

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

An analysis of Urban Planning in the
Quebec City Region and it's Fringe Area

by

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A thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is, as its title suggests, an analysis of certain planning aspects of the Metro Québec area. It is basically a look at the area, its growth and evolution from a quaint tourist town to a thriving area with a definite potential for the future. The underlying theme that governs this study is the urgent necessity of establishing a regional form of a planning body which will be able to effectively deal with the growth problems of the area. These difficulties are most evident in the region's fringe sectors and so the study takes a closer look at these particular situations in order to better illustrate inevitable planning difficulties.

The first chapter, "Introductory Statements", contains the fundamental objective of the thesis and in order to better situate the reader, gives a brief description of the major form of urban government within the region: "La Communauté Urbaine de Québec". In the second chapter, the reader is introduced to the Québec area. A general description of the region's geographical situation serves the purpose of outlining its physical characteristics. A certain perspective is also given of the city's historical and socio-economic evolution, while the final part of the chapter describes the effect that the main communication routes have had on the city's expansion. The resulting relationships that have evolved between these transportation corridors and their associated fringe developments will be identified thereby preparing the way for a closer examination in the

following chapter.

After having given the preliminary macro view of the study area in the preceding chapter, chapter three focuses on the fringe areas of the metropolitan region in question. The chapter begins by defining the fringe, its shape and the forces that have influenced its formation. It then concludes by examining the main problem signs within the fringe. A general comparison of theoretically ideal land uses as opposed to existing ones will serve as an introductory basis for the legislative components which will make up some proposed prescriptions for the conflicting cases in the next chapter.

Chapter four gives a critical overview of the Province's laws with regard to planning in general and includes an observation of their application to urban fringe growth. It examines legislation dealing with Master Plans, zoning, subdivision by-laws as well as referring to development control, building by-laws and services control. The study then concludes by discussing the general legislative limits of regional jurisdictions thereby aiming at suggesting stronger regionally oriented planning reforms.

The final chapter gives an evaluation of the existing regional jurisdictions within the Québec City region. The examination of the powers involved in present land control is made in order to properly understand the potential difficulties involved in forming a regionally oriented government body with greater planning control over the region.

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The practical aspects of this thesis' production are due to the fine work that was accomplished by Mrs Line Giguere and Miss Francine Chamberland who must also be congratulated not only for their flawless typing but also for their enduring patience

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

It has often been said that North America, and especially its cities, is presently in the throes of a significant socio-economic and physical transformation. This statement becomes self evident when one examines the urban forms in today's North American cityscape. The once densely populated city of the early 20th century, has now given way to a sprawling agglomeration of urban areas and if we go slightly further back in time, the change process becomes even clearer.

In the eighteen hundreds, a city such as Québec could be clearly distinguished from the relatively undeveloped countryside by its impressive wall. Today the city's real limits are nearly impossible to define as the imaginary line separating the developing urban area from its rural neighbour becomes even more illusory. The problem is not only spatial but also legal and social in nature since these boundaries likewise become difficult to distinguish as they continue to fail in representing the physical entity. The fringe area, of which so much is heard these days, then becomes a precursor of development problems to come.

It is now generally conceded that the majority of Canada's population is urban in nature even though the percentage of land in urban use is much lower when compared

to the other possible uses.

In fact the Gordon Commission forecasts that urban centres of over 100,000 may contain 56% of Canada's population by 1980. The forecast by Drummond to that commission shows that this increase of about 9 million people would mean an approximate loss of 3 300 000, acres of farmland.¹

As A.D. Crerar states, *"As the subdivider and industrialist have moved out into the suburban areas, it has become obvious that expansion of the city must necessarily take place at the expense of an equivalent contraction of farmland."*²

It is also a well known fact that urban land is scarce and valuable. The areas thus located on the fringes of cities will therefore gain in importance as these city and centre core land values grow. The problems that result from the interaction of competing forces in this situation are related to the government of the localities involved. Unfortunately individual municipalities are all too often powerless to react in the face of forces that stem from larger urban centres.

The main objective of this thesis is to examine the forces acting in such confrontations and the ensuing planning difficulties that result from them. In order to accomplish this goal two postulates are advanced. The first is that the south shore, when taken as a whole, must be considered as the Quebec regions's most important fringe area. It will thus become, for the purpose of this thesis, the specific area where, it is hoped, functional regional planning can have the most effect. The second postulate is that the basic cure for such difficulties can be found only in the forming

¹ W. Drummond and W. Mackenzie "Progress and Prospects of Canadian Agriculture", Report to Royal Commission on Canada's Economic prospects, 1957, p. 190

² A.D. Crerar, "The loss of Farmland in the Metropolitan Regions of Canada", in Krueger et al., "Regional and Resource Planning in Canada". Holt Rinehart Winston, p. 126.

of a truly regional governmental body representing all of the Quebec Metropolitan area and not only the north shore municipalities.

The "raison d'être" for the study is simple enough; city growth is now a major factor of Canadian development and as such the need for a reorganization of municipal governments based on regions will help to improve development in the proper way, thereby enhancing future growth.

The study will thus focus on the planning political and social responses of the City itself to the first signs of urban encroachment in its fringe area.

The present body which has a partial control over the metro Quebec region is the Quebec Urban Community (QUC). Within the last few years there has been a tremendous amount of debate as to the validity and present day feasibility of the QUC. The continuing public outcry, especially over a rapidly escalating rate of taxation has resulted in placing the QUC in a precarious position. As the thesis will try to explain, the main reason for this dilemma, was that although the principles based in forming the QUC may have been theoretically valid at the time, they could not have been applied in a logical fashion simply because the territory formed did not represent the whole of the physical and economic region. This problem was further aggravated by the fact that the region itself, as the study will point out,

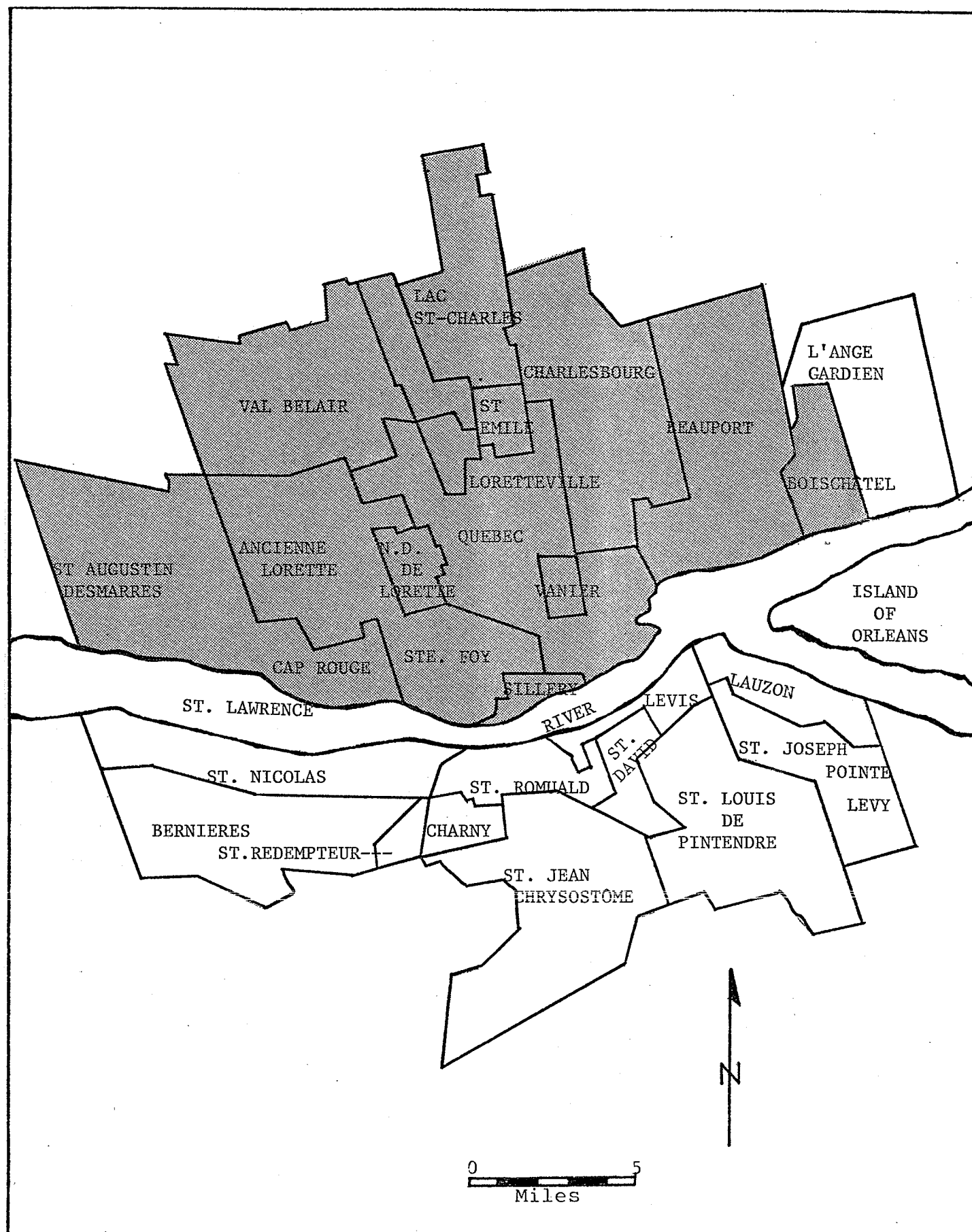
was already composed of a multitude of both small and large communities of greatly varying interests within the areas involved. A brief introduction to the QUC will better explain the present situation.

The Quebec Urban Community was created on January 1, 1970, as a corporate entity, by a bill passed in the National Assembly (bill 76, Chapter 83, Province of Quebec laws). Officially it is a regional administrative organization composed of 23 municipalities which were grouped together in order to try to bring solutions to regional problems by the proper coordination of the various municipal forces within the region. It can be considered as a "supra-municipal" entity, to which the provincial government, after consulting the region's population, has conferred powers and tasks (which will be defined later).

The area under the jurisdiction of the QUC is composed of twenty three municipalities situated on the north shore of the St. Lawrence between Boischâtel to the east, St. Augustin to the west, Lake St. Charles to the north, the St. Lawrence river to the south and including Quebec city (see Figure I). The area concerned covers about 218 square miles and contained 429,120 people in 1972.³

³ Source: Québec Urban Community, published statistics 1972.

FIGURE 1
THE QUEBEC URBAN COMMUNITY



By August of 1973, the financing of the QUC was mainly by government subventions or loans, aided by the sale of land in a newly formed industrial park, along with the performing of computer based land evaluations for certain school commissions. Its operating expenses were divided on a pro rata basis using the uniform evaluation of land within the territory.

