

Planning for Rural Non-Farm Residential Development in Southern Manitoba:
A Case of 'Them versus Us' – Planners and Others

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this practicum was to examine the evolution of planning for rural non-farm residential development (RN-FRD), in terms of trends, policy and practice. An analysis of trends, and underlying changes, in planning policy and regulation in Southern Manitoba, since the 1970s, is presented - with a particular interest in farming-dominated regions outside the Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). More specifically, the practicum examines how land use planning for RN-FRD has evolved – over the last decade – especially in the vicinity of certain (official or unofficial) Large Urban Centres (LUCs), situated in non-metropolitan settings. It reviews how literature addressing RN-FRD in the 1970s may have influenced early policy evolution, and how recent literature might be considered to better inform current planning surrounding RN-FRD. The underlying issues are addressed through a targeted literature review, interviews with key informants/stakeholders, and comparative case study of the recent Development Plan experiences of three rural planning jurisdictions in Southern Manitoba - one Rural Municipality, of Hanover (RMH); and two Planning Districts – Brandon and Area (BAPD), and Rhineland Plum Coulee Gretna Altona (RPGAPD). All three have been experiencing significant RN-FRD, and have notably attempted to address RN-FRD within their Development Plan. In summary, the practicum assesses planning for RN-FRD in Southern Manitoba over the past four decades – in terms of both policy and practice, and concludes with recommendations for both planners and policy makers, including: how to better define RN-FRD, planning beyond municipal boundaries, the incorporation of better long-term planning, and integrating infill approaches to RN-FRD. The research inevitably deals with the tension between professional planners and others – notably the

elected and administrative officials responsible for the planning jurisdictions. A better balancing of the interests of both is explored, around the common ground of better planning for RN-FRD in the future. The research indicates that a new alliance may be emerging; it is no longer such a pronounced case of 'them versus us'.

Keywords: rural, non-farm residential, land use, planning, Manitoba, policies, professional planners

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

The desire for country living – while enjoying the amenities of the nearest urban centre - has driven the majority of spatially-significant development throughout the inter-municipal planning ‘hotspots’ of Southern Manitoba over the past few decades.

Strategically located larger urban centres (LUCs) now seem to be almost constantly expanding outwards in influence, impacting nearby rural farmland, through more and more rural **non-farm residential** developments (RN-FRD). It is these residential developments, usually situated just outside urban centres, in urban/rural fringe settings, that are seen as the ideal living situation by an influential group of (formerly) urban and (latterly) rural residents alike. However, it could be argued that these same (rural non-farm) residential developments are forever changing the rural landscape, from that initially valued by those seeking to live there.

For much of the 20th Century, ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ were viewed as being two separate and distinct entities. People either chose to live and work in an urban environment (‘the city’ or ‘in town’), or settled in a rural environment (‘the countryside’); and the urban growth was generally accompanied by – often significant - rural depopulation (of what had been mainly ‘farm-based’ population). Following World War II, a shift of sorts appeared and some parts of the countryside (especially - at first - in the vicinity of large sprawling metropolitan areas) began to be “recolonized by urbanites moving out from the built-up city” (Bryant et. al 1982, 29). By the 1970s, the once pure and simple rural landscape became a scene of:

...farmers and urbanites following different lifestyles occupying land space side by side...(While) these urbanites live in the country... they belong mostly to the city... At the same time, however, more country urbanites are becoming part-time or hobby farmers while more farmers are becoming part-time urbanites by working in the city, so the distinction between the two groups becomes blurred (Bryant et. al 1982, 29).

Around this period – the early 1970s - the Province of Manitoba began the implementation of the first provincial land use policies (PLUPs). The PLUPs have many aims, one of them being “providing ample land to meet residential demand in a manner that minimizes conflict with other resource activities” (Province of Manitoba 1978, 3). It was also around that time that academics including Alice Coleman (1976), Lorne Russwurm (1977), Chris Bryant et al (1982) were writing about the trend of urbanites moving out of the city into the rural environment.

This practicum focuses on the evolution of RN-FRD in terms of trends, policy and practice, within particular regions (outside the Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area) in Southern Manitoba, generally from the early 1970s to the present, but especially over the last decade or so. Over this period, there was an initial pronounced focus on RN-FRD within the main urban/metropolitan region of the Province (i.e. the Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area), and a comparative gap – or delay in interest - in relation to rural planning and development in ‘non-metropolitan’ Manitoba.

RN-FRD, in some form, has been occurring in Manitoba since the beginning of the 20th Century, yet it was not until the 1970s that the Province implemented its first Provincial Land Use Policies (PLUPs). This timing coincided with a marked increase in the desire for rural non-farm living – a trend that has continued in recent decades. Although the Province of Manitoba began implementing its first PLUPs in the late 1970s (made official in 1980), numerous rural municipalities and (inter-municipal) planning districts throughout (non-metropolitan) Southern Manitoba only began to incorporate policies surrounding RN-FRD within their Development Plans around the turn of the latest century, following the adoption of the second iteration of the PLUPs in 1994. This

practicum focuses mainly on the past decade or so, when the 1994 PLUPs were in effect, and before the latest 2011 PLUPs were adopted. However, the Development Plans featured in this research were being developed while the latest PLUPs were in development themselves; some cross-fertilization of emerging ideas may therefore be anticipated.

In addition to examining the policies surrounding RN-FRD in the PLUPS, this practicum incorporates three case studies, in the form of three Development Plan experiences in three separate settings (two Planning Districts and one RM) within Southern Manitoba. A Planning District is defined as being two or more municipalities that have joined together to address all land use issues and are responsible for “the adoption, administration and enforcement of a development plan by-law, the zoning by-law and all other by-laws respecting land use and development in the jurisdiction” (Manitoba Intergovernmental Affairs, n.d. 7). The case study settings serve to more accurately highlight, and assess, the emerging policies surrounding current planning for RN-FRD. In part, the case study portion of this practicum highlights the views of professional planners versus certain important non-professionals, sometimes termed as the ‘others’, mainly comprising elected and administrative officials responsible for the planning jurisdictions. The goal has been in part to examine whether or not planning districts and rural municipalities in Southern Manitoba have been aiming above and beyond the policies outlined in the PLUPs. This includes a consideration of emerging policy and practice – on the ground – in comparison with the views and recommendations of the planners who are often called upon to help create such policies. It was the intention of this practicum to serve as a useful reference for rural municipalities and planning districts, as to the importance and relevance of improved, more proactive planning for RN-FRD.

1.2 Research Questions

The primary question to be addressed throughout this practicum was:

How has planning for RN-FRD in Southern Manitoba evolved - in terms of trends, policy and practice - from the early 1970s to the present (but with a particular interest in the past decade or so), and what future evolution may be anticipated?

The spectrum surrounding 'rural' is quite broad - with numerous academics and planners each having their own definition of 'rural' and 'rural non-farm'. The intent here is to specify exactly what RN-FRD is, and where RN-FRD is situated within the rural spectrum, **with planning for RN-FRD in mind**. Part of this research attempts to pinpoint where RN-FRD does occur, and consider how it has evolved since the PLUPs came into effect in Manitoba in the 1970s, and more specifically, since the beginning of the 21st Century. The underlying interest has been to determine whether or not rural municipalities and planning districts, situated throughout Southern Manitoba, are heading in a progressive direction with their efforts, in terms of policy and practice surrounding RN-FRD.

Besides the primary question, this practicum has also addressed the following secondary questions:

What major issues surrounding RN-FRD have arisen in the past and how have they been addressed, with what outcome?

What key issues exist at the present time, and how are they being addressed, based on current policy and/or practice?

Looking to the future (given past and present experience) how might planning for RN-FRD best be further evolved, in terms of improved policy and practice, to better fit projected trends?

How might RN-FRD planning policy and practice be best improved at the present time?

The underlying objectives of this practicum include:

1. Identification of the issues that rural municipalities and planning districts in Southern Manitoba are experiencing, in terms of trends, policy and practice surrounding RN-FRD, including those issues already addressed or being addressed, as well the outstanding issues - those that still remain;
2. Highlight how a sampling of current rural municipalities and planning districts throughout Southern Manitoba are addressing planning for RN-FRD;
3. Examine how the views of RN-FRD differ between the planners who are responsible for creating the policies, and those who are responsible for adopting and enforcing such policies (i.e. municipal elected or administrative officials);
4. Assessing how policy and practice surrounding RN-FRD might be better addressed in the future.

The rationale involves determining and highlighting: the negative and positive effects that RN-FRD has had throughout Southern Manitoba - in the past, and at present; what issues may potentially arise in the future; and how best to plan for them now.

The hope is to create a contribution to literature, which highlights the universal issues surrounding RN-FRD, based on the information gathered through the selected case studies. The purpose of highlighting the perceived universal issues is to seek ways to satisfactorily address them in the future, via provincial policy –specifically the PLUPs – as well as municipally or inter-municipally, within RM or PD Development Plans.

1.3 Purpose and Scope

The purpose of this practicum is to explore the evolution of policy and practice – and related trends - surrounding planning for rural non-farm residential development (RN-FRD) in parts of Southern Manitoba that are experiencing growth (with a particular interest in farm regions outside the Winnipeg census metropolitan area). It also examines the ideas and ideals proffered by academics such as Coleman, Russwurm, Bryant - and their like - with a particular interest in how planning for RN-FRD throughout southern Manitoba has evolved since the 1970s. More specifically, the practicum

examines how land use planning for RN-FRD has evolved in terms of trends, policy and practice – over the last decade or so – especially in the vicinity of certain (‘statistically’ official or unofficial) Large Urban Centres (LUCs), situated in non-metropolitan settings. It also reviews how literature addressing RN-FRD dating back to the 1970s may have influenced the evolution, and how it might relate to current planning trends surrounding RN-FRD.

Issues addressed through this practicum include: defining RN-FRD for LUCs within Southern Manitoba (as well as in the RST – Rural and Small Towns - context of the RPGAPD); the evolution of RN-FRD planning in Southern Manitoba– in particular, the evolution of RN-FRD provincial planning policy; and especially in terms of current RN-FRD planning policy expressed in current planning authority practice (in their Development Plans). These issues are addressed through a targeted literature review, interviews with key informants/stakeholders, and comparative case studies of three planning jurisdictions in Southern Manitoba – all experiencing RN-FRD, and attempting to address it within their Development Plans. This practicum will also make recommendations for going forward with planning for RN-FRD.

1.4 Importance of the Study

This practicum will yield important insights for the planning profession, specifically for those planners dealing with rural planning issues. As planning and development within the rural-urban fringe is occurring at a much larger scale than it ever has in the past, throughout Manitoba, it is appropriate that the issues surrounding RN-FRD are addressed in detail. The primary objective of this research is to identify and highlight trends relating to planning for RN-FRD in Southern Manitoba – in general from the 1970s, but especially over the past decade or so, focusing primarily on enduring issues,

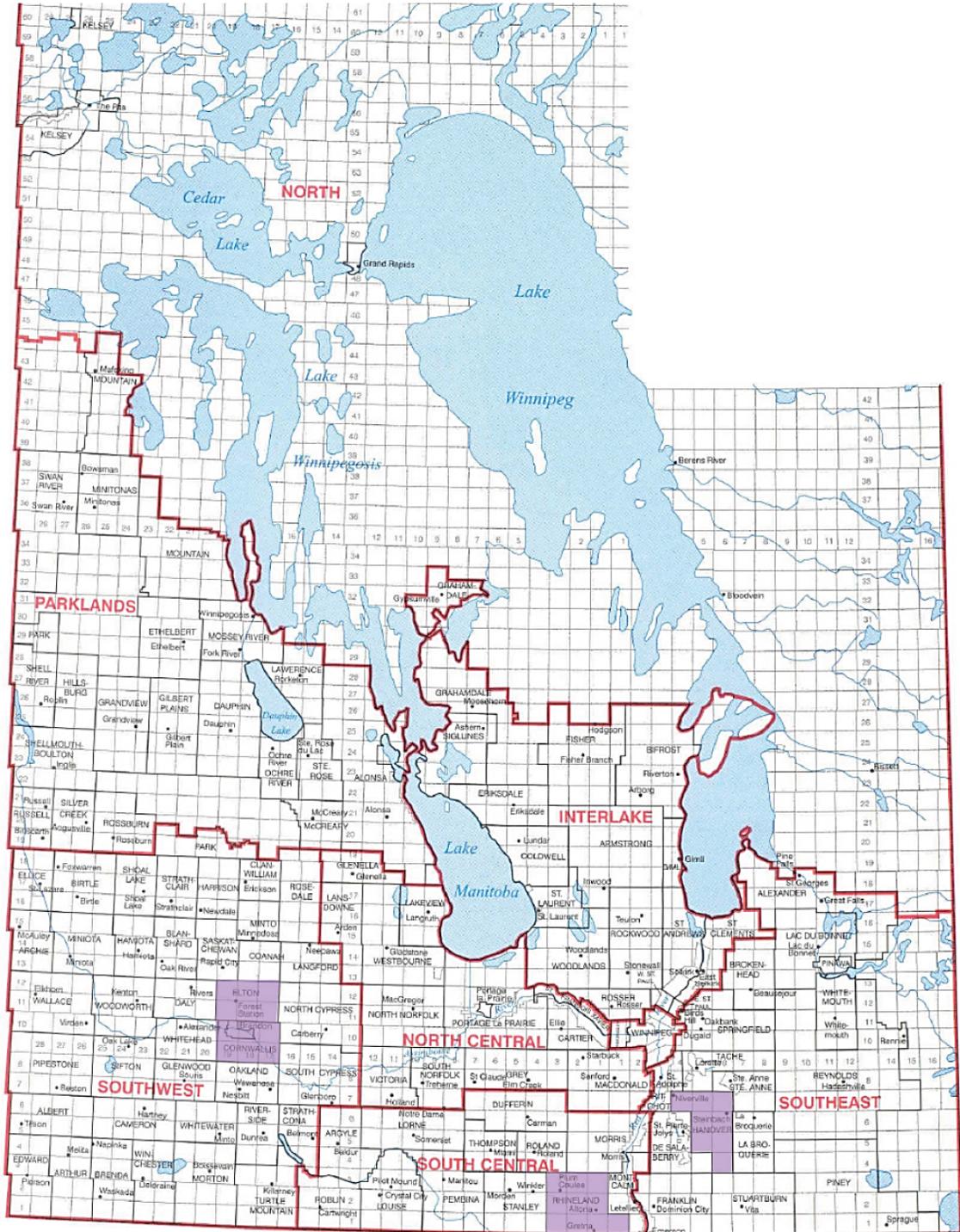
issues that have emerged more recently, and best practice imperatives at the present time - anticipating future trends. Furthermore, this practicum aims to assist professional planners in creating specific useful policies to address this type of development in a proactive manner through Development Plan policies and provisions.

This practicum has sought to contribute to the body of literature focusing on RN-FRD within the Canadian context, and provide insight on the Manitoba context in particular, in terms of both policy and practice. Part of this research involves highlighting how both planners and others view the policies and trends surrounding RN-FRD, providing first-hand insight regarding potential future policy directions.

1.5 Assumptions and Limitations

There are certain key assumptions or premises associated with this project. First of all, it is being conducted with the assumption that the incidence of RN-FRD will continue to increase throughout parts of Southern Manitoba. In addition, it is assumed that the desire of many to live outside of urban centres, within a nearby rural environment, will continue - potentially as a growing trend. According to the Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, the census divisions in which each of the selected case studies are situated are the non-metropolitan economic regions that are expected to see a particularly large increase in overall population in the next ten years (See Figure 1). Figure 2 charts the projected percent change in population for the various economic regions.

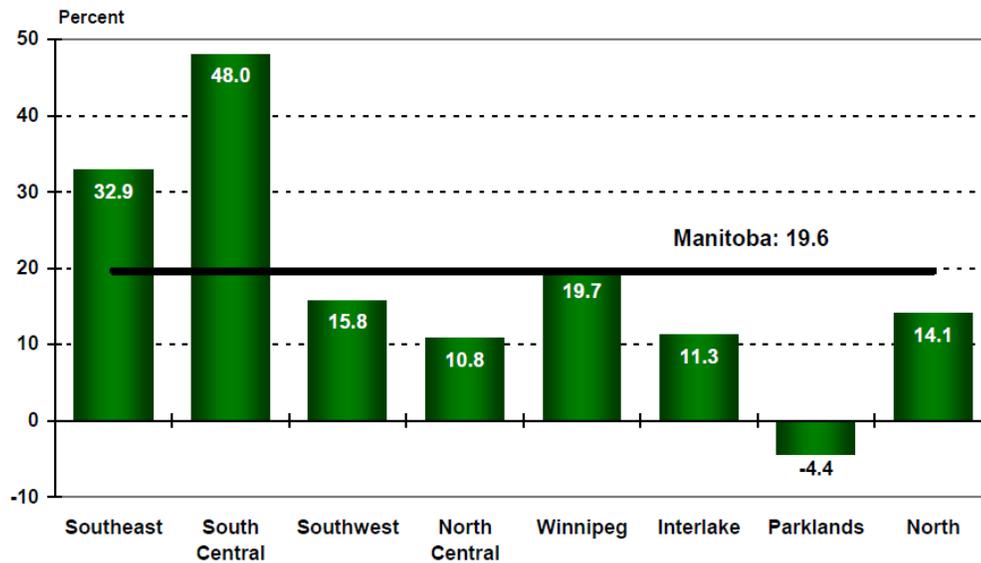
Figure 1: Manitoba Economic Regions



Legend

Selected Case Studies

Figure 2: Projected Percent Change in Regional Population 2008-2020



Source: Statistics Canada and the Manitoba Bureau of Statistics Manitoba Population Projections, Medium Scenario

The Rhineland, Plum Coulee, Gretna and Altona Planning District (RPGAPD) is situated within the South Central Region and, as Figure 2 indicates, this region will see an approximate 48% population increase over the next ten years or so. It can be easily assumed that the RPGA will host a significant portion of that growth.

The Brandon and Area Planning District (BAPD), situated in the Southwest region, will also see an increase. As might be noted, the increase in this region is projected to be only 15.8%, about one-third of the level projected for the South Central region – but it will nevertheless experience a population increase that is significant locally.

The RM of Hanover (RMH), like the RPGAPD, but situated in the Southeast region, is projected to experience 32.9% growth – the second highest level of any economic region in the Province of Manitoba.

These projections do not categorize what parts/areas, within each economic region, will experience the most growth, nor where the growth will occur, in terms of rural versus urban settings. However, it can be assumed, for the purposes of this practicum, that each of the selected case study regions will experience significant growth, part of which will occur as RN-FRD.

It is also assumed that land use planners, rural municipal councils, and planning district boards will want to specifically address the issues surrounding RN-FRD, through regulation or planning policy, while at the same time encouraging development in general – including continued agricultural development - within their jurisdictions. The working premise here is that there is an appetite for better, if not best, practice in this planning context; it is viewed as strategically important for Rural Municipalities, and Planning Districts, to be seen to be addressing this issue proactively and with conviction.

A number of limitations may also be noted for this study. This practicum is concerned in part with the RN-FRD that has occurred since the 1970s planning system change in Manitoba – and more specifically since the implementation of the second set of Provincial Land Use Policies, which took effect in 1994. Greater depth may have been achieved with a longer time-frame; after all, such development has been taking place in Manitoba for a much longer time period. However, as the study progressed, it became clearer that the most appropriate focus, for non-metropolitan Manitoba especially, would be comparatively recent developments – essentially from the beginning of the 21st Century. This has meant that the main focus has been on a period when the 1994 PLUPs were becoming very outdated, and when the latest PLUPs had yet to be finalized.

Secondly, as there are numerous definitions in play, around 'rural' especially, this practicum pragmatically defines RN-FRD for its purposes. Much of the research surrounding this issue applies to metropolitan areas, whereas this practicum mainly addresses RN-FRD in 'non-metropolitan' areas (i.e. outside the Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area). It is anticipated that some of the general, Canada-wide, information regarding RN-FRD – as well as the 1970s Manitoba information based on the Winnipeg Region Study - will not necessarily apply to the Southern Manitoba non-metropolitan context. It has been the intention of this project to define RN-FRD - in a land use planning context - to best suit the non-metropolitan parts of Southern Manitoba, where it is an acknowledged issue.

RN-FRD is occurring in urban/rural fringe settings surrounding communities of all sizes in Southern Manitoba; however, this research is centred on the RN-FRD that is taking place in the context of the currently most prominent 'large urban centres' (LUCs - rather than RSTs - in Statistics Canada terms) in 'non-metropolitan' Manitoba. The Cities of Brandon and Steinbach each have a population of 10,000 people or more and have a significant 'urban' influence over a large surrounding rural area. Altona and the RPGAPD are probably more indicative of RST-rural, i.e. a 'Rural and Small Towns' context, rather than a LUC context. It is therefore possible that the information obtained for this project may not apply as well to other rural areas in the province – such as those defined as RST (Rural and Small Town) in Statistics Canada terms – unless they are experiencing the extraordinary growth currently being experienced by the RPGAPD – and the South Central Economic Region. It is anticipated that most rural areas – in other Economic Regions - may not, at present at least, be experiencing RN-FRD issues to the same degree as the areas targeted by this project.

Part of the literature review within this practicum highlights a few examples of potential solutions that local, provincial, and state governments have implemented in an attempt to address RN-FRD within their region. There are numerous examples of solutions that are being utilized throughout Canada and North America, but this practicum will only highlight a few of these. While the goal is to demonstrate precedents that can be applied to the context in which this practicum is based, there are solutions that, due to landscape, and population, will not be able to be directly applied to the Southern Manitoba area. It should also be noted that while the issue resolution possibilities that are presented are not without their own potential problems and pitfalls, none of the latter will be examined at length within the parameters of this practicum.

1.6 Outline of Practicum

Following this first introductory chapter, Chapter 2 comprises the literature review examining: the early literature surrounding rural non-farm development; how rural as well as rural non-farm development is defined for the purpose of this practicum; and distinguishing between planning for rural non-farm residential development for 'large urban centres' versus 'rural and small towns' contexts.

Chapter 3 addresses the research methods employed throughout this practicum, including the literature review, the examination of the three case studies (Brandon Area Planning District, Rhineland Plum Coulee Gretna Altona Planning District and the Rural Municipality of Hanover), and semi-structured interviews with professional planners (public and private sector) and involved elected officials (or informed non-planners, such as CAOs).

Chapter 4 explores the three case study contexts (one rural municipality - Hanover, and two planning districts - Brandon and Area Planning District, and Rhineland Plum Coulee Gretna Altona Planning District) as well as reviewing the three iterations – to date - of the Manitoba Provincial Land Use Policies (1980, 1994, 2011).

Chapter 5 summarizes the results of the interviews with the professional planners, including the perceived main outcomes, and presents an overall analysis of findings, blending the results from the particular research methods, in search of a synthesis that addresses the main concerns. Chapter 6 features an overall summary, including conclusions and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The goal of this literature review is, from a planning perspective, to analyze and highlight what RN-FRD is, and where it may be situated within the planning context of Southern Manitoba. This literature review also addresses the costs associated with RN-FRD, some of the issues and benefits surrounding RN-FRD, as well as solutions that are currently being pursued. After an initial exploration of the literature, it was concluded that there are various directions, which can be taken with the topic; the information varies depending on how RN-FRD is being defined, and where it is being situated in the landscape. This represents an overview of the literature surrounding RN-FRD, in pursuit of a better grasp of the impact that this type of development has had, and is currently having, throughout Southern Manitoba. The underlying concern has been for the planning, or otherwise, of RN-FRD.

2.1 Defining Rural within the Realm of RN-FRD

Rural non-farm residential development is found within rural (rather than urban) municipal structure contexts in Manitoba – a province marked by its clear distinction between urban municipalities and rural municipalities. In some other provinces, such as British Columbia, ‘municipal districts’ or ‘district municipalities’, encompassing a mix of urban and rural, are more prevalent; this is not the case in Manitoba. In order to more precisely define what constitutes RN-FRD, it is imperative to first determine and define ‘rural’, and then consider how and where this determination applies in the context of the present project, and its focus on planning for RN-FRD. In Manitoba, this is essentially statutory planning within rural municipalities – a relatively recent development, compared to such planning in urban municipalities.

The term 'rural' is therefore primarily discussed here as a means to help define and situate planning for RN-FRD. The concept of rural and its definition has been debated and discussed on numerous occasions (Russwurm 1977; Bryant et. al 1982; Halfacree, K 1993; du Plessis et. al 2001; and Reimer/Bollman 2010). What emerges is: "there is not one standard definition of rural as there is not one general type of rural but a 'continuum' of rural situations that vary from 'completely rural' to the 'nearly urban'". (Hodge and Robinson 2001, 140) It is within this 'continuum' that RN-FRD is ultimately situated.

In the introduction to his edited compilation, *Rural Planning and Development*, David Douglas (2010) describes how the term rural is quite broad, and means different things to different people:

Rural, to many people, is a place and societal system that contains the bedrock of Canadian core values, our essential cultural and political identity and ethos...or rural is simply 'urban in waiting' (2).

Douglas further explains that the reason 'rural' is such a broad term, which can be associated with varying ideas and perspectives, is largely due to how it is presented and how the outside world - including the media, folk songs, and fables - define the term (Douglas 2010). To have one definition of rural would be ideal, but in reality, the notion of rural "is diverse and chequered, with a minimum of consensus... It is imagined, experienced and represented" (2010, 4).

In the introductory chapter of *Rural Planning and Development*, Reimer and Bollman discuss various degrees of *rurality* and comment that:

the meaning of rural remains contentious among analysts and citizens alike...to most analysts, however, rural is a reflection of distance and density: the distance between places and the density of people in particular locations (in Douglas ed. 2010, 13).

Reimer and Bollman describe the ways in which there are various degrees of rural, predominantly based on the notion that the more isolated the location, and the smaller the population, the higher the degree of 'rurality' that may be ascribed to a particular community. Although rurality appears to be a useful approach, Reimer and Bollman acknowledge that there can be "dangers to classifying communities according to simple distance and density... and the best approach to rural is to consider the question being asked" (14). In our case, this question is associated with the efficacy of planning for RN-FRD.

In *Planning Canadian Regions*, Hodge and Robinson identify five different types of rural regions: "completely rural regions, Aboriginal rural regions, rural recreational regions, the city's countryside, and northern and resource regions" (140). For the purpose of this project, only the 'completely rural regions' (in the context of RST-rural) and 'the city's countryside' (in the context of LUC-rural) will be addressed, since these are the particular environments which experience RN-FRD, and which mainly figure in Manitoba's PLUPs.

'Completely rural regions', according to Hodge and Robinson are:

regions that have been settled for at least several generations and ...are broad areas of resource use that are often populated by the resource owners and their families, who, in turn are served by small settlements and occasionally a small city (141).

These regions, essentially non-metropolitan in character, are the setting for what Statistics Canada helps to define as 'RST-rural', i.e. the context of 'rural and small towns'.

The 'city's countryside' refers to the region in between the 'completely rural' and definitively 'urban', or city, areas. According to Hodge and Robinson, the city's

countryside, which technically “accounts for only 12 percent of the area of rural Canada”, actually hosts “more than 40 percent of the farm population” (144).

Although the ‘city’s countryside’ is normally associated with large metropolitan centres – such as Winnipeg in the case of Manitoba - for the purposes of this project, the term can also be applied to the ‘large urban centres’ – in non-metropolitan Manitoba, that centre, or dominate, the planning jurisdictions featured as case study settings (e.g. Brandon and Steinbach). The ‘rural’ in this context is defined as ‘LUC-rural’ (often used in contrast to ‘RST-rural’) in the context of otherwise ‘completely rural’ regions.

