control exercised by the CRPC until 1995. One interviewee commented that:

Provision of water, the moratorium on the Bow River, as we look out 60 or 70 years from now everybody will need more water than they've got, the only one that has water licenses is Calgary, and so the way the plan [CMP] evolved was that the plan would have to be based on sustainability principles, and if it was consistently based on sustainable principles, like regional transit, and dense development, then the City would be prepared to share water, and only for those uses and locations that were identified in the plan.

The rural municipalities are worried about only being able to allow higher-density developments within their boundaries. They feel that there is a demand for the current lower-density country residential type of development that they now favour. As different interviewees observed:

Respondent 1: Density at 8-10 units per acre which does not work for the rurals...we don't want to hold our developers' feet to the fire at those densities, it may be more economical to do so, if that's the will of the people (to have lower density) then that is the way it will go. Let the market decide on the densities, if people want to live on 10 acres fine, pay the taxes, it has forced cities to build denser, it is already happening, you don't need to mandate it.

Respondent 3: I don't think that density can be imposed... rural Alberta might want to put a cluster of houses and save the whole centre of the quarter section for conservation, and it can only be gardened for a community garden, they could choose different tools, it's their decision, but an urban municipality can't impose that on a rural municipality because there is a market out there for what they do. You need 4 acre parcels, for example, Springbank has tons of them, the reason they're four acres is that you can have a pony, it is pony country out there, there is not a kid that doesn't have a horse, there's another market you're serving. So, the Partnership needs to look at the markets they're serving in addition to other factors.

Some interviewees felt that by forcing these higher densities in a rural area then the rural character and identity surrounding the land is being compromised. In Alberta, rural municipalities make it very clear that they do not want to be treated like urban centres. How can the CRP develop a sustainable plan that is a good fit for all? The CRP has made it clear that it

does not want to revisit the densities. The newly updated CMP has been sent to the Province and the densities remain where they have been the whole time; 8-10 units will get a member water, anything under that will not. Potentially, the plan can be revisited, as well as the density targets for the rural areas. It would appear that there needs to be a compromise between the ideal of sustainable development for the region as a whole, and the wish of rural municipalities that the City of Calgary and the CRP not hold water licenses as a bargaining chip, controlling their development pattern preferences. Until then, the four rural municipalities that have opted out of the Partnership will very likely remain out of the CRP, but within the city-region associated with the CRP.

5.4.4. Calgary City-Region and the Role of the CRP

It should be noted that not all interviewees were in agreement with the term ‘city-region’ as employed in this practicum. Two of the interviewees who appeared to have issues with the term were specifically probed, in hopes of better appreciating what made people uneasy with ‘city-region’:

Respondent 5: I wouldn't use the phrase city-region, it sounds too much like Calgary and everybody else.

Respondent 6: That did cross my mind when I first read it, but I took it in the academic context, but that is part of it, we are in a partnership where Calgary is the dominant municipality. There is sensitivity to it, yes we are in the Calgary region, but it goes again to the municipal autonomy.

The term ‘city-region’ within this document is deliberately intended not to separate the City of Calgary from the other municipalities in the CRP; it identifies a region, metropolitan in character, that features a mix of urban and rural population dominated by an urban population in general and one large urban centre in particular. The term city-region is being used here inclusively, without any intention of excluding any municipality or municipalities. One

participant identified that the region should not be defined by municipal boundaries, but by environmental boundaries:

A city-region partnership is not necessarily the region. In other words, from my point of view, the environment knows no boundaries so it should not even have the term city-region. It should follow the South Saskatchewan Watershed (in reference to the boundaries of the region).

This is may be a valid point in that the South Saskatchewan Regional Plan will have policies to ensure sustainable development throughout all the river basins in the larger region. However, the CRP focuses on economic development, regional transportation and regional service sharing in the metropolitan part of the larger region (most of which is non-metropolitan in character). The initiatives at different scales, one more based on watersheds, the other on a grouping of municipalities, appears to be best regarded as complementary.

Interviewees spoke highly of the working relationships with, and the staff that worked for, the CRP.

Respondent 1: I was involved with the Partnership for about 18 months, and it was good... it was a good experience, good people. I think that they definitely have the best interests of the region at heart... they are not politically driven... they understand that it can get complicated by politics for sure, but generally just really good people, I have nothing negative to say as far as working with them... I find them easy to work with.

Respondent 4: They are very intelligent; the staff was very intelligent, included people who had done the work. I'm not an expert, but I have spent 20 years writing watershed plans, which means I have a fair level of knowledge about water and watersheds and how that all operates together. So the staff at CRP deliberately included people like me to share that knowledge.

There is a level of respect for people within the partnership. There do not appear to be conflicts between individuals or individual municipalities; the issues clearly relate to the fundamentals within the CMP. There have been times when the CRP has attempted to meet with the disaffected municipalities; however, as noted by one interviewee, it has not been easy to set up the meetings:

We met with the councillors in June of 2011; the municipalities in anticipation of that meeting provided the Partnership with a letter saying that nothing has changed but that they are willing to have a short conversation with the CRP to see if anything had changed from the CRP's end. Tried to meet again in the Fall and it took a long time to get that meeting set up, so much so that it wasn't until January or February 2012 that the meeting actually happened.

Once a partner has opted out, it is hard to get them back to the table, especially if it appears to the disaffected parties that nothing within the CMP that was an issue in the first place, has been addressed and changed. Rocky View County (RVC) provided the CRP with an update in June 2011 that provides RVC's current position with the Partnership and the CMP (Appendix A). This update shows that RVC has the same concerns they had when they first opted out of the partnership, and the current CMP has not appeared to address any of these concerns. There does not appear to be much in the way of compromise in prospect, from any of the parties to the underlying disagreement. The CRP has an important role within the region, to make plans and develop long-term planning solutions for water shortages and increasing population growth. One interviewee suggested that the CRP be viewed as having more of a facilitation role:

You have to keep the Partnership more basic; don't go after these wordy documents. Need to go after small victories, they [CRP] should be a facilitator, facilitate with other municipalities, not needed to be bringing in all the partners. Become the ultimate vetting source so that limited resources aren't going towards trying to figure how to do things that have already been done. I want them to remember what their role is, keep their scope limited and be a facilitator, and if they did that we'd be at the table tomorrow.

It appears that the CRP definitely could be a good facilitator, with the resources it has and the relationships it has already built with the municipalities.

5.4.5. The Ghost of Regional Planning Past

It has been mentioned in previous chapters that the Calgary city-region's regional planning past is still playing a part in the rurals' mistrust and bad feelings when it comes to the CRP. Most interviewees appeared to agree with the thought that the Regional Planning

Commissions (RPCs) were not altogether good for Alberta, by appearing to favour the central large city, or urbans over rurals:

Respondent 2: There is so much fear left over from unicity days that Calgary is going to come and take over... that nobody could shake that off.

Respondent 3: I think that the old days of regional planning in the Calgary area, isn't in my opinion, regional planning. It was very paternalistic. The planning commissions did not work for a variety of reasons, so in my mind, regional planning is only 10 years old.

Respondent 4: It is so ingrained... I was never affected by that because I came to Alberta in the late 80s, and by the time I got on council the commissions were gone. So, I only know what everyone else talks about, and I can hear the seething, and I would have to say that the commissions were irresponsible and I think the government could have stepped in and dealt with that differently. But they were abolished and nothing came in to replace it, so here we are all these years later, and everybody is afraid to step in and do the right thing. And they cling to this historic pain and mistrust and everybody's just got to get over it. Maybe it's more people coming on to council to get rid of the historic baggage.

Respondent 5: I think because it has a lot to do with history because the barriers keep showing up based on the old mandated regional commissions where the big boys controlled, big boys meaning the larger populations, controlled, literally, I was on the RPC, the smaller populations. That negative history... and it was the rural municipalities and the small urbans that begged the Provincial government to get rid of that.

Respondent 6: Yes, everyone has long memories. And I don't blame them, the RPCs were a bad thing for Alberta... but the regional planning commissions were good for the City (of Calgary), but not for the surrounding uses; it was not a regional model.