There are two decision making levels in the QUC: the council and the executive committee. Every citizen is represented at the council. The taxpayers of each locality have in effect elected their own representatives (usually the mayors) who in turn form the 23 members of the council. This body has certain legislative powers. It may approve, reject, amend or return for further study or modifications the proposed rules and recommendations presented to it by the executive committee.

The decisions taken by the council are the result of the majority of those present, each member being allowed one vote for every thousand people living in the locality that he represents.

However, in order to maintain the democratic character of the council and also to prevent the larger cities (namely Québec, Ste.Foy and Charlesbourg) from imposing their wishes on the other municipalities every vote in a decision

requires at least 50% of the vote of all the municipalities other than Québec City.

The president and vice-president of the Council are elected by the members of the council itself and the president presides over all the public assemblies and meetings.

The Executive Committee is composed of seven members and is responsible for the administration of the community's current affairs. With the help of the permanent employees that it has at its disposal it prepares the work for the council. It also watches in order to make sure that the laws, rules and resolutions of the council are properly observed and executed. The seven members are taken in the following order: three are chosen from Québec City and the remaining four from the twenty-two other municipalities. The area itself has been grouped into five administrative sectors and representatives to the executive are chosen within this framework.

Meetings of the executive are held behind closed doors and all decisions are taken by a majority vote. The president and vice-president of the Executive Committee are elected by the council members.

The composition of the QUC, at first glance, seems to be quite logical and prepared in a democratic fashion which

maintains the interests of every participating community, regardless of size. Its real failing, as the next chapters will attest is not in its inherent make up, but simply in its lack of financial and "truly" regional muscle.

CHAPTER 2 : THE QUEBEC CITY REGION

"Je cherchay lieu propre pour nostre habitation, mais je n'en peu trouver de plus commode, n'y mieux situë que la pointe de Quëbecq..."

(I looked for an appropriate site for our settlement, but could find none better suited or situated than the headland of Quëbec)

Samuel de Champlain, 1608

2.1 ¹ INTRODUCTION

Québec, the oldest city in Canada, and capital of the province, is located approximately 150 miles northeast of Montreal, 600 miles northeast of Toronto and approximately 600 miles north of New York (Figure 2). The city is also 1,000 miles from the ocean and historically has been a major inland seaport open to year-round navigation. It has also been the centre for provincial administration and a commercial pole for the eastern part of the province. In addition, it also boasts of a high level a rail, highway, air, water, and electronic connections with the nation and indeed the world.

Geographically speaking, Québec can be said to have a variety of unique features (Figure 3). It's prime characteristic is that, it lies at the point where the St. Lawrence becomes an estuary, whereas to the northeast, the mountains

¹ Source for the Introduction: Québec et ses environs, pub. -
Gouvernement du Québec

FIGURE 2
QUEBEC PROVINCE

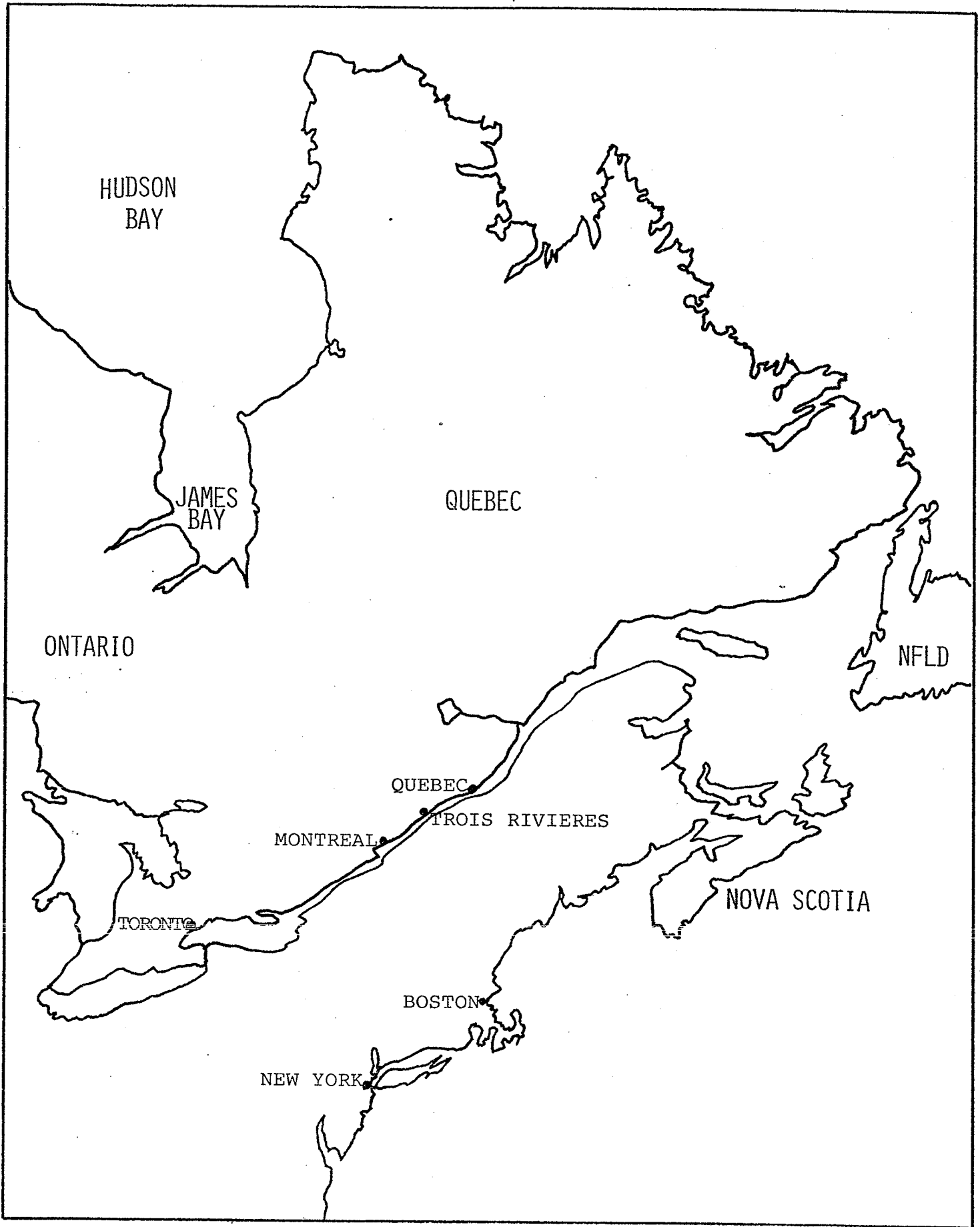
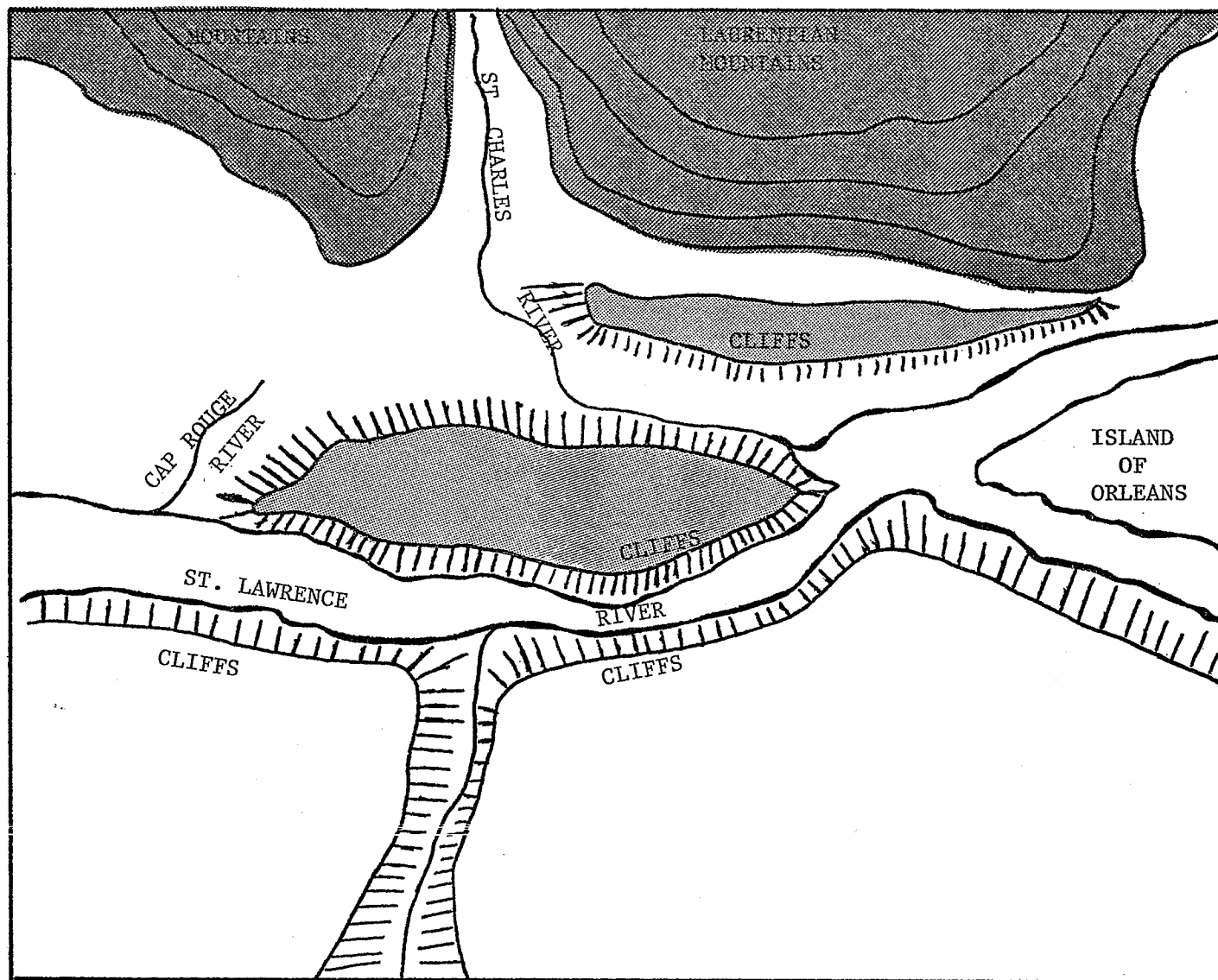


FIGURE 3
QUEBEC'S GEOGRAPHY



border the river as the Laurentians follow a western direction and the Appalachians a southerly one, thereby leaving an area ideally suited for agriculture in between. The heart of the city is situated atop an eight mile long plateau which overlooks both the St. Lawrence to the south and east and the St. Charles river plain to the north.