The RM of Hanover is particularly interesting for its straddling of **two** cities’ ‘countryside’s’ – the City of Winnipeg and the City of Steinbach (parts of the RM are more under the urban influence of the former, while other parts are much more under the influence of the latter). The RPGA Planning District is dominated by a network of smaller urban centres, potentially having the cumulative impact – almost - of one ‘large urban centre’; for most of the study period this area has been very representative of an ‘RST-rural’, rather than a ‘LUC-rural’ context i.e. more ‘completely rural’ with no ‘city’s countryside’ aspects. Brandon has been a significant large urban centre, dominating its region, for the whole of the period under study; it represents the experience of a ‘smaller’ city’s countryside (second in population only to Winnipeg in a provincial context).

In *Definitions of Rural* (2002) du Plessis et al offer six definitions for ‘rural’. They explain that:

each definition emphasizes different criteria (population size, density, context) and has different associated thresholds. The size of the territorial units (building blocks) from which each definition is constructed also matters (1).

The following, Table 1, outlines the alternative definitions for rural addressed by du Plessis et al.

Table 1: Statistics Canada Definitions of Rural

Term	Definition
Census Rural	Refers to individuals living in the countryside outside of centres of 1,000 or more population
Rural and Small Town	Refers to individuals in towns or municipalities outside the commuting zone of larger urban centres (with 10,000 or more population)
Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) rural communities	Refers to individuals in communities with less than 150 persons per square kilometer. This includes the individuals living in the countryside, towns and small cities
OECD predominantly rural regions	Refers to individuals living in census divisions with more than 50 percent of the population living in the OECD rural communities. This includes all census divisions without a major city
Beale non-metropolitan areas	Refers to individuals living outside metropolitan regions with urban centres of 50,000 or more population
Rural postal codes (Canada)	Refers to individuals with a "0" as the second character in their postal code. These individuals live in areas where there are no letter carriers

Source: du Plessis et.al. 2001

It is apparent that the definition of rural selected greatly depends on the issue being addressed; different definitions will “generate a different number of rural people” (1).

Along similar lines, Munro, Alasia and Bollman (2011) also use a variable factor in determining how rural may be defined. In *Self-contained labour areas: A proposed delineation and classification by degree of rurality*, they employ self-contained labour areas to determine rural population. The intent of the article, according to Munro et. al. is to deal with:

the spatial dimension of the labour market, as in the geographic area in which a multitude of labour activities occur...and the connectivity between smaller geographic units through labour force commuting flows. (2011, 3)

For the most part, according to the authors, the focus surrounding commuting flows has mostly centred around large metropolitan areas - as being the main area within which most people commute on a daily basis, with the:

most well-known and comprehensive example being the Metropolitan Influenced Zone (MIZ) classification system. The MIZ approach emphasizes the connectivity between core metropolitan areas and their surrounding areas, while at the same time paying less attention to the connectivity of smaller geographic areas outside of labour market areas of Census Metropolitan Areas CMAs) and Census Agglomerations (CAs). (2011, 3)

The authors argue that, although the MIZ method does highlight how major metropolitan areas are connected to the immediate surrounding areas, it pays little attention:

to the connectivity of smaller geographic areas outside the labour market areas of CMAs and CAs....the system considers each rural and small town area as inherently disjointed from each other and classifies each unit only in terms of its relationship to the larger urban centres...(yet) for Canadian residents of rural and small town (RST) areas, the labour markets represented by small town and rural settlements are as important as the labour markets of larger urban centres. (3)

The following table outlines the various MIZs, which are aimed specifically at RST areas:

Table 2: Metropolitan Influenced Zones

Term	Definition
Strong Metropolitan Influenced Zone	CSDs in a RST area where 30% or more of the resident workforce commutes to any CMA/CA
Moderate Metropolitan Influence Zone	CSDs in a RST area where 5% to 29% of the resident workforce commutes to any CMA/CA
Weak Metropolitan Influence Zone	CSDs in a RST area where more than 0% but less than 5% of the resident workforce commutes to any CMA/CA
No Metropolitan Influence Zone	CSDs in a RST area where none of the workforce commutes to a CMA/CA (or the workforce is less than 40 workers)

Source: Munro et. al. (2011)

Munro et. al. define self-contained labour areas (SLAs) “as a group or two or more census subdivisions (CSD) where at least 75% of the workers both live and work in the area ”(9). The intent of creating SLAs is indicated as a:

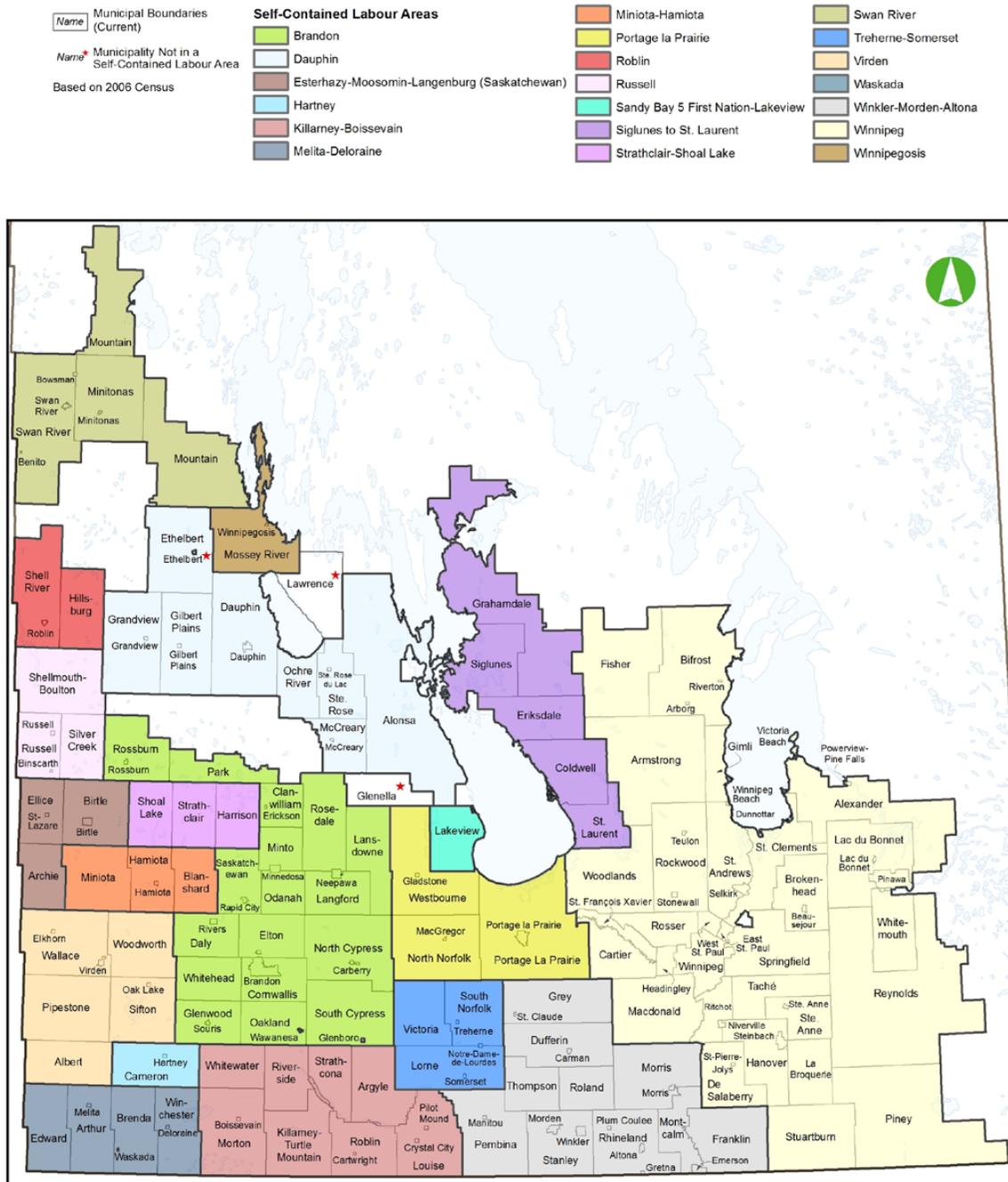
complement to the MIZ classification. The creation of this system permits labour areas to be created based on rural-to-rural connectivity whereas the MIZ classification is based on the connectivity of a RST CSD to a LUC (17)...The delineation of SLAs presented in this analysis is less urban-centric and more sensitive to the multi-directional nature of commuting flows...thus the delineation provides a framework that includes urban connections without being defined by them” (23).

The diagram below (Figure 3) portrays the Southern Manitoba Municipalities and Self-Contained Labour Areas relating to the three selected case studies. This method, described by Munro et al, again emphasizes that rural settings, and those who are deemed to live in the rural realm, can vary depending on the definition that is used for rural.

For the most part, the case studies that are addressed within this practicum can be assessed as weak to non-existent in terms of ‘metropolitan influence’; they are not within a CMA. In the case of the BAPD, there is a non-metropolitan LUC that may be assessed to have significant influence (Brandon) as the rural in these contexts is very much LUC-rural, within a broader SLA centred on each LUC. In the second case (RPGA PD), a non-metropolitan RST-rural situation pertains, including interaction with a wider SLA. In the case of RMH, it is depicted as being part of the SLA of the City of Winnipeg, which is a CMA. It is this situation that can be argued as experiencing the most ‘metropolitan influence’. The associated algorithm behind the Figure 3 SLA mapping does not allocate the percentage that would commute to the City of Winnipeg versus those who simply commute to the nearest LUC, which is Steinbach. Two of the selected case study settings involve a larger LUC to which, or from which, a percentage of the PD/RM rural population commutes for the purposes of work. However, it can also be argued that

there is also a percentage of the rural population, within the selected case study settings, that commute to other rural municipalities within a wider SLA. This is especially likely, and likely to be significant, within the RPGA PD setting. SLAs may be an important future reference when planning for RN-FRD in non-metropolitan Manitoba – to get the context right.

Figure 3: Southern Manitoba Municipalities and Self-Contained Labour Areas



Source: Source: Munro, Anne, Alessandro Alasia and Ray D. Bollman. (2011)

Based on the research so far, on the various definitions of rural, it can be concluded that one standard definition of rural does not exist. The term is best defined as helping to describe “specific aspects of the rural experience” (Halfacree 1993). This project is

addressing the issues surrounding RN-FRD within Southern Manitoba. Based on the spectrum of 'rural' that has been addressed, for the purpose of this project, the rural in RN-FRD will be defined as:

land situated outside of the municipal jurisdiction of large urban centres (LUC in the case of BAPD and RMH, or RST combinations in the case of RPGAPD) but within their commuting zone, or applicable 'self-contained labour area'.

According to Statistics Canada, a 'large' urban centre has a population of 10,000 or more; this 'centres' a category of rural termed 'LUC-rural'. This would include 'designated places' (DPLs) and settlement centres of less than 1000 population, such as small hamlets, villages, and local urban districts. *What is critical for this project is that this 'category' would also effectively include – residually - RN-FRD, in the form of country estates and the like.* This residual is not easily isolated without comparatively detailed breakdowns of rural municipal populations. For example, better detail on - and more comprehensive coverage of - DPLs, as well as good municipal counts of census farm population, would allow more precise estimates of rural non-farm residential population for RN-FRD planning purposes.

2.2 Defining RN-FRD for Planning Purposes: Urban/Rural/Fringe

In order to define 'rural **non-farm** residential development' more directly, it must first be situated within the applicable, pertinent, appropriate rural context – such as that delineated above. Numerous academics and planners have examined the issue of RN-FRD, dating back to the 1970s. Planners and academics, including Alice Coleman (1976), Lorne Russwurm (1977), and C.R Bryant et al (1982) were reporting on the then current trend of 'urbanites' moving out of the city into the rural environment. In doing so, several terms, themes and/or characteristics have come to be associated with the concept. In order to better define RN-FRD for the purposes of this project, a sampling of

these definitional contexts and terms will be discussed including *rural-urban fringe*, *rurban fringe*, *the city's countryside*, *rural-residential*, and *exurban*.

In 1976, Alice Coleman in her monograph, *Canadian Settlement and Environmental Planning*, addressed the “settlement crisis plaguing Canada’s environments”, namely, urban influences infringing on rural landscapes - in problematic ways. Coleman argued that the then current method of land use planning was “city-centred” (10) and was not sufficiently taking the rural environments into account; most rural landscapes were viewed as “a blank space and convenient fodder for city expansions” (10). Coleman argued that all environments, not just the urban-centred environments, should be “taken into account” (11). Coleman divided the environment into five territories: “wildscape, farmscape, townscape, marginal fringe and rurban fringe” (14) each of which were “considered to be useful and desirable types of environment which are necessary in the modern world, and potentially stable and satisfactory” (14).

According to Coleman (writing in the mid-1970s), the emergence of RN-FRD was occurring in what she coined the “*rurban fringe*” (25). The rurban fringe is the “zone of interpenetration of town and country that has been invalidated as rural environment, without being validated as an urban environment” (25). This area, which is essentially purgatory (a place of distress or pain) for affected urban and rural areas, can best be described as “sprawling settlement that has invaded farmscape and caused it to deteriorate in environmental status” (25).

The rurban fringe, according to Coleman, is the quintessential dream location. Home owners are able to achieve the large home and yard of the rural environment, as well as convenient access to the amenities of the nearest urban centre. Yet, however dream-like it may appear, Coleman points out that:

many of the newcomers are completely lacking in understanding of the farming process, and view the countryside as nothing but a huge, free, recreational site for their personal enjoyment (27).

What happens in many situations is the nearby farmer is limited in the type of farming operation that can be undertaken - and often-times the farmer will:

relinquish the land altogether, either to ill-kempt idleness or to further development, both of which increase the adverse influences upon still-active farmland (27).

Coleman further describes numerous preconceived notions held by those having the desire to live outside urban boundaries. One of the biggest desires, for both developers and home owners, with respect to the rurban fringe, is around price: "Land prices decline outward from the city, and people move out different distances to suit their pocket" (26).

The further outside the urban boundary, the lower the price of land. Purchasers go further, beyond the rurban fringe:

... where prices are lower, and buy up land well in advance of need, which they allow to 'ripen' in idleness until continued rurban spreading brings out the demand....This outer speculative zone, the 'urban shadow'...contains a great deal of land that has been taken out of agriculture, but very little has been put into actual development" (28).

Coleman indicates that the concept of the rurban fringe:

... is best understood as a broad but temporary mobile belt, wastefully consuming farmscape at its outer edge and expensively being converted to townscape at its inner edge (29).

In 1977, Lorne Russwurm, in *The Surrounding of Our Cities: Problems and Planning Implications of Urban Fringe Landscapes*, discussed the high value of the land surrounding cities, "because it is easily accessible to present and future populations for housing, land sites, recreation and resource uses" (9). At the same time however, this land - while being "dominated by farming activities or the natural vegetation of forest or swamp, grassland and rock" was also being regarded as "the location of more and more urban and urban-associated uses" (13). Yet, Russwurm noted, even with such drastic change occurring throughout this rural landscape, there was – to his apparent

exasperation - no expression of “major concern” (10). Russwurm goes on to express that one of the issues with the urban fringe is that a “description of how and what land is used for in the urban fringe poses definite problems because of changes in mixes over space and time” (30) as both rural and urban uses occur on a particular parcel of land making it difficult to characterize the land as definitively urban or definitively rural.

Russwurm explains that

what is not fully appreciated is that while city and country are different, much interaction occurs (26)...and if we wish to better utilize the important land space resource of our urban fringe land, its spatial context at different planning scales must be recognized (28).

Along the same lines as Coleman (1976) and Russwurm (1977), Bryant et al (1982) also expressed concern with the use of land surrounding cities in *The City's Countryside: Land and its management in the rural-urban fringe*. They stated that “the countryside surrounding urban areas is one of the most critical areas of the human ecumene” (3). It is these same lands that:

are subject to competing, often conflicting, demands....and can be thought of as a system that has been expanding into, and becoming integrated with, countryside - so that the countryside is an integral part of the settlement form (3).

In 1973, the Winnipeg Region Study Committee was formed by the Government of Manitoba to study the problem of rural residential living around the City of Winnipeg. The Committee comprised representatives from the then Department of Municipal Affairs, the Cabinet Planning Secretariat, the Department of Urban Affairs, the Department of Tourism, Recreation and Cultural Affairs and the Manitoba Housing Renewal Corporation (Municipal Planning Branch 1972, 2; in Dept of City Planning 1974, 4). In the spring of 1973 the then Manitoba Municipal Affairs Planning Branch, along with students from the Department of City Planning at the University of Manitoba, published (for the Committee) a study - *The Nature of Demand for Exurbia Living: The Winnipeg*

City Region, examining the appeal for people to move from the City of Winnipeg into the rural fringe, in what the report described as *rural residential development*.

The Committee defines rural residential as residences on lots of one half acre to twenty acres, unrelated to farm activities, physically separated from existing communities and using independent sewage treatment facilities and water supply, the residents of which rely upon existing communities for employment and other urban services” (Municipal Planning Branch 1972, 2 in Dept of City Planning 1974, 4).

The area examined was ‘the Winnipeg Region’, defined at the time as:

a thirty mile radius from the centre of Winnipeg, but excluding the city...including rural municipalities, including incorporated towns, unincorporated settlements and outlying rural areas (Dept of City Planning, 3) (including at the time the RM of Hanover).

The ‘region’ discussed by the Winnipeg Region Study Committee appears to align in part with the term, ‘the city’s countryside’, coined originally by Bryant, Russwurm and McLellan (1982) - referring to the area immediately surrounding cities. For these authors, the city’s countryside extended outward from cities in the range of anywhere from 50 to 100 km from the centre of the city (Bryant et. al 1982). The city’s countryside:

contains a far greater diversity in farm types, farm size, intensity of production and socio-economic production arrangements than do any other rural agricultural regions, and along with the traditional independent homesteads and small towns and villages of rural regions, in the city’s countryside we also find small suburban-type subdivisions (Hodge & Robinson 2001, 144).

Figure 4 (below) depicts the structure of what Bryant et al (1982) had in mind as part of their ‘regional city’ thinking; it highlights the various types of areas within the city-region environment from the city core all the way to the outermost rural areas: “This structure...is particularly helpful since it stresses the notion of a continuum between the urban areas and the rural hinterland” (Bryant et. al 1982, 13).

Figure 4: The Form of the Regional City

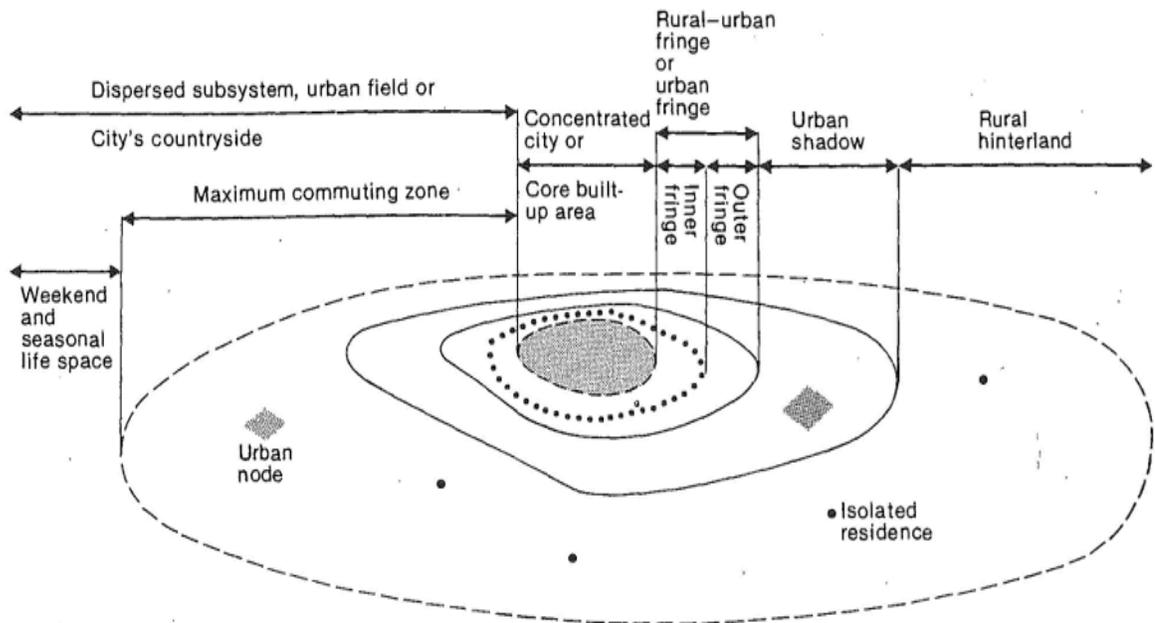


Image Source: Bryant et al (1982), 13.

It is within the almost all-encompassing non-core area, the so-called 'city's countryside', that one finds: the *inner fringe*, the *outer fringe* (together constituting the '*rural-urban fringe*' or '*urban fringe*'), the *urban shadow* and the *rural hinterland*. The latter two components are equated with what the authors term the 'dispersed subsystem, urban field or city's countryside', most of which is also the 'maximum commuting zone'.

The *inner fringe* is:

characterized by land in the advanced stages of transition from rural to urban uses - land under construction, land for which subdivision plans have been approved (13)

The *outer fringe*:

is an area where, although rural land uses dominate the landscape, the infiltration of urban-oriented elements is clear. Often single-family dwellings on relatively small lots line the major highways in the city. The outer fringe together with the inner fringe, forms the *rural-urban fringe* (13).

Beyond the rural-urban fringe is the *urban shadow* which is an area:

where physical evidence of urban influences on the landscape is minimal, but where the urban or metropolitan presence is felt in terms of some non-farm ownership of land, a scattering of non-farm residences, country estates, and the commuting patterns that develop from these and the outlying small communities and towns (13).

Bryant et al explain how, for the most part, the residences of those choosing to live within this part of the regional city:

are often more non-farm residences than farm residences. Farmers and urbanites following different lifestyles occupy land space side by side... though these urbanites live in the country, including the small villages and towns, they belong mostly to the city... however, more country urbanites are becoming part-time or hobby farmers, while more farmers are becoming part-time urbanites by working in the city, so the distinction between the two groups becomes blurred (29).

Russwurm acknowledges that there is confusion among the terms used to describe the land outside of urban centres:

Suburban zone, slurbs, exurbia, scatteration, sprawl, fringe, country-city fringe, urban fringe, rural-urban fringe, commuting zone, dispersed city, and urban shadow are terms that are used in intermingled fashion (1977, 16).

Russwurm details what he refers to as the *urban fringe* and *urban shadow*. He defines the urban fringe as:

the landscape adjacent to urban places of all sizes. Its inner boundary is marked by the continuous built-up edge of the city. It extends from within the legal area of the city into several separate surrounding municipalities (13).

It is the urban fringe which merges into the urban shadow, which then shades into (purely) rural landscape. Russwurm argues that he prefers to use the term 'urban fringe' because, according to him:

this zone is created by the outward expansion of the life spaces of our cities. Thus, even though spatially the land use activities are dominated by rural uses, it is the rural land uses which are being converted to urban uses (18).

The urban shadow, according to Russwurm:

represents a landscape where the first noticeable signs of urban invasion of rural land are occurring...and is semi-rural in its attributes.... urban uses are barely noticeable except to the experienced eye (18).

Similar to the rural-urban fringe and the urban shadow, the term *exurban* is also used to describe this 'in-between' rural and urban area. Millward (in Beesley ed. 2010) describes this area, which surrounds the majority of Canadian cities,

as an extensive commuter belt, which acts as a dormitory zone for large numbers of urban workers and their families (2010, 363).

In his article, Millward describes exurbanization as:

the movement of households from the contiguously built-up urban area to the commuting field beyond, and their retention of employment ties with the urban area. Commuter residences may be pre-existing farm or village houses, converted seasonal homes, or new homes (365).

Millward describes the exurban environment as extremely popular due to the fact that, for the most part, "land prices are extremely low and planning controls have until recently been minimal" (365). According to Millward, "exurbanites seek the rural advantages of large lots at low prices, they also wish to maintain easy contact with their jobs...and easy proximity to everyday services" (367).

In summary, it is apparent that academics have attempted to define the concept of RN-FRD for their own research purposes. Based on the possible definitions of rural, as well as many of the definitions examined in this section - and for the purpose of this practicum - the following working definition of RN-FRD is being deployed:

- *multiple (at least five) contiguous residential lot concentrations or clusters;*
- *each lot ranging in size from 2 acres to 10 acres;*
- *situated either in the urban fringe (closer in) or urban shadow (further out) of large urban centres;*
- *on land which was originally used for agricultural purposes and which would still be viable agricultural land if not for the non-farm development that has been occurring; and further,*
- *the residents of these lots are permanent occupiers who depend mostly or mainly on non-farm employment in the adjacent urban centre*

2.3 Issues associated with RN-FRD

Various academics have identified numerous concerns surrounding the increase in RN-FRD within the rural/urban fringe (Coleman 1976; Bryant et al 1982; Hoffman 2001; Hoffman et al 2005) dating back to World War II. Bryant et al (1982) discuss how the trend to RN-FRD began to appear throughout North America following the Second World War. This increase of urban-type land uses within the rural environment, occurring side-by-side, resulted in land use conflicts and the “potential for unhappy neighbors and incompatibilities between land uses” (37). The mixing of urban and rural land uses raised the issue that:

the land use activity on one property affects other people on neighboring or nearby properties. Thus, the cost or diseconomies associated with particular developments are spread out beyond the property or activity which benefits (Bryant et al 1982, 37).

As agriculture is probably the major type of land use which affects - and is affected by - nearby properties, the appearance of RN-FRD adjacent to various agricultural activities can be catastrophic. The arrival of (non-farm) residential developments adjacent to farming operations can result in:

trespassing, crop trampling, fence breaking, and rubbish dumping...which combine to make fringe farming uneconomic, and there may also be hostile complaints about legitimate farm operations. At the very least, the farmer is constrained in his choice of enterprise, and more frequently has to relinquish the land altogether (Coleman 1977, 27).

The issues surrounding rural land conversion have persisted into the present century. In her article, *Urban Consumption of Agricultural Land*, Hoffman (2001) states that within Canada as a whole urban uses have consumed 12,000 sq. kms. of land since 1971(2). Not all of the land that has been converted from rural to urban use is prime agricultural land; Hoffman explains that roughly half of the rural land consumed for urban uses was prime farmland. Although the amount of land that has been converted does not appear to be a large number, Hoffman indicates that the implications of land conversion, no matter the scale, are major:

In some regions, urbanisation of agricultural land affects specialty crops that have a limited ability to flourish in Canada. In addition, these products often represent an important resource to the local economy. And cities also impact the use of surrounding land in indirect ways... Thus the effects of urban areas extend beyond their physical boundaries (8).

This conversion of dependable productive farmland is a major concern, given that once land has been converted from farm-land it cannot easily be converted back.

In 2001, almost half of the urban land in Canada was located on land that had been converted from dependable agricultural land... The loss of any dependable agricultural land is a concern given the limited amount of this non-renewable resource (Hoffman et. al 2005, 6)

The supply of arable farmland has greatly “diminished largely due to (the increase in) urban land” (10), and will only continue to do so unless changes in planning policy and development are implemented, for both the long and short term.

Another issue surrounding RN-FRD is the difficulty involved with long term planning within the urban/rural fringe. In his paper, *The Prairie Urban Countryside: Urban/Rural Fringe Developments in Prairie Regional Cities*, Patterson (1993) explains how the urban/rural fringe is....

a zone in transition containing burgeoning and expanding urban land uses and receding rural land uses. It is also an accepted zone of residence for the large and growing number of urbanites who prefer more space and the amenities of living in the urban/rural fringe... Planning in the urban/rural fringe involves two principal concerns: (1) accommodating expanding human settlements efficiently and effectively, and (2) minimizing any negative impacts on society's resources, mostly its agricultural production potential (1993, 77).