Clearly, Alberta's regional planning past has left an impression, specifically on the Calgary region, and an especially bad impression on the rurals in the region. Unfortunately, this problematic past is currently stalling the CRP as a full, fully functioning, partnership; there is a lack of trust between the four rurals as a group, and the urbans as a group. Regrettably, the tone has been set that pits the urbans against the rurals, which is not conducive to a full region-wide partnership. However, it seems that there was a period in the earlier years of the CRP, before the CMP was being developed, when there was a relatively good working relationship between all the municipalities, as one of the interviewees remembers:

The 70s and 80s, left an indelible impression on our political understanding on the differences between urban and rural municipalities, so when we started doing the plan in 2006, we spent a full year with the politicians, both urban and rural, putting together an agreed upon terms of reference for how long to do a plan together, because we weren't sure when we got to the end if all would agree because of so many decades of not agreeing, but they wanted to try it again.

It might be concluded that it is possible for both the urbans and the rurals to work together again, and to overcome the current conflicts, which are seemingly rooted in past conflicts. In order for this to happen it may be projected that there will need to be open communication and shared information, on an equal basis. One interviewee noticed, through the CMP process, that:

People would have strong opinions that they brought to the table based on their existing knowledge. We'd work through a facilitator, and I'm trained to do that, to bring the new knowledge to the table so that everyone works from a new level, and the conflict disappeared. So, I think the open-ness and willingness system of sharing knowledge overcomes almost all potential conflict.

These municipalities have trusted each other before. It is a matter of restoring that trust through sharing information and knowledge, and having everyone on an equal plane. Rebuilding trust will be tough; and it will take, according to one interviewee:

A leap of faith...I am not sure (how)... sometimes demonstrating how you can build that trust may come through pilot projects, small pilot projects.

Some interviewees suggested that developing the CMP was a pilot project of sorts for the CRP. When the four rurals opted out of the partnership because they did not agree with certain fundamentals within the plan this was a sign that all urbans and rurals were not able to work together as true partners. The CMP is a huge region-wide project; perhaps it is too much to expect too soon on such a scale. Perhaps there needs to be more in the way of smaller pilot projects, on a more limited inter-municipal district scale, such as sharing a community centre together or planning a community event together, whereby these municipalities might restore lost

trust. The current mistrust environment is not simply between the four rurals and the urbans; it also reflects back on the Province:

There's no question about that and the mistrust goes in many directions, from local municipalities towards the Province, because the Province created the regional planning commission system that some did not like, and then it dissolved it, which others did not like, and now it is coming back and saying it wants to create regional planning all over again which some don't agree with and it has yet to approve the CMP, which others do not agree with.

The Province wants the CRP members to be able to solve their issues alone, by working together collaboratively. To a certain degree this was acceptable to the interviewees, since all could agree that the last thing they wanted was the Province forcing members into the Partnership. A significant feature of the CRP up to now is that it has been able to remain voluntary. However, just because members can voluntarily opt out of the Partnership does not mean that underlying issues have been dealt with. There are currently municipalities, most notably the four large rurals, that are not part of the Partnership and without them there are literally large holes within the CRP. To be clear, not all interviewees might agree with this statement, some still feel that the current Partnership is still quite functional but those that share that opinion are associated with the urban municipalities. It appears that the Partnership needs to remain voluntary in order for municipalities to keep their autonomy intact; however, in a successful partnership, ideally, the urbans and rurals will stop pitting themselves against one another, emphasising their differences (rather than their commonalities). It might be argued that, when it comes down to it, members have common wants and needs for their region, and could work better together.

5.4.6. Globalisation and City-Region Partnerships

Globalisation is forcing many city-regions to become more competitive in order to harness the associated economic development opportunities; however, this was a challenge for the interviewees to recognize. It is often a challenge for those that are busy dealing with day to

day issues to be able to see and regularly experience the effects of globalisation on their lives. Interviewees spoke around globalisation by focusing on economic development opportunities. The Calgary region specifically is considered to be well-placed in this regard, being already an economically prosperous area. The oil and gas industry has created many jobs in the area and land is relatively inexpensive for local and international companies looking to relocate. The CRP and the interviewees appear to understand that economic development is an important component of a successful region:

I definitely see a benefit in the long term plans such as, economics, partnerships and population growth...we are currently sitting in the middle of a major highway transportation corridor and the Bow River flows through the (region).

Interviewees agreed that land in Southern Alberta is well-suited to promote industrial development. The region is served by the TransCanada highway, close to shipping routes along the rail line, and rural land is cheap.

Members of the CRP can also work together to help out companies that are looking to locate in the region. One interviewee noted benefits related to economic development:

During the economic boom when everything was going crazy, Calgary was part of an annexation process because they were looking for large tracts of industrial land. So, by working very closely with them... if a business came to Calgary to set up and there wasn't any suitable land available, Calgary would tell them to follow up with Airdrie... so if you work in a partnership you begin to develop good relationships. You think about each other and everyone else in the partnership, and how you can help each other.

There are definite benefits to being in the Partnership, if members can work together. It was identified by one interviewee that it is challenging not being able to work with everyone:

There are some economic development projects going on right now to market the region. It puts everybody in an awkward position to not be able to do economic development together with the rurals.

The rural municipalities are a large piece of the puzzle because they own the largest amount of developable land. However, if the CRP agrees that the rurals have something important to

contribute, when it comes to the global competitiveness of the region, perhaps they would be more willing to revisit some of the fundamentals of the CMP, in order for both groups to meet halfway and get something that they both want. Working together is necessary for a regional partnership that seeks to be competitive, and compete with city-regions around the world:

If a company wants to locate in Western Canada their options are immense so what would make the Calgary region versus some other area more attractive? I think it is very important that city-regions work together to increase these opportunities for their regions.

Before city-regions can work together, those within the city-region must have a tight partnership. It also makes sense for city-regions with different specializations to work together. For example, the Alberta Capital Region is where oil is processed and refined; the Calgary Regional Partnership is the area where the businesses locate and set up head offices; it is obviously very important for both of these regions to work closely together. Collaboration is a key attribute when discussing partnerships and was brought up multiple times throughout the semi-structured interviews.

5.4.7. Conflict, Collaboration, and Consensus

During the interviews, collaboration was not discussed as a conflict resolution method; rather, it was more discussed as a mode of conducting relationships. Collaboration should be initiated at the outset and continue throughout the partnering process; it never ends. Based on the interviews, it appears that, at the outset of the planning process, when the municipalities were joining together to develop the CMP around 2006/2007, in the wake of the Situation Assessment and the 'terms of agreement' work, there was a high level of cooperation and coordination. Once the CMP was complete and it was time for the municipalities to vote on it, the level of collaboration fell off - as some municipalities felt that they were being pushed to approve a plan

that did not support their values. After this point, the validity of the level of collaboration within the partnership was questioned by some interviewees:

Why did we opt out? We believe in regional partnerships, we do, but not regional partnerships in name only. If regional partnerships lead to regional collaboration that's optional then I think they're wonderful.

Collaborative working relationships are highly supported by the CRP. There are many examples of when the regional partnership has achieved a sense of collaboration:

We saw huge benefits for the region when we first started talking about the plan. One of the things that is important, when we first started talking about getting together as a partnership was, what would we name it? I was part of a large breakout session with a hundred people, and people came up with different names and I remember standing up and saying that it has to be called the Calgary Regional Partnership, cause at the time when we got together the main goal of the partnership was economic development and my thought was that if we were going to be partnering for economic development on a global stage is that nobody is going to know what the Chinook region is, Calgary is the name that will get any door open, Airdrie is not going to open a door, Chinook is not going to open a door, but the name Calgary, if anything from Alberta, would do it".

Economic development is a key focus for the CRP. It has been recognized within the CRP, and in the documents created by the Partnership that to be successful with economic development there needs to be a successful partnership that is collaborative. One participant put it eloquently:

I think a strong partnership includes collaboration, mutual respect of perspective and interests, and understanding those interests. Because there is diversity among interests, every community is a unique community, and recognizing those differences but also seeing the synergies and objectives for the larger picture, like regional, provincial, national when you start looking at economic development.

There are conflicts that are getting in the way of the partnership truly being collaborative with all of the surrounding municipalities, including those that have opted out. This was recognized by interviewees; however, people are stumped when trying to figure out how the present conflict can be dealt with:

The way it has been handled up to this point is that you leave. So, we never got to the point where we would get into implementation. Say if there is an issue with water, we never got the opportunity to deal with that issue.

One interviewee understood that planners can play a larger role in trying to bridge the gap between some municipalities:

Need to resolve some of the issues, the governance and to a certain extent respecting the autonomy of the partners while also recognizing opportunities for collaboration, and I think that is really important to recognize, the uniqueness. How that will be recognized I think goes back to communication. Communication skills are very important to a planner's perspective, conflict resolution, and collaboration and how do you go through that process. In planning school we understand what that process is.