Following the last glacial period, the low-lying parts of the St. Lawrence Valley were submerged, with Québec as an island in the middle. The St. Lawrence flowed completely around Québec and eventually the river's shallower northwest branch became dry land creating the fertile St. Charles plain.

Between Québec and Lévis, situated on the opposite bank of the "fleuve" from the old capital, the St. Lawrence is approximately half a mile wide. West of Ile d'Orléans, the banks are protected by the heights of Québec and Lévis. The St. Charles lies slightly downstream of the island and is presently the site of Québec's port. The base of these cliffs forms a natural setting for harbour facilities which for some two and a half centuries became a unique terminal for ocean traffic.

Québec's geographic setting has been a silent witness to many events of historical significance. In fact, the city of Québec has often been called the cradle of French civilization in America and with just reason. Its roots are entrenched in the heart of French Canadian culture. An introduction to the

city would thus be incomplete without a brief historical survey.

Jacques Cartier first landed in Gaspé in 1534 to take possession of Canada in the name of the King of France. Later, in 1603, Champlain recognized the tremendous natural potential that Québec had and in 1608 founded what is now the City of Québec, building his principal dwelling near the base of the cliffs at the opening of the St. Lawrence. In the 150 years that followed, which made up what is now known as the French regime, Québec, grew to a population of approximately 15,000.

In 1759, the now famous battle of the Plains of Abraham took place and as a result the effective end of French rule over New France, which was confirmed by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. While there was little change in the cultural life of the city during the English regime, Québec began to profit from considerable economic growth. Fur, fish, seal and beluga oil, shipbuilding and lumber continued to be the mainstays of a quickly expanding economy. The American revolution was probably the main disturbance to the peaceful co-existence between French and American English in the capital. Even though the Americans failed in their invasion of 1775, the revolution can be said to have injected new life in the Canadian economy. Thousands of "loyalists" were granted lands for settlement while Québec thrived as a port and shipbuilding centre for nearly a hundred years. In fact between 1797 and 1897, Québec shipyards turned out more than 2,500 ships with a gross tonnage of

1,377,099.²

When steel replaced wood and steam overtook sail, the once great industry of shipbuilding suffered a rapid downfall. By 1880, all the bases of prosperity began to fall apart. Eastern fur trade and wheat growing crumpled under intense competition, while lumber and shipbuilding followed the same downward trends. In 1871, British subsidies decreased following confederation and slowly but surely Québec began to lose its richer English, Irish populations to Montreal and the northeastern United States. It was only by an increase in secondary industries that Québec's economy was able to regain some of its lost impetus, with the result that the area once again continued to thrive both economically and demographically.

A study of Québec's historical development reveals that certain transportation oriented events were of immense importance in dictating its future growth. George A. Nader³ points out that in 1854 the extension of the Grand trunk railway line was completed linking Montreal to Lévis on the south shore of the St. Laurent opposite Québec, resulting in new growth for the south shore (1861 to 1881: 5500 versus 2500 for the north shore)⁴

² Québec et ses environs, pub. Gouvernement du Québec, page 64

³ George A. Nader, "QUEBEC", Macmillan of Canada, 1976, CITIES OF CANADA, Vol. two, p. 77

⁴ IBID , p. 89

In 1879 the first railway linking Montreal to Quebec was completed on the north shore thereby reversing the growth trends (1881-1911: 16,000 for the north shore versus 300 for the south)⁵.

This trend was assured in a permanent fashion by the building in 1917 of a bridge linking both shores thereby relinquishing the south shore to that of a "dormitory suburb"⁶.

2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES⁷

The evolution of the population of the metropolitan area of Québec, as defined by Statistics Canada, has undergone a normal rate of growth from 1901 to 1971 with the possible exception of the ten-year period between 1921 and 1931 where the rate of growth was 32.6% which was probably a result of the great wave of migration due to the depression of 1929; coupled with "improvements in the long distance transmission of hydro electricity, which had in turn led to the development of power sites on the canadian shield principally on the Saguenay River". Table 1 gives the population for the Québec metro area as compared to the province for the year to 1901 to 1971 in ten year intervals with the accompanying percentage change.

⁵ IBID p. 89

⁶ IBID p. 89

⁷ Main sources for demographic data from Statistics Canada and "Etudes sur les communautés urbaines de Québec", pu. by the Department of Municipal Affairs, P.Q.

TABLE 1
QUEBEC METRO. - POPULATION DATA

YEAR	METRO QUEBEC POPULATION	QUEBEC PROVINCE POPULATION	METRO QUEBEC % CHANGE	QUEBEC PROVINCE % CHANGE
1901	109,350	1,648,898		
1911	121,950	2,005,776	11.5	21.6
1921	146,140	2,360,510	19.8	17.7
1931	193,710	2,874,662	32.6	21.8
1941	225,732	3,331,882	16.5	15.9
1951	276,242	4,055,681	22.4	21.7
1961	357,568	5,259,211	29.4	29.6
1971	465,892	6,027,764	30.3	14.6

Source: L'annuaire du Québec 1975/76

A study of Table 1 and specifically the period going from 1941 to 1961 shows that the rate of growth of Metro Québec is about equal to that of the province, 22.4% with 21.7% for 1941 to 1951 and 29.4% with 29.6% for 1951 to 1961. Furthermore, if one considers the tremendous impact that Montreal has had on the provincial demographic scene we can easily observe that Québec is more than holding its own. The total evolution of the population as illustrated in the table shows that the number of people living within the Québec region has always increased since 1901.

A further examination of the "rates of increases" in Table I will bring out two salient characteristics. The change in population reveals two distinct and opposite phases. Between the period of 1921 and 1941, the population increase undertook

a slowing down or deceleration movement. The period from 1941 to 1971 shows just the opposite, that is, an absolute as well as relative increase in population. The fact that the rate of increase between 1961 and 1971 was very high thereby, also indirectly demonstrates the ever increasing importance of the area as an attraction pole with regards to the secondary surrounding municipalities.

This ever increasing population has had a direct effect on the physical and economic growth of the region.

In chapter 1, I stated that the metro Québec region is made up on one part of the territory of the Québec Urban Community which comprises the majority of the municipalities on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River and on another part of the many municipalities which are situated on the south shore (see figure 1)⁸. Table II gives a list of the municipalities which make up the majority of the Québec region, along with their populations for various years. Affiliation to the Québec Urban Community (QUC) is also indicated. Those municipalities on the north shore (Neufchatel and St. Michel Archange) which are not part of the QUC are included along with all those forming the outlying area on the south shore mainly because, from a planning point of view, they may be regarded as typical of those areas which will shortly undergo

⁸ Author's note: Since 1976 the Province's department of municipal Affairs authorized the forming of a new city - Beauport which now comprises the municipalities of Beauport, Giffard and Montmorency. And the city of Charlesbourg which now comprises Charlesbourg, Charlesbourg Est, Orsainville and Notre.Dame des Laurentides.

the same type of urban growth that the other fringe areas belonging to the QUC are presently experiencing.

TABLE II			
METRO QUEBEC: POPULATION BREAKDOWN BY MUNICIPALITY			
MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION IN		
	1951	1961	1971
In Q.U.C.			
Québec	164,016	171,879	182,502
Sainte-Foy	5,236	29,716	67,834
Ancienne-Lorette	4,700	3,070	
Charlesbourg	5,734	14,308	33,484
Beauport	5,390	9,192	14,739
Sillery	10,376	14,109	13,950
Giffard	8,097	10,129	13,087
Orsainville	2,165	4,236	12,561
Loretteville	4,382	6,522	11,646
Vanier (Qué)	7,295	8,733	9,716
Courville	3,138	4,670	6,264
Montmorency	5,817	5,985	4,947
N.-D. des Laurentides	2,772	3,888	5,087
Villeneuve	1,096	1,934	3,848
St-Félix de Cap Rouge	1,109	1,727	2,988
Bélair	1,072	3,261	4,825
St-Augustin	1,641	2,100	3,043
Ste-Thérèse de Lisieux	842	2,052	2,937
St-Emile	676	2,003	2,792
Lac St-Charles	748	1,649	2,384
Val St-Michel	846	2,073	2,300
Boischatel	643	1,011	1,725
Charlesbourg-Est	509	845	1,522
Outside Q.U.C.			
St-Romuald	4,797	5,681	8,439
Lévis	13,162	15,112	17,150
Lauzon	9,643	11,533	12,801
Charny	3,300	4,189	4,849
Neufchâtel	2,321	3,135	6,718
St-Michel Archange	5,388	6,198	5,597

Source: Répertoire des Municipalités du Québec 1975-76

There is no population given for Ancienne-Lorette for 1971, the reason being that this municipality was annexed by Ste-Foy before that time and so its population would have been included in Ste.Foy's.

In order to obtain an analysis of the current regional situation, a study of the size of municipalities, breakdown by age groups, growth rate and other demographic data is required. It is common knowledge that the size of a municipality can be an important factor in determining the quantity and type of services that are rendered to it's residents. As usual a minimum population level is required in order to maintain an efficient type of servicing under a local administration. This number has been estimated by some to be between 5000 and 6000 people.⁹ In light of this requirement, Table III illustrates the number of municipalities having 5000 or more in population¹⁰ in 1970.

TABLE III	
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION: NO. OF MUN. WITH A GIVEN POP.	
POPULATION	NUMBER
More than 50,000	2
25,000 to 50,000	1
10,000 to 24,999	7
5,000 to 9,000	6
Less than 5,000	12

⁹ L. Garon, G. Hébert, F. Poussard, "Etude sur les communautés urbaines du Québec" Ministère des Affaires Municipales, Gouvernement du Québec, p. 8

¹⁰ Author's note: a detailed study of ideal population size may be found in "the economics of urban size" by H. N. Richardson, Saxon House, 1975

A look at Table III shows that 12 of 28 municipalities are not economically viable simply because they are too small and nearly 65% of them (18 out of 28) will have a great deal of difficulty in being able to offer a minimum of services that municipalities of over 10,000 in population would easily be able to give. There is therefore a certain need for a regrouping of those smaller municipalities whose populations will eventually, as they continue to grow, demand better services. This is the first and most important population characteristic of the region; a great disparity in size among the existing governing entities.

Age breakdown is another of the demographic essentials. When done for certain select five year intervals, this data can enable us to achieve a clearer understanding of the behaviour of certain important segments of the population. Table IV gives us this breakdown by also including a comparison with the province in general.

TABLE IV			
% AGE BREAKDOWN: METRO QUEBEC/PROVINCE -1970			
	0-14	15-64	-65
Province	33.5	60.5	6
Metro Quebec (Q.U.C. only)	30.6	63.3	6

Source: Statistics Canada and the Quebec Urban Community.