It is in this area that two vastly different types of land use must co-exist. In these areas planners are tasked to plan for “expanded urban settlements” while at the same time attempting to “conserve the receding countryside” (77). And although planners and local municipalities are attempting to deal with these two vastly different environments, Patterson observes that...

society's planning, land-use and resource management systems have failed... Planning and resource management systems often appear not to cope well with the problems they portend to address because the problem is inadequately understood (78).

Similar to Patterson (1997), Bryant and Marois (in Beesley ed. 2010) reiterate that the rural-urban fringe involves the attempt to plan for this blend of two very different environments.

These processes involve 'urban' functions being diffused into the countryside...giving rise to challenges for planning and management of the territories involved including the conflicts between different land activities and land uses, e.g. urban uses and agricultural activities (341).

This kind of problem mainly serves to underline a larger issue surrounding the increasing complexity of rural planning as a whole. While it is often assumed that rural planning is identical to that of urban centres – only with a focus on rural regions, Caldwell (2010) explains that it often amounts to much more than this.

For many rural communities, land use planning involves much more than creating planning policy; it involves all aspects of planning as well as present and future development. Issues surrounding the growth and development of small urban centres, maintaining and preserving farmland, along with encouraging RN-FRD, are just a few examples which “demonstrate the diversity of interests and approaches that fall under the rubric of rural planning” (Caldwell, in Douglas ed. 2010, 124). Such decisions are generally made by local governments, rather than a professional planner. Local governments are comprised of local elected officials who, as a collective, are responsible for making various decisions, including those related to land use - including those related to RN-FRD.

Another impact from increased RN-FRD is the net cost to the host municipal jurisdiction. While it is often assumed that an increase in residential development will generate an increase in taxable resources to a municipality, this may not always be the case, in net terms. According to the American Farmland Trust (2006):

on average, because residential land uses do not cover their costs, they must be subsidized by other community land uses. Converting agricultural land to residential land should not be seen as a way to balance local budgets (2).

Through Cost of Community Services (COCS) studies, the American Farmland Trust determined that:

agricultural land is similar to other commercial and industrial uses...farmland has generated a surplus to help offset the shortfall created by residential demand for public service (2).

In all of the studies conducted by the American Farmland Trust it was concluded that “residential development provides less tax revenue than it consumes in public service expenditures” (2001, 28). In a report written by the US Department of Agriculture (2001) the authors claim that

compared with more compact forms of development, low-density ‘sprawl’ can result in greater capital costs associated with building new infrastructure, greater vehicle miles traveled and consequently, higher levels of automobile emissions, more adverse fiscal impacts when annual tax revenues from residential uses are inadequate to cover the annual costs of providing public services, and higher rates of conversion of prime agricultural lands and lands with fragile environments (26).

The article discusses the results of a study which compared high density versus low density growth among five states, and concluded that “capital and operating costs for public infrastructure are from 5 to 63 percent lower with planned development than with sprawl” (27). Similar to operating costs, the article also discusses the relationship between low density development and increased transportation and travel costs; it highlights that “low density development creates longer distances travelled and increases dependence on the automobile” (28). These are some of the issues which add to the complexity surrounding planning for RN-FRD.

2.4 Costs Associated with RN-FRD

With the conversion of land from various rural uses for the purpose of residential development, the question remains: who benefits from this land conversion, and what

are the costs associated with such development? RN-FRD “imposes direct costs on the communities experiencing it, as well as indirect costs in terms of the rural land sacrificed to it” (Heimlich et al, 2001, vi). According to a report issued by the United States

Department of Agriculture (2001) numerous:

... studies show that less dense, unplanned development requires higher private and public capital operating costs than more compact, denser planned development (Heimlich et. al., vi) ...poorly planned, extensive low-density, fragmented patterns of settlement impose a variety of direct and indirect costs on individuals and society (26).

The Winnipeg Region Study Committee referenced how an increasing incidence of RN-FRD was associated with:

an increasing demand for...associated services such as police, fire protection, better road networks, plowed roads, and sewage and water services and a provision of schools - all of which have placed a considerable financial burden on the local governments (Municipal Planning Branch 1972, 2; in Dept of City Planning 1974, 14).

The notion of the costs of fringe development has been addressed in various reports since the 1970s. Russwurm (1977) discussed his thoughts on the costs surrounding fringe development, offering the explanation that:

generally, urbanites living in the country receive more than they pay for, while the farmer pays more than he receives. Within the built-up city, commercial and industrial land uses take up the slack, in the urban fringe, the farmers as the prime property owner tend to bear the burden (p. 57).

Russwurm noted that numerous studies, undertaken throughout the 1960s and 1970s, in provinces throughout Canada (Alberta, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island), concluded that, for the majority of people who move into the urban fringe, they are receiving services that they did not fully pay for (58). According to Russwurm, people move outside:

... the boundaries of the incorporated municipalities both for cheaper land and to avoid taxes for major services borne by the province. Somebody benefits, somebody pays; in the urban fringe the twain too often do not meet (58).

However, if homeowners moving out to the urban fringe were entirely responsible for the cost of services “it is easy to see why costs per household, if the household were charged, would be two to three times as high as for compact development” because,

according to Russwurm, “services like roads, ditches, water mains, sewers, power and gas lines are basically proportional to length and number of users located along that length” (58). In the late 1990s, a report issued by the United States Transportation Research Board (1998) stated that such costs of fringe development “involve physical, monetary, temporal, and social/psychological resources” (Burchell et. al. 1998, 8).

Burchell et al (1998) determined that public capital and operating costs (defined as “the construction of roads, water and sewer and infrastructure, and public buildings, as well as the annual expenditures necessary to maintain them (45))” is much more costly for RN-FRD than it is for urban development.

The segregation of land uses by residential and non-residential types often means that parallel infrastructure systems have to be provided to individual residential and non-residential locations (46).

In terms of infrastructure, it was determined that the costs are generally much higher for RN-FRD than for compact development and, according to Burchell et al (1998), “infrastructure costs for ‘sprawl’ development were about 5 to 25 percent higher than for compact development” (in Heimlich et al 2001, 26).

Another factor when considering the costs of RN-FRD involves the Costs of Community Services (COCS) concept. Numerous communities across both Canada and the United States have conducted studies determining COCS. According to a study conducted for Red Deer County (2006) the purpose of a COCS is to:

determine a municipality’s public service costs versus revenues based on current land uses...COCS break a municipality’s land base into four land uses: commercial, industrial, residential and working landscapes...Ratios are calculated for each land use, showing how many dollars in public service costs a municipality is incurring for each dollar of revenue associated with a given land use (Greenaway, G & Sanders, S 2006, iii).

In the COCS study for Red Deer County, it was concluded that “residential land use did not pay for itself in any scenario...this effectively means that other land uses are

subsidizing the level of service provided to the Residential land use” (Greenway & Sanders 2006 vi). Similar to the Red Deer County study, Heimlich et al concluded that in a number of studies conducted among various communities throughout the United States, “residential development provides less tax revenue than it consumes in public service expenditures” (29).

As can be seen from the examples above, there are numerous factors to take into consideration when assessing the costs associated with RN-FRD. And while the costs of allowing RN-FRD within a rural farm setting cannot be precisely estimated, it may be noted that the relative costs are quite pronounced for the host municipality. It should also be noted that many of these studies were conducted within the United States; the data may not translate exactly to Canada or Manitoba settings. However, this section has provided a glimpse into some of the many costs associated with RN-FRD, particularly for the host municipality.

2.5 Benefits associated with RN-FRD

While there are numerous problematic issues surrounding RN-FRD, there may also be benefits. However, these could arguably be solely ‘the selling features’ for those who choose to live there. As mentioned above, the majority of people who are attracted to RN-FRD are attracted to the relatively lower cost associated with a more substantial home than can be found within urban boundaries. Moving outside of an urban centre generally requires more driving and commuting; however, a report by Heimlich et al (2001) states that “many people are willing to pay both the private and social costs of such auto-dependent development in exchange for the automobile’s comfort, flexibility of use, low door-to-door travel time, and cheap long distance travel” (18). People are willing

to spend more time in their vehicle in order to have the newer house and the bigger yard - than they would obtain within the urban centre. Another benefit is the separation - not only a larger separation between the individual houses themselves, but also the “preferred separation of residences from commercial and industrial activities”. (Holcombe 1999, 3).

Other benefits for those who choose RN-FRD include the possibility of a lower crime rate, as compared to most urban centres, as well as access to broader employment opportunities. Those who live in RN-FRD are able to readily access employment opportunities in both the nearby urban centre, and in the surrounding rural communities. (Heimlich et al 2001).

One of the other major benefits to property-owners of RN-FRD is the air quality. Heimlich et al (2001) notes that many people who live in RN-FRD “enjoy air quality improvements from decentralizing population and employment” (19). And while it may be argued that those who live within RN-FRD contribute to further air pollution due to the increase in travel time, a study by Baed and Richardson (1994) “notes that greater automobile use does not necessarily lead to worsening air quality” (1994, in Heimlich et al 2001, 19). According to the study, “automobile pollution is more strongly related to the number of trips and to the hours of driving, rather than to the length of each trip in miles” (Baed and Richardson 1994, in Heimlich et al 2001, 19).

The majority of the benefits of RN-FRD likely accrue to the people who choose to live within such developments, and not necessarily to the wider community itself. However, there are benefits to the communities that create such developments. According to one of the planners interviewed, RN-FRD was assessed to have a capacity to attract

residents into a community that they may not have otherwise been interested in. This can result in an increase in population size, which may, in turn, result in an increase in local business and municipal tax revenue (P-3).

2.6 Resolving Problematic RN-FRD

As might be expected, the trends and issues relating to RN-FRD are not specific to Manitoba; it can be observed in other areas of the country as well as the world, and potential solutions to problematic aspects of RN-FRD have been attempted. This section highlights two particular responses.

Urban growth boundaries (UGB)

In the 1970s, at a time when the province of Manitoba was formalizing its own provincial planning legislation, the state of Oregon was implementing policies to address the issue of rural-urban fringe development. Oregon was one of the first states in North America to address long term planning for the urban/rural fringe area.

These new goals and guidelines required every city and county in Oregon to have a long-range plan addressing future growth that meets both local and statewide goals (Metro n.d.)

This included the creation, and incorporation into plans, of urban growth boundaries (UGB). These long-range plans require local officials, and especially representatives from both the rural and urban areas, to work jointly to create a long-term plan that works for and benefits all areas.

An urban growth boundary is defined as:

a line drawn on a map that separates areas where government policies encourage urban development from where government policies encourage agriculture, silviculture and other non-developmental rural activities to protect farmland and environmentally sensitive and important lands from sprawling development as well as protect the rural characteristics of a community (conservationtools.org).

In the state of Oregon, the goal in creating UGBs is to encourage “efficient land use” (Metro.com). Though initially launched in the 1970s, the intent of the boundary was not to become a permanent line of separation between the urban and rural environment but to ensure that there is a long-term supply (approximately 20 years) of land for residential purposes within the urban area. Every five years the UGB is revisited and the line is adjusted if needed. Within Oregon, since the adoption of the original UGB, the UGB line “has been moved about three dozen times, most of those moves were small” (Metro.com). In an article by Abbott & Margheim (2008) the authors describe the UGB in Oregon as follows:

UGBs simplify land use patterns by dividing land into two rationally determined categories. The state requires UGB around every freestanding municipality of every size and around every complex of contiguous cities... Inside the boundary, the default assumption is that land that can be efficiently supplied with public services will be developed. Environmentally sensitive land and productive farm land and forest land should be considered outside the boundary; here the baseline is to allow no further intensive development without very good reason (197).

While the land situated outside the UGB is considered to be off-limits for non-rural development, land “that is unsuitable for resource uses because of terrain, soil and historical development patterns are given ‘exception status’ and allowed low-density development” (Nelson & Moore 1993, 294).

While the state of Oregon is considered to have initiated the use of UGB, other areas such as Seattle (Washington), Denver (Colorado), and Vancouver (BC) have since adopted the ideals surrounding UGB into their land use policies.

Joint General Municipal Plan (GMP)

The idea of Joint General Municipal Plans (JGMPs) began in Alberta in the early 1980s under the Alberta Planning Act. All too common were disagreements between rural and

urban officials on the plans of each for their common boundary areas. As a result, JGMPs were encouraged. A JGMP is “an understanding, or an agreement, between municipalities as to how they see certain lands being developed or used in the future years” (Alberta Municipal Affairs, “The Urban Fringe” 1992, 13). The intent of the plan is to create a document that outlines planning for areas of interest to both parties.

According to Jack Thomas, then Assistant Deputy Minister, Planning Services Division, Alberta Municipal Affairs: “in urban fringe areas, we believe that some type of joint planning agreement can minimize the potential for the types of urban-rural conflicts that tend to arise” (1992, 13). By having two municipalities work together (as in a Planning District), fringe issues can be addressed and – hopefully - the problems can be mitigated. Common issues that are often addressed through policy in a JGMP include “rural industrial development, the urban fringe, country residences, service delivery and taxation, annexation etc...” (1992, 13-14).

The City of Grande Prairie along with the County of Grande Prairie were the first two municipalities to adopt a JGMP in 1982. A major issue that occurred between these two municipalities was the annexation of rural land for urban growth. The JGMP in turn addresses annexation within its policies to prevent possible future problems. The plan dictates which land would be utilized for future growth, should the city need more land to accommodate such growth. A JGMP can also address issues such as service cost-sharing. The then recently retired deputy minister of Alberta Municipal Affairs, Archie Grover, noted that, if everything is:

laid out and discussed, both municipalities know what to expect. Then, on the basis of this clear understanding, the two municipalities can work co-operatively to effect development, knowing how the area will be developed and how the revenue will be shared (Alberta Municipal Affairs, “The Urban Fringe” 1992, 14).

The development of these plans was prompted by the increase in demand for rural non-far development in rural-urban fringe areas. And since the adoption of the Grande Prairie City and County JGMP in 1982, many municipalities throughout Alberta followed suit - creating long-term guides to help neighbouring municipalities deal with common land use planning and development issues.

2.7 Chapter Summary

The goal of this chapter was to illustrate where 'rural' and 'rural non-farm' are situated within the wider landscape. The objective was to also highlight some of the aspects of RN-FRD including issues, benefits and possible solutions. While defining and situating rural and rural non-farm, this review has shown the term 'rural' is broad and encompassing and that clearly pinpointing RN-FRD within the rural landscape can be a challenge in and of itself. Although the definitions are numerous and wide-ranging, the relevant literature available is succinct and informative. Both planners and academics have attempted to define various notions of rural whilst creating a description that works best for their own unique perspectives. A similar model has been used within this practicum, creating a customized definition allows for a more focused approach.

After an initial review, it can be argued that the costs of creating and servicing RN-RFD appear to be far greater than many communities initially realize. Often, the cost to service the development is greater than the municipality will collect in tax revenue. However, there are also benefits to this type of development, though it is mostly the individual residents who experience these benefits, and not the greater community as a whole, including the host municipality or planning district. This is surprising considering the popularity of RN-FRD throughout Southern Manitoba, including the three selected

case studies. It remains to be seen, based on this information, why so many municipalities are encouraging - or at the very least accommodating - such development.

This literature review also examined some of the potential solutions that are being utilized in both Canada and the United States. While states like Oregon have implemented such solutions in the 1980s, they are rare. RN-FRD is occurring throughout Manitoba, Canada, and the United States, yet very few places have implemented solutions to address RN-FRD.

Based on the literature examined, it is the goal of this practicum to examine the selected case studies situated within Southern Manitoba and ultimately gain greater insight into how RN-FRD might be both better defined and better addressed within the context of rural Manitoba. It also aims to determine what is, and is not, working in regards to RN-FRD - and hopefully inspire future policy improvements and change.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

Various research methods were explored to facilitate investigation of the research questions. For this practicum, a literature review, case study and semi-structured interviews were utilized. The empirical work for this practicum involved three particular case studies - of two planning districts and one large rural municipality - all situated within Southern Manitoba: the RPGAPD, the BAPD and the RM of Hanover

3.1 Literature Review

The literature review addresses how RN-FRD has been defined by various academics and planners, and how and where it is situated within the rural realm - as well as the impacts and benefits of RN-FRD within the Southern Manitoba landscape (including possible resolution of problematic aspects). The review of the literature surrounding RN-FRD targeted key insights relative to the questions, including what might be lacking, or may have been missed to date as well as potential solutions.

3.2 Case Study Documentation

“Case study is a study of the singular, the particular, the unique”

(Simons 2009, 3).

3.2.1 Defining and Selecting the Case Studies

This practicum utilized three separate case study areas in the form of three rural planning jurisdictions in Southern Manitoba: one Rural Municipality, (RM) of Hanover; and two Planning Districts, Brandon and Area, and Rhineland Plum Coulee Gretna Altona.

The three case studies were selected because they are situated outside of the Winnipeg Capital Region, RN-FRD is a relevant issue in each of the areas, and each of the case studies have a different land use planning process. The Brandon Area Planning District has been a district since 1982 and has been planning collaboratively with its partners for over thirty years. The Rhineland Plum Coulee Gretna Altona Planning District only recently formed in 2011 and has just begun to work collectively. The RM of Hanover is not part of a planning district, and for the most part does not work collaboratively with its neighbouring jurisdictions; however, it is a significant stand-alone rural municipality, with all the associated municipal autonomy to deal with planning matters such as RN-FRD.

3.2.2 Selecting and Recruiting Interviewees

Semi-structured interviews were utilized for this practicum. Four primary interviews were conducted with professional planners (public and private sector), along with two secondary interviews with planners in supportive roles. The interviewees were selected based on the planners who worked on or worked with the selected case studies on their most recent development plan. The interviewees were contacted via telephone or email and were invited to sit down in person for an interview regarding RN-FRD.

This practicum also utilized conversations with key informants for each of the selected case studies. Two elected officials for BAPD were utilized, one elected official and one municipal representative were utilized for the RPGAPD and one municipal representative was utilized for the RM of Hanover. The informants were selected based on recommendations of the professional planners, and for their knowledge of the planning issues within their jurisdiction. Each of the informants was contacted via telephone or email and was invited to sit down in person.

3.2.3 Data Gathering

An in-person interview was held for each of the planner interviews. Each of the interviews lasted between one hour and one and a half hours. Each interviewee signed a consent form (See Appendix 1), and all of the interviews referenced a standard interview guide (of themes, with probes) (See Appendix 2). All of the interviews were audio-recorded with the participants' consent. Following each of the interviews, the information was transcribed.

3.2.4 Data Analysis

The interview data was analyzed using the three part coding method - open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Neuman 2011) which requires three separate readings of the qualitative data.

Open Coding involves reviewing each interview to extract any major similarities or contrasts emerging as part of the conversation. As part of the open coding process, documentation featured any quotes that initially appeared relevant or helped to complement a particular point or theme.

Axial Coding involves an analysis: a list of themes, generated during open coding, was created, with an interest in relevant sub-categories.

Selective Coding - the third and final stage - examined previous coding outcomes to identify data supporting the conceptual coding categories that were developed (Neuman, 2011, 514).

Subsequently, the information generated from the interviews was considered alongside information obtained through both the literature review and the case study analyses, as a means to attempt to answer - and strengthen - the initial research questions.

3.3 Limitations

This practicum has elected to analyze three rural case studies with current development plans. While there are dozens of current rural municipal development plans, this practicum is focusing on three. Some of the information that is obtained from these three case studies may not directly apply to other rural municipalities within the Manitoba context; some information – and any new understanding – might have wider applicability.

The interviewees also reflect some deliberate limitation. Participants were all professional planners with relevant knowledge and experience in creating land use policies - for Planning Districts and Rural Municipalities experiencing RN-FRD, as well as the PLUPs. However, the majority of the interviewees do not live within the case study areas. Therefore, in each case, efforts were made to also speak with informed or knowledgeable elected officials or area residents, who - while not professional planners, have nevertheless been actively involved in policy planning for RN-FRD. There may still be a bias in favour of professional planner perspectives, but there is also an interest in how such perspectives compare, and/or contrast, with those living in the planning jurisdictions in question.

Chapter 4: Case Studies

Three individual Development Plan settings situated in southern Manitoba have been employed as the case study focus for this practicum. The intent of the case studies was to generate an insightful conversation surrounding the planning trends, policies and practices in regards to RN-FRD, and whether or not any changes should be implemented in the future.

Part of the backgrounding of the case study investigation involved a concern for some of the history of planning policy legislation in Manitoba, and an interest in highlights of urban versus rural (and rural non-farm) population trends - within each of the selected areas, for the census years from 1971 to the present. The intent in exploring the population trends within each of the selected case study areas was to try to analyze and better understand how population change has been distributed, between the urban and rural areas, and between rural farm and rural non-farm, over the past few decades.

4.1 Relevant Planning Background

4.1.1 The Provincial Land Use Policies

The 1970s marked new provincial land use planning legislation in rural Manitoba. Prior to the 1970s, the majority of public authority land use planning was comparatively ad-hoc, piece-meal, and laissez-faire

All land subdivisions not requiring a survey plan...did not require any approvals. This included the majority of land divisions in Manitoba (Manitoba Intergovernmental Affairs 2001, C5).

In 1976, the Province adopted a new planning regime, in the form of The Planning Act, which provided “ a framework for land use planning at the provincial, regional and local levels” (Province of Manitoba 2001, 5). The Planning Act allowed for the creation and

adoption of the Provincial Land Use Policies (PLUPs), the first of which appeared formally in 1980 (but which had been applied provisionally from about 1978).

The PLUPs represented an additional set of planning guidelines for municipalities and planning districts to follow, above and beyond any local/municipal provisions. The first version was circulated in part to “guide a number of municipalities currently preparing development plans...by providing this broad planning framework it is intended that many of the specific planning decisions can now be made locally” (PLUPs 1978, 3). There were numerous objectives within the PLUPs, including guidance for:

the management of land resources in the Province, so as to provide for human needs and economic opportunity, to ensure an ample supply of land for development, to minimize social conflict and to make the best use of public funds (PLUPs 1978, 3).

Today, the PLUPS are “enacted through local development plans, which are initiated by a municipality....and once a municipality has a development plan in place, the PLUPs no longer apply” (Grift, 2006). However, municipalities and planning districts are required to follow the policies outlined in the PLUPs, when creating and implementing their respective development plans. To date, there have been three iterations of the PLUPs - in 1980, 1994 and, most recently, in 2011, when the current PLUPs were adopted as part of the Provincial Planning Regulation (PPR).

Table 3 highlights the ways in which each version of the PLUPs has addressed the issue of RN-FRD. The table has been organized to group particular policies within each of the various iterations. The intent is to highlight how each version of the PLUPs addresses certain aspects of RN-FRD. The categories themselves are based on the language of the policies, and the stated intent of the particular policies. This practicum seeks to identify potential future policies, or policy elaboration, based on the research.

Table 3: Rural Non-Farm Residential Development Policies within the PLUPS

Category	1980	1994	2011
Land restrictions	Protect the present and future agricultural land	Shall be on lowest class land available and not wasteful of agriculture land	Rural residential must be directed away from: prime agricultural land; viable lower class land; and existing agricultural operations-whenever possible
	Areas will not be designated for rural residential if they are suitable for agricultural purposes		New or expanding rural residential development must not negatively impact on existing rural residential, nor lead to evolution of new urban centre, nor detract from the natural and rural character of area
	Permit viable agricultural activities to function by placing restrictions on further encroachment by incompatible land uses		A single lot proposed for rural residential purposes, but only if the proposal is in a planning area that has experienced continuous population decline over the previous fifteen years.
	Rural residential development will be an alternative to the urban lifestyle and not an evolutionary step towards an urban environment		New rural residential development must be designated and planned in a way that preserves the natural and rural character of the area and makes it distinct from development in urban areas
	Must be demonstrated that rural residential development is not incompatible with existing land uses in the vicinity		Goal to preserve the natural and rural character of rural Manitoba and reduce the amount of land consumed, fragmented and made unproductive for resource-related uses
	Areas will not be designated for rural residential if they have been identified as a resource protection		Be located to preserve the agrarian or natural features of the area
	Subdivision should protect existing tree acreage		Subdivision should protect existing tree acreage
Size of lots	Minimum of two acres to maintain rural character of land	Must minimize wasteful use of land	Have lots larger than those found in urban centres
Proximity to urban centres	Rural residential will not be designated within two miles of the boundary of an incorporated urban centre or the built-up area of an unincorporated urban centre	Rural residential developments shall be encouraged provided they don't impede orderly expansion of urban centres, and don't require piped water or sewer	
Servicing requirements		Should accommodate environmentally sound sewage	Generally, be required to rely on its own on-site wastewater
	Allowing rural residential on the periphery of urban centres creates difficulties for that community to develop in an orderly manner	must be complementary to existing urban centres	
Servicing restrictions	Must be planned in a manner that will not produce unacceptable social or economic costs	Lot densities should be low so as not to require other services (i.e commercial, recreation and social)	To ensure rural residential developments are well planned and do not lead to a pattern of development that creates unreasonable costs for the public

Source: Provincial Land Use Policies (1980, 1994, 2011)

Provincial and municipal governments were dealing with very different planning issues when each iteration of the PLUPs was being developed and adopted. These “issues” can be observed throughout the various iterations. For example, in 1980, the main land use concern within rural Manitoba was rural de-population. Table 4 below illustrates that from 1921 to 1966, both rural-farm as well as rural non-farm population in Manitoba was declining. Planning for RN-FRD was a comparative non-issue, except in the vicinity of the major metropolitan region. In the 1970s, much of the active planning – as regulation - focus in Manitoba was centered around the City of Winnipeg and its region; this is very apparent by the significant amount of literature that exists on this metropolitan region (especially the ring around the City) at this time – especially in comparison with the lack of similar information for, and interest in, the outer reaches of rural, non-metropolitan, Manitoba. With the development focus then on metropolitan Manitoba, it is perhaps understandable why the 1980 policies were so geared towards encouraging and protecting development in urban centres, while effectively restricting development in rural areas. While the first PLUPs were created for application outside the City of Winnipeg, their main application at the time was envisaged as the rural areas in the vicinity of the City of Winnipeg, comprising ‘the city’s countryside’. Although, technically, they also applied to other rural areas in the Province, RN-FRD was not a significant planning issue at the time in much of this wider territory (the greater issue was the lack of rural development generally in these areas).

The second iteration of the PLUPs (1994) has been – by default - the most influential of the PLUPs in guiding the majority of more recent development plans throughout the province. Likewise, this iteration was in place when each of the planning jurisdictions responsible for the selected case studies was working on their most recent development plans. In both the BAPD and RPGA cases, despite their development plans being

adopted after the 2011 PLUPs had been enacted, the research and draft writing was guided by the second 1994 iteration.

The 1994 PLUPs, in comparison to the earlier version, addressed very different land use planning circumstances; rural development of all kinds was being promoted, including comparative encouragement of RN-FRD, with relatively little restriction. Even though some municipalities were experiencing a return to rural growth and development, the policies in the PLUPs were more facilitating of RN-FRD, and relatively lenient in terms of restriction. The planning – as regulation – of RN-FRD was not a high priority of the provincial government at the time.

The second iteration of the PLUPs is, notably, much less prescriptive in its wording. The writing of the policies appear to be such as to be increasingly *open to interpretation*, effectively allowing each municipality/planning district to interpret the policies in a way which best suited their particular land use interests. The rural planning jurisdictions were accorded greater flexibility when creating their development plans. With hindsight, perhaps such permissive ‘languaging’, and open-ness, may be associated with undue levels of problematic RN-FRD throughout Manitoba’s agro-rural landscape, in the late 1990s and early 2000s especially.

The 1994 PLUPs were found to be particularly inadequate around the turn of the most recent century, with the emergence of major rural planning issues associated with intensive livestock operations (ILOs), and their waste management implications. Special regulations had to be developed at comparatively short notice, and these in turn provided the backdrop for a more general review of the PLUPs in the late 2000s, culminating in the 2011 iteration. RN-FRD began to be weighed more in relation to both

ILOs and intensive urban area development; RN-FRD literally had to fit in, secondarily, between these primary concerns.