When asked about consensus building a lot of the interviewees did not like the idea of 'consensus'. They felt that consensus meant that there were going to be compromises, and rather than creating decisions that everyone wanted, decisions would be made based on what 'everyone can live with'. If the CRP were to go with more of a consensus-building approach there would need to be a facilitator that is neutral, and that could monitor the process; there would also be a need for planners to be more 'hands-on' rather than just playing a technical support role. How to resolve some of the conflict within the CRP between current members and the four disaffected rurals needs to be looked at more closely.

6. Analysis and Synthesis

Beyond the specific statements about city-regions, the Calgary Regional Partnership and planning/governance challenges, there were some specific themes that came out of the interviews. This section analyses the data from the semi-structured interviews in terms of these themes. This section will also present the main interpretations of the data, trying to look beyond what was said and/or recognized as a theme.

6.1. Implications – Regional Partnering for Economic Development

All interviewees agreed that working together to take advantage of economic development opportunities is important. This does tie-in with the global competition theme. However, while they did agree that the Calgary region is in a prime location when it comes to attracting businesses and industrial development, the term ‘global competition’ or the notion of ‘global competitiveness’ was never raised specifically by any of the interviewees. They appeared to agree that through regional cooperation and collaboration the municipalities could work together to benefit the region and increase its competitive edge. It was surprising to see how globalisation and global competitiveness did not enter into the interviewees’ vocabulary. They saw the advantage that comes with working together with another municipality:

We already have inter-municipal committee meetings and those are the perfect opportunity to sit down with different communities and say ‘how can we work together in order to help our regional interest?’, and if you want to take that a step up and say ‘maybe we can learn from Okotoks’ they are separated from us, or regionally have different interests and we can learn from them, or maybe they are doing something that we can learn from.

Clearly, some of the interviewees already see the benefits of inter-municipal cooperation and are even engaging in this by their own accord; however, once the interaction gets labelled as a ‘regional partnership’ people seem to get nervous. There is a sense that their autonomy dwindles when working under ‘a plan’ and another organization’s ‘Executive Committee’. Once there is

any semblance of a hierarchy structure and a voting system, it seems to become more than inter-municipal cooperation; it seems to begin to become another higher level of government.

The fact that some interviewees do see the advantages of working together, but are holding off on rejoining the partnership due to some fundamental issues with the CMP, will only slow down or damage the harnessing of the economic opportunities that are available. The Calgary region is recognized globally as a prosperous region due to its connection to the oil and gas sectors. However, there is more to the region than just oil and gas. The rural areas can compete for industrial business because of the cheaper land prices. Alberta is a province that supports entrepreneurial activity; it is close to the Rocky Mountains and there are lots of tourism opportunities, as well as excellent trades schools that train people to work in technical fields. All of these support economic development and are seen as giving the Calgary region an edge over other regions when it comes to global competition. However, if the municipalities within the region are not working closely and planning together, there will likely be missed opportunities.

The term 'global competition/competitiveness' did not come up in the interviews as expected, possibly because those within the Calgary region are so used to high levels of growth and to preserving their own autonomy that the bigger regional picture can be more easily dismissed or de-prioritised. This possibility makes some sense since municipalities are naturally most concerned about their own economies, politics, and citizens. However, when it comes to successful regional planning everyone within the region must look forward together, and make plans about how to better the region that they share in common. A successful and globally competitive city-region will benefit all of those involved.

6.2. Implications – Results of Conflict Stalling Partnerships

The CRP is founded on a consensus-based model as mentioned in the CMP (April 2012). The governance structure of the CRP is emphasized with a “commitment to consensus-based decision making” (CRP, 2012, p. 3). This is where consensus may fall short in a partnership; it mainly deals with decision making. It does not touch on the in-between processes of the partnership, when partners are working together to develop plans and visions. This is why collaboration is a better approach for partners working together - because it is present in the partnership from day one; not just when partners want to vote and make decisions. Due to the past history of regional planning in the Calgary region, and in light of the recent withdrawals from the partnership by the more rural municipalities, a truly collaborative approach to planning within the CRP could be more effective in dealing with decisions and plans for the future.

During the interviews it was made clear that the working relationships between employees of the CRP and the municipalities that have opted out of the Partnership were good and functional. Even though staff working relationships are good, there is still conflict that is stalling and stymieing the current partnering process. As one interviewee puts it:

The different interpretation and outcomes of long term planning can be a barrier to partnership. The partnership needs to be an honest relationship; we have to have the same objectives... a clear understanding of each party's expectations and agreements.

This particular interviewee notes that some municipalities have different long-term goals and objectives that conflict with the CRP's long-term goals and objectives; this then effectively stalls or impairs the partnering, and is also a reason why the four rurals have voluntarily withdrawn. Alberta Municipal Affairs does offer a conflict resolution service. However it was identified in the 2007 Situation Assessment Report on Terms of Agreement for working together (McKinney, Field, Johnson) that often this program does not get involved in the conflict soon enough, so

much so that by the time it is involved, the relationships have already deteriorated so much that there is little that might be done towards a resolution. Some of the interviewees understand that there is room for better conflict resolution and facilitation:

There is the whole process of mediation and negotiation. I think that that is the next piece that is coming up.... how do you directly deal with conflict?

Before conflict resolution is attempted, the barriers to resolving the conflict need to be identified. Through the interviews it was discovered that there were quite a few barriers that were preventing municipalities from rejoining the Partnership: the CMP (governance structure and density range targets); past bad feelings about regional planning (related to trust issues); and a lack of communication. These are all significant barriers, and it will require both sides coming together, and making compromises, to overcome them.

The CMP was completed in June 2009, however, it is now (as of this writing) September 2012, and the Province has yet to approve the plan. Although none of the current members of the CRP interviewed suggested this, the research suggests that the Province is holding off on approving the plan until some or all of the four rurals, who voluntarily opted out of the Partnership in 2009, voluntarily opt back into the Partnership. This has become a stale-mate situation as the municipalities that have opted out know that the CRP wants the plan to be approved, and are holding out until they get what they want. Unless the CRP is content to be a Partnership of urbans only, then there obviously needs to be some form of compromise. No one appears to like this word, because it means that they will have to give something up and neither side appears willing to budge. The Province does not want to force the disaffected rural municipalities to rejoin the Partnership (as it effectively did when it was legislated the Alberta Capital Region Board in the Greater Edmonton area). All of the interviewees agreed with this aspect of the status quo; they do not want to see the CRP become a mandatory partnership

context. This would destroy the governance aspect of a true ‘partnership’; it would become more of a ‘regional government’ or ‘regional authority’ entity. The density range targets issue, and the voting structure issue within the current CMP, are nevertheless at the heart of the present planning/governance challenge for the CRP. If they are not resolved by the Partnership, the Province may have no option but to impose a regional government board structure, similar to that now in place in the Alberta Capital Region.

The CMP is meant to be a sustainable plan. Southern Alberta has a very limited water supply. Most of the interviewees indicated in effect that ‘everything comes down to water’. Municipalities want to have control over what they can develop; they don’t want an outsider telling them how to develop their jurisdiction. However, the current form of country residential development in the city-region is not sustainable. As the population within the Calgary region continues to grow there will be a point when people can no longer develop in a dispersed, low-density, sprawling pattern because there will simply not be enough water to support such growth. Municipalities prefer not to be so restrictive in what they indicate to their developers or their citizens when it comes to growth management. Municipalities may feel they need particular forms/types of development in order to maintain an adequate tax base, but at what cost? The Province has already placed a moratorium on new water licenses from the Bow River.

The Town of Okotoks has decided to cap its population at 30,000 because that is what they can support based on their water resources (Town of Okotoks, 2009). This is a very progressive decision made by the Town, and although still to be tested, since the population is just below 30,000, it could stand as an important action by a municipality in order to conserve water resources (Statistics Canada, 2011). This indicates that it is possible for a municipality to make such decisions, to lay the heavy hand and draw the line. Although, no one was requiring

Okotoks to do this - it was a decision that the Town came to on its own - there can be a different reaction when an outside interest appears to be telling a municipality how to run its business.