Table IV shows that Metro Québec has a slightly older population and also a greater percentage of the active population or that generally comprising the working force. This latter fact is of importance to an economically sound area as will be attested by the discussion on economic parameters later on in this chapter.

The sex breakdown is not given in the table for the simple reason that the QUC's situation is identical to all urban areas within the province in as much as the percentage of women is greater than men by 52% to 48%. This type of consistency in migration is often referred to by Statistics Canada as the defeminization of the rural areas, and can be an important indicator of an urban zone's population stability. Statistics Canada has shown that the Québec Urban Community's male/female ratio is equal to that of Montreal. This fact seems to indicate that both areas offer an approximately equal degree of economic attractiveness to potential migrators.¹¹

Another type of demographic data which can have a certain importance in the correct analysis of a metropolitan zone is the size of the working force. The active population or the 19 to 64 age group for the QUC and for the province is given in Table V.

¹¹ L. Garon, G. Hébert, F. Poussard, "Etudes sur les Communautés Urbaines du Québec", op. cit., p. 10

TABLE V WORKING FORCE BREAKDOWN 1970		
AREA	AGE GROUP	
	20 - 34	35 - 64
Q.U.C.	23%	30.7%
Province	21.2%	29.2%

Source: Quebec Urban Community.

When analyzing the data in Table V, one notices that the 20 to 34 age group which usually represents the group which is more mobile, is higher than the provincial average but is nevertheless equal to Montreal's 23%. It is interesting to note that this group is significantly smaller in percentage to peripheral and less developed areas of the province. If we examine this data as applied to some of the municipalities in the Québec region, as illustrated in Table VI, the disparities that come out can easily be linked to the economic efficiency of each particular area.

TABLE VI WORKING FORCE BREAKDOWN FOR REPRESENTATIVE MUNICIPALITIES IN METRO QUEBEC 1970		
MUNICIPALITY	AGE GROUP	
	20 - 34	35 - 64
Québec	33.7	34.5
Beauport	23.4	27.4
Charlesbourg	22.9	27.1
Sillery	18.7	35.5
Charny	19.7	29.5
Ste. Foy	23.2	28.2
Ancienne Lorette	21.2	23.8

Québec, for example, is obviously the centre for the region and as such should, and does, have the highest ratio in that group. Sillery, on the other hand, has the lowest average in the younger age group, but the highest in the older group, a fact that accurately reflects the sedentary residential nature of that area. Ste. Foy, which has a substantial proportion of both commercial and residential land uses seems to be situated somewhere in the upper levels of the groups, whereas l'Ancienne Lorette, which is a relatively poorer area, has a somewhat lower percentage in both categories. Table I has already shown that all the municipalities have not undergone the same increase in population. A representative grouping is given in table VII.

TABLE VII	
<u>QUEBEC REGION MUNICIPALITIES</u>	
<u>POPULATION CHANGES 1951/1971</u>	
NEGATIVE GROWTH	
Sillery Montmorency	
SLOW GROWTH 0-20%	
Québec Vanier Lévis Lauzon Charny	
MEDIUM GROWTH 20%-50%	
Beauport Giffard Courville N.-D. des Laurentides Villeneuve Cap Rouge St. Romuald Loretteville	
RAPID GROWTH	
Ste. Foy Charlesbourg Orsainville	

A glance at this grouping can reveal certain interesting points. First of all there are many similarities between those municipalities which are gaining population and those losing and these same characteristics increase the contrast between those areas offering the greatest number of amenities as far as residential living is concerned. It is precisely those areas, namely Ste.Foy, Charlesbourg and Orsainville which all offer the greater number of amenities and at the same time have undergone the greatest increases in population between 1951 and 1971.

Slow growth, however, is indicative of most of the south shore localities. This is, as was indicated in the first section of this chapter, the region where urban development has been the least noticeable.

There is on the other hand no significant growth area on the north shore which prevails from a positional point of view. In other words, it can be safely said that the north shore is growing rapidly but in a general way. The areas which underwent medium growth can attest to the previous observation.

2.3 PHASES IN A CITY'S DEVELOPMENT

By studying population growth and its ensuing characteristics over very long periods of time urban geographers have given us the urbanization curve. R.M. Northam describes this curve in the following way: "*it has the shape of an attenuated*

"S" ... The flattish, lower end of the curve depicting conditions at an early time period ... the initial stage of urbanization. The attenuated trunk of the curve, the acceleration stage, depicts a pronounced redistribution of the population from less than 25% urban to up 70% urban. After the acceleration stage has run its course there comes the third and final or terminal stage.

In this stage the urban population goes over the 70% stage and thus begins to level, creating a flattish upper portion of the curve".¹²

The curve in question, when applied over a sufficiently long time period, will obviously resemble a statistical normal curve.

A. Lord has applied this principle to the Quebec region. In his study he states: "the normal curve to a city's evolution can differentiate three principal phases; pre-development, development and post-development. Each of those general phases has its own particular curve of evolution, depending on the area in question but all of them can be related to a normal curve."¹³

The first phase, that of pre-development, is also the lower portion of the normal curve and is characterized by a relatively slow growth in the population. "Those municipalities included in this category are generally those situated near urban centres. The move to the suburbs has started the form

¹² Ray M. Northman "Urban Geography" John Wiley & Sons Inc. 1975 pp. 53-54

¹³ A. Lord, "Etude sur la restructuration municipale de l'agglomération urbaine de Québec", Ministère des Affaires Municipales, Prov.Que. 1972 p.11

of an irreversible migration but at the same time many of the services are not yet well organized and thus in effect attract fewer people. Speculation is an inevitable part of this first phase and thus can hinder growth."¹⁴

It is also interesting to note that a majority of these municipalities are located on the south shore of the St. Lawrence. This is one of the primary indications that characterize the area as having sure potential for future growth.

In the Québec region, there are still a few municipalities that can be classified as being in the first phase of growth, some of these are:

Notre-Dame des Laurentides

Charny

Cap Rouge

St. Romuald

St. Nicholas

St. David

Charlesbourg-Est.

In these areas urban development can be classified as being in its early stages. "In general these municipalities can be said to be in a period of transition that began around 1961. The increase in population is still not high enough to classify them in the second stage yet. It is nevertheless certain that they will undoubtedly undergo a greater period of growth and development within the next decade thereby changing category very rapidly."¹⁵

¹⁴ A. Lord, "Etude sur la restructuration municipale de l'agglomération urbaine de Québec" op. cit. p. 14

¹⁵ IBID, p. 17

The second part of the curve represents the development phase. It signifies that the faster the rate of growth the steeper the curve. And furthermore, if development occurs in spurts the curve will take on a broken shape. When this happens greater variations are most likely to occur from one municipality to the next even though their overall nature will be characterized by an upward trend.

*"Generally speaking it is during this period that the municipality begins the establishment of a master plan of some kind. The plan, however will not usually coincide with the development going on in the area, that is the plan will usually be conceived a little later, after the first signs of development"*¹⁶ This "phase differentiation" is obviously one of the major reasons leading to the practical problems regarding the plans' implementation in an equitable fashion.

The municipalities located within this second phase can be categorized in two groups: those showing fast and medium growth.

The ascending aspect of the curves indicates the rapid nature of the growth and can also show tendencies for the future. Generally speaking those municipalities having a rapid growth are situated directly on Québec city's immediate border. Ste. Foy, Charlesbourg, Beauport, Giffard, Orsainville, Loretteville, Ancienne-Lorette are part of this group. In contrast to this rapid growth we can find municipalities whose

¹⁶ IBID, p. 18

growth is slower and at the same time, more normal. For these areas, the change from phase A to B happened quite a few years ago. Therefore even though the development in Québec, Lévis, Lauzon, Vanier and Courville is going on more slowly it is nevertheless prolonging itself over a longer period of time. As far as post-development is concerned, this phase represents a period where *"the population takes on a more stable nature."*¹⁷ Growth is nearly nil and sometimes even negative. The city's construction is nearly over and the optimum population has quite often been attained. It also occurs that political and economic stability has "arrived" and presides over the area.

Within this last phase, there can occur a certain brief period of urbanization and consequently an increase in population. For example, land speculation can prevent the total and immediate development of an area. Urban renewal, or the establishing of a new series of infrastructures (i.e. a new bridge) can result in a renewed increase in the population which will later stabilize itself in a few years. It is therefore obvious that the third phase is not a definite or final one. A few transformations will certainly take place but they are minor when placed within the context of the entire municipality.

There are two municipalities within the Québec region which in my opinion, make up this last phase; Sillery and Montmorency. Both of these areas offer little room for future growth as they are completely enclosed on all sides by newer and already established municipalities. In the last decade their devel-

¹⁷ IBID, p. 20

opment phase was almost over and their population in effect has declined since 1961.

In conclusion it can be said that the urban evolution of the Québec region can be traced back to many decades. But from 1961 on this evolution has taken another form. The region has grown quite rapidly not only in the two principal north shore municipalities, Québec and Ste. Foy but also in the other suburban localities as well. This quick expansion has never come as fast for such areas as Charlesbourg, Beauport, Orsainville, Loretteville and Ancienne Lorette.

Generally speaking though it may be said that although there has been an absolute growth of the overall population certain areas seem more privileged than others. There is also a direct contrast between the north and south shores of the St. Lawrence River, which in itself was a major barrier affecting development in a southerly direction. On the north shore, there are certain fast growing areas such as Ste. Foy, Charlesbourg and Beauport all of which border on Quebec city. From the point of view of effective population growth there are three main centres; Québec, Ste. Foy and Charlesbourg. The statistics from the last census pointed out the predominance of the Ste. Foy and Charlesbourg growth rates over Québec city. This rapid growth of outlying suburbs situated on the north shore is obviously a major factor in determining the future growth trends within the region. The south shore on the other hand, remains an area having tremendous potential for both demographic and

developmental growth. The relatively recent addition of a second bridge in 1971 linking both shores has in itself helped to further enhance it's development potential by rendering it more accessible, time-wise, than the outlying northern most municipalities bordering on the Laurentian Mountain range. As the feasible land for development purposes on the north shore becomes rarer the southern region will no doubt become even more attractive. The fringe areas of the Metro Québec region can thus be indentified from a population growth perspective as being, generally speaking, on the outer limits of the fast growing suburban north shore municipalities as well as the major proportion of the south shore localities. In the next chapter I will attempt to define these fringe areas from a geographic standpoint but first a look at the economic situation of the area is in order.

2.4 THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

In the previous sections of this chapter I have given a partial description of the metropolitan Québec region. The imput and subsequent examination of various forms of economic data should serve as a further addition to this description, thereby rendering a more accurate reflection of Québec's present image.