The third iteration of the PLUPs involved extensive public consultation, in part due to the fall-out from the special regulation efforts around ILOs. Many more planning districts were being formed, in part to achieve current Development Plans to replace very out-of-date and very inadequate Basic Planning Statements or Zoning Bylaws. Rural planning, in non-metropolitan Manitoba, increased significantly in terms of public and political profile.

While finalized and released in 2011, this latest review of the PLUPs began in 2007, with Manitoba Local Government proposing a redrafting of the policies, and – for the first time - inviting other government agencies to contribute their policies as well: “The draft policies were merged into a single, comprehensive draft document used for consultation purposes” (Province of Manitoba 2012). Public consultation occurred in various formats, and included both planners and elected officials. The feedback addressed all sections and policies, including those concerned with RN-FRD and fringe development. The following indicates some of the feedback at the time the latest policies were being actively contemplated:

- The policies do nothing to curb rural residential development and in fact may be contributing to it...
- Allowing for increased density of rural residential lots does not make sense because this form of development is car-dependent.
- Provincial interest poses a dilemma of reconciling Manitobans' ability to choose where they live with the recognition that there are social and environmental costs to those choices. Can we continue to allow individual choices that impose costs on the rest of society?
- The policies for rural residential development appear to support and even promote an increase in unsustainable, car-dependent commuter culture. Suggest a ban on further car-dependent development, both urban and rural. The test could be if people could continue to live this way if oil prices skyrocketed.

- Suggest a ‘no net increase in rural residential properties’ because many rural areas are depopulating, there should be rural residences available to newcomers to replace former residents who have left.
- Although the draft policies direct development to existing urban centres, the provisions for rural residential development and the failure to include density as a factor in the definition of urban centers counteracts any attempt to promote denser, more compact development.
- Some urban areas have a buffer zone entirely around them, but have no intention of developing in certain directions. More thought has to go into identifying buffers around urban areas. It is important for both the affected urban and rural municipalities to participate in this process.
- How will the Province mitigate the financial and environmental risks associated with urban expansion into areas developed with rural residential that have been approved by the Province? (Province of Manitoba 2009, p 1-2).

Based on this feedback, generated during the public consultations, it is evident that there was an increasing general concern around RN-FRD, and a general view that it should be much better addressed now, especially in comparison with the 1994 iteration of the PLUPs.

The latest iteration of the PLUPs was finally adopted, and promulgated as the Provincial Planning Regulation, in 2011. This adopted version does not outline such specific objectives as were present in the first proposed draft. However, it does contain “principles of sound land use planning which are reflected throughout the PLUPs”

(PLUPs 2011, 7) including:

long-term vision, compatibility, sustainability, integration, public participation, and it is in the Provincial interest to foster a culture of land use planning throughout Manitoba that is consistent with these principles and with the PLUPs (7-8).

Change in the planning and development world can be slow; only time will tell, in terms of effect on future development plans, and consequently on planning for urban/rural fringe development, and RN-FRD in particular.

4.1.2 Rural Population Trends

Part of the research for this practicum has sought to address the population trends surrounding RN-FRD, throughout Manitoba as a whole, the Census Divisions in which

the three case studies are situated, and in the three case study settings themselves. Addressing population trends further informs an assessment of RN-FRD as a pertinent issue within particular areas within the province, especially highlighting the population shift that has occurred over the past few decades. Table 4 presents the rural/urban population split, and the rural farm/rural non-farm split, within Manitoba as a whole, from approximately 1920 until the present.

Table 4: Manitoba Rural Farm/Rural Non-Farm Split: 1921-2006

Year	MB Total Population	Total Urban	Total Rural	Rural % of total population	Rural Farm	Rural Non-Farm	RN-F % of total population
1921	610,118	261,616	348,502	57	n/a	n/a	n/a
1931	700,139	315,969	384,170	55	243,490	140,680	20
1941	729,744	321,873	407,871	56	237,119	170,752	23
1951	776,541	439,580	336,961	43	214,435	122,526	16
1956	850,040	510,583	339,457	40	202,183	137,294	16
1961	921,686	588,807	332,879	36	171,472	161,407	18
1966	963,066	646,048	317,018	33	159,872	157,146	16
1971	988,245	693,100	295,145	31	107,625	187,520	19
1976	1,021,506	714,481	307,025	30	101,455	205,570	20
1981	1,026,241	730,659	295,582	29	96,390	199,185	19
1986	1,063,016	766,851	296,165	28	84,690	211,475	20
1991	1,091,942	787,175	304,767	28	78,080	226,687	21
1996	1,113,898	800,063	313,835	28	78,470	235,365	21
2001	1,119,583	805,321	314,262	28	67,505	246,757	22
2006	1,148,400	820,910	327,490	29	61,020	266,470	23

Source: Statistics Canada, Manitoba Census of Population 1920-2006

In order to best analyze the numbers in the above table, it is pertinent to illustrate how Statistics Canada defines urban, rural farm and rural non-farm for the purpose of these numbers.

Rural Farm: “an agricultural holding of one or more acres with sales of agricultural products of \$50 or more in the previous year. All persons living on such holdings in rural areas are classed as ‘rural farm’ regardless of their occupation. Thus the population living on ‘census farms’ would include some persons not connected with farming operations and who derive their income from non-agricultural pursuits”. (Statistics Canada, 1971, 3).

Urban: “includes the population living in (1) incorporated cities, towns and villages with a population of 1000 or over; (2) unincorporated places of 1000 or over having a population density of at least 1000 per square mile; (3) the built-up fringe of (1) and (2) having a minimum population of 1000 and a density of at least 1000 per square mile”. (Statistics Canada, 1971, 3).

The rural non-farm population, according to this table, is therefore the difference between the total rural population and the rural farm population. The table shows that the rural non-farm population – so classified – has been increasing. These population numbers include incorporated towns and villages (urban municipalities) with a population fewer than 1000 people; ideally these would be stripped out, to achieve a purer indication of the actual rural non-farm population. It is also the case that unincorporated, essentially ‘urban’, settlement clusters in rural municipalities (such as parts now defined as DPLs – Designated Places) should also be stripped out (this would include places like Kleefeld in the RM of Hanover). With such refinements a more accurate number may be achieved for the population, in rural municipalities, that is located primarily in country residential estates (multiple-lot rural subdivisions). It should be noted that further refinement of this residual may be in order, to strip out the population resident on rural single-lot subdivisions (such as farmstead separations), and to more fully align with the working definition of RN-FR identified earlier in this practicum.

Setting aside such refinements for the present, it can be seen that the number of RN-F residents has been increasing. It is also obvious from Table 4 that RN-F residents account for a much increased proportion of the total rural population, rising from just under 50% in 1966, to 67% in 1976, 71.4% in 1986, 75% in 1996, and 81.4% in 2006. It is interesting to speculate what these percentage changes might have looked like if the necessary population details were available - to effect the refinements mentioned above - to facilitate a zeroing in on only the RN-FR associated the working definition deployed in this practicum. There was little in the way of multiple-lot country residential estate

development in non-metropolitan Southern Manitoba in 1966, but likely considerably more such development in 2006. This could be a fruitful area for future research.

The final column of Table 4 focuses on what might now be termed the 'gross' RN-F population (rather than the 'net') as a percentage of the total population (urban + rural). In these percentage terms, the number has remained relatively consistent over the last 75 years, with only a slight increase recently. Clearly the urban population, and its concerns, continues to powerfully dominate the Manitoba provincial scene, including the provincial interest in planning. Nevertheless, in terms of the final column of Table 4, the more important factor for our purposes is probably that the (gross) RN-F population has increased significantly: 54,995 residents since 1986 have been classified as RN-F. A smaller, but likely still significant net total may be estimated – significant especially in terms of the land area affected per new resident. Multiple-lot country residential estates certainly merit targeting in this context. It becomes particularly important to try to isolate this type of subdivision in the overall scheme of rural subdivision activity.

Tables 8 through 10 (section 4.2) present the number of RN-FRD subdivisions that have occurred in the case study settings over the past 10 years. If the working definition developed earlier in this practicum is applied to this data – especially the 5-lot minimum – it is apparent that such multiple-lot RN-FRD subdivision is still comparatively rare in areas such as BAPD and RPGAPD, but is very much more significant in areas such as the RM of Hanover. The latter appears to be more typical of a metropolitan, than non-metropolitan, region context. However the levels for the RMH are quite possibly indicative of what might occur quite soon in the other settings, without improved planning for RN-FRD. Land is certainly being used for the purposes of RN-FRD, especially in areas such as RMH – with an average of almost 30 new lots per annum, consuming

primarily agricultural land at a rate of over 90 acres per year (based on 2003-2012 data). By contrast, comparable statistics for BAPD yield averages (over the same 10 years) of less than 2 new lots per year, consuming just over 5 acres of land per year – on average. For the RPGAPD the same statistics would be less than one new lot per year, consuming around 2 acres of land per year – again based on a 10-year averaging. Most RN-FRD subdivision activity in the latter two jurisdictions are single-lot, or 2 to 4 lot, subdivisions – but they do consume relatively large amounts of what is probably, primarily, prime agricultural land. They may have less impact in population change terms, than in terms of level of land conversion from agricultural to residential. How such changes and shifts translate in particular rural municipal planning context is of prime concern in this practicum, especially how this may be better managed through improved, finer-grained planning for RNF-RD.

In comparison with the province-wide trends addressed in Table 4, supplementary tables (located in Appendix 3) reveal the population trends for the three Census Divisions where the case studies are situated. While each of these census divisions encompasses more than the case study municipalities/planning districts (See Figure 1), the statistics allow for a closer consideration of the rural non-farm contexts. More specifically, Tables 5 through 7 below show the population trends for each of the three individual case studies, including overall population trends, and the population change.

Table 5: BAPD Population Trends

	Total	Population Change (%)	Brandon	% of Population	Cornwallis	% of Population	Elton	% of Population
1966	37457		29981	80.04%	5883	15.71%	1593	4.25%
1971	38290	2.22%	32713	85.43%	4052	10.58%	1525	3.98%
1976	40166	4.90%	34901	86.89%	3760	9.36%	1505	3.75%
1981	41532	3.40%	36320	87.45%	3800	9.15%	1412	3.40%
1986	44314	6.70%	38708	87.35%	4243	9.57%	1363	3.08%
1991	44111	-0.46%	38575	87.45%	4214	9.55%	1322	3.00%
1996	44860	1.70%	39175	87.33%	4279	9.54%	1406	3.13%
2001	44816	-0.10%	39716	88.62%	3779	8.43%	1321	2.95%
2006	46854	4.55%	41511	88.60%	4058	8.66%	1285	2.74%
2011	51696	10.33%	46061	89.10%	4378	8.47%	1257	2.43%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 1966-2011

Table 5 highlights the 1966-2011 population trends for the Brandon and Area Planning District. The data show the overall population within the Planning District has increased each census year, yet only the City of Brandon has been consistently increasing over each census period. The RM of Cornwallis and the RM of Elton have experienced both an increase as well as a decrease in population in the last thirty years. The City of Brandon is obviously the major presence in this Planning District in population terms. Rural non-farm population is most likely to be in the majority in the RM of Cornwallis – and therefore of particular relevance for this practicum, while rural-farm population is possibly more likely to be in the majority for the RM of Elton.

Table 6: RPGA Planning District Population Trends

	Total	Population Change (%)	Rhineland	% of Population	Plum Coulee	% of Population	Gretna	% of Population	Altona	% of Population
1966	8560		5339	62.37%	531	6.20%	561	6.55%	2129	24.87%
1971	7900	-7.71%	4776	60.46%	480	6.08%	522	6.61%	2122	26.86%
1976	8017	1.48%	4550	56.75%	477	5.95%	510	6.36%	2480	30.93%
1981	8419	5.01%	4473	53.13%	592	7.03%	545	6.47%	2809	33.37%
1986	8001	-4.96%	4321	54.01%	677	8.46%	503	6.29%	2500	31.25%
1991	8037	0.45%	4145	51.57%	676	8.41%	620	7.71%	2596	32.30%
1996	8757	8.96%	4172	47.64%	729	8.32%	538	6.14%	3318	37.89%
2001	8905	1.69%	4183	46.97%	725	8.14%	563	6.32%	3434	38.56%
2006	9178	3.07%	4125	44.94%	770	8.39%	574	6.25%	3709	40.41%
2011	9890	7.76%	4373	44.22%	873	8.83%	556	5.62%	4088	41.33%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Populations 1966-2011

Table 6 presents the population trends within the RPGA Planning District. This planning district has experienced both increases and decreases in regards to its overall population. The RM of Rhineland – most relevant for our purposes - has experienced a general decrease in its population in each of the census years. This decrease is most likely in terms of the rural farm population; it is possible that the rural non-farm population is increasing in significance, proportionately. This is certainly where the planning for RN-FRD ‘action’ is focused in the RPAG PD. The Town of Gretna, while seeing slight increases and decreases over the years, has remained steady in population level within the past thirty years. The Towns of Plum Coulee and Altona are experiencing increases in their populations; they are the main contributors to the increase in total population within this planning district. With the expansion of these urban centres, it can be anticipated that - most likely - the RN-FRD surrounding those communities, in particular, has also been on the increase, or is likely to increase soon.

Table 7: RM of Hanover Population Trends

RM of Hanover Population Trends												
	Population Change (%)	Hanover	Mitchell	% of Population	Grunthal	% of Population	Blumenort	% of Population	Kleefeld	% of Population	New Bothwell	% of Population
1966		6739										
1971	-8.46%	6169										
1976	7.72%	6645										
1981	11.78%	7428										
1986	8.14%	8033										
1991	10.63%	8887										
1996	10.64%	9833										
2001	9.72%	10789	1055	9.78%								
2006	10.03%	11871	1492	12.57%	1089	9.17%	834	7.03%				
2011	18.15%	14026	1656	11.81%	1640	11.69%	1404	10.01%	701	5.00%	638	4.55%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Populations 1966-2011.

With the exception of the 1971 census, the RM of Hanover has experienced substantial growth over the last thirty years (the decrease in the 1971 census is due to the incorporation of the Town of Niverville – previously an unincorporated urban settlement within the RM of Hanover). It is likely, with such large increases in population, that all areas of the municipality are experiencing increases, including – perhaps especially – those areas hosting RN-FRD. It is difficult to thoroughly establish the urban and rural population trends within the RM of Hanover, since Statistics Canada classifies the RM of Hanover as entirely rural.

With the limited population detail available, it can be seen that each of the larger settlement centres (Mitchell, Grunthal and Blumenort) have all – recently - been increasing at quite substantial rates. Due to lack of suitable data, determining where Hanover’s growth is actually occurring on the ground (urban vs rural; and rural farm vs rural non-farm) is difficult - if not impossible, especially for the census years from 1966 to 2006. According to Statistics Canada, the main population information for the RM of Hanover has not been, and is still not, collected in way that references individual settlement centres; it is based simply on the population as a whole. It is possible to

indicate that over 40% of the RM population is notionally 'urban', based on the total for the five discrete settlements identified in Table 7.

The breakdown of settlement centre populations provided for the years 2001, 2006 and 2011 was compiled by Jeremy Neufeld, Manager of Planning for the RM of Hanover. He determined the population numbers through tax information, the RM of Hanover GIS capabilities, and building permits data (personal communication, April 29, 2013). Such information is not readily available to determine the population spread by place for the earlier census years; as a consequence, a comprehensive breakdown of the five settlement centres in the RM of Hanover is not possible. However, it can be concluded - based on population trends as a whole - that the rural non-farm residential population is probably increasing in the parts of the RM outside these urban growth centres. Further investigation into the subdivision activity associated with rural non-farm residential developments is reported later, in sections 4.2.1- 4.2.3. Preliminary estimates suggest new RN-FR population of around 100 persons per annum, based on a 2003-2012 data set.

Collectively, the discussion around these tables provides some initial insight into the emergence and incidence of RN-FRD, as an issue meriting greater planning attention, in these parts of Southern Manitoba. The discussion has also helped to rationalize why these particular case study settings were chosen as foci for this practicum.

4.2 The Municipal/Inter-Municipal Planning Settings

This practicum features the exploration of three case studies, in the form of three recent Development Plans in three separate settings (two Planning Districts, one RM) within

Southern Manitoba. The intent of researching specific case studies is to analyze and assess the current policies and planning surrounding RN-FRD, in hopes of better highlighting how planning districts and rural municipalities in Southern Manitoba are addressing planning for RN-FRD.

The settings targeted were: the Brandon and Area Planning District (BAPD), the Rhineland, Plum Coulee, Gretna and Altona Planning District (RPGAPD) and the Rural Municipality of Hanover (RMH). These settings were selected because their current development plan was implemented recently, as well as on account of the perceived notable amount of subdivision development – specifically, mainly agricultural land converted to RN-FRD - occurring within their jurisdictions.

This practicum considers the policies that each of the targeted case study authorities have implemented within their Development Plans - specifically in regards to rural non-farm residential development. Municipalities and planning districts are required to create their own Development Plan, namely:

a statement of the policies regarding future development....A development plan helps to ensure compatibility of neighbouring land uses, effective management of natural resources, preservation of natural and heritage resources, the appropriate mix of development, cost-effective and timely delivery of infrastructure services, protection of ground water, and sustainable economic and community growth (Manitoba Intergovernmental Affairs, n.d. 11).

While Development Plans are now required for municipalities and planning districts situated throughout Manitoba, the content and form of the development plans is not firmly set, but can be determined – and varied upwards in relation to the PLUPs - by the individual municipalities and/or planning district. The Development Plans however “must be generally consistent with provincial land use policies” (Manitoba Intergovernmental Affairs, n.d. 11), but are not limited to the requirements laid out in the PLUPs, and can

easily exceed the requirements. An interest of this practicum is in part to examine the Development Plans to determine if the selected cases reflect planning authorities aiming above and beyond the policies laid out in the PLUPs.

4.2.1 Brandon and Area Planning District

Situated in south-western Manitoba within Census Division #7, the BAPD was established in 1980. It includes the City of Brandon - Manitoba's second largest urban centre - along with the rural municipalities (RMs) of Cornwallis and Elton (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Map of BAPD



Image Source: Google Earth

BAPD was formed to create a unified vision for the future of land development including “the need to control potential adverse impacts of non-farm development on agricultural

activities” (BAPD Development Plan 2013, 4). RN-FRD is not a new issue within the BAPD, especially in the area to the north of the City of Brandon. In a 1981 article, addressing the increase of development in the urban fringe surrounding the City of Brandon, Everitt and Stadel discuss how, at the time, the City of Brandon was experiencing marked growth and would need to address “the fairly rapid expansion of the urbanized area of Brandon... in an area which constitutes part of Brandon’s urban fringe” (1981, 17). They discuss how the urban fringe began to develop in the 1960s, and how “ad-hoc development” (20) only increased. This increase in RN-FRD within the urban fringe eventually led to the City of Brandon expanding its boundaries in 1972. However, according to the authors, this expansion only provided a temporary solution, and RN-FRD eventually began occurring once again. RN-FRD issues arose from the simple fact that the land immediately surrounding the City was under the jurisdiction of two rural municipalities, the RM of Cornwallis and the RM of Elton. Everitt and Stadel note how the City of Brandon – in earlier years - had been in discussions with the two RMs regarding the creation of a Planning District; this eventually materialized in 1980.

For the most part, RN-FRD is mainly occurring within the RM of Cornwallis; there is currently a number of existing designated RN-FRD areas, some of which are highlighted in the below image (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Rural Non-Farm Residential Clusters within the BAPD



Image Source: Google Earth

The demand for RN-FRD is expected to continue to increase, since it allows people to live within the vicinity of the City of Brandon but within a rural living environment. The BAPD recently adopted a new Development Plan (March 2013), which - among other matters - addresses the issues relating to RN-FRD. One of the stated goals is to find a balance between preserving the agricultural land in the area, while at the same time encouraging development outside the boundaries of the City of Brandon (BAPD Development Plan 2013).

Prior to preparation of the Development Plan, MMM Group conducted a background study examining the current situation, as well as the desired situation, within the Brandon and Area Planning District. The intent of the Background Report was to

highlight pressing issues within the BAPD, and to emphasize why a new development plan was necessary.

The background report includes an assessment of the available land inventory as well as the current and projected population growth within the area. It states that if development continues at the current rate, the City of Brandon has an approximate 16.5 years supply of residential land (MMM Group 2010, 41). Provincial legislation states that municipalities should maintain an approximate 20-year supply of residential land. Therefore if the City continues to grow at its current rate, expansion of its boundaries seems inevitable, sooner than later, impacting the existing rural municipalities.

The RM of Cornwallis is home to the vast majority of the RN-FRD within the BAPD. However, the report reveals that the majority of the current designated RN-FR land is either at - or almost at – capacity. The RM of Cornwallis was assessed as having an approximate 10-year supply of residential land (MMM Group 2010, 41).

Unlike the City of Brandon and the RM of Cornwallis, the RM of Elton is not experiencing much development pressure, RN-FR included. The report indicates that the RM has an adequate supply of designated land to accommodate projected growth. So, although the RM has a 13-year supply of residential land (MMM Group 2010, 45), due to the lack of development pressure and demand in the area, the current supply will last for a much longer period of time.

The background report also addresses current and projected population growth. Based on the population projections (See Appendix 4) all three areas within the BAPD are expected to experience steady growth. This is likely due to a combination of variables including birth rates, immigration into the region as well as the proximity of CFB Shilo,

which is situated just outside the BAPD. This report encouraged the BAPD to create a new development plan.

Part of the background report included topics surrounding rural non-farm residential development (MMM Group 2010). It highlights the desires of residents with respect to the creation of more RN-FRD within the BAPD, including on agricultural land that is not viable land for farming, but at the same time not impeding continued use of the viable agricultural land in the area. The background report outlines the current situation surrounding what is termed 'rural residential development' within the BAPD. The report noted that there were a number of designated rural residential parcels in both RMs. There was concern however that the previous Development Plan had a policy which permitted some rural residential designations allowing 40 acre parcels - which the report observed is - "an inefficient use of land" (97).

The report recommends that while 'rural residential' is, and will continue to be, a growing trend, it "should be directed to unproductive lands.... in appropriate areas and in reasonable amounts" (97). The report also addresses the 'urban rural fringe', which refers to the land immediately adjacent to the City of Brandon. The existing plan contains a map, which outlines future parcels – in the RMs - that will eventually become part of the City of Brandon. The background report noted however that, while there is the map in question, there are currently no policies regarding development within the urban rural fringe.

The following table displays the number of RN-FRD subdivisions that have taken place since 2003. The vast majority of RN-FRD subdivisions over the last ten years have taken place within the RM of Cornwallis. The reason for this is most likely due to its proximity to the City of Brandon. As stated in the MMM background report, Cornwallis has more

land that can be utilized for rural residential purposes, whereas the RM of Elton is primarily an agricultural community. Prior to 2006, the number of new RN-FRD subdivisions totaled one new lot. Since then however, a growing number of new lots have been created within the RM of Cornwallis as well as in Elton (with the exception of 2010). In total, 30 new RN-FR lots have been created through the subdivision process. This does not yield a final number of lots that have been created, since there are - most likely - developed lots that have not been built on. However, the table does give an indication of the trend of new development occurring within the planning district.

Table 8: BAPD Number of RN-FRD Subdivisions: 2003-(May) 2013

	Total No. of RN-FRD Subdivisions	Total No. of Acres	Brandon		RM of Elton		RM of Cornwallis	
			No. of Subdivisions	No. of Acres	No. of Subdivisions	No. of Acres	No. of Subdivisions	No. of Acres
2003	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2004	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	5
2005	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2006	3	18.58	0	0	0	0	3	18.58
2007	5	50.58	0	0	4	32	1	8.6
2008	2	18.5	0	0	0	0	2	18.5
2009	1	14.29	0	0	0	0	1	14.29
2010	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2011	20	68.8	0	0	2	14.23	18	54.57
2012	1	6.1	0	0	0	0	1	6.1
2013 (Jan-May 31)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	33	181.85	0	0	6	46.23	27	125.64

Source: Community Planning Services, Province of Manitoba

A strict application of the working definition of RN-FRD identified earlier in this practicum would suggest that in the 10 years or so covered by the table there has been possibly only one 'qualifying' subdivision – the 18 lots, covering 54.7 acres, in the RM of Cornwallis in 2011 (assuming this was indeed a single subdivision). What is possibly of greater significance in this case is that the other 12 subdivisions in this period converted 127.3 acres of land to RN-FR (probably from prime agricultural).

It should be noted that all the subdivisions tallied in this table were under the previous planning by-laws. Any new or proposed development will come under the newly adopted Development Plan (March 2013), which had to be consistent with the policies outlined in the newest 2011 iteration of the PLUPs. The stated purpose of the latest BAPD Development Plan is to “provide for co-ordination and co-operation among the participating municipal corporations primarily with regard to land use and land development issues” (BAPD 2013, 3). The Chair of the Planning District (also Reeve of the RM of Cornwallis) Reg Atkinson commented: “The intent of this plan was to create a document that everybody in the planning district was happy with and equally a part of” (personal communication July 2013). According to Atkinson, it was imperative that all municipalities were addressed equally, because this has not always been the case.

The planning district has always been a benefit to (the City of) Brandon, but not to us (RM of Cornwallis). But with the new plan, it’s working well, we’re focusing on the area as a whole (Atkinson, personal communication July 2013).

In regards to the policies specific to RN-FRD (see Appendix 5), the plan states that “an appropriate amount of non-agricultural development in the rural areas will be balanced with the goal of preserving prime agricultural land and ensuring compatible land uses” (BAPD 2013, 2). According to the Development Plan, the BAPD currently “has existing rural residential land uses, many of which have been expanded in order to cluster their uses and reduce the effect on agricultural activities” (3). The majority of the fringe development currently occurs within the RM of Cornwallis; however, the vast majority of this development is situated immediately adjacent to - and will affect the growth and expansion of - the City of Brandon. In the past, all development that might affect Brandon, such as the RN-FRD in Cornwallis, was conducted in a way that worked for Brandon only. With the new plan however, a change has been noted:

We need to do what works best for us (Cornwallis) in the present, but we can and should certainly do things with the future of the city in mind. Because even if the land is currently

RM land it will eventually be part of the city, and we need to work together (Atkinson, personal communication, July 2013).

Atkinson, along with Heather Dalglish (Councillor, RM of Cornwallis) explained that, being directly adjacent to the City of Brandon, they are in an ideal position to host new development. People want to live there, due to the proximity of the city and, according to Atkinson and Dalglish, they are doing what they can (as RM councilors) to benefit from that demand, but not be wasteful of their land.

These ideals are reflected in the policies themselves. The development plan outlines where and how any new RN-FRD can be created within designated areas throughout the BAPD. The policies do allow for some flexibility when creating new lots, and do permit residents to have some creativity when developing and building. Conversely, the plan does stress, at various points in its policies that RN-FRD must be created in designated areas - in clusters - and must not be wasteful of rural land. The policies also allow owners of existing rural properties to create one new additional lot; however, a conditional use is required. A conditional use requires a public hearing and a council resolution, which gives existing neighbourhood residents a say in what happens.

Atkinson recognizes that the RM of Cornwallis is in a favorable situation and wants to ensure that any new policies created permit development to occur. However, it was recognized that even though they have the available land, they do not want to take advantage of it: "We're not going to develop everything just because we can get an increase in our tax revenue" (personal communication July 2013). Moreover, while both Atkinson and Dalglish recognize that much of their residential development is filling the majority of the RN-FR niche, they will not permit all development: "If it doesn't make

sense, it's not going to happen. Just because we have land doesn't mean we're going to abuse it" (Atkinson, personal communication July 2013).