Issues such as these are sensitive, and need to be dealt with in a delicate manner, rather than, for example, having a mayor from another urban municipality telling everyone else how it is going to go:

I remember in one meeting with the Steering Committee for the CRP, the rural councillors were saying to just give up water and that they don't understand why Calgary doesn't trust them to do the right thing. And I could feel Dave Bronconnier out of the corner of my eye shake his head no, and you can feel that very strong pull.

There was a sense during the interviews that Calgary's mayor at the time, Dave Bronconnier, was a strong fighter for Calgary; however, this made things unsettled for the rural municipalities.

This type of 'strong pull', and power struggle, is exactly what needs to be eliminated from the Partnership. An article from the *Rocky View Weekly* (Crossfield withdraws from the Calgary Regional Partnership), dated December 19, 2011, quotes the Executive Chair of the CRP, as saying "I can't say I'm overly concerned with Crossfield leaving. They are one of the smallest communities in the Partnership, and they are on the fringe of the Partnership. When we run growth projections, Crossfield just isn't seeing the growth the rest of us are". It might be felt by some that this is the type of attitude that cannot be reflected in the CRP, if it is going to be a Partnership that is collaborative, showing equal respect for all partners. From the research and from the interviews especially, there appears to be some hierarchical thinking at work within the CRP where it does not treat the smaller (in terms of population and geographical size) municipalities equally. A true partnership needs to keep all players on an even playing field. Crossfield's population grew 6.9% from 2006 to 2011, which is a fairly significant increase, although this is on the lower end of the range, compared to other municipalities within the Partnership that are experiencing growth rates close to 50% (Statistics Canada, 2011).

Crossfield, being a smaller urban municipality (accounting for 0.21% of the Calgary region's overall population), has a strong industrial base and is able to offer land at cheaper prices than other municipalities that are closer to the larger urban centre. This suggests that one municipality should not be written off because it is deemed to be smaller; it might offer a competitive edge to the region which in turn could benefit the economic development of the entire region as a whole. These negative comments (by the CRP Executive Chair) reflect poorly on the level of trust within the Partnership as well. If this is what was said about one municipality, how can the other municipalities, that are even smaller, not feel that they are going to be treated the same disparaging way in the future?

As brought up by one interviewee the CRP can bridge issues within the region by becoming a regional facilitator rather than a regional government. By putting more emphasis on regional facilitation it shows that the Partnership is open to working together with other municipalities in a collaborative forum. It takes away the power perception, that the CRP is an overriding body for the region, and moves it into a role where it can also be seen as acting in the best interests of the region (rather than simply what is best for the Partnership). It appears that politics is beginning to control the Partnership in unconstructive ways, and this is where a planner may be able to help address power imbalances that are degenerative, rather than generative. Planners may play a larger role in regional planning than simply technical support.

6.3. Implications – Planning Education

During the interviews a theme began to emerge: planners have been under-utilized when it comes to the regional partnership in the Calgary region. The process has become very political, where planners provide information to politicians, do the technical work, and that is it. Yet it might be observed that planners are not trained simply to become map-generating

machines; planners also could play a role when it comes to building relationships and facilitating change. Interviewees were asked what advice they would have for a planner-in-training, when it comes to working with a regional partnership; there was a diverse range of responses. One interviewee mentioned that a planner must view their work in 'big picture' terms, thinking long-term:

The planners were not very well-used in the process now that you ask the question. They were asked sub-development questions, they weren't asked really to contribute to the notion that this was this huge region that needed to be dealt with under these eight layers of GIS information. So, I think they were under used or misused, and I think that's a shame because planners have to work on more than a city block scale now, and they weren't asked to expand their conversation or thinking skills beyond that level.

A planner's job is to always look long-term. A planner is the person that has to try and sell the 20 year vision to the community, or the potential development that may not actually be built for another 10 years. Long-term is what a planner is trained to focus on. There is definitely also a need for a planner to look at the short term as well, but when it comes to regional planning - so much of it is planning for the future on a large scale. Scale came up for another interviewee:

It's a good career move to get into regional planning, it has to be more of the way of the future, there is a future for it, and something worthy of students' efforts to get good at and learn about. I think it is really beneficial for people working at a regional level to understand that scale, but I also think it is very important to work at a local level.

Through a planner's education and training they should be able to assess when to activate a broad scale, and when to aim smaller scale; it all depends on the project. In the end, both will have an effect on the other. Planning long-term will affect something at the neighbourhood scale, just as much as it will on the regional scale; everything is interconnected:

I would say another thing is to make sure you take some courses, or projects, in systems analysis. Start to see things as systems. Everything is connected.

A planner needs to be able to plan for the big picture while also working at a neighbourhood scale. One interviewee stressed the importance of the planner having the technical knowledge in programs such as GIS:

I would encourage anyone in planning to get themselves knowledgeable to a functioning level of GIS; GIS is the tool of the future, whether you are a policy analyst, or a communicator. Be able to translate the policy into spatial terms and into visual terms.

This is a good point. A planner is trained to visualize the future, which often means visualising something that is not concrete. The challenge is when a planner must take this visualisation out into the community. It cannot be expected that community members be able to interpret a plan the same way as the planner; this is where GIS becomes a valuable tool for planners, politicians, and citizens.

Looking beyond the technical skills and scope/scale, a planner's education may be considered lacking when it comes to conflict resolution skills. A planner will face conflict multiple times throughout their career, but they may not have been adequately trained in how to deal with this:

I agree that it is a lot about relationship building and working within that environment. I notice in your proposal you talk a lot about how planners do not have a background or training in conflict resolution and I think it is becoming a sought-after skill and one that is becoming more important as a planner in the region.

Since how to deal with conflict resolution is not intensively taught within a formal planning education, planners are often left to their own initiative, once in practice, to find out the best way to deal with a particular conflict. Conflicts are inevitable in planning, and are constantly slowing down processes for approvals and permits, potentially restricting community vitality. Studies in the future need to address the financial and time drains that conflicts have on communities and municipalities. If these consequences were better exposed, to demonstrate that considerable time is wasted in not properly handling conflicts, the planning profession might then be more

motivated to ensure that proper teaching and coaching is provided to planners, in order to settle disputes, or to simply facilitate all sides talking to one another.

Finally, all interviewees had something to say about the importance of communication. The planner is often a communicator, whether dealing with politicians, the public, or their staff. Being a good communicator also goes hand-in-hand with building successful relationships and partnerships:

Respondent 4: Enhance your communication skills right to the sky.

Respondent 6: It is about consensus building... it's about determining interests... and to do that you need to have a lot of communication.

Communication skills need to be built in to every planner's education. Whether it is through writing reports, making presentations, or facilitating relationships between parties, communication is a skill that all professional planners must have. Through a planner's education much of this is taught informally through studios and course work; however, student planners would benefit from having specific communication and conflict resolution courses offered for electives.

6.4. Implications – Role of Professional Planner

The interviewees' views on the role of the professional planner differed. Some felt that the role of the planner is to be an 'expert', and provide advice to the politicians:

I think generically our role is to research and provide analysis on important issues, and feed that information to our decision makers. So, in this case, each municipality has one voting member politician that is on the executive committee, each of the planners is to advise their politician on how to vote and that is primarily what we do.

Generally, this is a planner's role; however it is not the only role. Some of the issues within the CRP could have been dealt with better if a planner was able to play more of a lead role in facilitation, rather than allowing power struggles and mistrust to afflict the Partnership. The

Partnership has been led by the Executive Committee, which is how the (internal) governance model is designed within the CMP implementation context:

The way the partnership works is that it is very much run by the Executive which is the political body and, with (the) exception of Calgary and maybe some others, most of the planning staff has been quiet. But to answer the question, I think that yes, as it is mandated in our profession to identify alternatives for decision makers - that is part of our role.

Part of the role of the professional planner is to follow the Canadian Institute of Planner's Code of Practice (Canadian Institute of Planners, 2004). Section 2(1) of the Code states: "impart independent professional opinion to clients, employers, the public, and tribunals" (Code of Conduct, 2004). This can become challenging for a planner in a charged political atmosphere; it could mean that the planner is taking a risk, in terms of continuation of their employment, by speaking up. One interviewee felt that the planners within the CRP are doing a commendable job:

I think that, they had a couple of really good planners at the CRP, and I think for them, although they do a good job of holding their cards to their chest - because they can't show a lot of emotion, or get involved in the politics of it - it can be frustrating for them, because they see the big picture, they plan outside of politics, they plan for what makes sense... other times it is a job for them and they are interested in promoting things that will be successful.