2.4.1 THE LABOUR FORCE

In order to obtain a more detailed description of an economic system an examination of the population's working

force is necessary. In 1976, there were 372,000 people above the age of 15 in the Metro Region.¹⁸ Within this potentially active group there were 224,000 (52%)¹⁹ belonging to the working force.

If we look at sex breakdown, the picture becomes clearer. The potentially active population was made up of 123,200 men and 100,000 women. 55% men and 45% women were part of the effective working force..

The same statistics when placed in a municipal context for the Québec region show extreme variations, i.e. from 70.3% to 85.2% men and from 14.5% to 33.6% women. On the other hand the differences between the percentage of experienced labour remains small (98.7% to 100% men and 96.2% to 100% women).²⁰

Unemployment in the region varies from 5 to 8% depending on the municipality in question. In general the unemployment rate seems to be highest on the south shore, 7.5% for Lévis being one of the highest.²¹

Generally speaking one can say that the working force in the Québec region is of a relatively stable nature, even though The employment situation has fluctuated somewhat since 1966. For example the rates of increase for the years '66 to '71 were 4.1% 3.8%, 2.9%, 4.2% respectively. When compared to the whole of the country the figures appear to be about the same, Canadian

rates varying from 2.5 to 5.5%. From a quantitative point of view these statistics can be translated into the following figures: in 1971 there were 63.9 thousand paid working force in Québec city only, 40.3 thousand men and 23.6 thousand women. "Non salaried" working force is 3.7 thousand men and one (1) thousand women.²²

The same figures for the metropolitan region are slightly lower in proportion, which is logical enough considering that the area in question is of a less urban nature. 77.8 thousand men and 38.4 thousand women make up the salaried working force.²³

The educational level of this working force is furnished by a Québec urban community census. In effect, 11.1% men and 5.4% women are university graduates, 45.4% men and 58.0% women finished high school whereas 45.5% men and 40.6% women completed grade school only. These rather flattering figures are a reflection of the city's requirements with regards to government and university employment.²⁴

A breakdown of the labour force by employment category would show a rather small percentage of people working in the primary sector which is normal for a predominantly urban area. There would also be a significant proportion of professionals and a slightly lower percentage of administrators.

²² IBID

²³ IBID

²⁴ Metro Quebec Canada Data, C.U.Q., p. 5

The level of wages for the region is surprisingly low, the main reason being the significant percentage of females in the working force having an average salary of approximately \$5,000 per year.²⁵ This fact, when coupled to the reality that most of the working force is in the service sector can paint an unreasonably bleak picture of the economic situation. A few points regarding the working women in Québec can possibly explain the situation more clearly. The unmarried working woman is generally younger than average. Her salary as such is usually situated at the lower levels. When she gets older she usually marries and, if we continue to follow the statistical archetype, will stop working only to possibly begin working again later on in her life. This final job is also the type where the salary level is exceptionally lower than average.

Another fact of a totally different aspect can be a partial explanation of lower wages. The situation is that, generally speaking, *"the typical Québec region industry is a relatively small one with a correspondingly low production, and sometimes these smaller "family" companies state lower than*²⁶*average wages"*.

On a typically regional level the salary breakdown is given for a few representative municipalities in Table VIII.

25

IBID, p. 5, in 1971

26

Source: Etudes sur les Communautés urbaines au Québec, Vol. 3. Développement Qué. OPDQ Vol 1, No 2.

TABLE VIII AVERAGE SALARY PER MUNICIPALITY, 1971					
SEX	QUEBEC	SILLERY	STE-FOY	GIFFARD	LAUZON
Men	\$3 320	\$5 750	\$5 440	\$3 513	\$3 217
Women	\$1 839	\$1 883	\$1 802	\$1 756	\$1 513

Source: Etudes sur les Communautés urbaines au Québec,
Vol. 3

The table shows the establishment of two definite economic poles from a salary point of view. The higher salaries of Ste. Foy and neighbouring Sillery, both on the north shore, are a direct contrast to the lower values of the south shore municipalities. This is especially true of the male working force for, in all reality, the female salary levels are low regardless of the municipality.

The question arises as to why the south shore municipalities seem to be inferior to their northern neighbours in this respect. Historically these areas have been underdeveloped simply because of the fact that a major barrier - the St. Lawrence River - separated them from the region's central business district in Québec city. Add to this the fact that the southern portion of these south shore localities is largely rural in nature and you have an accurate description of the "poor brother" in the Québec region family. In the last decade however, these fringe areas have begun to experience a certain influx of

suburbanities which will undoubtedly affect both the municipalities income brackets and residential land evaluation roles.

A brief study of some recent evolutionary trends, with regards to the working force, would give the following results: first in the ten year span from 1951 to 1961 the "active" population of Québec increased by 26,626 people. In the primary sector, the population decreased by nearly 500 people or 1 percent. The secondary sectors, although retaining approximately the same population, underwent a relative decrease of nearly 7 percent with regards to the tertiary, or services-sector, which increased to 72.7% from 65.1% or 27,000 people. Certain approximate results for the next decade show that the increase continued in each sector but at a slightly smaller rate so that in 1974 the active population of Québec was equal to 76% of the total population and nearly equal to 200,000 people, 65% male and 35% female.²⁷

Finally the Quebec economic base can be summed up quite easily: a rapidly growing emphasis on governmental and tourist associated functions mixed with a decreasing manufacturing sector which in turn is overshadowed by a sprinkling of heavy industries and finally it's port facility.

As Nader points out *"governmental functions in Quebec date back to 1633 when Champlain returned from France as the first governor of the colony."*²⁸ On the manufacturing side he

²⁷

"Metro Que. Canada Data", C.U.Q., op. cit. p.6

²⁸ G.A. Nader, Cities of Canada, op. cit., p. 90

states that "since 1951 there has been a small but consistent decline in the manufacturing work force".²⁹ "In addition to the locally oriented food and beverages industries, important manufacturing activities include clothing, tanning and shoe factories, pulp and paper, printing and publishing and finally shipbuilding and oil refining".³⁰

It is interesting to note that two of the larger industries are located on the south shore. Lauzon has as it's major employer the Davie shipbuilding works whereas St. Romuald received the recently (1971) completed Golden Eagle Oil refinery, thereby complementing the south shore's biggest industrial park. Even more recently, there has been some speculation that the Quebec region might soon be getting an Aluminium wiring factory and south shore sites are being favourably compared to a few of their north shore rivers. The addition of this new plant on the south shore when coupled with a renewed emphasis on the exploitation of the southern region's ideal agricultural resources could add the much needed diversity in industrial activities which in itself would be a positive force in implementing a regional growth pattern.

There is, however, little doubt that of all the industrial sectors, Quebec's revitalized port will be the one major asset, for the region. The current transformation of the port, which is primarily the result of it's phasing out from the original site in

²⁹ IBID p. 92

³⁰ IBID p. 92

the Bassin Louise to the nearby Beauport flats, with the accompanying industrial park, will likely enable the city to "recapture it's original function as the meeting point for ocean and river shipping".³¹

2.5 QUEBEC'S GROWTH PATTERNS

The addition to an economic evaluation of the Quebec area, an examination of it's growth patterns as witnessed, among others, by it's development along the main transportation routes, will complete a description of the area.

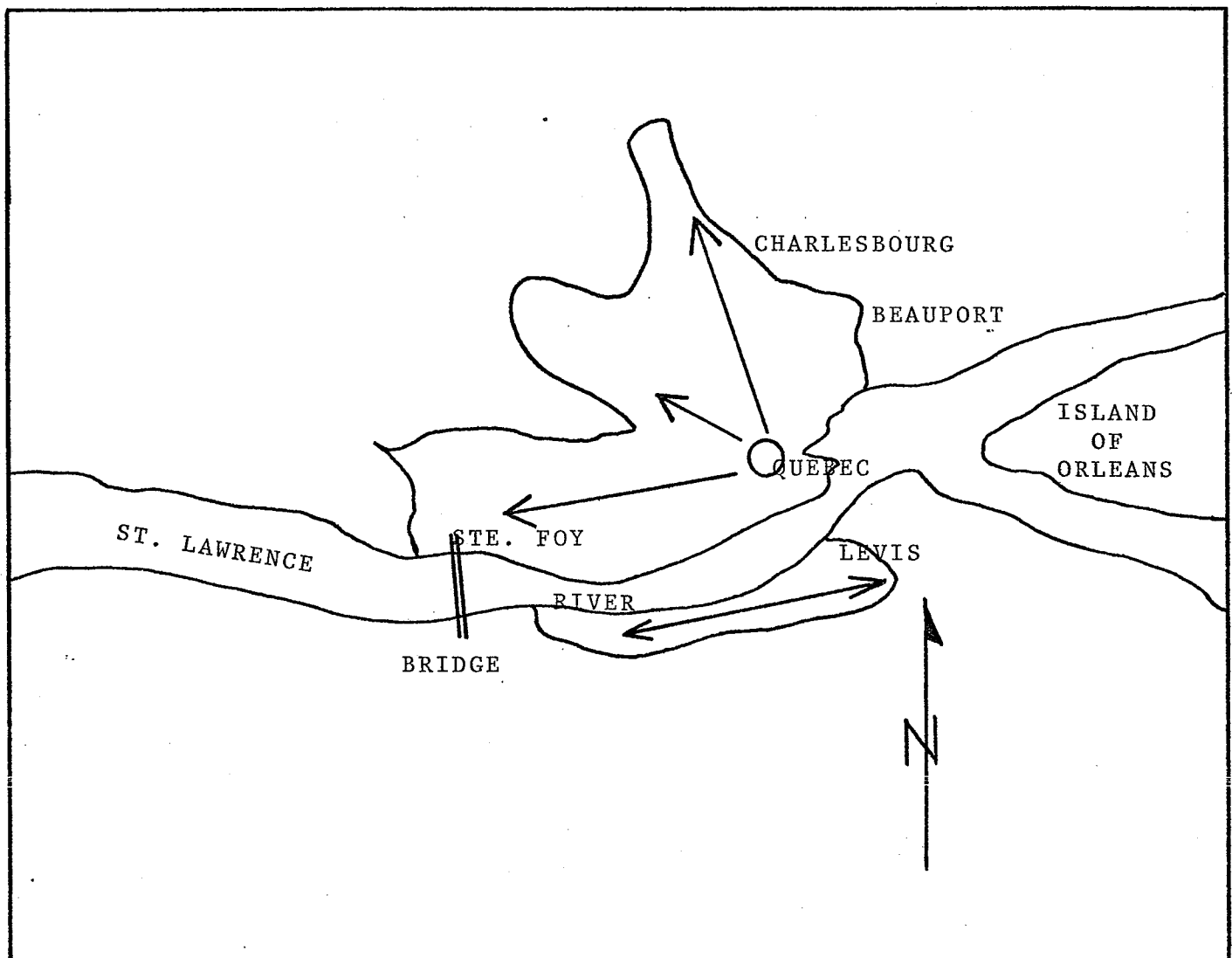
Historically the first major transportation route was obviously the St. Lawrence river and as such the first signs of development took place on the river's banks and more precisely, at the junction of the St. Lawrence with the St. Charles. In time however the city underwent certain transformations, with growth mainly situated on the north side of the plateau bordering on the St. Charles River and gradually heading in both a westerly and northern direction.