The Development Plan also specifies criteria for any new development within a particular area will require the creation and adoption of a secondary plan. The intent of a secondary plan is to outline development guidelines and policies for a specific area within a municipality or planning district. The secondary plan guides how the area is to be developed. Requiring the creation of a secondary plan guarantees that all future RN-FRD will be done in a manner that follows the overall plan for RN-FRD within the BAPD. In addition, new RN-FRD has to be developed in clusters, which will prevent more fragmentation of prime land than need be. Clearly, long term planning of the BAPD was of significant importance during the creation of the development plan.

The policies also outline the steps that must be taken for development of land surrounding the City of Brandon. The RN-FRD must be undertaken in a way that allows for urban growth and urban infill - so certain items, such as urban roads and other infrastructure, can be easily put into place. The policies allow for RN-FRD to occur, but incorporates planning for the future growth of the region. Atkinson and Dalglish both believe that the policies they have helped to create will only better the RM of Cornwallis, as well as the planning district as a whole:

We worked on this plan, and it is our plan. We are not dealing with something that our predecessors have handed us and said 'live with it'. We're abiding by it because we helped make the decisions (H. Dalglish, personal communication, July 2013).

In relation to the policies outlined in the PLUPs, the BAPD follows the requirements that are outlined for RN-FRD. By and large, the policies in the BAPD Development Plan are on par with the requirements, sometimes exceeding them. For example, the BAPD includes maximum lot sizes, whereas the PLUPs only stipulate a minimum lot size as

being required. Furthermore, the BAPD also requires the creation of a secondary plan, as stated above. The secondary plan provision specifically addresses a particular area to guide future growth, including infill development within existing RN-FRD. The intent of these policies,

is to allow people to create their 2 acre parcel, but it must be developed in anticipation that it will be subdivided in the future for urban use. Because of the location of the land, it will eventually be part of the City of Brandon and we need to prepare for that now (personal communication, BAPD planning consultant, July 2013).

Currently the BAPD, along with MMM Group, are working on a Brandon and Fringe Area growth strategy. The goal of this document is to “examine growth opportunities and challenges over the next fifty years in Brandon, Cornwallis and Elton” (BAPD.com).

Atkinson and Dalgleish both agree that this study will help with future development, as well as help the relationship between everyone in the district.

We’re in the process of creating an agreement with Brandon on how to deal with fringe development. I do feel as though both the RM and the city should have a say in what is being developed because fringe development affects both of us... We are trying to put together an agreement that will work for everyone. We’re creating a document that will discuss how development will make sense in terms of where housing can go, and where services can spread out of the city (Atkinson, personal communication, July 2013).

With the new Development Plan, along with the Brandon and Fringe Area growth strategy, the BAPD is being proactive by creating policies that will guide their growth in a sustainable way.

We have to ensure our forecasting is correct for development in the future. Development is a tricky business; you don’t want to have too much and we have to make sure that there is enough (Atkinson, personal communication, July 2013).

Atkinson indicated that they are attempting to do everything they can to make the best decisions for their community in terms of land use policies surrounding RN-FRD, and to abide by the policies they have put in place. As this policy is newly adopted, only time will tell whether or not this will come to pass.

4.2.2 Rhineland Plum Coulee Gretna Altona Planning District (RPGAPD)

Located in south-central Manitoba, in the region known as the Pembina Valley (within Census Division #3), the RPGA Planning District lies along the Canada-United States border (See Figure 7).

Figure 7: Map of RPGAPD



Image Source: Google Earth

The RPGA, formed in 2010, includes the urban centres of Altona, Gretna and Plum Coulee along with the Rural Municipality of Rhineland, and was created to “ensure that long term planning is done on an integrated and regional basis” (RPGA Development Plan 2011).

Prior to the creation of the Planning District, the region “had some shared services ... and we determined what more we could share, and land use planning was one of them” (Michael Reimer, CAO, RM of Rhineland, personal communication July 2013).

The RPGA adopted its current Development Plan (DP) in the fall of 2012. Prior to its creation, the RPGA Planning District produced a background report, which resulted from “research and feedback harvested through community consultation” (Dillon Consulting Ltd 2011, 1). It highlighted the characteristics and qualities of the area as well as outlined current issues, trends, and options to be directly addressed within the new DP.

The background report addresses the current population characteristics as well as the projected population growth (See Appendix 6) throughout the Planning District. The RPGAPD is experiencing rapid growth, and the projected trends indicate that this will continue. In fact, the report indicates:

the South Central region is expected to have the highest growth rate in the province (114% over 2008-2031), and in that period will take up a bigger share of the provincial population (from 4.86% to 7.29%) (Dillon Consulting Ltd. 2011, 29).

And while the “popular conception (is) that rural agricultural areas are rapidly losing residents - particularly younger generations...the RGPA Planning District population is growing faster than the provincial average” (Dillon Consulting Ltd. 2011, 25). The growth in the district is most likely due to its high immigration rate. “Record levels of new arrivals to date, and provincial policies to increase annual immigration to 20,000 by the year 2016, indicate this trend may continue in the Planning District” (Dillon Consulting 2011, 27). The current and projected population trends reinforce the idea that proper long term planning is required to address the future growth of the area - especially in the (urban/rural) fringe areas.

The growth that the RM of Rhineland is experiencing is viewed as being:

complicated by the lack of policy regarding...‘clustered’ settlement areas for (residential) development, ensuing fringe development, and existing pressures on infrastructure and services (Dillon Consulting Ltd 2011, 19).

Similar to the RM, Plum Coulee is also experiencing “the issue of fringe and disorderly or unplanned development” (Dillon Consulting Ltd., 20). These specific issues were to be addressed within the policies of the new DP.

The future expansion of municipal infrastructure and services was also addressed in the background report – specifically, how the development plan needs to focus on these issues.

Development without recognizing the need and timely planning for the required infrastructure will limit the intended benefits of the development and will have adverse environmental and social impacts (Dillon Consulting Ltd. 2011, 39).

According to the report, septic fields, tanks and ejectors service the entire RM of Rhineland. This can be of concern for RN-FRD as well as the expansion of the urban centres, due to setback requirements. The report indicates that these issues should be addressed within specific policies.

The intent of the Development Plan was to create a document to guide planning and development throughout the Planning District, to allow for cohesive planning throughout each of the areas within the District. Known for its prime agricultural land, the PD seeks to preserve as much of this agricultural land as possible, while simultaneously encouraging rural development. The plan was written in a unique format compared to most DPs within the province: “The structure of the plan reflects how and where people live on the land in the RPGA region” (RPGA Development Plan 2011, 4). These living situations include town, country, village and fringe areas. The DP format features “policies for each of these types of living...and sorted based on interests in the land” (4). According to Don Wiebe, Reeve of the RM of Rhineland, and Chair of the RPGA Planning District, this concept emerged from their public consultations.

We got a sense from the community that boundaries were governmental and not a people thing. When people drive they don't look at boundaries, they tend to notice the difference between urban and rural but not what designation or municipality you're in. People say they live in the country or in town so that is how we wanted to define our development plan (personal communication, July 2013).

Addressed in the development plan (see Appendix 7) is the fringe area, which, according to Wiebe is immediately adjacent to the urban centres, whereas RN-FRD is situated a few miles out of the urban centres in the more purely rural realm. Michael Reimer explained the reasoning behind it:

What we want to avoid is development in our communities, then nothing for a mile out and then more development, that doesn't make sense. Just because a developer comes along with a plan for development doesn't mean it should go there just because it is on the fringe (personal communication, July 2013).

The fringe area section of the plan states, "as growth occurs, development should occur where it makes sense based on physical opportunities and constraints rather than political boundaries" (RPGA Development Plan 2011, 43). The DP indicates that development within the fringe areas will not be discredited, but states that:

there should be equity between town and 'edge of town' living and residents should share in the benefits and costs of services, taxation etc.... (4).

The intent of the policies is to prevent the creation of a (no development) buffer, which is the case for so many municipalities. "That one mile buffer, it doesn't make sense. We don't have buffers, we have fringe" (Don Wiebe, personal communication, July 2013).

Wiebe and Reimer illustrated how the creation of the fringe area within their plan was to acknowledge the area and plan for it, rather than leave it in limbo.

If development makes sense to go here (fringe area) it should be looked at, on a case-by-case basis; whether it is a 40 lot subdivision or a 1 lot subdivision, we want to look at each scenario (M Reimer, personal communication, July 2013).

Although each development will stand alone when being examined for approval, Wiebe and Reimer explained how any development within the fringe would be designed to

urban standards, in terms of lot sizes, services as well as things such as sidewalks, street lights etc...whether or not it is presently urban or rural land.

For us, the fringe area is different than RN-FRD. The fringe area is developed to urban standards. And the closer to an urban centre a fringe development is, the more stringent the urban standards will be (M Reimer).

The reasoning behind this is that proper planning is required for the expansion of the urban centres, specifically between Altona and Plum Coulee - the areas experiencing the most growth:

We don't have any areas designated as fringe around Gretna as they have lots of space (within) to develop and the demand is not high surrounding the town (M Reimer).

Besides the approach to the fringe areas, the RPGA PD is also notable for its cluster policy regarding RN-FRD. The PD's DP creates areas within the rural context (beyond the fringe areas) that allow for clustered development. These cluster areas are situated within 5 miles of the nearest urban centre or village, and are intended for RN-FRD. The RPGA PD includes several locations (within the RM) where houses have been built surrounding early school sites, associated with former (small) school districts. According to the Reeve of the RM of Rhineland, when the area was first settled each group of people that arrived had their own school, and the residents built their homes around the school; now the old schools are gone, while only one or two of the houses might remain. In the latter situations the PD is encouraging a form of 'rural infill', in what are effectively designated RN-FRD cluster areas (See Figure 8).

Figure 8: Rural Non-Farm Residential Clusters in the RPGA PD

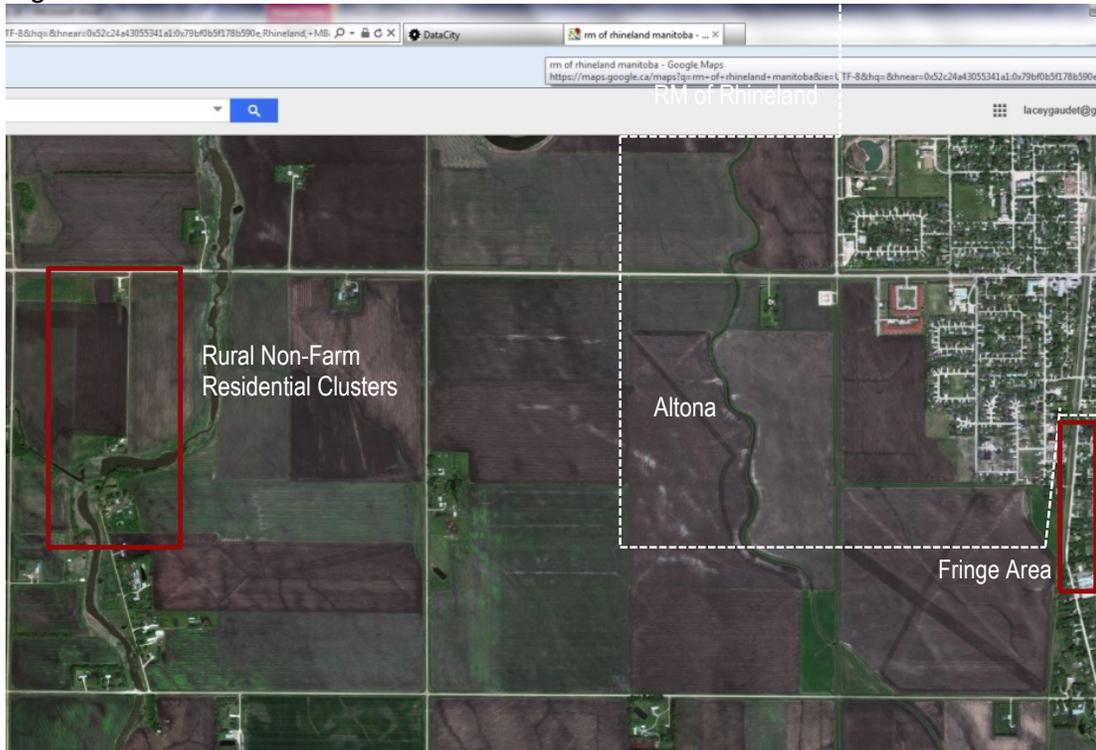


Image Source: Google Earth

This was a partly a response to the high number of requests the PD was receiving from existing home owners, seeking to subdivide their large lots for residential purposes:

“Farmers have these 5 or 6 acre parcels that they can’t farm but still wanted to do something with, so we identified these areas as our cluster areas” (Don Wiebe, personal communication June 26, 2013). The intent was to “allow us to create infill development in already fragmented land. It is designated general agriculture in our plan but identified on the map as cluster areas” (Don Wiebe, personal communication). These areas will allow people to create smaller RN-FRD lots without taking up more of their main land base, which is primarily agricultural.

The policies relating to the clusters are lenient, which was the intent.

The yards have to be consistent with the surrounding properties, but they are pretty lenient...the land is too small to be farmed, but too large for one yard site so we're making the best out of the current situation (M Reimer, personal communication July 2013).

These cluster areas were created to encourage development and growth within the rural landscape. Reimer acknowledged the fact that "we are not trying to greatly increase the rural non-farm area, but we would like to see some development". And although these cluster areas have been designated, both Wiebe and Reimer explained that when these current areas are full, no more will be designated. "We won't add any more cluster areas, when these are full; that is it" (D Wiebe, personal communication, July 2013).

Table 9 below outlines the number of new RN-FRD subdivisions that have been approved within the RPGA in the past ten years or so. Such subdivisions have been situated entirely in the RM of Rhineland - the only official 'rural' area (the other communities within the Planning District are considered to be urban centres, i.e. incorporated urban municipalities). For the most part, both the number of new lots as well as the designated RN-FRD land in the past ten years, is on a par with the BAPD. However, whereas the BAPD has experienced erratic numbers, with some years experiencing a high number of subdivisions, the RPGA PD has experienced smaller numbers, including zero in 2005, 2006, and 2008. In the past ten years or so, just over 126 acres have been subdivided, creating 24 new lots. As with BAPD, there is only one instance of a subdivision that meets or exceeds the working definition established for this practicum; in 2010 it is indicated that 9 lots were subdivided, covering 20.84 acres. Otherwise, the RNF-RD subdivisions were more associated with potentially wasteful and inefficient land conversion, rather than potentially significant new population cluster generation.

Table 9: RPGA Number of RN-FRD Subdivisions: 2003-(May) 2013

	Total No. of RN-FRD Subdivisions		RM of Rhineland		Plum Coulee		Gretna		Altona	
		Total No. of Acres	No. of Subdivisions	No. of Acres	No. of Subdivisions	No. of Acres	No. of Subdivisions	No. of Acres	No. of Subdivisions	No. of Acres
2003	1	3.95	1	3.95	0	0	0	0	0	0
2004	3	10	3	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
2005	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2006	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2007	2	1.94	2	1.94	0	0	0	0	0	0
2008	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2009	4	11.96	4	11.96	0	0	0	0	0	0
2010	9	20.84	9	20.84	0	0	0	0	0	0
2011	2	37.12	2	37.12	0	0	0	0	0	0
2012	2	37.12	2	37.12	0	0	0	0	0	0
2013 (Jan-May 31)	1	3.54	1	3.54	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	24	126.47	24	126.47	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Community Planning Services, Province of Manitoba

The RN-FRD policies within the RPGA Planning District DP are geared towards what makes sense for the area now, while also planning with future growth and development in mind. The policies outlined in the DP (Appendix 7) which refer to the cluster developments are clearly much more 'rural' in nature, whereas the policies specific to the (urban-rural) fringe area are referencing the more 'urban' aspect of development, taking into consideration such matters as garbage collection, snow removal, paved streets, drainage etc. The cluster area policies make it very clear that any development is taking place within a rural, agricultural, zone - since such matters as existing and potentially new livestock operations must be taken into consideration. The RPGA Planning District policies in the cluster areas require a conditional use permit prior to any subdivision taking place. This allows for current residents to be heard with regard to any potentially new residential building that may occur. It also allows for the planning district to determine the effect, if any, that each development will have on the surrounding area - and any long-term impacts that may occur.

The fringe area policies have the long-term intent that each development will at some time become part of the nearest urban municipality. This long-term intent necessitates that requirements be addressed sooner, rather than at the time of boundary expansion of the urban municipality. The policies also specify that, in the interim, when the fringe area is still part of the rural municipality - and not yet within the urban centre - measures such as tax-sharing and service-sharing arrangements must be addressed, to allow for both parties to benefit from, and share the costs of, any new development in the fringe.

The RPGA PD policies in the DP are forthrightly addressing the otherwise contentious issues that often occur between urban and rural development, and directly dealing with them in the plan. By creating a plan that is designed in response to the way that people live (country, town, village, fringe) it is possible to address what happens when aspects of country living now become town or village living. The RPGA Planning District is also attempting to address situations where RN-FRD may occur in both the (urban-rural) fringe areas as well as the (rural) cluster areas. In regards to predictions for future development surrounding RN-FRD, both Wiebe and Reimer are optimistic. They are currently in the process of creating their zoning by-law, since that has yet to be adopted into policy: "We have just started using our plan, so we just started working and applying our policies. We're happy with our plan, but we just started" (D Wiebe, personal communication July 2013). Similar to the BAPD, it will take time to determine, going forward, what kind of impact the DP has on the both the RPGA PD and the region as a whole.

4.2.3 Rural Municipality of Hanover

Situated in south-eastern Manitoba within Census Division #2 (see Figure 1), the RM of Hanover (RMH) begins an approximate 20 minutes' drive south of the City of Winnipeg boundary (See Figures 9 & 10).

Figure 9: Map of RM of Hanover



Image Source: Google Earth

Figure 10: Detailed Map of RM of Hanover

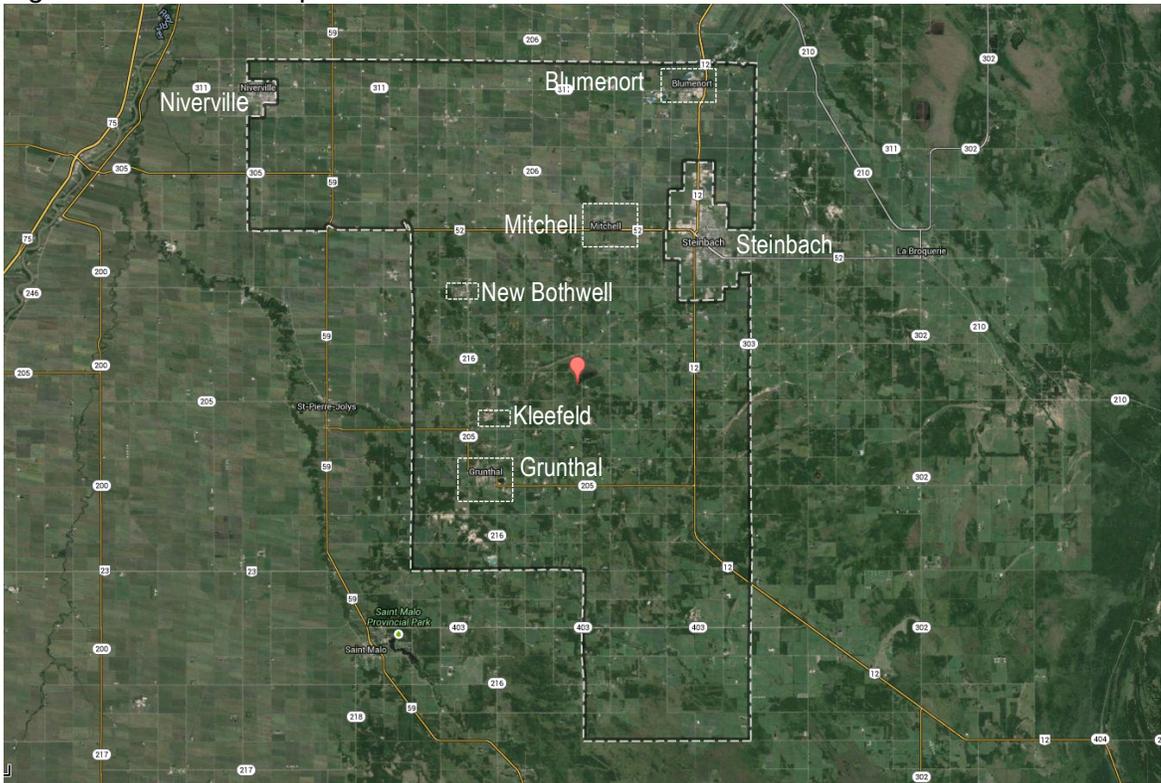


Image Source: Google Earth

The RM consists of the urban centres of Blumenort, Mitchell and Grunthal (Local Urban Districts) which are highlighted in Figure 10, as well as Kleefeld and New Bothwell, which are probably best regarded as Local Urban Districts in-the-making. The RM adjoins, but does not include, the urban municipalities of Steinbach and Niverville (Neither the RMH, nor these urban centres, are part of a Planning District). The RMH is also one of the fastest growing municipalities in the province. The RMH is known for its extensive and strong agricultural industry. Planning within the RMH has taken place in various forms since the 1960s, when the municipality formed its first planning committee.

In the 1970s, the RMH was part of the ‘Winnipeg City Region’, which comprised a “thirty mile radius from the centre of Winnipeg, but excluding the City of Winnipeg” (Municipal Planning Branch 1974, 3). The associated Winnipeg Region Study was conducted by

the Province of Manitoba in an attempt to “study the problem of rural residential living around the City of Winnipeg” (Municipal Planning Branch 1972, 2 in Dept of City Planning 1974, 4). In the 1970s, a Demand Analysis was prepared for the Winnipeg Region. It was observed that the “rural non-farm segment was experiencing rapid growth at an increasing rate” (Municipal Planning Branch 1974, 6).

The RMH created a Basic Planning Statement in 1980 which guided all land use and development within the RM. The original planning statement adopted by the RMH had a much different outlook on rural residential development compared to its current policies. For example, the original planning statement permitted a rural homeowner to subdivide a piece of the property for each of their children. According to Jeremy Neufeld , Manager of Planning and IT (personal communication, April, 2013) people moved to the RMH and purchased a large parcel of land with the intention of creating parcels for their children. This practice was especially common among the numerous immigrants who moved into the RM each year. This ‘policy’, along with the planning statement, remained in place until the RMH adopted its first Development Plan (By-Law No. 2060) and Zoning By-Law (By-Law No. 2061) in March of 2003. By that time, so much RN-FRD subdivision had been undertaken, fragmenting rural land throughout the RM, that the DP adopted in 2003 no longer allowed this form of subdivision.

The Planning Act directs all municipalities and planning districts to review their development plan every five years, to ensure that the policies are well-aligned with current planning and land use issues. The RMH however, chose to review their development plan after three years, in 2007, due to unforeseen issues. A background report was issued and their current development plan (By-Law No. 2170) enacted

(2009). This background report dealt specifically with three issues: livestock operations, rural residential development, and urban area development.

The RM of Hanover was experiencing a high number of large intensive livestock operations (ILOs) as well as expansions. The report highlighted that from 2001 to 2006, the municipality experienced an increase from 550 livestock operations of varying size and type, to 604 operations (Hanover Background Information, n.d.,4). The increase in ILOs, with new associated environmental legislation, were mostly done as by-law amendments, however the increase in RN-FRD as well as the urban area expansions necessitated a DP review sooner than later.

Furthermore, the RM was dealing with a high demand for RN-FR lots. The background report explains that “the demand for rural residential development is reflected in the fact that nearly 44% of the subdivisions approved between the years of 1991-2001 were for rural residential purposes” (Hanover Background Information, n.d., 2). A similar trend has continued.

Figure 11: Rural Non-Farm Residential Clusters of RM of Hanover

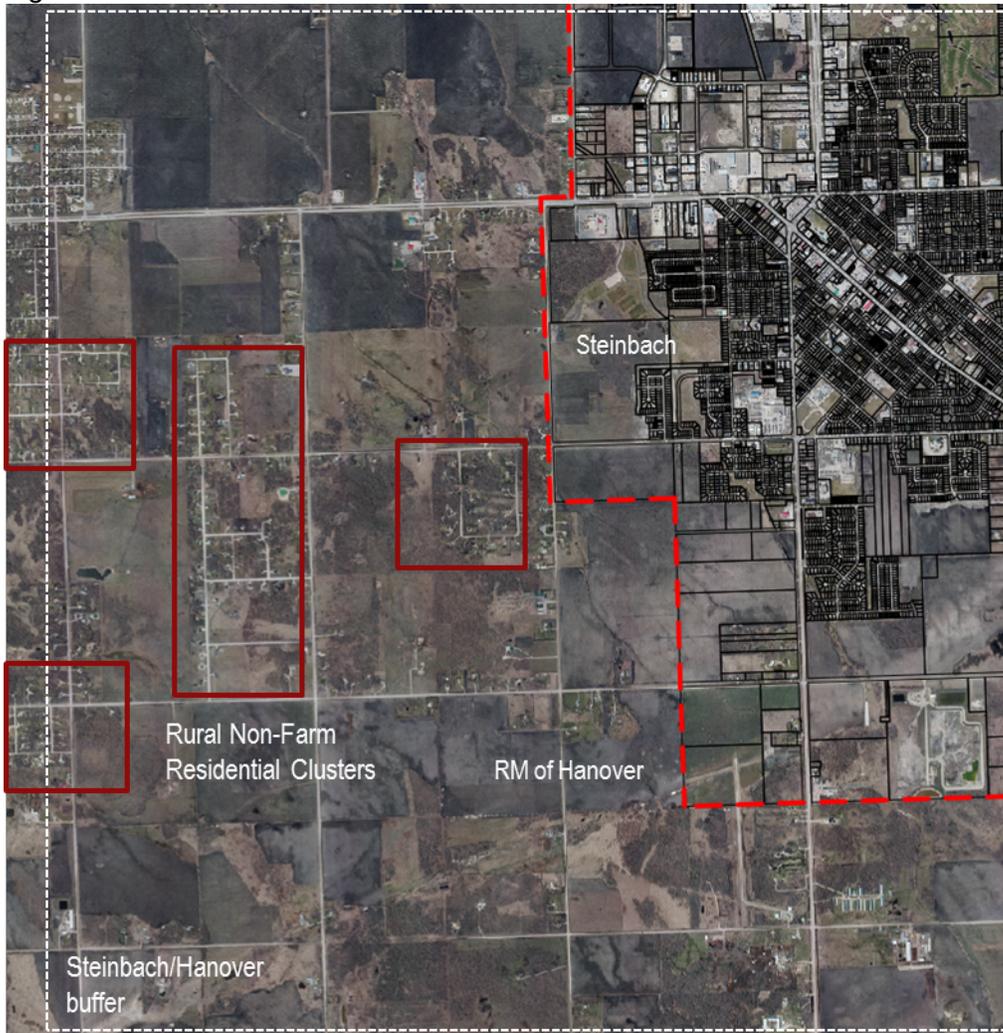


Image Source: Google Earth

The following table (Table 10) outlines the number of subdivisions for RN-FRD (or 'rural residential') from 2003 to (May) 2013.

Table 10: RM of Hanover Number of Subdivisions: 2003 - (May) 2013

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of RN-FRD subdivisions</i>	<i>Number of Acres</i>
2003	5	15.21
2004	10	27.40
2005	38	138.04
2006	33	79.68
2007	21	88.60
2008	11	30.30
2009	73	188.38
2010	63	267.53
2011	15	20.55
2012	20	54.48
2013 (Jan-May 31)	4	21.43
Total	293	931.60

Source: Community Planning Services, Province of Manitoba

The table shows both the number of subdivisions that occurred for a given year, along with the total number of acres subdivided. The annual number of RN-FRD subdivisions within Hanover range from 4 to 73. In total, over the last ten years, 293 new RN-FR lots have been created, and a total of 931.6 acres of rural land have been developed for residential purposes. The demand for RN-FRD has remained constant since the adoption of the first planning statement in 1980, and - with its continued growing population - will obviously continue to be an issue, which is largely why Hanover is being addressed within this practicum.