This goes back to the scope/scale that planners operate in, as discussed in Section 6.3. A planner is often focused on the larger vision and longer time-frame - and this can be difficult when working within a political environment, where elected officials are mostly focused on the next election in their own electoral district. One interviewee commented:

Planners have more influence than they think... politicians aren't the experts, the planners are... there is a lot of power that the bureaucrats have, and I think that sometimes planners have more responsibility and influence than they think they have. I appreciate a planner or bureaucrat that can put the culture aside and look at it as a scientist, look at it from a standpoint of 'here is my hypothesis and now I have to prove it'. Have to make sure that it makes sense in practicality and not just on paper. If we had more objective planners and bureaucrats, I think it would be better.

Professional planners have a responsibility to provide objective advice to the politicians. The politicians have a much harder time being objective, because they probably want to make decisions that will keep them in office; they also have platforms to fulfill, and votes to win. This is where the role of the professional planner comes in, and the planner can offer advice to the politician; however, there is never any guarantee that the advice will be taken.

Any professional planner working with municipalities within the CRP needs to understand the regional planning politics that have played out in the region, potentially going back decades. It is the professional planner's role to gather all of the pertinent background, in order to fully understand the political decisions that are being considered. One interviewee suggested that a professional planner needs to be:

Sensitive to local values, independence, and autonomy. Every town and city is its own. The preoccupation with every municipality is that 'we don't want to look like Calgary!' – ask how they will envision their suburbs; what they're saying is that they don't want to lose their charm, their history, they don't want to become bigger and that is not a technical thing, that is a heart thing. People are expressing that need to hold on to the identity and the character of who they are, it is hard to put into words and hard for planners to put into policy and design guidelines.

This is another reason why planners need to have more than just technical expertise. Planners are dealing with people's livelihoods. There is a sensitivity that needs to come with a planner's disposition, in order for them to be able to work well with the public. In the Calgary region there is obviously a great divide between urban and rural, the rural does not want to be treated like the urban; the rurals want to maintain their character. The challenge with this is that part of that character is the current country residential subdivisions in the rural municipalities. This form of future development is viewed by the CRP as an unsustainable and inefficient use of the land. This is where the planner can possibly become a mediator and/or facilitator of efforts to try to accommodate maintenance of this character option, in a way that is more sustainable for the land

and for the future generations that will inhabit the land. One interviewee viewed planners as ‘the one constant’ within regional planning in the Calgary region:

One of the things talked about in the CRP is that in some way the regional planners become the flag-bearers of the regional side. At every election you can get a turnover of municipal leaders... last election there was a change of about 70% of municipal officials. The turnover of planning staff in the municipalities is also quite high. It has been the regional planning people that are part of the CRP that have become the torch-bearers.

Municipal elections will happen, and the CRP Executive Committee will change as municipal officials change. The one constant may be the CRP planner that has been there from the beginning. These planners have the role of carrying the torch, continuing the vision, and the pursuit of the objectives set out earlier. This is essentially how it not only works within the CRP, but within all municipalities. The political officials may change frequently, but with any luck, the planner remains the constant, and can continue to pursue the goals decided long before.

6.5. Catalogue of Findings and Implications

The following table summarizes the previous two chapters (Chapter 5 & 6). Cataloguing these themes is important because it provides a high level summary of the issues that have been presented through the semi-structured interviews. The findings from the interviews and a brief explanation of these findings are included in Table 3. The implications, in terms of the themes that were further distilled from the semi-structured interviews, are related to each finding, to indicate how they are related.

Table 3 Catalogue of findings and implications

*** Implications related to findings**

1. Regional partnering for economic development
2. Results of Conflict stalling partnerships
3. Planning Education
4. Role of professional planner

Findings	Explanation	*Implications related to findings
Calgary Metropolitan Plan (CMP)	The more rural municipalities have fundamental problems with the CMP (density, voting structure) and have voluntarily withdrawn from the CRP because they cannot support the plan	1 , a regional plan needs to be developed for the area so that visions and goals are streamlined; this will benefit the region in terms of having a focus, and developing the region’s economic edge – all members need to be able to agree on the direction of this plan; it needs to be developed in a collaborative forum, not a consensus-based forum
Governance/Voting Structure	The voting structure within the CRP is a contentious issue for the rural municipalities that have opted out of the Partnership, because they feel that it gives Calgary an unfair advantage to be able to have a veto	1 , the governance and voting structure within the partnership needs to be re-visited if members that have withdrawn from the partnership are going to rejoin 2 , this is a major conflict that is stalling the Partnership 4 , a professional planner should be able to offer advice on different types of governance styles
Density/Water	The rural municipalities do not want to be told how to develop their land; they feel that the density range minimums posed in the CMP prescribe too dense development	2 , all municipalities must be on the same page as to how they plan to deal with water scarcity within the region, and how they are going to maintain the sustainability - and protect the region from sprawling developments. This has become another conflict that is stalling the partnership.

<p>Role of the Calgary Regional Partnership</p>	<p>The role of the CRP is to be a regional body that protects and manages the sustainability of land in the Calgary region, and focuses on the economic development opportunities within the region; however, whether it should be a regional body or a regional facilitator is something that has yet to be decided or fully understood by those involved (members and non-members) in the Calgary region</p>	<p>1, the CRP is focused on economic development principles. Members of the Partnership understand that they are located within a prosperous region. 2, the role of the Partnership is in question; rural municipalities do not want a regional government in place (that would mirror the regional planning commissions)</p>
<p>Past regional planning practices</p>	<p>Past regional planning practices have impacted the working relationships between members and non-members of the CRP in a negative way; there is a lack of trust between municipalities that is stalling the partnering process</p>	<p>2, the regional planning commissions developed in Alberta were not good for regional planning, and ruined relationships and trust between municipalities. These trust issues are hurting the success and partnering process for the CRP. Trust needs to be rebuilt in the Calgary region through small projects where municipalities can succeed together and realise the possibilities that can come from working together. 3, regional planning in practice and in theory is no longer suggesting that regional governments are a successful way to manage a region; this is akin to ‘old regionalism’ (top-down, hierarchical). Planners are learning that a form of ‘new regionalism’ is a more appropriate way to plan for a region, with a strong focus on collaboration and open communication in order to eliminate power imbalances.</p>

<p>Globalisation and Competition</p>	<p>It is understood by municipalities with the Calgary region that there is immense opportunity in terms of economic development because of the location of the region; the population is increasing greatly every year, more so in the urban centres. The CRP is focused on developing the region and to becoming more economically competitive; however the language within the region appears to not touch on the <i>global</i> competitiveness of the region.</p>	<p>1, regions are competing on a global scale. The more focused and streamlined a region is, the more edge it will have when competing with another region for business development and economic prosperity. 2, conflict can stall a region and limit the economic opportunities for that region. 3, globalisation is affecting the way a planner works and planners are learning to adapt their visions and understand that the scale they plan for is broadening to include a global perspective</p>
<p>Conflict Resolution</p>	<p>There is conflict between members and non-members of the CRP that has not been resolved, the CRP allows municipalities to voluntarily withdraw from the partnership, however this means that partners withdraw and the issues/conflict is never dealt with. There are power struggles between maintaining autonomy and doing what is best for the region as a whole.</p>	<p>2, if not dealt with conflict will paralyze a partnership. 3, planners will face conflict multiple times throughout their careers, conflict resolution courses should be offered on an elective basis for planning students in order to equip them with the tools they need once they reach the professional world. 4, professional planners need to be able to offer sound advice and should be able to help conflicts move along by offering unique solutions based on the type of conflict that is being experienced.</p>

Table 3 ties together the semi-structured interview findings and the implications from chapters 5 & 6. There are some definite concerns regarding the CRP and how it plans to move forward in the future. However, the issues that the Partnership is facing are not impossible to solve, they just take time. The rural municipalities that have opted out of the Partnership need to be willing to make compromises as much as the CRP needs to be willing to make compromises. The strain between the two bodies is a result of differing opinions when it comes to how the natural environment will be protected in the future (land use patterns, water scarcity concerns) and the role that the CRP will play in the region (regional government versus regional facilitator). The following concluding section will consider how the CRP - and regional partnerships in general - can work towards becoming successful bodies that plan for the betterment of the region, and compete with other regions on a global scale.