Today, there are three main development axes on the north shore of the Metro Québec region, two of which are already well developed. (see figure 4) They are:

- 1- The east-west axis which goes from Ste. Foy to Montmorency and which follows the river;
- 2- The Notre-Dame des Laurentides to Québec axis which follows the Laurentian Boulevard on the eastern side, forming a continuous urban mass;

³¹ IBID p. 94

FIGURE 4
QUEBEC'S GROWTH PATTERNS



- 3- The north-west axis, which is relatively new. It seems to dictate a development line from Québec, Vanier, Neufchatel and Ancienne Lorette.

These three development axes can be made to correspond to the main circulation routes. In order to understand the development of these main routes a brief history of their evolution is in order.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the evolution of the changing urban pattern in Metro Québec began at the mouth of the St. Charles River and continued radiating inwards resulting in a concentric development pattern. This state of affairs was characteristic of the area until approximately 1947 or after the second World War. Between 1947 and 1967, three main development "radials" began to take shape.³² The main growth area was situated west of Québec where the largest suburb of the region, Ste. Foy, now stands. This observation can easily be linked to the fact that the Québec Bridge was about seven miles west of the city centre and it being the main link to the south shore and also to the faster route 20 to Montreal, the province's metropolis.

Charlesbourg and Orsainville both situated north of the city centre then underwent similar periods of growth, but at a slightly slower pace, and spread out over a longer time scale.

³² Vandry et Jobin, "Plan de circulation et de Transport Region Metropolitaine de Québec", Québec 1968.

It is probably significant that the Laurentian Boulevard, which leads to the Chicoutimi - Lac St. Jean area (120 miles north of Québec), bordered on both of these localities.

The third growth centre, that pointing north west towards Ancienne Lorette, Loretteville and Duberger can generally be attributed to the natural expansion of the two former axes and the resulting need of more efficient communication within the area concerned.

Since 1967, the previous growth directions seem to have been reaffirmed. The movement toward Ste. Foy and Charlesbourg-Orsainville was irreversible and continued while the "peri-urban" areas of Duberger, Loretteville and Ancienne Lorette began to grow at a rapid pace. This last observation can be very interesting if viewed in a future context for even though the east-west pattern has relatively no open spaces left for development the same is not true of the north-west option. If present tendencies persist it can easily be predicted that urbanization of the next decades will reach these already existing and prosperous centres. The same can be said for any area situated west of Charlesbourg and Orsainville.³³

After having described the main urban poles of attraction, a discussion of the main communication routes would seem a propos.

³³ Author's Note: At the time that this thesis was being written, the City of Québec planning department was beginning to plan a new town project, known as "Le Bourgneuf", situated northwest of Québec at a distance of approximately 5 miles from the city center.

It can be assumed that each urban area is well served by the existing road system. (see figure 5) As far as inter-municipal communications are concerned the network seems to fullfill present requirements quite well; this is especially true of the majority of the urban centres which are well linked together. East-west routes are efficient and usually quite rapid. This has been especially true with the establishing of the Champlain boulevard which borders the St. Lawrence river and links the city centre to the bridges in a rapid fashion.

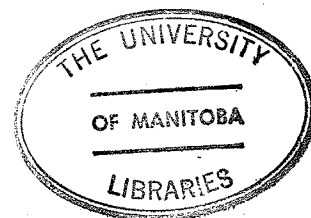
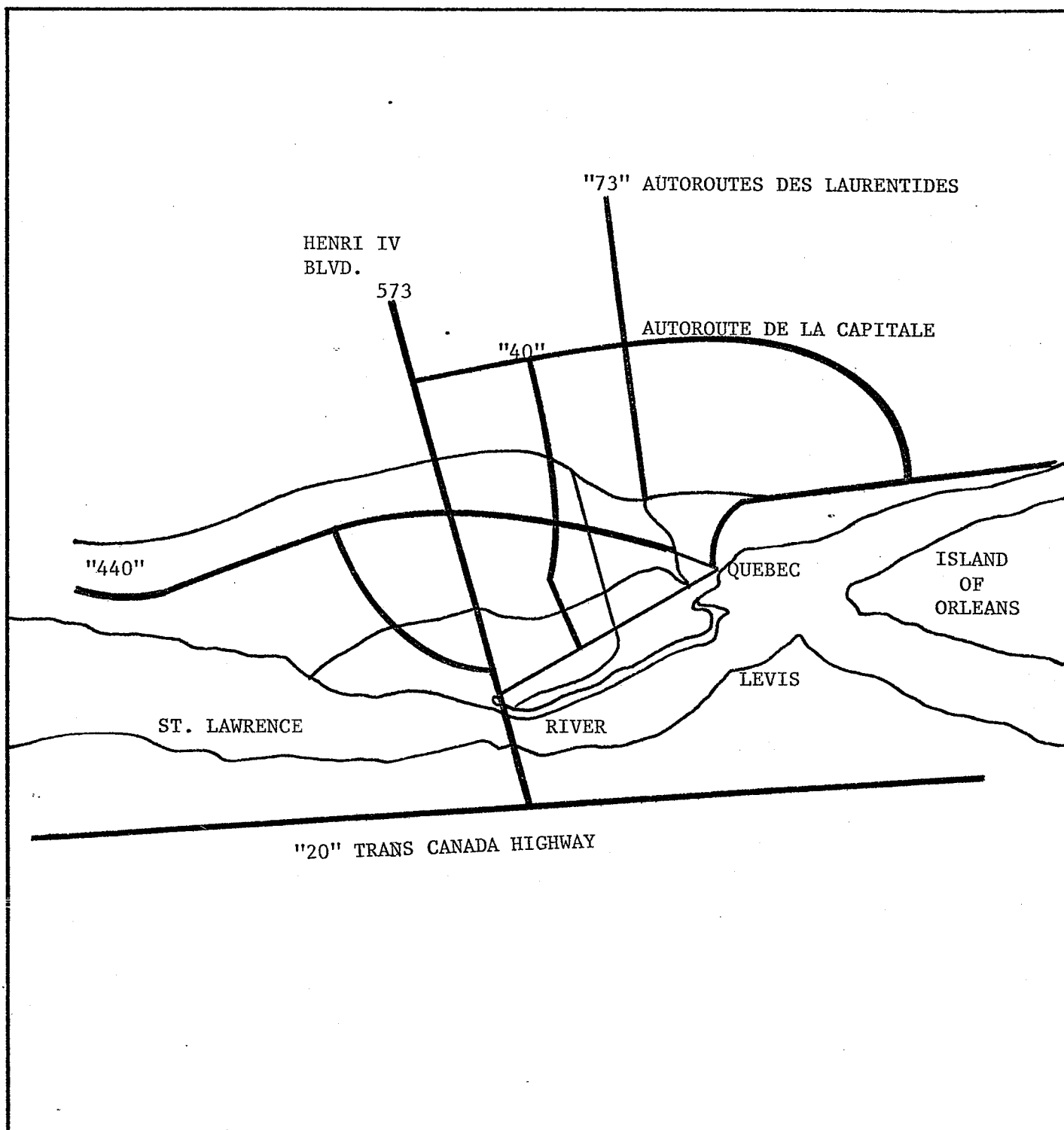
The north-south communications are less direct, as far as access to the city centre is concerned. It is hoped that the establishing of the Dufferin Autoroute, which will link the centre to the nothern municipalities, will partially solve this problem. It should be mentioned that this north-south situation is only evident for the city centre. Ste. Foy is well supplied with major routes in this direction and they in fact have the effect of lessening the traffic load on the city centre.

The present situation discloses a problem of far more importance than the lack of direct north-south communication. An observation of the main routes leading to the city centre shows that the majority of the arteries lead to the centre but none of them go on through it to localities on the other side (western or eastern respectively). This obviously leads to a direct influx of traffic towards the centre with its accompanying parking and congestion hazards.

As there is presently very little free space within the city centre's limits, the problem is partially solved by a mul-

FIGURE 5

THE EXISTING ROAD SYSTEM



titude of underground parking lots with over 8,000 public spaces in Québec city's central district alone.

This problem of decongestioning the city centre should also be solved partially when the Dufferin Autoroute is completed.

On the south shore access to Québec is quite effective considering the relatively small population that is being serviced. The main access is by way of the two bridges and secondary transport being the ferry service. The main arteries on the south shore in general circumvent the southern borders of the localities concerned, with the exception of Charny. Their main advantage, from a locational standpoint, is that they are situated far enough away from the respective centres so as not to interfere with their expansion. The positioning of these arteries should help in locating ideal residential, commercial and industrial developments within the next decade.

There is no doubt that the prior establishment of major transportation routes has always had a capital effect on the direction that future urban developments take. The Quebec region has been and will be no exception. As the last section of this chapter has shown the fringe areas which have the greatest potential for future development are precisely those areas where the main routes are leading.

This description of the region's growth along the main transportation arteries was summed up in the C.U.Q.'s "schéma d'aménagement": *"l'urbanisation sur le territoire de la communauté"*

urbaine de Québec a pris une forme générale de dispersion le long des grands axes routiers, dispersion allant en s'accélé-
rant avec le temps, pour donner, en 1975, l'image d'une aggro-
mération tentaculaire, dévorant la périphérie, tout en provo-
quant la congestion de son noyau central"³⁴ and also that ...
"le phénomène d'urbanisation irait donc en s'accroissant en
périphérie".³⁵

It should now be quite clear that a detailed examination
of the region's peripheral area is required in order to obtain a
diagnosis of the Quebec area's urban problems.

³⁴ "Schéma d'aménagement de la C.U.Q. - 2 - Le concept - p. 6

³⁵ IBID p. 8

CHAPTER 3: THE FRINGE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceeding chapter gave a brief introduction to Quebec city, its history, geography, and socio-economic situation along with a note on the transportation picture of the region. That chapter had as its primary goal, the establishing of a general description of the whole Quebec metropolitan area, thereby familiarizing the reader to the area and at the same time establishing a sound information base to be used in subsequent chapters.

In following the same line of thought, chapter three will furnish a more complete description, both practical and theoretical, of one specifically important part of that area - the fringe. But before taking a concrete look at Quebec's particular situation a theoretical definition of the fringe is essential.