The background study also discusses the population trends that have been occurring in the area. Similar to the RPGA Planning District, the RMH is experiencing substantial growth, part of which is due to immigration. The background report states that while the:

actual numbers are difficult to confirm without a true census, it is estimated that the numbers have doubled since the last census.... and while the actual numbers of families that moved to Hanover is unknown, the impact on the school system and the building statistics indicate that the numbers are substantial (Background Information, n.d., 7).

While the growth in the region is considered to be positive, the report acknowledges that such growth creates an “increased demand for more residential lots in both the urban and rural areas” (Background Information, n.d., 7).

In terms of land inventory, the report indicates that in 2001 - considering the combination of currently available land, the number of residential building permits, and the amount of rural subdivisions - the municipality had “slightly more than a one year supply of residential lots” (Background Information, n.d., 8). The report recommends that the RM should have a minimum 5-year supply of available residential lots, and if Hanover continues to grow at its current rate, they would need “to increase the residential lot inventory to 450-500 lots and add 75-100 lots annually” (Background Information, n.d., 8).

The RM’s unincorporated urban centres were also experiencing growth. Here however, “the development requirements of most of the urban areas can be accommodated within the existing development limits” (Hanover Background Information, n.d., 10). All things considered, the high development demands throughout the municipality warranted commencement of preparation of their current development plan in 2008, with the plan being adopted into legislation in September of 2009.

As can be seen in the background report, as well as in the subdivision numbers, RN-FRD development represents one of the RM’s biggest planning issues, and – potentially - opportunities. However, possibly the largest constraint regarding RN-FRD is associated

with the City of Steinbach, the neighbouring city on the RM's eastern boundary. The RM of Hanover and the City of Steinbach have had a contentious relationship since the 1970s, when the City of Steinbach annexed land from the RMH. The strain between the two areas is due entirely to development, particularly within the City of Steinbach 'buffer' (See Figure 11). The RMH is limited in the development that can be permitted within 2 miles of the City of Steinbach limits. According to policies in the RM of Hanover Development Plan and Zoning By-Law the RMH cannot allow any new RN-FRD within that buffer zone, even though the land is currently situated within the RM of Hanover. This policy exists to preserve the land relatively unencumbered until such time as the City of Steinbach may wish to expand its boundaries onto parts of that land. This has taken place on various occasions since the 1970s, the most recent being in 2013. Measures to deal more effectively with development within and surrounding the buffer zone have been broached numerous times over the years, but with no advances. In 1989 a Southeast Regional Planning and Development Committee was formed to

function as an ad hoc committee composed of members from 5 municipal councils in the southeast area of the province and was intended to provide a forum for communication and cooperation between municipalities (Municipal Planning Branch 1990, 2).

The committee released a paper in 1990 regarding fringe development. It argued that "the planning systems currently in place do not adequately address or provide the proper structures for resolving fringe issues" (Municipal Planning Branch 1990, 2). The paper recommends that the best way to address and plan for fringe development is to encourage joint planning.

Where clusters are located on the outskirts of existing settlement centres, villages and towns, both the rural municipality and urban centre should discuss joint planning to ensure that mutual interests can be presented and understood (Municipal Planning Branch 1990, 12).

This notion of joint planning was recommended over twenty years ago, and has yet to take form. According to Jeremy Neufeld (Manager of Planning, RM of Hanover) the

biggest issues the RM of Hanover is presently dealing with are “the same issues that were highlighted in the 1990 paper.”

Our biggest challenge is the buffer, everything else we can work around. But in order for that (joint planning) to happen both the administration and council for both Hanover and Steinbach would have to start working together and view development as a regional approach. Ideally we need to think in terms of what can the region accomplish together rather than us versus them. (Jeremy Neufeld, personal communication April 2013).

The RMH Development Plan No. 2170 which was adopted in 2009 seeks to address all land issues within the RMH, including RN-FRD. With the RM having both the City of Steinbach as well as the Town of Niverville on its boundary, the demand for large lot development just beyond the edges of these centres is high, requiring strong policies to control such development. The plan indicates that the RM of Hanover

has been confronted with a large demand to designate additional land for rural residential development. This demand is a result of a need for housing for people employed in the growing livestock industry and a desire for large lot housing by the influx of immigrants to the region (RM Hanover Development Plan 2009, 5).

Planners and municipal representatives alike view the new DP’s policies as being quite progressive, especially those regarding RN-FRD (See Appendix 8). Jeremy Neufeld explained that while they do allow RN-FRD, it must meet the specific criteria outlined, such as only being permitted in areas designated ‘rural residential’. If the land is not so designated it would not be permitted. The policies surrounding RN-FRD in this case have been constant now for more than a decade:

The policies have pretty much stayed the same since our first development plan was enacted. Prior to that, it was a basic planning scheme and a lot of it was if someone wanted to develop we would make it work. So even though our policies are ten years old, I think they are still good (Jeremy Neufeld, personal communication April 2013).

The language used for the majority of the policies involves ‘shall’ or ‘should’, rather than ‘will’ or ‘must’, leaving some openness to interpretation. This may give both developers and councilors the option to veer slightly from the policies if they so choose.

While the policies themselves have been consistent in the last ten years that is not to say that the trends have remained the same.

We are finding that it used to always be 5 acre developments, then everybody was saying it was too much and they wanted 2 acre, so now we are doing 2 acre lots and it's amazing how many people are coming in saying they want half of that. Lifestyles are changing, and people don't have as much (time and/or money) to spend maintaining a 2 acre parcel of land.

Even with such changes, it is anticipated that some people will still want to have their 2 or 5 acre parcel, outside urban limits, where they can "have the rural feel" (J Neufeld, personal communication April 2013).

When discussing the future of RN-FRD in Hanover it is recognized that their current approach to RN-FRD needs to be addressed. With the 2009 Development Plan up for review, now is a good time:

2 acre development probably isn't the way to go, but more serviced RN-FRD where you can layer infill development on top, and have building restrictions, and setbacks etc... we need to plan for denser development, or plan for infill; there are ways to do it (Jeremy Neufeld, personal communication April 2013).

The intention of the RM of Hanover is to completely re-write their development plan in the coming year (2014) to better accommodate what the municipality is currently experiencing. When the 2009 Development Plan was written, intensive livestock operations were the primary concern and the plan was written with that very much in mind:

So much of that has died off, and what we see now is our RN-FRD has taken off and we need to reflect that in our plan and our policies. The structure we have now doesn't really encapsulate that (Jeremy Neufeld, personal communication, April 2013).

4.3 Chapter Summary

Each of the three selected case studies, while experiencing their own land use and planning issues, are all dealing with varying degrees of RN-FRD within their boundaries.

While the RPGA and the RMH are managing large increases in population, the BAPD

must contend with the ever-expanding City of Brandon. And while each have their own general land use planning challenges, all are experiencing a significant amount of RN-FRD – at least in land conversion terms, if not always significant new population clusters generation. The BAPD and the RGPA PD have recently adopted new plans, the long-term results of which have still to be seen. Hanover, on the other hand is utilizing an existing plan, which is considered to be quite progressive. How they will address RN-FRD in their future DP has not yet been determined. While all employ somewhat different policies, they are all variations on similar themes, which will be taken up in future chapters. It is notable that elected and administrative officials in all three settings are of the strong view that their RNF-RD policies are sound. The views of some of the professional planners who worked on the plans for each case study, and who have direct experience with planning for RN-FRD, are addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Professional Planners Interview Findings, Analysis & Synthesis

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this practicum was to examine the evolution of planning for rural non-farm residential development, in regards to trends, policy and practice. The primary and subsequent research questions examined how planning for RN-FRD has evolved throughout Southern Manitoba (with a particular interest in farm regions outside the Winnipeg census metropolitan area), generally since the 1970s but more specifically over the past decade or two. The main concern has been identifying issues that have been experienced by both professional planners and municipal officials, working in rural planning district contexts. How have these issues been addressed in the recent past, and in the present, and how can they be better addressed in the future? The hope is that this practicum will create a body of literature that not only highlights the universal issues surrounding RN-FRD, but which also identifies methods to better address these issues, and possibly prevent the problematic aspects, in the future.

A review of the literature indicates that the fundamentals of RN-FRD in the study context have not changed significantly over time. However, the amount of RN-FRD has increased, in some cases significantly, arguably warranting a commensurate evolution of the policies and practice that guide this form of development. An analysis of the interview data suggests professional planners have always had comparatively evolved views on planning for RN-FRD, but many of the 'others' with a role in the matter have not had similarly evolved views – except for certain districts, quite recently. The norm has often seemed to have been a gulf between 'them and us', impeding the advancement of RN-FRD policy and practice.

Professional planners appear to have been comprehensively evaluating RN-FRD based on its' long-term impact and effects on the wider community, district or region - while the others with a role appear to have been evaluating RN-FRD on a case-by-case, short-term, localized basis. This lack of a unified vision between those who provide land use planning recommendations, and those who make the final political decisions, is a somewhat concerning finding of this practicum. However, as can be seen in the selected case study settings, a shift in perspective surrounding RN-FRD is beginning to appear in those 'others' that planners are now increasingly working with.

A review of the case studies suggests that, at times, there has been a somewhat major disconnect between the evolution of planning for RN-FRD, and the evolution of municipal or district policies regarding RN-FRD. The case study settings (two planning districts and one rural municipality) are all attempting to significantly address RN-FRD within their development plan, while also allowing locationally-appropriate development to occur. The case studies also demonstrated how difficult it can be to create area-specific policies, while remaining consistent with the overarching policies outlined in the PLUPs.

The interview data accentuated the contentions and difficulties that planners experience as they attempt to encourage careful regulation of RN-FRD, while also striving to accommodate desired development. Both the professional planners and the municipal officials acknowledged that improved policies and plans must be established, in order to assist urban centres - and their surrounding rural municipalities - to evolve and co-exist symbiotically.

The interviews further revealed that some planners believe RN-FRD residents and potential residents may benefit from further information/education regarding the long-term impacts of RN-FRD. Arguably, many residents, including some elected officials, may or may not realize how unsustainable this type of development can be. Several of the municipal officials indicated that there needs to be a shift in thinking in terms of RN-FRD.

The following observations attempt to provide an integrated analysis of the findings from the literature review, case studies and interviews.

5.2 General Findings

5.2.1 The Evolution of RN-FRD

The evolution of RN-FRD could be examined through a local/municipal or provincial/regional policy lens; however, it can probably be best considered in conjunction with an analysis of Manitoba population trends over the last several decades. Population trends throughout Manitoba - urban versus rural, and farm versus non-farm - highlight the noticeable shifts from predominantly rural to predominantly urban generally, and – within the rural, from a chronically declining rural farm population to persistently burgeoning rural non-farm population. RN-FRD is the predominant form of the latter – in rural municipalities, usually quite dispersed, in urban/rural fringe areas and at a distance from urban municipalities (While some rural municipalities have unincorporated urban centres – or settlement clusters – the non-farm development in these locations is considered more ‘urban’ than ‘rural’ in nature, and therefore does not fall within the operative definition of RN-FRD). From the early 1980s until 2006 (the last

available census), the number of people living in rural non-farm settings has steadily increased.

The evolution of RN-FRD can also be viewed through the policies themselves, both in terms of the PLUPS as well as rural municipal, or planning district, policy documents. According to the planner interviewees and the other key informants, while the evolution of the PLUPs has attempted to address current planning issues (including issues surrounding RN-FRD), these overarching policies have not yet evolved to a point where they encourage and/or require municipalities and planning districts to address long-term planning issues.

In my experience, municipalities are only addressing RN-FRD policies within their development plan because they have to follow the requirements of the PLUPs. If the requirements were removed, the RN-FRD would go full bore, and municipalities would designate hundreds of acres of land for rural residential because they feel that is the way to go (P-2).

Most municipalities want to have flexibility in their policies, which will allow them to permit development if they choose (P-3).

This must be considered regrettable since, as Caldwell has noted, “the practice of rural planning is inextricably linked to the effectiveness of local government” (in Douglas, ed. 2010, 110). As a consequence many development plans and policy documents have not adequately addressed issues surrounding RN-FRD, with only very recent signs of a change.

When discussing why the planners felt that certain municipalities (or - according to one of the planners - all municipalities) are not keen on forthrightly addressing RN-FRD within their policies, what emerged was expressed by the sense ‘that it ends up being us against them’; the planners wanting one thing, versus the planning jurisdictions wanting something completely different.

Every meeting starts off with how much more land can be designated for RN-FRD, so instead of being a constructive discussion, it becomes us 'nagging' because they can't get any more RN-FR land (P-2).

It was explained that the relationship between the provincial government planning officials and the municipalities with which they work is a challenging one, where the planning official is often required to be 'the bad guy'. It becomes so much more than simply assisting them, but more so emphasizing the type of development and policies that the municipalities/districts should be enforcing, rather than simply allowing them to undertake whatever type of development that the planning jurisdictions choose - which in many cases seems to be to create and permit as much residential development as possible. Many times, according to one of the planners, the policies that have to be put into place limit the development, which is considered a hindrance. "None of the municipalities I have worked with are trying to be progressive; it has always been a nagging relationship" (P-2).

However, not all of the planners were of the opinion that there has not been any advancement in terms of local planning jurisdictions dealing with RN-FRD. Some of the planners interviewed felt that there are some who are successfully dealing with the issue through their policies.

I think there are ranges of approaches to RN-FRD policies throughout Manitoba; some are trying to facilitate it because they want to encourage development while some are trying to shut it down. (P-4)

Regarding the case study areas, development (including RN-FRD) - and the ways in which it has (or has not) been regulated - has evolved over time. This can be observed in both the overall population composition trends as well as in the number of RN-FR subdivisions approved and developed. As a result of these increases in non-farm population, and corresponding increases in subdivision approvals for RN-FRD, the case

study areas now demonstrate various policies that have evolved to more adequately guide how, where and when RN-RFD will occur.

The RM of Hanover, which many of the planner-interviewees agreed now has some of the most protective policies (for prime agricultural land) in the province, only adopted its first development plan in 2003. Prior to this, development predominantly occurred in an ad-hoc manner. Working primarily under a 'basic planning statement' all development proposed was mostly permitted and/or accommodated in some manner. With the RM seeking to encourage growth, any type of development, including RN-FRD, was liable to be enthusiastically supported. It was only after 2003 that official land use policies were put in place to properly guide development. Much of the problematic RN-FRD in RMH occurred prior to 2003, when there may have been development, but not necessarily any concerted official municipal planning for such development.

“Hanover is (now) doing much better in addressing RN-FRD than they were in the past; they are good with directing their development towards the designated areas” (P-1).

The BAPD adopted an updated development plan in 2013, including policies that guide where RN-FRD will and will not be permitted. The PD has also implemented policies that govern the size of RN-FRD lots to be sanctioned in certain areas, in an attempt to maintain consistency within existing developed areas. In particular, the BAPD has established a policy requiring secondary plans - a plan for a specific area that details how it will be used and developed – prior to new development. This was done to ensure that particular areas are developed with longer-term interests in mind.

The RPGAPD only recently became a recognized planning district, with a corresponding first-time development plan. The PD was created, in part, to deal with land use planning issues, including RN-FRD, in a timely manner, on a larger district scale. The current plan

attempts to address RN-FRD in terms of (urban/rural) fringe and (rural district) cluster developments. The PD identified suitable existing areas, within their rural environment, to allow for further rural non-farm 'infill development', allowing homeowners to subdivide their existing property to create smaller RN-FR parcels. These areas are defined as 'cluster developments'. Concerning 'fringe' development, the RPGA PD is quite specific in outlining that such areas must be developed to urban standards, to allow for orderly expansion of the existing urban municipalities within the PD.

As illustrated above, development plan policies guiding RN-FRD have indeed evolved over time, specifically in areas experiencing significant increases in both urban and adjacent rural populations. The selected case studies demonstrate that rural municipalities and rural/non-metropolitan planning districts in Southern Manitoba are attempting to implement innovative policies to more proactively address RN-FRD.

The overarching policies in the PLUPs have also evolved slightly over time. All the planners agreed that the PLUPs, throughout the various iterations, have been attempting to address the main issues that are - or were - occurring at the time of their development. The planners indicated that the current iteration (2011) has attempted to try and encourage rural municipalities and planning districts to create specific policies surrounding RN-FRD. However, when there are not policies outlined in the PLUPs that should be in all development plans, this then makes it difficult to encourage municipalities and planning districts to create stricter policies than required by the PLUPS. For most planning jurisdictions, they simply incorporate the policies that are required to be in their development plan, but - more often than not - they do not feel the need to go above and beyond such requirements.

Furthermore, it can be concluded that the RN-FRD policies within the PLUPs sometimes become more of a hindrance than a help, when trying to address development issues in municipal/district planning jurisdictions.

There are several parts of the regulations that don't apply to rural municipalities so why would you even have certain policies on certain items of development because it isn't relevant to the people using it (P-4).

On the other hand, the planners were able to discuss what they felt to be the positive aspects of the document, specifically in relation to RN-FRD. The main item that was considered a step in the right direction was the fact that the policies will force municipalities and planning districts to address wastewater, more specifically the management of wastewater associated with RN-FRD. The addition of policies surrounding wastewater was considered 'a good thing'; prior to the new PLUPs many communities were not even considering any wastewater management within their boundaries.

Wastewater was one of the main drivers of the changes in policies in the new PLUPs; they changed to get RMs to think about their wastewater; it has to go somewhere and it wasn't being thought about (P-1).

The policies are trying to better address servicing issues and trying to include it into new developments - which are a good thing (P-4).

However, as this practicum's planner-interviewees and key informants noted, the strength of land use policies is only as strong as the resolve of those authorities, which are responsible for implementation and regulation enforcement. Therefore, the further evolution of RN-RFD depends on the relationship between the professional planners and municipal officials with responsibility and authority in the matter; there has been quite a gulf between them in the past, but fortunately this now seems to be decreasing. Further capacity development would obviously be of some assistance.

5.2.2 Issues surrounding RN-FRD

A recurring theme throughout the literature review and interviews was the difficulty in comprehensively planning for RN-FRD. Coleman in 1976, Russwurm in 1977, Bryant et al in 1982, and Millward in 2010 all discussed ways in which land use planning did not adequately address RN-FRD. The non-planner key informants shared similar sentiments when they discussed how demand for RN-FRD was extremely high, leading municipalities to often encourage it - rather than deter it. As a result, the professional planners are faced with the challenging task of encouraging communities to sustainably plan for rural residential development, oftentimes without a solid RN-RFD policy to support their recommendations.

Trying to preserve the prime agricultural land is a big big issue (P-1).

We need to start protecting how and when the rural land will be developed, because once you cut it up, you can never put it back together again. A more progressive look has to be taken at the beginning in terms of the rural area and trying to protect it and keeping it in larger holdings. Farming operations are only increasing in size and fragmenting the land makes it not farmable. (P-3)

At the end of the day, regardless of the policies' quality, it is the role of the local municipality to enforce or enact them, by regulation or programming. Professional planners have the task of advising on long-term plans but "local governments play the main role in the delivery of the day-to-day services...in the physical planning of rural lands" (Caldwell in Douglas ed. 2010, 111). The long-term plan advice has to be acceptable.

Another issue, which arose frequently throughout the interviews, was the fact that prime, farmable rural land is being converted for the purposes of RN-FRD. "The RN-FR designated lands are getting to the point where they are starting to take up more land than the urban developments" (P-1). The planners also discussed how RN-FRD affects

agricultural land, specifically the loss of land for such non-agricultural residential development.

We're already at the point where there are so many RN-FRD designations they are too large. The issue is knowing what the impact is and what it will be, specifically when you are thinking about fragmenting rural land (P-1).

One interviewee stressed that, while it may seem as though there is more than enough land "... it just isn't so... there is not endless land to go around, as much as people (might) wish" (P-3). This sentiment was echoed by other planners: "We have the best agricultural land in the world and we are going to throw some rural residential lots on there" (P-1); "It is an excessive waste of land" (P-2).

Another topic addressed throughout the interviews was land use conversion and corresponding separation distances between different land uses. For the purposes of these interviews, the separation distances referred to were regulatory distances (often related to ILOs) established to ensure an adequate, safe and healthy distance is maintained between agricultural and residential uses. For example, there are significant and specific separation distances required between residential uses and livestock operations. Coleman (1976), Bryant et al (1982), Hoffman (2001) and Hoffman et al (2005) highlight the difficulties that can arise when nearby land uses are in conflict with one another, particularly when non-farm (comparatively 'urban') residential uses are adjacent to primarily farm (i.e. purely rural) uses. The planners interviewed echoed similar concerns. "If you permit RN-FRD all over the place, it starts to limit the livestock operations completely, due to setbacks. You eventually create sterile environments for livestock operations" (P-1). With RN-FRD encroaching on livestock operations, issues of nuisance can come into play, such as smells and sounds that are associated with living adjacent to or in close proximity of an active livestock operation:

There is huge potential for concerns and complaints, specifically about the odour that comes from neighbouring livestock operations. And even if it isn't a concern now for municipalities, it is only a matter of time (P-3).

Yet, development proposals resulting in conflicting adjacent land uses have often been readily approved in the past. The literature discusses the need to find a delicate balance between these conflicting uses - but that balance is often very difficult and sometimes impossible, to find.

Due to the high demand for RN-FRD, some farmers are now being attracted to discontinue their livestock operations in order to benefit from the market for future residential development. Both those featured in the literature review and the interviewees acknowledged that the only way this issue can be addressed is through more proactive planning for RN-FRD, in both the short and long term. However, if rural municipal officials maintain an interest in facilitating the development of fringe rural areas, adjacent to their urban municipality neighbours, then it can be very difficult for professional planners to recommend otherwise - in the absence of policies that are protective of existing prime agricultural land.

The high costs to host municipalities associated with the creation and maintenance of RN-FRD were also a topic of concern throughout the research. The upfront costs of new RN-FRD, (e.g. servicing and transportation infrastructure) as well as associated maintenance costs, are often far greater than municipalities might consider, when initially encouraging this type of development. The planners commented how rural municipalities often approve RN-FRD assuming the increase in population and tax revenue will result in increased net revenue for the municipality. However, the high costs of maintaining and upgrading infrastructure, as well as other soft services, may ultimately outweigh any revenues:

they believe that there is no money in agriculture, so they are better off to develop for residential purposes. They are not thinking what will be best for the economy, what is going to be most economical, cost effective. Municipalities don't think that way, at least not yet (P-2).

Another interviewee echoed this sentiment: "...municipalities get so caught up in this idea of wanting development in their community and a supposed increased tax base... they don't think about anything else" (P-3). The up-front costs of infrastructure, maintaining that infrastructure, and other soft services - such as garbage, policing and fire protection - are just a few of the examples mentioned: "If you put RN-FRD on a plus/minus scale, municipalities think they are making money, but they don't think about all the soft costs (of what) they are providing" (P-2). And "unless things change, such as transportation modes and infrastructure costs, RN-FRD is not going to be viable at all" (P-4).

In addition to costs, the interviewees commented on the issue of servicing, specifically water and wastewater servicing, or the lack thereof.

When you approve RN-FRD, you don't think about where the waste is going to go. Sure, it's on site usually, with a holding tank or septic field, but those solids have to go somewhere and a lot of times RMs don't think about it (P-1).

It was stated that, in the case of RN-FRD, some service provision is rarely undertaken by the municipality or planning district; the responsibility lies with the developer or individual property owner. Consequently, there are several lots throughout Manitoba, particularly in older development areas, that are littered with failing septic fields and holding tanks that are not being properly monitored or dealt with in a timely manner. Simply stated, "(T)he biggest issue with RN-FRD is sewage disposal" (P-2).

As outlined in the literature review, academics in the 1970s noted this non-viability, or illusory profitability, for municipalities, of permitting, encouraging or creating RN-FRD

within their boundaries. However, it could be concluded that many municipalities did not agree, nor take the related recommendations into consideration - as exemplified through the increasing incidence of RN-FRD throughout the province. The Winnipeg Region Study Committee (1974), Russwurm (1977) and Burchell et al (1998) all outlined how the development costs associated with creating RN-FRD could be anywhere from 5 to 25 percent higher than if a municipality were to develop compact urban lots. The planner interviewees in this study relayed very similar concerns. Municipalities will inevitably be required to upgrade water, wastewater and transportation infrastructure – significant costs for any community. It was mentioned by one of the planners that unless means of transportation, or the nature of infrastructure, drastically changes, RN-FRD may never be a 'net-gain' form of development for municipalities.

5.2.3 Benefits associated with RN-FRD

As identified throughout the research, there are several issues associated with RN-FRD and how it is planned. Conversely, there are also benefits to this type of development. However these benefits for the most part are geared towards the individual home-owner rather than the municipality. And it appears that it is these benefits that appear to outweigh the issues, for those deciding approvals, as illustrated in the increasing number of RN-FRD developments throughout Manitoba. Residents are attracted to the lower cost of land and housing, compared to that which they might encounter in urban municipalities. People who are unable to afford a large home on a large lot in an urban centre are often able to do so outside the urban limits, within rural municipalities (Holcombe 1999). Residents are also attracted by the increased physical distance between themselves and their neighbours, as compared to city lots. "It provides a different lifestyle compared to living in an urban setting" (P.3).

Furthermore, there are those who choose to invest in RN-FRD because it allows them to have a closer connection to the rural landscape: “It has the benefit of giving people more of a connection to the land, and more of a connection to nature” (P-3). Other planners expressed similar ideas: “... it allows people to have local food security, as they are able to grow their own food themselves” (P-4).

Most of the opportunities or benefits discussed with respect to RN-FRD involved those choosing to live in the RN-FRD; there were perhaps a few potential opportunities that the planners perceived for the municipalities. However, it should be noted that the planners all clarified that such opportunities were only possibilities, not guaranteed. RN-FRD can work, if it does not require the municipality to invest too much upfront: “... if there are existing roads and the land is already unusable or fragmented it makes sense to put some houses on there” (P-1). With development taking place in such a scenario, the municipality is not required to invest in infrastructure, as it is already in place. It was also discussed that whenever there is new development in a rural municipality or planning district, some form of revenue is inevitably being brought in to the community, whether it is a lot or a little.

Although the majority of the planners interviewed conceded that there are possible opportunities associated with RN-FRD, one planner stated clearly the opinion that there were no opportunities or benefits associated with RN-FRD: “There are no opportunities, it is all negative” (P-2). Most of the scenarios surrounding RN-FRD appear to involve more in the way of problematic issues than appealing opportunities – for the planning jurisdictions especially.

5.2.4 Improved planning for RN-FRD: long and short term

The difficulty with improving RN-FRD planning for both the long and short term in the Manitoba context is partly on account of the limited amount of available literature; much of the relevant literature is in the plan policies themselves, or the background studies. Planners and academics alike have to determine how these policies can be better written and better utilized to better shape the future of planning for RN-FRD. This will require the combined effort of both professional planners and municipal officials – in the responsible planning authorities - to ensure everyone's concerns are equally addressed.

An examination of Manitoba's recent population growth trends, projected population growth, and subdivision approvals suggests that RN-FRD will continue as long as there is developable land available. It has been expressed by Patterson 1997, Hoffman 2001, Hoffman et al 2005, Bryant and Marois 2010 that, while Canada has a large supply of available land, it is diminishing rapidly. Many of the interviewees expressed similar concerns. Once farmable or arable land has been used for residential purposes, it can never be returned to agricultural land. The planners suggested that, in order to better plan for RN-FRD, the future need for agricultural land needs to be accorded greater consideration, and larger holdings of agricultural land need to be preserved.