7. Conclusions

This research indicates that city-region partnerships operating within an ‘old regionalism’ model are not likely to be very successful in the current globalisation context. Reflections and recommendations regarding the CRP case study are discussed below (Section 7.1), after which the view is broadened to focus on reflections and recommendations for city-region partnerships in general. It is important to be able to reflect on the outcomes of the research, to better understand what can be done differently in the future. Finally, areas meriting further future research are considered.

7.1. CRP Reflections & Recommendations

The semi-structured interviews were valuable for affording important insight into the workings of, and the relationships within, the CRP. Staff of the CRP and the member municipalities all appear to be working together for the future of the region. They seem to have the best interests of the region in mind when they are planning. However, conflict remains within the Partnership surrounding the recent CMP initiative, prior trust issues, and a chequered past with what felt to some like a centralized regional government imperative. There is still much work that needs to be done within the CRP, especially when it comes to working with the municipalities that have opted out of the Partnership.

7.1.1. Revisiting the qualities of successful partnerships

This section will revisit the qualities of successful partnerships that were listed by Paul Thomas (2011) (See also Section 1.1). The qualities are discussed with the CRP in mind, to try to better understand both the successes of the CRP, and the ongoing challenges where the Partnership may need to work harder or better.

Shared goals and understandings: In terms of shared goals, it does appear that all municipalities within the CRP (including the former members that withdrew in 2009) understand that the region is facing some serious growth management concerns. Municipalities especially understand how this underlines the importance of water conservation in the area. However, not all municipalities agree on how to deal with these issues. The CRP is trying to be progressive in setting strict density range targets; however, the rural municipalities do not agree with these types of limits, and do not want the CRP, through the CMP, telling them how they can and cannot develop their land base. Therefore, while it may appear that municipalities within the Calgary-region share goals, each has a different understanding as to how those goals should or could be achieved, and this is where the conflict that is stalling a full, region-wide partnership comes into play.

Clearly assigned roles and responsibilities: The CRP's latest 'Strategic Action Plan and Budget' document (CRP 2011) represents a move towards assigning appropriate roles and responsibilities. This is a good document that clearly organizes the Partnership's focus for the future. It does appear that the CRP understands the importance of having clearly assigned roles and responsibilities; it is just a matter of getting all the municipalities on board. Within the document there is an organization structure that displays the different committees within the CRP. Each of these committees has assigned roles and responsibilities. The 'Terms of Agreement' developed in 2007 also identifies roles and responsibilities for the Partnership and its members. In this sense, the CRP does appear to have a good grasp, on paper, of the roles and responsibilities that are needed for both the Partnership and its members.

A culture of mutual respect and honesty: There is continued division within the Calgary region, one that has persisted for decades between the rural and the urban, personified in the rural municipalities and urban municipalities respectively. The two are always talked about separately, almost as if they are competing (rather than complementary) forces. For the Partnership to become fully successful, as a city-region partnership, this type of divisive, exclusive thinking cannot continue to prevail. The Partnership must treat all members as equals, and this must be represented in everything that they do, especially when it comes to promoting the Partnership to citizens and the media. By eliminating the division between rurals and urbans, and the associated apparent elevation of urban over rural interests, there will emerge the possibility of a mutual respect - bequeathing trust and honesty.

A 'business-like' approach to operations and regular meetings: It does appear that the CRP approaches meetings in a 'business-like' manner. There are meeting minutes posted on the CRP's website. The CRP is a professional partnership that focuses on the goals they need to accomplish, for the future benefit of the region, to keep the region economically competitive.

Decision-making which is participatory and consensus based: The decision-making structure of the CRP is contentious for some municipalities. First, some municipalities and some of the interviewees did not like the idea of consensus, because it sounds like decisions are made based on what people can live with, meaning compromises have to be made. Compromises will always have to be made. This is true in any kind of partnership, but it cannot always be the same group that makes the compromises; all sides will need to be prepared to compromise. Decision-making with the CRP is typically done through a

consensus-based model and if a decision cannot be determined then a vote is taken, such as voting to approve and adopt the CMP. Rather than looking for a consensus, or working through some problems that specific municipalities had with the CMP (internal governance structure; density targets), disaffected parties instead chose to voluntarily withdraw from the Partnership. This shows that perhaps the Partnership is not looking for consensus-based decision-making; if someone disagrees with a decision they can opt out of the Partnership, such as when Rocky View and the M.D. of Foothills opted out of the Partnership voluntarily when they did not support the CMP. This is not a productive way to deal with issues within the Partnership, since there are important players that are choosing to not be part of the Partnership. Perhaps consensus is not the best method for decision making within the CRP; taking on a more collaborative model of regional planning and decision making will ensure that differences will be discussed, and not ignored. Issues and conflict must be worked through, instead of being ignored. There will always be differences of opinions and the Partnership has to find a way to work through this, instead of so easily accepting the withdrawal of members; such issues will simply remain, and will need to be dealt with at some point.

Healthy conflict that does not ignore issues or personalize them: Up to this point it appears that, if there is a conflict or issue within the CRP, it is not directly dealt with and the disaffected party or parties opt out of the Partnership. This means that if at some point a disaffected party decides to rejoin, the conflict will likely still remain, and will need to be dealt with. The CRP would benefit from the use of a part-time facilitator or mediator that comes to the Partnership as an outsider, in order to ensure it is free of biases, and to help the partners work through the conflicts and issues that come up. This

research has indicated that there is still considerable resentment stemming from past regional planning efforts (by the CRPC) in the Calgary region. These issues need to be dealt with openly, so that everyone can then move on; this is likely best done with a facilitator present.

Communication that is strategic and operational: Excellent communication is a quality that is present in all successful relationships. Effective communication is also a sign of respect and trust. Strategic communication is important when focusing efforts long-term, and planning for a long-term vision. Based on this research, little can be said about the communication levels between partners within the CRP, as this was not something that was directly observed.

Ongoing monitoring and feedback: In terms of monitoring and feedback, the CRP does have regular meetings with all members. This is a way for the Partnership to know what each member is working on and to ensure that each member is continuing to work towards the CMP's visions and goals. If and when this plan is approved by the Province there will need to be measures in place that consider how the plan is working for members; there will need to be regular feedback by all members, based on how the policies are working in practice.

The CRP does appear to have many of the qualities necessary for a successful partnership. They have a user-friendly website that is often updated with the latest information regarding the Partnership and what they are working on. The Partnership does need to focus more on how it chooses to deal with conflict, and erasing the division between the rural and urban municipalities. The CRP members are working hard to focus on economic development strategies for the region; this is evident from the reports that have been published.

7.1.2. Calgary Metropolitan Plan

There are a few issues regarding the current proposed plan that are preventing certain municipalities from re-joining the partnership. The two main issues about the CMP that are effectively stalling or stymieing the partnership are the (internal) governance structure and the minimum density targets being proposed. Although the CMP is being positioned to NOT mandate another matching level of government, it clearly is; especially since the CRP wants all municipalities to align their Municipal Development Plans (MDPs) with the policies within the CMP. The latter provision may be considered to be more the role that the Province's South Saskatchewan Regional Plan (SSRP) can play, rather than the CMP. If policies are coming from the SSRP, they are coming from the provincial government. This may take care of some of the conflict between the rural and the urban municipalities, because it will no longer appear to be a case of one municipality dictating policies to another; it will be the provincial government dictating the same policies for everyone. The term governance that the CRP uses is limited to the Partnership's internal governance, in the context of a partnership that is more inter-municipal than regional. This practicum has attempted to reference a broader view of governance, embracing internal and external aspects, in a partnership that extends well beyond simply the municipalities in a given city-region. One consequence is that this practicum is not calling for centralized city-region-wide government between the municipal and the provincial levels; it is calling for a broader, more decentralized (i.e., new regionalism) form of city-region planning and governance within the Calgary region. Currently the CRP appears to be acting as a centralized governing body for land use planning and development of the region, similar to the former CRPC.

Based on a theory derived by W.L. Creech, Osborne and Gaebler (1993) agree that “people work harder and invest more of their creativity when they own their own work” (p. 259). Municipalities need to feel individually that they are complementing the regional planning process; they will not want to be part of a partnership where a regional body dictates to them what they must do, and what they must align with the regional vision and goals. Importance is still placed on the region having a unified vision and working together to achieve success in a globally competitive environment; however, it needs to be done in a way that is more decentralized. Regional planning is taking on more of a progressive role in developing strategic plans, as opposed to focusing on land use plans (Tewdwr-Jones & McNeill, 2000). The CRP has some good strategic plans; for example, the Strategic Action Plan and Budget for 2012-2015 plainly shows the CRP’s commitment to the region.