When reading about urban problems many similar terms crop out which quite often refer to the same series of urban processes. The wealth of urban literature today has given rise to such distinctions as exurbia, suburbia, rurban fringe, suburban zone, urban shadow, not to mention urban fringe. The precise differentiation of any of these particular areas presents certain difficulties, primarily because of their many physical similarities, and also because of their ever changing nature. Nevertheless, the introduction of certain de-

finitions, should prove to be of some use especially upon a subsequent examination of the fringe's interrelated problems.

3.1.1 THE DEFINITION OF A FRINGE

A bird's-eye view of an urban region can often disclose some interesting relationships. The city core, being the most densely populated area, seems to propagate itself outwards, in varying directions and intensities. As we go further away from the central area, the urban densities seem to decrease and the land begins to lose some of its urban character. This is the beginning of the fringe.

As D. Thomas points out urban fringes do not seem to have been *"identified as distinctive parts of the urban region, with particular characteristics and particular problems until the early 1940's"*.¹ In fact Pryor attributes the first use of the term "urban fringe" to T.L. Smith, who, in a study of the composition and changes of the population of Louisiana in 1937 employed it to signify the built up area just outside the corporate limits of the city.²

Today, the area is quite often identified as a result of urban sprawl - another popular term which is an intrinsic characteristic of the fringe.

¹D. Thomas, "The urban fringe, p.17, : Approaches and attitudes" Suburban Growth, Geographical Processes at the edge of the western city, Ed. by J.H. Johnson, London, John Wiley and Sons, 1974

²I.B.I.D., p. 17

The term urban sprawl has been defined by Charles Abrams as *"The awkward spreading out of the links of either a man or community"*³. On a more practical basis, the term can probably be better referred to as *"a haphazard and discontinuous development in the urban fringe"*⁴. The latter conception refers to the existing ribbons of mixed land uses along major transportation routes. This definition shows that one of the main characteristics of the urban fringe is that it usually results from sprawl and can be identified by a variety of mixed land uses. Edward Higbee follows the same concept when he defines sprawl as *"the premature fractionation and haphazard spot development which destroys the whole cloth out of which a more rational and a more beautiful urban design otherwise might have been tailored at a later date"*⁵. Further on, in the same article he states, *"The conversion of agricultural land to more intensive uses on the urban fringe can either be a one shot ravishment or it can be a guided process in which intelligent investors would plan for long time capital appreciation"*⁶. As urban sprawl evolves, it takes on more distinguishable characteristics. John Kinsel states that, *"Urban dispersal may take one or more of several forms: a gradual encroachment on the surrounding rural land, encirclement of non-urban territory,*

³C. Abrams: *The language of Cities*

⁴L.H. Russwurn in *Urban problems: A Canadian Reader*, Ed. by R.P. Krueger

⁵E. Higbee, *"Agricultural land on the urban Fringe"*, J. Gottman, R.A. Harper, Ed. *"A Geographer's look at urban sprawl"*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1967, p. 57

⁶*Ibid*, p. 66

radial penetration along main highways or leap-frogging!

Those forces characterizing urban sprawl can also be applied to the urban fringe. R. Kurtz states that sprawl exhibits its location characteristics "beyond the limits of the legal city, in the agricultural hinterland exhibiting characteristics of mixed land use with no consistent pattern of farm and non-farm dwellings. The residents are involved in rural and urban occupations. The area is unincorporated, relatively lax zoning regulations exist, and few if any municipal services are provided. The area shows potentialities for population growth and increasing density ratios"⁸.

Marion Clawson also points out that sprawl "is also responsible for or associated with, much wastage of land since the intervening unused areas are mostly not used at all"⁹.

L. H. Russwurm takes a more pragmatic approach in defining the fringe: "The rural urban fringe is thus the unincorporated zone of mixed rural and urban land uses undergoing transition from rural to urban land uses, outside the corporate city limits and its contiguous built up suburbs wherein population densities are lower than urban but higher than ru-

⁷ John Kinsel, "A concept of Rural-Urban Regions", in R.G. Putnam et al, Ed. "A Geography of urban Places" Methuen, Tot. 1970 p. 353

⁸ R. Kurtz & J.B. Eicher "Fringe & Suburb: A confusion of concepts", Social Forces, Vol. XXXVII, Oct. 1958, p.36

⁹ Marion Clawson, "Urban Sprawl & Speculation in urban land", p. 313 "A Geography of urban places Selected readings", Ed. by R.G. Putnam, F.J. Taylor, P.G. Kettle, Methuen, Toronto, 1970

ral, and wherein over fifty percent of the working population is engaged in non-farm occupations"¹⁰.

The urban fringe then, can be defined as an area which adjoins the built up part of a particular municipality. If we wish to define the fringe of more than one municipality, as in a typical urban region, we do so by linking each fringe with the periphery of its neighbour's, resulting in an area that takes on the form of a ring that flows around the whole of the region. The "typical" fringe will contain the same type of urban land uses that a suburban zone will have, but to a lesser degree. It can basically be identified as a land space having a semi urban to urban to rural characteristic from both a population density and a land use activity point of view. Trying to limit or precisely define the urban fringe is a difficult process. As Russwurm states "one way is to pick out some identifying clues such as, scattered housing, industrial parks, peripheral shopping centres, golf courses, scrap yards, garbage dumps, shacktowns, trailer camps or other land uses having a semi permanent characteristic or requiring cheaper land"¹¹.

But as Johnson states "land use is perhaps a simpler criterion to apply (in characterizing the fringe); yet... there are difficulties, springing from the essentially mixed charac-

¹⁰ L.H. Russwurm, "The Rural-Urban Fringe with comparative References to London, Waterloo and Sarnia", M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario 1961, p. 23

¹¹ L.H. Russwurm, op.cit. p. 109, "Urban Fringe and Urban shadow"

ter of the fringe zone"¹².

In defining the characteristics of the fringe Thomas¹³ lists what Wehrwein in 1942, considered to be it's three main characteristics:

- 1) the nature of residential growth added to the flexibility of modern transportation systems which encouraged rapid expansion of residential sites in basically rural areas.
- 2) the second characteristic stemmed from the recreational demands upon the fringe; which had long been pre-empted for private use.
- 3) the third characteristic of fringe land uses was the result of institutional factors such as water supply stations, sewage disposal plants, slaughter houses, etc.

As Thomas points out "*Wehrwein's pioneering study has been followed by many others focussing upon the land uses of the urban fringe*"¹⁴. Kurtz & Eicher, Wissink, Andrews, Myers & Beegle are but a few who have provided enlightenment on the subject.

In addition to those mentionned above another defining characteristic of a fringe is the urban corridor. These elongations of the urban scene can affect the land use of an area for many years into the future. As was at least hinted at in the last part of the preceeding chapter, transportation and communication are increasing daily in importance which quite

¹² Johnson, "Urban Geography", op. cit. p. 148

¹³ David Thomas, "The Urban Fringe: Approaches and attitudes", John Wiley & Sons, 1974, "Suburban Growth", edited by J. Johnson p. 20

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 22

often explains the linear formation of a twentieth century city, and its fringe. In Quebec, with its peculiar population distribution parallel to the St. Lawrence river, these urban corridors take on a special importance. The transportation corridors in the east-west and north-south direction as described in chapter two are continuously being sectioned by both small and large municipalities. Urban fringe developments on the other hand intensify themselves in this same corridor direction, especially when they occur on an important route. The Trans-Canada highway (Rte. 20) on the south shore, l'Autoroute de la Capitale and Le boulevard des Laurentides on the north, are present day examples of such cases.

The obvious irregularities that result from such linear developments are the source of many planning difficulties, all of which are eventually linked to fringe formation.

The problem of putting together those areas which result from a linear form of development with the more familiar circular type of outward expansion is twofold. First of all the patterns of land use activities must be normalized and secondly their contiguity or distance from the city limits should be restrained in some homogenous fashion. In order to be able to comprehend this growth process there are certain points that must be taken into consideration regarding the formation of a fringe and the resulting land use patterns.

The first point lies in the fact that *"most land uses*

are characterized by a certain geographic determination"¹⁵.

The situation of a hill, plain, or river as well as prevailing winds, climate and soil composition will have a determining effect, on both the type of land use and the order in which it is used. It is certain though that as a city becomes larger and thus more urban in character it begins to pay less importance to geographic factors and more to economic ones.

Economic determination is linked to the results of inflation with the accompanying mobility and emphasis on leisure. As demand for land increases prices rise accordingly. The cost of using land becomes so high that agriculture becomes non-existent. It is certain that any land use which will bring in more money for the owner will predominate over less "efficient" uses. It is therefore natural to use this invasion of commercially oriented land use activities over the once profitable agricultural ones. The fringe as such thus becomes the precursor of things to come. If viewed closely it can warn us of the oncoming city growth which will eventually incorporate and disturb the rural community in a haphazard fashion.

Thomas¹⁶ points out six other general problems of the Fringe:

- 1) First, are those problems stemming from scattered and piecemeal residential and commercial development. Associated with this problem is the problem of organizing and articulating administratively the small, often straggling settlements of the fringe.

¹⁵ H. Lefebvre "Du Rural à l'Urbain", Ed. Anthropos, Paris 1970, p.56

¹⁶ D. Thomas, "The urban Fringe, approaches and attitudes", op.cit. pp.26-29

*"Administrative control is usually in the hands of a rural, rather than an urban authority whose attitudes to development maybe ambivalent if not positively confused, by it's responsibilities to two quite different groups of interests"*¹⁷.

It is to this particular problem that this thesis will suggest a few solutions in the concluding chapters.

- 2) Second, difficulties arise on urban fringes from the intermixture of non conforming land uses with those commonly found in rural areas.

It is interesting to note that this mixture of conflicting land uses can have social side effects. Johnson noted that the fringe *"could be recognized on social grounds... for the presence of separate rural and urban groups each with distinctive occupations and attitudes"*¹⁸.

When considered in the "EXURBIA" context these conflicts presented innumerable planning difficulties.

- 3) Third, there are problems of reserving land for agriculture and ensuring that it remains economically viable. Agriculture is obviously in a weak competitive position in the urban fringe and can thus be easily fragmented.
- 4) Fourth, problems arise out of the reservation of land for recreational purposes.
- 5) Fifth, there are problems that originate from the high costs of services to scattered residential groupings.
- 6) Lastly, and as was noted with regards to the problems resulting from mixed

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 26

¹⁸ Johnson, "Urban Geography", op. cit. p. 148

land uses, there are the resulting social consequences associated with the accelerated intermixture of different social groups.