We need to line up the objectives of the rural areas versus the RN-FRD areas, and determine if we really believe that we should be providing this alternative lifestyle (P-1).

I think there needs to be stricter policies, but only if they are applied the way they are intended to be (P-4).

As farmland in some locations is continuously subdivided, into smaller and smaller fragments of land, it becomes increasingly difficult for farm operations to be successful in a very competitive industry context. In order to maintain prime farmland, while keeping it in large holdings, RN-FRD cannot be executed ad-hoc and piece-meal, as it simply will not be viable.

The planners acknowledged that some people are always going to want the 'ideals' of RN-FRD - the larger lot, the proximity to an urban centre - and those ideals should not be ignored. Municipalities can still aim to serve such ideals, in turn allowing development to continue. However, the planners agreed that the current trend surrounding RN-FRD - the two-acre to five-acre lots, the random scatter of dispersed development, and no long-term planning - needs to be stopped. A new, much higher, standard is required.

The demand for RN-FRD needs to change to serviced RN-FRD, keep it a larger lot than urban, but something has to give (P-3)

Municipalities and planning districts need to start thinking and planning for the long-term, with more proactive planning - rather than reactive planning. "There needs to be a balance between all of the players when it comes to development" (P-2). Those who are doing the development cannot dictate the current trends of development; it needs to be a collaborative approach - the developers, planners and the community - to allow for "the local municipalities to have a sense of ownership" (P-4).

A suggested solution (in part) that was brought up concerned the location of RN-FRD. Currently, most municipalities have policies that allow RN-FR lots to be created in various locations throughout the rural landscape. Many of the planners believe that while new RN-FRD can continue, where these developments are being created should be changed. Creating new lots in isolated locations was not considered a practical idea, but adding new RN-FR lots to existing developments made more sense.

If RN-FRD is to be allowed then it has to accommodate further residential development; create provisions for higher density, and further infill (P-2).

Only designate land that is adjacent to existing RN-FRD land, so it will only occur by expanding existing RN-FRD instead of creating new designations (P-3).

The planners added that this solution can be further refined:

It should be rural serviced lots, but close to the nearest urban centre. That will limit the amount of land a municipality can designate for RN-FRD, because it will have to be serviced (P-2)

You can have your 2 acre parcel but it must be developed to one side in anticipation that it is going to be subdivided in the future when servicing comes and for future roads, parks etc...so you're planning for it to be urban eventually so everyone knows at the time so that all buildings and accessory buildings are built to one side. You still have the distance between the neighbours and that large area so they can all develop on the same side, but you'll allow for future intensification when it needs to happen (P-1)

The planners consistently emphasized that the policies need to dictate how, where and when RN-FRD should take place. If the related ideals are not placed in policy, then it makes it almost impossible to curb the amount of RN-FRD that is taking place currently throughout Southern Manitoba. The policies should be implemented at all levels, from local secondary plans, to development plans, as well as the PLUPS. According to some of the planners, the current policies do not do enough to steer development location-wise, nor control the cumulative amassing of RN-FRD.

5.3 Summary

One goal of this practicum was to examine the evolution of planning for RN-FRD and begin to create a body of literature that might help planners and municipal officials to improve RN-FRD both in the present and in the future. This learning process has revealed that there have been minimal changes in terms of the evolution of this development practice, particularly as RN-FRD was examined over the course of the last several decades. Issues and concerns surrounding RN-FRD that were expressed in the early 1970s are still expressed today by planners across the province. Interviewees voiced the desire for more comprehensive long-term planning, increased preservation of agricultural land, and cross-municipal planning. While solutions and ideals for how to better plan for RN-FRD, both in the short and long term, were revealed through the research, it is apparent that many of these solutions have been proposed in the past, and yet minimal policy changes have occurred. Nevertheless, the local key informants expressed the view that progress is now starting to be made, in terms of both policies and practice surrounding RN-FRD.

The planners interviewed all indicated that although RN-FRD may cause several issues for municipalities, a few benefits might be assessed under certain scenarios. RN-FRD has been approved of since WWII and continues to be one of the most sought-after forms of development. Therefore, planners and municipal officials must begin to identify and/or create appropriate policies and strategies with which to best address both the present and future of RN-FRD. Moreover, this type of long-term planning should be incorporated into the policy documents of all municipalities where RN-FRD is currently occurring or could potentially occur in the future. The following chapter outlines general conclusions on findings, as well as providing recommendations for responsible planning authorities, and indications of further desirable research - for professional planners and for the officials of rural planning jurisdictions.

Chapter 6: Overview, Implications & Recommendations

6.1 Overview

The primary question for this practicum has been to explore *how planning for RN-FRD in Southern Manitoba- especially non-metropolitan rural districts, beyond the Winnipeg metropolitan area has evolved-in terms of trends, policy and practice - from the early 1970s to the present, and what future evolution may be anticipated?* While interested in the evolution of such planning over several decades, notably following the early 1970s Winnipeg Region Study, the focus has been on developments over the last two decades or so, as the issue has been addressed in selected rural district Development Plans. These recent Development Plan efforts have yielded an opportunity to consider the contrasts between the ideals of professional planners, highly exercised by the issue, and the outlook of elected or administrative officials on the ground in the rural districts – seemingly with a more pragmatic view of the issue.

What this practicum has revealed is that, in terms of practice, planning for RN-FRD has evolved into a contentious issue forged in the contrasting ideals of the professional planners on the one hand, and the local or district officials - non-planners with political or administrative responsibilities – on the other hand. It seems – from the present research - that the issue can too easily become one of planners versus others, of ‘them and us’. However, there does appear to be common ground in a desire to resolve the issue, and emerging policy and practice could be considered to represent some welcome advances, worthy of wider adoption.

The increasing urbanization of Southern Manitoba’s population, especially since the Second World War, was initially accompanied by significant rural depopulation – rural areas appeared to be emptying, and what we now consider RN-FRD was a non-issue in

planning terms. However, as the population shift from rural to urban slowed down and leveled out, a counter-trend began to emerge – especially in the vicinity of the largest urban population concentrations. This practicum has highlighted that, in terms of trends, rural living environments became popular again, especially on the fringes of the growing urban areas; rural non-farm residential development began to emerge as a planning issue. New shifts were triggered in affected rural municipal districts; rural farm population declined further, while rural non-farm population began to increase, often significantly. Previous planning for such areas had generally not anticipated such development; the need for new policies became apparent.

In Manitoba this need was first noticed, and tackled, in the context of the Winnipeg metropolitan area, in the 1970s; rural non-farm residential development, at the time, was still a comparative non-issue in other parts of rural Manitoba, where rural depopulation was very much the major issue. In fact, the need – in such areas - to positively foster rural development, and to service it, came to dominate the planning agenda for much of the 1980s and 1990s. In this political environment, any development - including rural non-farm residential development – was likely to be warmly welcomed, one consequence being little or no significant advance in planning for RN-FRD.

And when it comes to policies surrounding RN-FRD, it is probably only in the past decade or so that this policy and practice environment has changed significantly, and has begun to evolve - triggered mainly by the unprecedented increase in intensive livestock operations across a broad swath of rural Manitoba. This is where and when the present research attempts to take up the story of planning for RNFRD in Southern Manitoba. Many currents have been swirling around this story, for planners especially. Their interests, and ideals, go back over several decades – often associated with

considerable frustration at the lack of progress. The current generation of professional planners retains much of this frustration, while also endeavouring to come to better terms with the new situation; glimmers of progress are emerging, around increasing realization of common ground between themselves and those they increasingly plan with (rather than for).

The desire by some otherwise 'urbanites' for rural living, in close proximity to the urban centres that serve them with most of their needs, is likely to continue; we need to continue to plan, but plan better, for RN-FRD. How might this be best accomplished? This practicum has sought some indications of how such planning might be better primed, at this time, by rural planning districts, through their development plans and related initiatives. What can be learned from recent best practice? How can the competing interests be best reconciled?

For some individuals RN-FRD can be very positive and personally beneficial – the ideal setting for their residential units, for developers and residents alike. However, for collections of others, these same developments may not be financially or economically viable in the long-term, for collective interests such as municipalities, or for – say, the agricultural community in general – on account of the associated elimination or fragmentation of prime agricultural land. With such a mix of positive and negative attributes associated with RN-FRD, a better determination is required as to where, and when and how this form of development might be managed – especially with future generations in mind. Perhaps the time is now right to fully engage the issue of planning for RN-FRD in Southern Manitoba. What might this practicum contribute to the engagement?

6.2 Implications

Looking back on this practicum research, the saying “hindsight is always 20/20” quickly springs to mind, along with wonderings about what might have been done differently, if what is known now had been appreciated at the outset. It is always much easier to say what could have been done, once all the research – in this case, the literature review, the case studies, and the interviews - has been done. Perhaps not surprisingly there is a concluding sense of more, newer and/or potentially better questions – than good answers to the ones originally posed. An interest in seeking balance - in terms of RN-FRD development itself, or the policies to deal with it appropriately, or in the surrounding politics, professional and personal - has been an ongoing, increasingly pertinent theme. This chapter attempts to summarize the course and outcome of the inquiry, to offer some conclusions around the original questions and framing, and to assess implications for future work in this area with recommendations and next steps – regarding planning for RN-FRD in Southern Manitoba, and getting the balance right.

In the final analysis, this practicum has examined planning for RN-FRD, in particular over the last two decades or so, with an interest in relevant past trends and experience, but mostly with an interest in informing better planning for RN-FRD in the present, and especially in the future. Thinking of the period in Southern Manitoba since the end of the Second World War, proactive rural planning has been accorded limited attention, in comparison to urban planning. By contrast, rural development has been accorded considerable attention, but not necessarily the planning of such development, especially when such development was sought to counter major rural depopulation.

6.2.1 Evolution of Policies

The present research has indicated that, for the most part, professional planners are still addressing roughly the same issues, in roughly similar ways, as was the case several decades ago, at least as far back as the mid-1970s. The main change has probably been the expansion from a mostly metropolitan-region focus, to a more general involvement with mostly non-metropolitan areas, especially those areas where planning districts have emerged. The first PLUPs, dating from the late 1970s, were quite progressive for their time, and were quite prescriptive as regards RN-FRD, but they were spawned mainly by the problematic situation then in the Winnipeg metropolitan region. At the time, they did not resonate much in non-metropolitan areas, which were mostly not very engaged with planning; very few rural planning districts were present, until recently.

The 1994 PLUPs were weaker and less prescriptive, and did little to promote more active planning for development generally; it was rural development that was desired – planned or unplanned. However, the underlying problematic issues remained, and remained poorly addressed – probably much to the ongoing frustration of professional planners.

It remains to be seen if the latest provincial policy effort (the 2011 PLUPs in the new PPR) will help deliver a major change in the approaches to planning in areas such as Southern Manitoba. It will be the next generation of Development Plans that will have to have regard for these new policies. Both the BAPD as well as the RPGA PD have recently put into legislation new development plans. And while they were researched and drafted under the 1994 PLUPs, it can be concluded that both of the PD case studies are attempting to go beyond the requirements.

6.2.2 Current Planning in the Three Case Studies

With regards to the BAPD, they are utilizing their policies to better plan for the RN-F area that is currently in the RM of Cornwallis, but which will one day be part of the City of Brandon. It is realized that RN-FRD is desired within their PD, and it has been demonstrated that while they will accommodate it, they have no intent of encouraging it. They have identified specific areas within the PD jurisdiction and have ensured that before any development can occur, further policies have to be put into place, in the form of a secondary plan. It is these types of policies that are demonstrating a more proactive regard for RN-FRD, and a progressive turn for rural planning in Manitoba.

The RPGA PD, has taken the opportunity, with their first development plan, to put forth a long term vision with regards to RN-FRD. Similar to the BAPD, they too realize that RN-FRD is a desired trend that has the potential to encourage growth but at the same time encourage sprawl. Their solution has been to designate areas specifically as 'fringe', which must be developed to urban standards. It this type of planning that will reduce the chance of RN-FRD occurring within the vicinity of their LUDs (Altona, Gretna, Plum Coulee). The desire for RN-FRD is being accommodated; however, it is only being permitted as development - beyond the 'fringe' - in 'cluster' form. The RPGA PD is taking advantage of large, established, fragmented lots - by allowing RN-FRD in these areas, anticipating that this may also keep certain prospective RN-F residents content. At the same time, they are clear – at present at least – that they will not further fragment prime agricultural land. The RPGA PD is demonstrating through its policies that it is attempting to go above and beyond both the policies outlined in the 1994 PLUPs as well as the policies that are outlined in the 2011 PLUPs. The collaboration of the planners and local officials, and the joint efforts of member municipalities, has created a unified vision that will hopefully allow development and growth, yet preserve rural land.

The RM of Hanover is still utilizing their development plan adopted in 2009, completed entirely under the policies of the 1994 PLUPs. Yet, while their policies were adopted under the least prescriptive and most lenient set of provincial land use policies, it has been suggested by several planner-interviewees, that the RMH policies surrounding RN-FRD are quite progressive. The policies are specific in the fact that while RN-FRD is allowed within the municipality the land has to be designated as such; otherwise, it will not be permitted. It was indicated that the RMH wants to address the changing trends of RN-FRD (smaller, infill development) when they write their new plan in the next year (2014). The RMH realizes the land within their municipal boundaries is finite. Nevertheless they still want to be able to satisfy the desires of potential and existing residents through RN-FRD.

6.2.3 Present Planning for RN-FRD

Today, it could be argued that planning has evolved to the point where there is much more of an alignment around a desire not just for rural development but for the planning of such development, triggering closer consideration of the pros and cons of different forms of rural development – especially around different forms and types of rural development, in particular where new residences – not tied to farm/agricultural settings – are concerned. Traditionally, such (non-farm) residential development has focused on established urban settlements, or in unincorporated settlement clusters – designated ‘urban’ places, on their way to incorporated village or town status perhaps, or as Local Urban Districts in a Rural Municipality. This form of ‘rural’ residential development has been comparatively unproblematic; the locations are viewed as more urban than rural, or as urban-in-waiting.

The more problematic form of rural residential development is that which is not attached to the farm/agricultural economy, but which is in a dispersed (rather than clustered) form, at very low density in urban terms, and with generally no expectation of it ever becoming, or becoming part of, an urban settlement. The planning for such rural non-farm residential development has been the focus of this practicum. As it was shown in the newest development plans of the case studies, municipalities and planning districts are beginning to show a shift towards more carefully crafted policies surrounding RN-FRD. Though still accommodating such development there is added importance in preserving the valued character and integrity of their rural landscapes.

6.2.4 Balance between Planners and Others

This practicum has included consideration of appropriate provincial government policies (notably, the PLUPs), but the main interest has been at the local/municipal rural district level – where such planning is literally grounded. It is here that professional planners must be particularly effective, and strike the right balance, especially with the views and wishes of elected officials and their administrative staff. The needs and wants of both ‘sides’ do not always coincide – and this has proved particularly problematic in the past in relation to rural (non-farm) residential development; it is this balancing, in this planning context, that needs to be better addressed.

6.2.5 How to define Rural

One of the first main hurdles to clear relates to the definition of ‘rural’, especially in the vicinity of urban areas. Where RN-FRD is concerned it is possible that ‘rural’ might be best viewed in ‘mosaic’ terms. It is under this broad all-encompassing umbrella of rural terminology that planners must try to sensitively address what needs to be planned and how. This complex spectrum or mosaic precludes the possibility of standard, universal,

province-wide policy, other than at the level of high aspiration (compared to ground-level prescription).

For example, in the case of the RPGA PD, they have identified two specific areas of rural - fringe and cluster - each with different developmental ideals and planning policies. It could be suggested that there are opportunities for further sophistication through greater regard for policy differentiation, based on position in the spectrum, or place in the mosaic (See for example Figure 4, p. 24, and the related distinctions between inner and outer fringe, and between the urban fringe and the urban shadow) . By reflecting an identity specific to the nature of the land surrounding urban centres, there is the potential to allow for better, more targeted planning measures, that address issues pertinent to that area - and only to that area. In order to better plan for RN-FRD, there needs to be a better determination of exactly where it fits in the rural environment.

6.3 Recommendations

This practicum has featured three case studies - of recent Development Plans - to facilitate a more in-depth exploration of the issues surrounding planning for RN-FRD. The following recommendations address the common themes and ideals that emerged throughout this process, in an attempt to address the main guiding research question: how to better plan for rural non-farm residential development, both at present and in the future. This offering concludes with recommendations for further research, and for the education of planning professionals.

Recommendation #1:

In order to better plan for specific rural areas, proper definitions for each of these areas should be created. With the spectrum of rural being so broad, planning ideals need to be geared towards each particular area of rural.

As shown in the three selected case studies, each planning jurisdiction is attempting to designate and plan for various rural zones, including RN-FR – both within, and in relation to, ‘general agricultural’ zones. This, along with the literature review, demonstrates the complexity of the rural landscape. Yet, rural planning is still mostly done under one all-encompassing rural umbrella, as rural municipal planning. All policies are therefore somehow required to deal with all aspects of ‘rural’, even though – as highlighted throughout this work - one definition or type of rural simply does not exist. This practicum has emphasized the importance of more explicitly situating, and more discerning around defining, these various multiple dimensions of rural. “Rural planning must encompass an understanding of the rural community and the related environmental context and conditions” (Caldwell in Douglas Ed. 2010, 123). With that in mind, creating more precise definitions of rural – for both short-term and long-term planning purposes - will allow for professional planners, and municipal/provincial government officials to create more specific and relevant policies, that might better address the current and emerging issues. Where planning for RN-FRD is concerned, it will be important to try to differentiate (within rural municipalities) between ‘pure’ rural – such as general agricultural – and ‘qualified’ rural, such as urban fringe (closer in) and urban shadow (further out), and potentially between ‘inner’ fringe and ‘outer’ fringe in particularly rapidly-growing urban/rural districts. ‘In-fill’ and ‘Add-on’ may furnish further distinctions within, or in relation to, existing RN-FRD.

Recommendation #2:

Planning for RN-FRD immediately implicates planning across municipal boundaries – between mainly urban municipalities and mainly rural municipalities. Provincial planning policy should more aggressively promote larger groupings of urban and rural municipalities – sharing wider bonds, such as might be indicated by SLA mapping - to engage in larger-scale community planning. This could be pursued initially through an interest in fostering more of a ‘community of communities’, or ‘district of districts’ perspective

Manitoba’s planning districts are for the most part quite small in scale and simple in make-up – sometimes only two municipalities (the minimum required to constitute a district). More complex planning districts, such as RPGA PD, are the exception rather than the rule. Many municipalities, such as the RM of Hanover, have resisted becoming part of a planning district. The BAPD does include not only Manitoba’s second largest city, but it also includes its two most significant RM neighbours, making it quite functional - but the BAPD could be considered to centre a much larger area, most observable through a new statistical unit, the self-contained labour area (See Figure 3, p. 18). When such areas are referenced, it is possible to appreciate that the existing districts could be even more functional if their jurisdiction aligned more with that indicated by the self-contained labour area data.

In the current context it may be suggested that we need more ‘districts of districts’ – more regional in scale, and less narrowly localized. Planning for RN-FRD, and planning for much else besides, could be improved by such up-scaling in planning jurisdictions. It was viewed as enabling a better long-term vision, as well as a more unified vision for the area as a whole. The ‘district’ approach seems to be valued, and increasingly so; it may

be a natural next step to 'up-scale' the 'district' being referenced, to the greater benefit of rural land use planning and development in general.

Professional planners, especially those who work in complex jurisdictions with multiple municipalities, are particularly well positioned to encourage progressive proactive planning on a larger scale – to keep pushing the spatial boundaries out, and to extend the operative time horizons.

Recommendation #3:

Rural Municipalities in particular and Planning Districts in general should strive to address long term planning - beyond the required immediate five years, and across existing urban/rural municipal boundaries - in order to best plan proactively rather than reactively. This could include the fostering of a form of 'joint general municipal planning' (see Section 2.6, pp 34-35) in the vicinity of their common 'borderlands', perhaps through special secondary plan efforts (referencing both the undeveloped areas on the inner fringe of an urban municipality and the outer (urban) fringe within an adjacent rural municipality. Such special 'borderlands' secondary planning could feature consideration of appropriate adaptations of the UGB concept (see Section 2.6. pp 33-34) – perhaps featuring indications of planned 'urban service areas'.

The professional planners, when asked what they believe merits further attention in terms of creating policies for RN-FRD in Southern Manitoba, all stated that long term planning needs to become more the norm rather than a comparative rarity. Local planning authorities in general do not often think proactively about the long-term effects of their land use decisions; plans and policies are created mostly to address problems that have already occurred. The Planning Act requires that all municipalities and

planning districts review their existing Development Plan every five years; if the current policies are not addressing the prevalent planning issues, they are required to revise or re-write the policies in their plans. At best however, the local planning authorities are only considering those immediate five years, if that; they are not necessarily thinking about a timeframe longer than that.

The planner interviewees noted that, when it comes to planning for RN-FRD, the jurisdictions they had worked with are mainly thinking about what a subdivision proposal means for their municipality or district at the current time – rather than in twenty or thirty years. The latter is more indicative of the timeframe that needs to be more in the forefront, with the associated long-term goals. Admittedly, this would also be assisted by more all-round research into RN-FRD in general, but – ideally – it would be research with a planning application in mind.

Better long-term-planning may also be promoted by fostering a larger-scale perspective as well as a longer-time horizon consideration. The first priority probably relates to the ‘borderlands’ between any urban and municipality – ideal foci for Planning District initiatives. This could be the venue for special secondary plan efforts – mirroring the joint general municipal planning that has been pursued in Alberta for example, or adapting the UGB efforts in jurisdictions such as Oregon.

Recommendation #4:

Rural Non-Farm infill development (and appropriate ‘add-on’ development) should be encouraged and promoted rather than allowing for the creation of new fragmented and dispersed RN-FR areas.

In terms of better managing any new RN-FRD, there was a common sense that, while the conversion of new farm-land for RN-FRD should no longer continue, the possibility of permitting 'infill' development, within existing RN-FRD (or as an 'add-on'), merited encouragement, if not promotion. Promoting infill development within urban environments is quite well-established; it is generally strongly promoted, and rewarded, in urban communities throughout the province and the country. It is suggested that the same ideals associated with urban infill should be extended to 'rural' residential infill (or intensification).

In areas already hosting large-lot RN-FRD, allowing additional (infill) residential lots will minimize the amount of farmland lost due to new residential development; at the same time there is better, more efficient utilization of existing infrastructure, such as roads. It may also decrease the financial burden for municipalities - as they are not creating, and then maintaining, new roads and the like. The other benefit from permitting and encouraging such rural 'infill' relates to future growth management. As was noted, the RPGA PD is currently attempting this approach within their recently adopted Development Plan (Chapter 4). This will be worth monitoring; how this concept and set of policies works in the RPGA PD might help determine how well it can work in other areas throughout the province.

Recommendation #5:

The Province of Manitoba should strive to create more elaborate PLUPs for RN-FRD contexts, with a matrix of policy possibilities – smorgasbord-style - that might allow each locality to better acknowledge the specific land use issues that they are experiencing, and create better plans to address such issues. This matrix could be built on the definitional distinctions recommended earlier, acknowledging that some sets of policy

will be more appropriate in metropolitan region contexts, and some – such as those featured in the present research – might be more important in non-metropolitan regions. Further discrimination could be pursued through attention to differences in context between LUC-rural and RST-rural, which could be further elaborated in terms of different degrees of ‘rurality’.

Because the PLUPs are, by their nature, a province-wide set of policies, they represent a huge opportunity to significantly guide the direction of rural land use planning throughout Manitoba. As has been seen, it is difficult if not impossible to create one set of policies that will work for all localities. It may be useful to expand the PLUPs, to acknowledge all the various planning issues that are of concern to localities within Southern Manitoba, to better facilitate the creation of better planning policies, for RN-FRD and for development generally, both now and in the future.

There is an old saying among rural analysts - once you've seen one rural community, you've seen one rural community. No two rural communities are the same. Thus, rural development policy design and policy implementation need flexibility to achieve desired outcomes (Reimer & Bollman in Douglas ed. 2010, 47).

For some, the PLUPs are a ‘one size fits all’ set of policies, when it is apparent, especially based on the case studies referenced here, that is not the case. And while the goal of the PLUPs is to serve as a set of streamlined policies that each local jurisdiction must abide by, the fact is – on the face of the evidence in this practicum - that this goal is not being met. The planner-interviewees and the officials contacted indicated that the local planning jurisdictions are required to address policies that do not readily apply to them. Also, they are facing issues that do not specifically have to be addressed within their plans, but which possibly should. It appears that the PLUPs cannot be viewed as a ‘one-size-fits-all’ model any longer. Local planning jurisdictions throughout the province

are experiencing vastly different issues in terms of land use pressures, and the PLUPs need to reflect that.

There is no silver bullet. There is no single development plan or planning policy, or program, or approach that could meet the diverse objectives of rural citizens. Often the process of 'doing' rural development and rural planning is, in fact, the biggest contribution that a rural developer or rural planner can make to a community. With this view, the outside 'expert' cannot deliver a product, but can – rather - deliver a process (Reimer & Bollman in Douglas ed. 2010, 43).

6.4 Further Research

6.4.1 Comparative Studies of Promising Precedents

It can be argued that no matter how much research is undertaken, there is always room for more. One obvious prospective arena for further study is how other provinces, as well as other states in the United States, have been able to implement joint policies and ideals surrounding RN-FRD, and how they have been able to make them work, especially across municipal boundaries. Learning more about how these policies work, and exploring how they might positively affect planning for RN-FRD in Manitoba, could well be a valuable further research opportunity for planners and municipal officials alike.

6.4.2 Post-Hoc Evaluation of the PLUPs

Part of this practicum has addressed provincial-level planning policies, specifically the PLUPs and how the DP policies in each of the case studies have addressed them. However the long-term effect of the current 2011 PLUPs on local development plans has yet to be determined. Further research on how each of the iterations of the PLUPs has affected planning and development in the rural/urban fringe, including RN-FRD, would furnish better insight as to the effectiveness of provincial policy-making on rural Manitoba.

6.4.3 More Detailed Population Estimation

Establishing the population trends associated with RN-FRD played a significant role in highlighting how much RN-FRD has increased in significance in the past few decades. However, based on Statistics Canada's current definition of 'rural non-farm', these population numbers were skewed and did not give an entirely accurate view on this important segment of the province's population. Further research into how the population associated with RN-FRD can best be more accurately determined would allow for better planning of RN-FRD. This should include more detail on census farm population at the CSD level, and more attention to employing DPL (designated place) 'designations' respecting unincorporated 'urban' areas within rural municipalities.

6.4.4 Studies of the Real Estate Market for RN-FRD

This practicum has focused on planning for RN-FRD, mainly in the context of the Planning Act and related municipal government legislation i.e. within the context of the local 'state', rather than the 'market' (especially real estate markets). Consideration of who buys these particular lots, and why - while touched upon - was not the primary focus here. However, further research into this real estate market realm may shed more light on how RN-FRD 'consumers' act, in spawning such development, and in priming its expansion throughout municipalities and planning districts.

6.4.5 Planning Education and Capacity Building

This practicum has highlighted the sometimes-contrasting views that professional planners and municipal representatives have on planning for RN-FRD. Further research surrounding planning resources and education tools for local municipal representatives, to become more aware and further informed on planning issues, and for professional planners to become more informed on local concerns, could improve mutual

understanding all-round, and help mitigate some of the issues that are otherwise liable to arise.