The density-range minimums within the CMP are a contentious issue, and one of the main reasons why the four rural municipalities have opted out of the Partnership. For rural municipalities in the Calgary region, it is very important to them that they are not treated like urban municipalities; they need to have the room to make their decisions - thereby keeping their autonomy intact. This insistence on maintaining their rural character may be something that is a hangover from their opposition to the CRPC, or it may just be human nature. For the rurals to be part of the Partnership the density targets will need to be discussed and compromise between both parties, the rural municipalities and the CRP, will need to be more seriously entertained. There is no partnership or relationship if compromise is not involved. In the semi-structured interviews it was clear that no one liked the idea of consensus because if it meant that there would be compromise - but there is compromise already when the term partnership is discussed. Municipalities, especially it seems rural municipalities, do not want to be tied to a unified land

use plan where densities are imposed. The sprawling country residential development that occurs in the rural municipalities is unsustainable, and cannot continue as it has for decades into the future, especially with water being such a scarcity. The CMP can be adjusted to include different scales of densities - such as urban municipalities having a minimum density of 6-8 units per acre, and rural municipalities having a minimum density of 4-6 units per acre. This may not be as progressive as the CRP wants and it still may be too dense for what the rurals want, but it is a compromise. Either there is a compromise that is made and agreed to by all sides or the rurals continue to opt out of the Partnership, and continue to attempt to develop sprawling country residential communities; and the CRP will continue to be an incomplete and limited Partnership. It has come to a point where a line needs to be drawn and tough decisions need to be made; the region may have taken its high rate of growth for granted, feeling that there is no incentive to depart from the status quo; however, this attitude needs to be adjusted before it is too late.

7.1.3. Role of Planners within the CRP

During the semi-structured interviews it was suggested that planners have not played a large role, beyond technical support, in the CRP. Planners have the capacity to take on more than just a technical role; there is importance associated with being the professional doing the technical work, but planners are also trained in facilitation. A planner's education may be lacking when it comes to conflict resolution, but facilitation is an area where planners have some capacity. This is a skill that can be better utilized within the CRP. Planners can play a larger role by fostering cooperation around the region, bringing in different groups (i.e., community groups, non-profit organisations) and allowing them to make some suggestions for the region. The Capital Region Board (ACR) Growth Plan places considerable emphasis on social issues, and affordable housing is a large component of their plan; the CRB had to cooperate with

different organisations in order to learn more about the housing affordability issue, and how to plan for it. The CRP might benefit from also taking on more of a social perspective in order to better plan for the region as a whole. Planners have a role in giving advice and making recommendations to the politicians they work with; however, a planner is trained in more than that - and their skills within the CRP seem to be underutilized.

7.2. City-Region Partnership Recommendations

For city-regions to create strong partnerships and achieve global competitiveness, regional collaboration needs to be the foundation the Partnership is based upon. Collaboration is not necessarily a means to resolve conflict; although it will be part of the resolution process, it is something greater. Collaboration requires good communication skills, it means that when a conflict arises it is dealt with, not ignored. Part of this collaboration focus also leans towards a *new regionalism* perspective of planning (see Section 2.5).

Table 4 Pros & cons of old regionalism versus new regionalism

	Old forms of regionalism	New Regionalism
Cons	Hierarchy structure Mostly cooperation or coordination at best Feelings of animosity between members: urbans elevated over rurals Top-down, heavy handed Paternalistic Limited opportunities for change Lack of innovation	More time-consuming when focusing on collaboration More difficult when focusing on short term goals Challenging to get all partners on the same page, to set aside some of their autonomy in the wider regional interest.
Pros	Quick decision-making Static, always know what to expect Strong focus on coordination	Better partnership for the region in the long run Each partner feels empowered Focus is on the region working together More of a global perspective, increasing competitiveness

		Citizens' perspectives and goals are also included in the process, making it well-rounded and more supported
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Whereas in the past regional planning was done with a heavy hand, it cannot be expected for regional planning to continue this way into the future. New regionalism is a system of planning that is ever changing, and is not based in a bureaucratic structure where policies are passed down in a hierarchy setting. Equal parties come together to discuss plans for the future; a strategic vision is identified and then discussed among the parties as to how the vision can be achieved. There does need to be some type of governance involved in order to ensure that the vision is not compromised by empty promises; everyone is accountable but their autonomy is not compromised.

The challenges experienced through the partnering process are often related to power struggles, different goals and objectives for the future, a lack of trust, and a lack of communication. In order to enhance the partnership to avoid these types of conflicts there needs to be transparency among partners, and each partner must have equal access to information. A power imbalance is present if one member knows more than another; this power imbalance leads to conflict (Innes & Booher, 2002, Margerum, 2002). By having everyone with equal access to information, the hierarchy aspect is taken out of the equation; i.e. where one member does not have a 'one up' on other members. Transparency will also bring trust into the partnership. Municipalities are often used to competing with one another, for business, for development, for funding. This competition is hard to shake off, when they begin to come together to work as a partnership. Transparency will equal out any imbalances, but this means that honesty also has to be present. The members of the partnership need to be able to represent the partnership as an

equal relationship; this means positive representation of the partnership to the public and in the media. Discussion of hierarchies, or one municipality being less than another - either because it has a smaller population or does not have as much to offer in terms of economic advantages - cannot be present.

Planners play a role in these partnerships in terms of facilitation and working towards the visions that have been identified. It was mentioned in one of the interviews that planners are the torch holders, that when municipal elections happen and new politicians are brought in to the process, ideally it is the planner that remains the constant. The planner is the champion for the vision and the one that pushes to continue to achieve that vision in the short and long term. Planners would benefit from learning and being trained in conflict resolution, whether through their education or at some point in their careers, since they are bound to come across conflict multiple times during their careers because they work with many different groups, especially when working at a regional scale.

7.3. Directions for Further Study

Through the research it has been found that there a quite a few other directions meriting further study consideration. One important area meriting further research - when it comes to regional partnerships - is conflict resolution. Finding the appropriate model always depends on the type of conflict, but dealing with these conflicts is so important because, if not dealt with, they will continue to sour the relationship. Different types of conflict resolution models can be considered, going beyond the collaborative planning and consensus building, in order to better assess what type of conflict resolution model is right for the type of conflict that is being dealt with.

While doing the research it was also noticed that the governance aspects of regional partnerships themselves need to be looked at more closely. After reviewing the precedents represented by the ACR and the MCR, and from studying the CRP, it was recognized that all three of these partnerships have similar voting structures in place when it comes to making decisions. Is there another way to make a decision in a regional partnership? Are there other regional partnerships out there that have a different form of governance structure that is effective for them and does not cause conflicts or give one municipality an edge over the others? Many of the issues and sources of conflicts within these partnerships revolved around the voting structure, and the fact that the municipality with the majority of the city-region population is effectively given a veto to ultimately turn around any vote they do not agree with. Although this type of power struggle has not been witnessed in the CRP so far, that is not to say that it could not happen, because of the City of Calgary veto.

There is a gap in the literature when it comes to discussing ‘new regionalism’ in action, in the Canadian context especially. There is much information on amalgamating municipalities in a city-region - in effect the old regionalism at work; however, new regionalism appears to be slow in making an appearance (in the Canadian context especially). New regionalism is something that can be studied further in the future. What exactly does new regionalism look like in practice? Are there any good examples of it being done well? Through this research it has been realized and acknowledged that even though regional planning has been ongoing for decades, it is still so new because it is always changing - and the best way to work with a group of unique and individual municipalities, politicians, and citizens is always different depending on the situation.

Globalisation was a topic that did not resonate with the interviewees; however, its impacts on city-regions cannot be denied. Further research on how globalisation is affecting city-regions - and their drive to compete with other regions nationally and globally - is warranted. How residents' (that live within the region) day-to-day lives are affected by globalisation, and the decisions they make within their region, deserves to be researched. Is globalisation putting more pressure on political actors and municipal workers when searching for the city-region's competitive edge? How are the residents living within the city-region directly or indirectly experiencing and responding to these pressures? The answers to these questions are complex, but will assist in understanding some of the conflicts that regions face internally and externally - as well as shed light on how globalisation is truly impacting city-regions.