6.4.6 The Politics of/in Planning for RN-FRD

Politics and land use/development decision-making are connected; while planners create the policies and guide development, it is the local municipality council that makes the land use decisions. Land use planning and politics underpin a complicated issue, one often with a complex history. Further research surrounding rural land use and urban/rural politics could only benefit planning professionals, as well as the officials associated with local/municipal governments; it would hopefully address some of the issues that have been occurring between the two, as indicated by this research. While there will always be politics involved with land use planning, having better background information available may shed more light and enable better planning.

6.5 Final Thoughts

This practicum has aimed to analyze and highlight planning for RN-FRD over the last two decades or so. It can be seen - based on the literature, interviews and case studies - that RN-FRD is becoming more prevalent throughout Manitoba; it does not appear that this trend will lessen anytime soon. Municipal representatives (in the case study settings) are seemingly relatively content with the policies they now have in place regarding RN-FRD; they believe they are soundly addressing the ideals of RN-FRD. It can be argued, that municipalities want development, and RN-FRD plays a big part. Contrary to this, professional planners are liable to express that land use policies should be more stringent, and that the long-term goals surrounding RN-FRD need to be changed for the better. This can be problematic since planners are only responsible for creating the

policies, while the municipal representatives, in their councils and on their boards, are implementing and enforcing them.

What does this all mean for rural planning? As can be seen in the latest development plans – in the case study settings - it appears that planning and policies and politics are beginning to better address this phenomenon. The change may be slow, but it is encouraging to see change nonetheless. RN-FRD brings rural planning more to the forefront; perhaps this is the greatest benefit – it deserves to share the stage with urban planning, especially on the ‘borderlands’. Planners need to continue to work diligently in this arena, to continue to develop rural planning, in the striving for the realization of more sustainable development – development that is planned.

6.6 Coda

Prior to beginning my Masters degree in City Planning, my opinion was very much in line with that of many rural municipalities, and was what I would consider ‘pro’ RN-FRD; I perceived it as a good thing, necessary even. However, my planning education, my practicum research and my employment in the realm of rural planning has given me a better understanding of the complexities of RN-FRD, and how problematic it can be, and how challenging planning for it can be. My opinions have now changed; I am now more in the ‘con’ camp. As a planner in a small city that has influence on the surrounding rural environment, it can be frustrating when confronted with views that seem to reflect too much of the past, when they need to be more cognizant of the present. However, this practicum has taught me that processes of change take time, especially a change in favour of active planning for development (rather than simply accommodating development, without worrying about future planning issues). The patience and

perseverance that I have cultivated during this experience will be invaluable in my current occupation, and for my future 'professing' of the value of planning.

I can say with all honesty that this Masters degree has been a life-changing experience. I started my Masters education as a student, and I am finishing as a planner, a wife and a mother. Most, if not all, of the research and writing of this MDP has been completed after becoming a mother. And, I can easily say that the most important lesson I have learned is that time is precious. Finding the hours each and every day to work on this practicum was incredibly difficult and required sacrifices from my entire family.

To have known five years ago what I know now - about myself and the amount of work necessary to succeed in this endeavor - I probably would have doubted my resolve to see it through, but I have persevered, and been rewarded greatly. My hope is that, in sharing my experience, others, who may attempt such a practicum or thesis, have been provided with both a realistic view of the seemingly endless work it entails, but also a sense of the resolve necessary to pursue it to its end.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

1. How long have you been involved in the planning profession? And how long have you been dealing with rural planning policy and practice?
2. What do you deem to be the main issues surrounding rural non-farm residential development within Southern Manitoba?
3. How are municipalities/planning districts situated in Southern Manitoba currently addressing rural non-farm residential development within their land use planning policies and regulations? (Permissively, Restrictively, Flexibly, Rigidly, Simplistically, Sophisticatedly...etc...please elaborate)
4. Are both elected officials and staff in rural municipalities/planning districts throughout Southern Manitoba receptive to creating particular policies surrounding rural non-farm residential development? (Why or why not?)
5. Are there municipalities/planning districts that are particularly progressive in regards to their rural non-farm residential development policies, that merit consideration as good precedents for other rural municipalities/planning districts throughout Manitoba
6. Reflecting on your responses, what are the major issues – that merit continued attention? (If you were a provincial cabinet minister in charge of developing new/better policy, what would you be trying to do?)
7. Please feel free to add any additional comments and/or share any personal experiences.

Appendix 2: Interview Consent Form

Consent Form

Planning for Rural Non-Farm Residential Development in Southern Manitoba

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like to know 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.

Title of Project:

Planning for Rural Non-Farm Residential Development in Southern Manitoba

Project Description:

The primary goal of this project is to examine how land use planning for rural non-farm residential development has evolved-since the 1970s - especially in the vicinity of certain official or unofficial Large Urban Centres (LUCs), situated in non-metropolitan settings - both in terms of policy and practice. It will also review how literature addressing rural non-farm residential development in the 1970s may have influenced the evolution, and how it might relate to current planning trends surrounding rural non-farm residential development.

Specific Activities to be completed by Project Participant

Participants will be involved in a participatory process related to rural non-farm residential development within Southern Manitoba. This will include semi-structured key informant interviews (either in person or via telephone). Questions will be focused on the participant's knowledge and experience related to both policy and practice of rural non-farm residential development within Southern Manitoba. Interviews will be held during the day in any location that provides reasonable privacy and is agreeable to both of us. The interview is not expected to exceed an hour in length.

Audio Taping

With your permission, interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed at a later date for research purposes, so that analyzing the material at a later date will be completed with greater ease and efficiency. Such audio-recordings will be kept in a secure place, and destroyed after they have been transcribed. Your name or any other personal information will not be included in any publicly disseminated materials arising from this study if you so choose. Where information occurs within a session transcript that will be included in the final project report, names and other personal information will be omitted, unless such permission has been explicitly granted.

Your signature on the form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researcher from her 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.

Contact Information

Principal Investigator:

Lacey Gaudet, Graduate Student, Department of City Planning, U. of Manitoba

Research Supervisor:

Dr. Ian Wight, Professor, Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture, U. of Manitoba

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

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

Thank-you for participating in this project. Your cooperation and insights are very valuable and are greatly appreciated.

I, _____, consent to the inclusion of my name in publications
(Name of Participant: please print)
resulting from this study

I, _____, **DO NOT** consent to the inclusion of my name in
(Name of Participant: please print)
publications resulting from this study

I, _____, consent to the dissemination of material provided
(Name of Participant: please print)
to the Professor or Student Researcher for use within the final report and subsequent reports and articles.

I, _____, **DO NOT** consent to the dissemination of material
(Name of Participant: please print)
provided to the Professor or Student Researcher for use within the final report and subsequent reports and articles.

I understand that the information I provide will be incorporated in a presentation and report by the student researcher. I understand also that all information will be treated as confidential, stored in a private and secure place, and subsequently destroyed at the end of the project by the Professor and Student Researcher.

Signature of Participant

Date

Name of Student Researcher

Date

Signature of Student Researcher

Date

Appendix 3: Census Division Population Trends

Appendix 3-1 Manitoba Census Division No. 7 Population Trends [BAPD setting]

Census Division No. 7					
	Total Population	Total Rural	Total Urban	Rural % of total population	Total No. of Farms
1966	52,526	17,308	35,218	33	
1971	52,515	17,160	35,355	33	2,153
1976	53,500	12,045	41,455	23	1,577
1981	54,432	11,927	42,505	22	1,596
1986	57,112	12,161	44,951	21	1,488
1991	56,389	11,892	44,497	21	1,399
1996	57,219	12,098	45,121	21	1,490
2001	57,148	11,928	45,220	21	1,246
2006	59,168	11,876	47,292	20	1,147

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Populations 1966-2006

Appendix 3-2. Manitoba Census Division No. 3 Population Trends [RPGA PD setting]

Census Division No. 3					
	Total Population	Total Rural	Total Urban	Rural % of total population	Total No. of Farms
1966	34,931	23,874	11,057	68	
1971	33,115	21,315	11,800	64	3,135
1976	34,780	20,820	13,960	60	2,736
1981	36,826	20,466	16,360	56	2,634
1986	38,422	20,421	18,001	53	2,464
1991	38,770	19,857	18,913	51	2,216
1996	40,485	19,920	20,565	49	2,133
2001	42,184	20,125	22,059	48	1,830
2006	44,873	20,927	23,946	47	1,659

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Populations 1966-2006

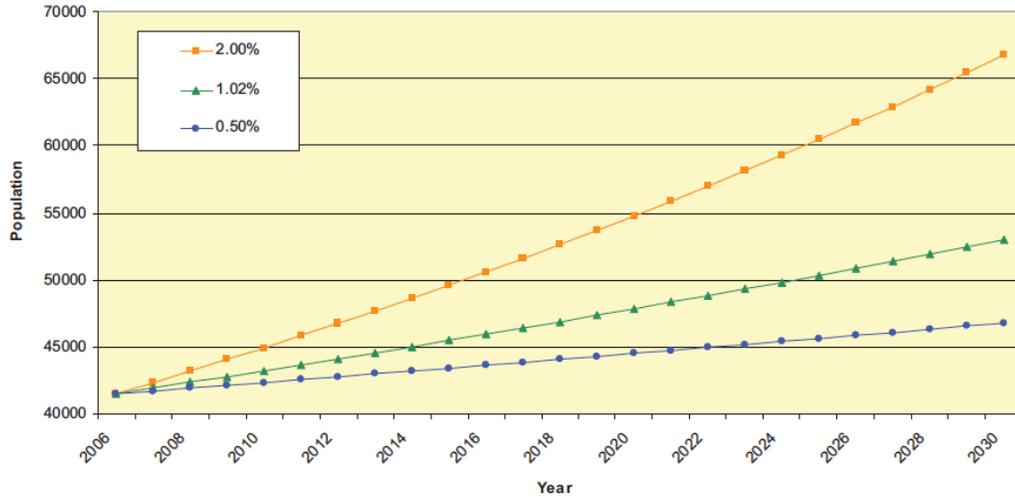
Appendix 3-3. Manitoba Census Division No. 2 Population Trends [RM Hanover Setting]

Census Division No. 2					
	Total Population	Total Rural	Total Urban	Rural % of total population	Total No. of Farms
1966	29,870	25,222	4,648	84	
1971	30,310	24,050	6,260	79	2,500
1976	34,028	25,291	8,737	74	2,012
1981	37,662	28,319	9,343	75	2,118
1986	40,368	30,041	10,327	74	1,973
1991	44,222	31,792	12,430	72	1,876
1996	48,039	35,211	12,828	73	1,942
2001	50,869	36,049	14,820	71	1,655
2006	55,886	38,327	17,559	69	1,493

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Populations 1966-2006

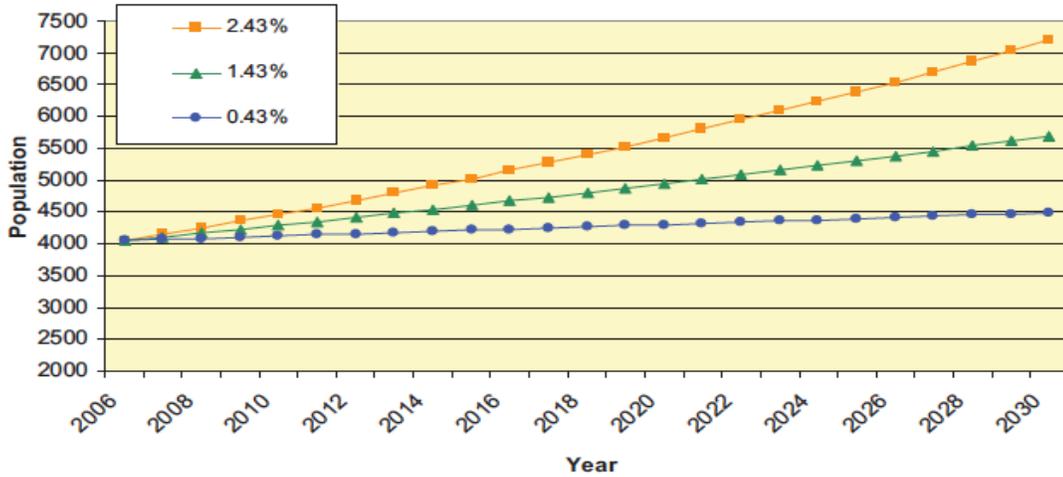
Appendix 4: Population Projections

Appendix 4-1: Population Projections for City of Brandon



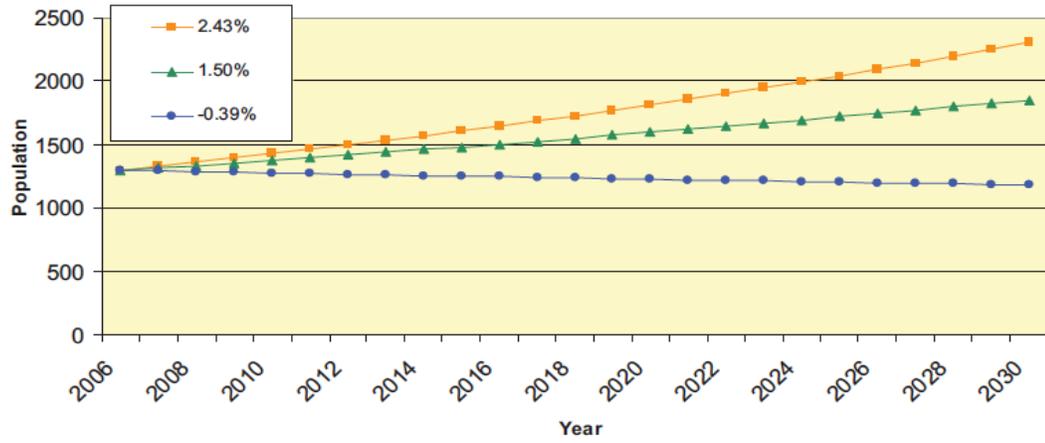
Source: MMM Group Ltd., Brandon and Area Planning District Development Plan Review, 2010.

Appendix 4-2: Population Projections for RM of Cornwallis



Source: MMM Group Ltd., Brandon and Area Planning District Development Plan Review, 2010

Appendix 4-3: Population Projections for RM of Elton



Source: MMM Group Ltd., Brandon and Area Planning District Development Plan Review, 2010

Appendix 5: BAPD Development Plan Policies: Rural (Non-Farm) Residential

BAPD Rural Residential Policies
<p>1. Rural residential development should occur in a cluster pattern within areas designated rural residential as shown on Map Two. New residential development, including conventional houses and mobile homes, will be located in these designated areas. Mobile homes may be located in accordance with the applicable Zoning by-law.</p>
<p>2. Different types of rural residential development will be allowed within the designated rural residential areas, primarily based on lot sizes, density and the keeping of accessory livestock. The minimum size for rural residential lots in designated rural residential areas is two acres. The majority of rural residential lots created shall be two acres in size in order to maximize the efficient use of rural residential land. The Zoning by-laws will indicate the minimum and maximum lot size for each rural residential designated area.</p>
<p>3. The keeping of livestock will be permitted in rural residential areas where the minimum lot sizes for the designated area are two acres in size or larger, subject to limitation established in the municipal zoning by-law. Livestock operations (of 10 animal units or more) are not allowed in rural residential designated areas.</p>
<p>4. A non-farm dwelling parcel may be created from an 80 acre parcel in designated Agricultural areas, as a conditional use, according to only one of the following criteria:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) an existing farm dwelling has been in existence for approximately seven years or more. b) There is evidence of any two of the following features: a well for domestic purposes, an indication that a farm dwelling previously existed on the site, an existing farmyard shelter belt c) A single lot subdivision for residential proposes is required for an individual who significantly participates in the agricultural operation.
<p>5. Whether or not a non-farm parcel has been created under criteria a, b, or c one additional non-farm dwelling parcel may be created from an 80 acre parcel in the designated agricultural areas as a conditional use, under one of the following scenarios:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) On a remnant area of land that has been physically isolated by such things as a transportation route or water course including but not limited to a constructed drainage system, and which makes farming physically impractical. b) On an abandoned gravel pit, utility site, or an area of land that is not classified as prime agricultural land or viable lower class land in agriculture use <p>Where there are two dwellings on an existing agricultural parcel, a new non-farm parcel may be created for one of the dwellings provided that both dwellings have existed for approximately seven years or more.</p>
<p>6. All of the following criteria shall apply to all non-farm dwelling sites:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The site will not be less than 2 acres but generally not more than 10 acres, however the exact size of the site will take into consideration any existing shelterbelts, fence lines or other similar physical natural features, and may exceed 10 acres, but shall not be wasteful of agricultural land b) Existing and future expansion of agricultural and livestock operations in the surrounding area would not be adversely affected by the presence of a non-farm dwelling and vice versa c) The site should have direct access to an all-weather municipal road or provincial highway d) The site can be serviced by onsite water and wastewater services in an environmentally sound manner that protects the ground water and does not pose any potential health problems. e) All services can be provided with reasonable efficiency and without undue cost to the municipality <p>The new parcel, if possible shall be directed away from prime agricultural land or viable lower class land in agricultural use</p>
<p>7. As the establishment of 40 acre rural residential parcels is generally recognized as being wasteful of</p>

land, no further designated rural residential areas of this nature will be established, as follows

- a) Section 2-9-19 WPM will remain as 40 acre rural residential lots, generally in recognition of the natural features of these areas and existing conditions

Other large lot rural residential areas will be allowed to be subdivided into smaller parcels, in accordance with the respective zoning by-laws, in order to maximize the use of land.

8. Map Two identifies a rural residential designation west of Brandon, north of the Assiniboine River and south of PTH #1 where higher rural residential development standards will be imposed. In order to facilitate additional rural residential development in this area in a planned manner, a Secondary Plan will be adopted before additional subdivision or development is approved. All new rural residential lots proposed in the new designation will need to anticipate and plan for increased densities at a time when municipal services may be implemented. The location of buildings and roads will need to be planned in a manner not to restrict the future densification of this area, at a later date.

9. The Secondary Plan for this area shall outline the following components:

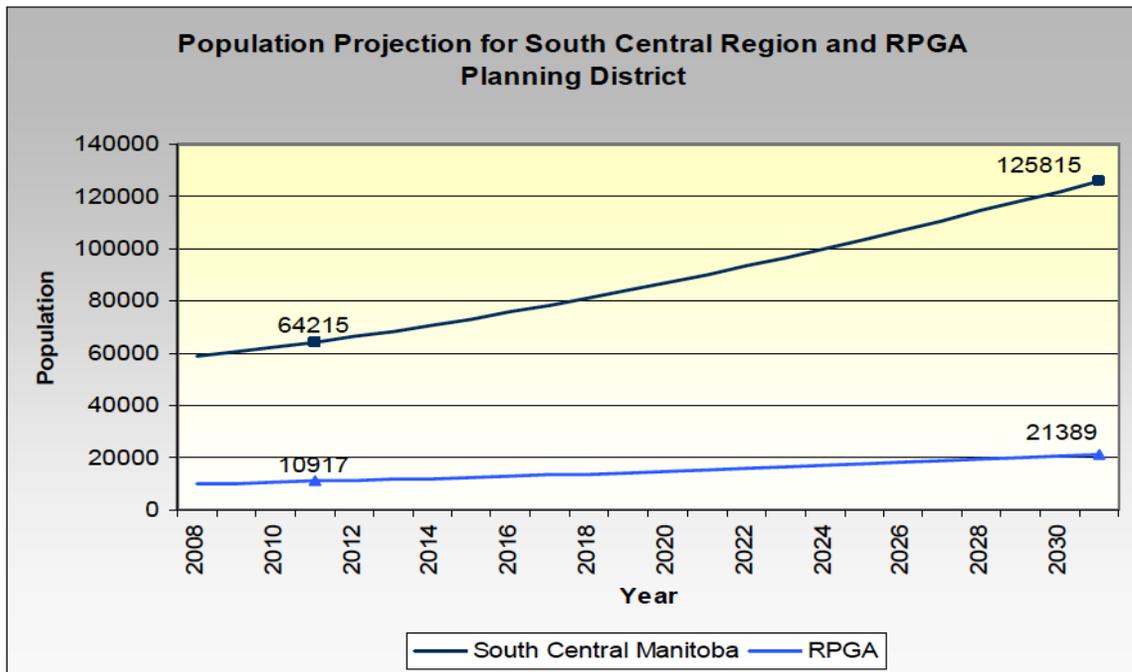
- a) Approximate location and size of proposed rural residential lots and the general sizes of future urban lots within the rural residential designations
- b) Encourage the infilling of existing rural residential lots into parcels no smaller than 2 acres
- c) Guidelines for subdivision, building locations, and on-site servicing requirements including site specific configuration of primary and accessory buildings on un-serviced lots
- d) Areas reserved or developed for parks, recreational, linear trails, and other future land uses
- e) General location of future municipal servicing infrastructure requirements when the area gets developed as an urban area
- f) An outline of the future intensification strategy of the area to an urban density (buildings and infrastructure-on-site municipal services)
- g) Transportation concept plan showing future circulation and connections to the City of Brandon. Connections directly to PTH #1 will not be allowed.
- h) Drainage concept plan
- i) Propose standards for development to ensure developers pay for costs up front (or provide cash in lieu)
- j) Suggest options for logical future development expansion areas

Other matters that the BAPD Board or Council requests

10. Home based businesses will generally be accommodated subject to the appropriate approvals and in accordance with the Zoning By-Law, provided that they are of a type that is compatible with nearby properties and the residential character of the property is preserved. If these uses get to a size that they are intrusive, they should relocate to more appropriate areas

Source: BAPD Development Plan 2013

Appendix 6: Population Projection for South Central Region and RPGA Planning District



Source: RPGA Planning District Background and Engineering Study Report March 2011

Appendix 7: RPGA Planning District Development Plan: Cluster and Fringe Area Policies

1. Cluster Policies	<p>1.1. Subdivide property for residential use where a portion of the larger parcel of land located within a Country Living Cluster as identified on Map 6:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) That is constrained on three sides by lands that have not been farmed for a number of years; and b) Is of a size and shape that cannot easily be farmed because of the constraining lands, and c) Is a minimum of 2 acres and is a size and shape generally consistent with the existing development in the Country Living Cluster
	1.2. All homes in the clusters are located within the designated Agricultural areas, as such, the separation distances for individual residences will apply for all existing, expanding or newly constructed livestock operations
	1.3. Create lots only where municipal services, such as roads, drainage, fire protection, and other infrastructure exist with sufficient capacity and do not create a financial or operational burden on the municipality over time
	1.4. Residential development on small lots in Country Living shall continue to have an agricultural designation in this plan, agricultural zoning, and be a conditional use in the municipal by-law to ensure that livestock operation buffers are not impacted.
2. Fringe Area Policies	2.1. New Development in the fringe area shall contribute toward the provision of community services such as recreation, employment, utilities, and emergency and health services
	2.2. Base development and servicing standards in fringe areas on the standards of the adjacent town to ensure development is seamless, infrastructure is compatible and the fringe area functions as part of the town
	2.3. A service sharing agreement shall be established prior to development in the Fringe area between the rural and urban municipality to pay the municipality providing the service a fee to provide urban standard services to the Fringe area development, such as, but not limited to: protective services, garbage collection, snow clearing and road maintenance, water and sewer services, water and sewage treatment, waste disposal (land fill), drainage maintenance, paved streets (curb and gutter), recreation and fire services
	2.4. A tax sharing agreement shall be developed whereby municipal revenues from new development in the Fringe area shall be deposited into one account for each agreement administered by both municipalities for the purposes of supporting infrastructure improvements in or for the overall Fringe area
	2.5. The development of the Fringe area shall be subject to phasing of overall settlement/town area. A subsequent phase of development should not be developed until more than 50% of the previous phase is fully built out and absorbed into the market, unless

	a reasonable business case can be made to the Planning District Board
	2.6. An inter municipal dispute resolution procedure should be adopted by the RPGA Board within one year of the adoption of this plan
	2.7. Development in the Fringe area is subject to a cooperative boundary adjustment agreement negotiated between the two concerned municipalities that includes a clause describing a certain time period within which the developed land will be incorporated into town
	2.8. Prior to any development or redesignation of the "Fringe" area east of PTH 30 at Altona, a Traffic Impact Study and Access Management Plan for PTH 30 must be completed by a qualified professional engineer and approved by the provincial authority responsible for highways. Such a plan will identify the recommended access locations onto PTH 30, rationalization of existing access, any on-highway improvements that will be required to accommodate the amount and type of traffic that will be generated by development in the "fringe" area. In addition, any future land that may be necessary for any on-highway improvements and for any long range plans for the upgrading of PTH 30, including the possibility of twinning, must be excluded from development. The cost of any on-highway improvements required to accommodate the additional traffic, cross traffic, turning movements, etc. necessary to maintain safety and integrity of the highway and its users will be the responsibility of the developer and/or municipality.

Source: RPGA Development Plan 2011

Appendix 8: RM of Hanover RN-FRD Policies

1. Rural residential development will generally occur in a clustered pattern and shall be allowed in areas designated as Rural Residential, within the Rural Areas only. Any area identified for rural residential development shall be designated to: a) provide a parcel size that will preserve the rural character of the area and meet the intended use but not be wasteful of agricultural land; b) protect natural features such as trees and creeks; and c) provide for adequate surface drainage

2. The RM of Hanover cannot sustain unlimited growth of rural residential development without impacting agriculture and the environment. Future rural residential development areas will require a development plan change and provincial approval prior to development. All proposals for new rural residential development designations, within the Rural Area, must prepare a proposal and conceptual plan for development. The proposal and conceptual plan will be evaluated on the basis of the following criteria:

- a) rural residential development shall be directed away from prime agricultural land towards sites with low potential for agriculture due to adverse topography, poor soil conditions, other physical constraints or where existing fragmentation is such that it is not feasible to farm
- b) rural residential development should not interfere with or restrict nearby agricultural production, including livestock operations. The developer must demonstrate that the rural residential use will be compatible with existing and prospective uses in the vicinity and comply with the use separation distances established in the zoning by-law
- c) rural residential development should not be allowed to locate in close proximity to aggregate operations/quarries or restrict the extraction of aggregate resources
- d) rural residential development approvals will be based on supply and demand. Council will ensure that a reasonable supply of vacant lots exist in terms of both location and ownership
- e) rural residential development should be planned so that it does not impede the orderly expansion of urban services, and does not require urban services
- f) if rural residential development is considered appropriate, the development pattern should use land, infrastructure and services adequately
- g) the development shall provide for a safe and adequate potable water supply and for the safe disposal of domestic waste
- h) when new rural residential developments propose onsite wastewater management systems the location and size of the building lots should reflect the capability of the soils to adequately support an on-site wastewater disposal system
- i) rural residential development shall not be located on lands that are designated as nutrient management zone N4 as outlined in the proposed Nutrient Management Regulation under The Water Protection Act
- j) rural residential development must not be located in areas that are prone to flooding, erosion or other hazards to life and property
- k) the in-fill or expansion adjacent to existing rural residential areas should take priority over the establishment of new rural residential areas
- l) if rural residential development occurs adjacent to water features the retention of vegetation will be encouraged and if necessary land may be taken for public reserve purposes under The Planning Act

3. Designated rural residential areas may be considered for further development without a development plan change if the additional lots are in-fill lots and the total land area of the rural residential designation is not increased. New lots must conform to the criteria outlined in Policy 3.3.29 and the zoning by-law requirements

4. In order to protect the long term options for the future expansion of the urban centres, rural residential development shall be restricted within either 1.5 miles of the City of Steinbach and the Town of Niverville or 0.5 mile of the other urban centres in Hanover. Any future designations must go through a rigorous evaluation and consultation process with the affected urban centre to evaluate the potential impact on the

future expansion of that urban centre

5. The amount of new rural residential subdivisions approved within the rural residential area designations, from the adoption date of this by-law, will be limited to the capacity of the Mitchell lagoon. This policy will be in effect until the Rural Municipality of Hanover has completed a Water Management Plan that is satisfactory to the province.

Source: RM of Hanover Development Plan No. 2170