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Appendix A: Rocky View County: Calgary Regional Partnership Update June 2011



Rocky View County Calgary Regional Partnership Update July 5, 2011

Rocky View County has participated in the Calgary Regional Partnership (CRP) since 1999, and withdrew in September 2009. The CRP has invited Rocky View County to discuss the County's distinct concerns and hopes regarding participation in the CRP. Following is an update on Rocky View County's position regarding the CRP and the Calgary Metropolitan Plan (CMP).

1. Moving Forward

Rocky View County has welcomed opportunity over the years to be part of a process of coming together to try and advance the region as a whole. Rocky View shares borders with 15 other jurisdictions and works collaboratively to address inter municipal issues on a day-to-day basis. Rocky View County joined the CRP as the County believed in the principles first outlined, ensuring the long-term health, viability, diversity, connectivity of open spaces, shared services and sustainability of communities throughout the region. Rocky View County is open to discuss the CMP and the region's future with the CRP.

2. Calgary Regional Partnership (CRP) Terms of Agreement

Rocky View County agrees with the *CRP Terms of Agreement for Working Together* signed by Rocky View County and seventeen other municipalities in March 2007.

3. Principles of the Calgary Metropolitan Plan (CMP)

Rocky View County agrees with the *Principles of the Calgary Metropolitan Plan*, with minor amendments. Below are the amended principles:

- Protecting and respecting the region's natural environment
- Reinforcing an efficient settlement and land use pattern that reflects municipal autonomy.
- Provision of regional infrastructure and services that are efficient and affordable over the long-term, respectful of the natural environment and designed to reinforce a sustainable settlement and land use pattern across the region over time.

4. Background

- Rocky View County has stated many times that the governance mandate of the CRP must be limited to matters in the CMP that are truly regional and do not impact municipal autonomy.
- Rocky View County suggests County Councillors be appointed to key elected CRP committees as participants or observers, such as the Executive Committee, Regional Servicing, Governance Review and Economic Development Committee.

5. Rocky View County's Key Issues

- Implement a voting structure acknowledging and respecting municipal autonomy.
- Density should not be prescribed in the CMP or be a condition of servicing. The emphasis would be on the principle of efficient land use, ensuring sustainable communities.



6. Mutual Benefits for Rocky View County and CRP Members

Rocky View County would participate in the following CRP functions:

- a. Regional water and wastewater servicing
- b. Regional geographic information systems (GIS) mapping
- c. Watershed protection and associated regional water levies
- d. Regional fire services
- e. Policing
- f. Recreation facilities and services, including trails and pathways
- g. Advocacy to provincial and federal governments and information sharing
- h. Specialized transportation
- i. Corridors for transportation
- j. Waste management
- k. Regional affordable housing

Background: Rocky View County provides utility corridors through the County's jurisdiction for urban neighbours without the opportunity for the County to connect or use these utilities under current conditions. The Calgary Regional Partnership's CH2Mhill servicing study presented a solid regional servicing plan, that could efficiently and cost effectively address Rocky View County's water and wastewater needs. Rocky View County would like to explore the opportunity of being a part of a regional water and wastewater service. Benefits to Rocky View County residents include, but are not limited to:

- Servicing to existing communities through existing infrastructure in Elbow Valley west area
- Servicing for the Airdrie and District Agricultural Society
- Servicing for Rocky View School Division (Edge and Springbank)
- Servicing for Balzac West Area Structure Plan

7. Principles of Future CRP Participation

- In absence of an agreement on governance and voting structure, Rocky View County may consider participating in the CRP in some capacity as an "associate" or "affiliate" member.

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Interview questions depended on who was being interviewed. However, the following list covers some examples of questions that were asked:

1. What creates a strong city-region partnership?
2. What are the barriers to having a strong partnership? How can these be overcome?
3. Do you think that city-region partnerships are important? Why or why not?
4. What does 'regional governance' mean to you? Who is involved (i.e., what stakeholders are involved?)?
5. What is the essence of 'partnership' for you, compared to previous approaches to city-region planning and development?
6. Partnerships can be complicated by conflict. What conflicts have you noticed/experienced?
7. What is your view of the planner's role in conflict situations? What could they do better?
8. In your opinion/experience, how can the Calgary region build a really successful partnership, that all feel good about, that all want to be a part of?
9. What is needed right now, or in the short-term for this to happen? What about in the longer-term?
10. What are some of the major challenges currently faced by the CRP? What merits priority consideration? What strategy or tactics would you recommend/favour for tackling this challenge?
11. What advice do you have for planners-in-training interested in working for city-region partnerships? What do they have to be prepared for? What should they be trying to contribute? What do they need to be sensitive to?

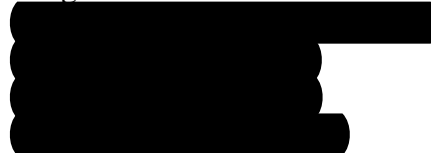
Appendix C: Consent Form

Statement of Informed Consent

Research Project Title: *Regional Partnering for Global Competitiveness: The Planning-Governance Challenge and the Calgary Regional Partnership*

Researcher(s): Meghan Norman

Principal Investigator and contact information: Meghan Norman



Research Supervisor (if applicable) and contact information:

Dr. Ian Wight



This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only a 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.

1. Purpose of the Research:

The purpose of this research is to satisfy the major degree project requirement of the Master of City Planning Degree at the University of Manitoba. The project is titled *Regional Partnering for Global Competitiveness: The Planning-Governance Challenge and the Calgary Regional Partnership*. The purpose of this project is to investigate the challenges and opportunities that city-region partnerships typically encounter, especially when seeking to enhance their global competitiveness. I want to understand the influence of past and present regional planning systems, and structures of regional governance, in order to consider the future of city-region planning and governance. The consideration includes grounding in the current setting of the Calgary Region Partnership (CRP).

2. Procedures:

You are being asked to participate in an interview on city-region partnerships and/or the Calgary Regional Partnership (CRP). The interviews are intended to clarify and illustrate

the role of planning in city-region partnerships and the importance of city-region partnerships. The interview is expected to take 45 minutes to complete. Interviews will be recorded and notes taken. The project is expected to include a maximum of ten key informants from various stakeholder groups. Interviewees will be supplied with a transcript of the interview for their review prior to writing the thesis to ensure that information collected is accurate.

3. Recording Devices and Data Storage:

With your permission, interviews will be recorded digitally to ensure an accurate record of responses. Hand written notes of the interview will be taken. If you do not wish to be recorded, only these notes will be used. You will not be identified in the project documentation. All audio files and interview notes collected during the research process will be stored securely, and destroyed upon completion of the project. Only the researcher will have access to the interview data. Digital data will be password protected. Physical handwritten notes will be stored securely in the researcher's briefcase while in the field and locked in my home office upon return to Winnipeg. All data gathered (recordings and notes) will be destroyed 2 years after the conclusion of the project (anticipated August 2012).

4. Risks and Benefits:

There are no particular risks to you in participating in this study. There are no risks associated with this project beyond normal everyday risk. The study does not address personal or confidential issues. The study asks only for your professional knowledge and opinion about city-region partnerships and conflict resolution. However, you should be aware that the general role you played in the planning process will be identified. As such, it may be possible for those with knowledge of the city-region and planning process to infer your identity. As well, given the small pool of relevant participants, a participant might be identifiable by their choice of words as used in the practicum. Participants will be allowed to withdraw from the interview at any time, if they believe there is a concern. Participants will be able to withdraw from the entire process at any time before the thesis has been submitted into the Electronic Thesis database.

5. Confidentiality:

Your privacy is important. You will not be identified in the practicum document. Recordings of interviews and notes taken will be secured during the project and destroyed 2 years after project completion, expected in August 2012. You should be aware that the general role you played in the planning process will be identified. It may be possible for those with knowledge of the city and the planning process to infer your identity. Given the small pool of relevant participants, a participant might be identifiable by their turn of phrase as used in the project's documentation. However, no personal information will be gathered and questions will only relate to your professional expertise on the subject. If at any time you wish to withdraw from the project, your responses will not be used in the final document.

6. Credit or Remuneration:

There is no credit, remuneration, or compensation for participant involvement in this study.

7. Debriefing:

A summary of research results will be made available to all participants. For those who are interested, the final completed Major Degree Project will also be made available, by email in PDF format, upon request.

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.

The University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board(s) and a representative(s) of the University of Manitoba Research Quality Management / Assurance office may also require access to your research records for safety and quality assurance purposes.

This research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at (204) 474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature _____

Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____

Date _____