On the Quebec scene, the C.U.Q.'s "schéma d'aménagement" describes the effects that urban sprawl has had on the region in the following way:

"SUR LES TRANSPORTS: Le réseau routier devient le vecteur de l'urbanisation en périphérie, renforçant l'usage de l'automobile et congestionnant le centre-ville, lieu d'emploi principal; l'inefficacité du transport en commun, causée par une densité résidentielle trop faible fait que la périphérie se motorise de plus en plus, aggravant le déficit du transport en commun.

SUR L'HABITATION: L'énorme consommation d'espace engendrée par les développements résidentiels en banlieue et l'éloignement accru entre l'habitat et les pôles d'emploi (principalement le centre-ville), viennent en conflit avec l'intégration nécessaire des fonctions urbaines et l'amélioration de la qualité de la vie;

SUR LES SERVICES MUNICIPAUX: La dispersion provoque un gaspillage des services publics (implantation et entretien: pavage et éclairage des rues locales, aqueduc et égout, déneigement); les coûts par unité de logement augmentent.

SUR LES EQUIPEMENTS: L'urbanisation dispersée et non planifiée est axée sur la fonction résidentielle; les équipements y font généralement défaut ou ne sont pas assez rentables vu le faible bassin de desserte; il en résulte une saturation des équipements du centre-ville.

SUR LE PATRIMOINE CULTUREL: La dispersion vient souvent détruire les bâtiments et les noyaux de peuplement anciens, situés le long des axes routiers traditionnels, engloutissant les éléments caractéristiques du passé rural (paysage, architecture, histoire, fonctions traditionnelles);

SUR L'ENVIRONNEMENT: La proportion des terrains de la C.U.Q. non touchés par le développement, décroît progressivement: ainsi... les terres agricoles subissent une désaffectation croissante, les boisés, les berges de rivières, les escarpements sous le jeu de la spéculation péri-urbaine; sous l'action de l'urbanisation galopante, l'environnement naturel se rétrécit, se compartimente, se dégrade.

SUR LES ESPACES VERTS: A mesure que le développement se disperse en milieu naturel, les espaces verts à potentiel récréatif, si nécessaires à la population urbaine confinée de plus en plus en milieu minéralisé, fuient devant la scie mécanique et le béton;

SUR LES POLES D'EMPLOI: La dispersion accentue le besoin de l'automobile pour les déplacements habitat-travail; ce qui contribue à la congestion des pôles majeurs;

SUR LES FINANCES MUNICIPALES: L'un des effets directs de la dispersion est sans contredit l'augmentation des investissements municipaux liés au développement en périphérie: la faible densité résidentielle ne peut faire compenser le coût d'implantation et d'entretien des services municipaux par une hausse proportionnelle des taxes foncières; il en résulte un épuisement progressif des finances municipales, à mesure que l'urbanisation se poursuit de façon dispersée".¹⁹

3.2 THE QUEBEC "FRINGE"

The second chapter showed that, the Quebec region has expanded in a non uniform manner. This has been due to the fact that two or three areas have become the main growth poles and as such represented the expansion of the whole region. If we follow the definitions cited previously, we can determine an approximate overall shape for the Quebec Fringe. Thus we

¹⁹ Schéma d'aménagement de la C.U.Q.; les presses de l'Université Laval, p.7

can see that the general form of the fringe is basically triangular, with the longer side taking a south-west direction of about 10 miles from the city centre. The second longest side going due north about 8 miles and the final side being the linking of the two. Growth along the south shore of the St. Lawrence is very shallow, barely reaching more than 4 miles southward.

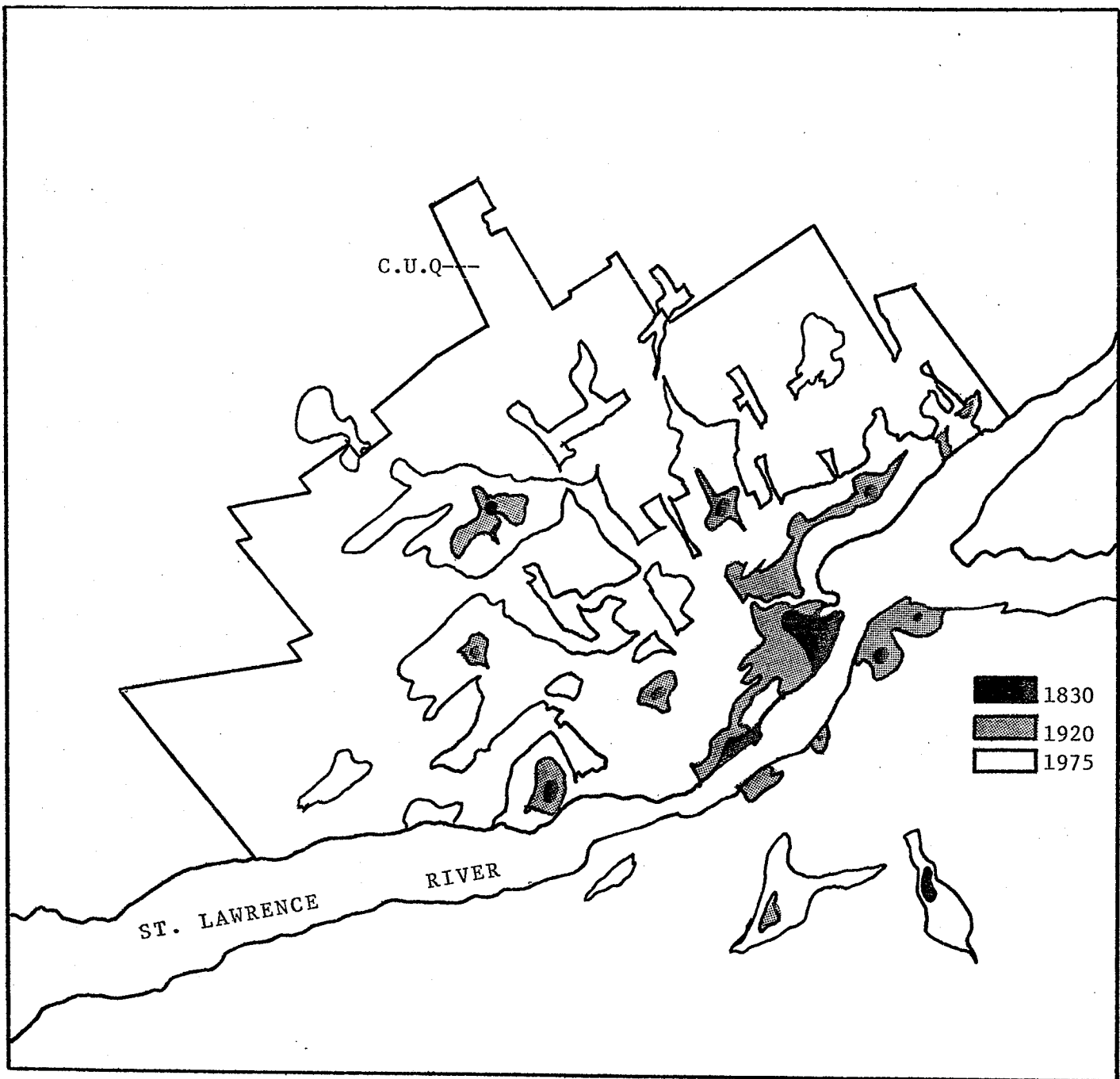
The "*schéma d'aménagement*", of the C.U.Q.²⁰, in describing the evolution of the region's urban perimeter gives us a general impression of the Quebec fringe's overall shape. Figure 6 describes that evolution.

The fact that most of the expansion has followed two main axes can enable us to define the fringe in an approximate way, but only from an historical perspective. The outskirts have now taken on an irregular form which presents quite a few problems to planners. A discussion of the main characteristics that have resulted on the Quebec urban scene from this uneven geographic expansion will help in determining the true nature of the fringe area. A study of the Quebec region, as well as a series of detailed interviews with various members of the planning community has enabled the author to identify three main problems, or "planning headaches" that have adversely affected Quebec's growth.

The first problem that has resulted from uneven growth

²⁰ Schéma d'aménagement de la Communauté Urbaine de Québec; les presses de l'université Laval, Québec, pp. 9-10

THE EVOLUTION OF THE QUEBEC URBAN PERIMETER



Source: "Schéma d'aménagement de la C.U.Q."

within the region is the formation of small municipal enclaves. Municipalities such as Vanier, Ancienne-Lorette, Cap-Rouge and Sillery are typical of those smaller localities which become isolated and eventually surrounded by one or two larger municipalities. As a result of this urban isolation, development sooner or later is blocked at their respective municipal borders. The urban pattern thereby produced is uneven and a lack of uniformity prevails especially with regards to zoning and construction regulations, whereas servicing or establishing of various infrastructures, not to mention the planning for future land use capabilities, becomes restricted.

The second situation that results from uneven growth is that there quite often are certain anomalies in the perimeter's form which don't coincide with a logical urban growth pattern. A municipal border often acts as a block preventing the proper urbanization of the region. It could therefore be assumed that the fewer the borders the more rapid the rate of growth.

The irregular form of certain municipal borders can also serve to slow down expansion. There are certain localities which "intrude" onto the territory of other municipalities. An example of this case is Levis which seems to have infringed on St. Romuald in some odd fashion. This intrusion has been accompanied by some peculiar side effects. St. Romuald in fact, furnishes water to Levis within a certain part of its area for the simple reason that the cost to Levis would be prohibitive thereby making it practically unfeasible for a

municipality to service itself (or part of itself) properly!

This ambiguous zone between the two municipalities has brought some other singular complications. For example it often happens that whenever a certain service (whether underground or other) must be furnished, the municipality concerned is forced to either pass over the other's territory or else go around it. The same case occurs quite frequently with regards to road constructions which are, more often than not, either stopped completely or drastically altered whenever a municipal line is crossed. A major example was in the northern beltway, l'Autoroute de la Capitale, which until recently had been sectionned into various uncompleted parts inside the borders of St. Michel Archange, a minute locality which happened to be in the highway's right of way.

A third complication which can also be related to uneven fringe expansion is that there are striking development contrasts evident from one locality to the next. These variations can be of many differing types, for example, the length and width of borders can influence the economic contingencies associated with a municipality's development. It is an economic fact of life that a linear form of development is more expensive than one that is circular or clustered. There are many municipalities which have elongated sides and at the same time plenty of space for future development. The borders of Levis, Villeneuve, Beauport and the northern side of Neufchâtel are fine examples of cases where future development will

be costlier than necessary.

The last side effect to be considered is that there are many areas within the region where the land uses are identical and thus continue regardless of municipality limits. Residential, industrial and sometimes even commercial areas continue past the borders of Lévis-Lauzon, Neufchâtel-Loretteville, Giffard-Beauport, and Charlesbourg-Orsainville. This uniform land use which transgresses legal limits often serves to intimidate planners into adopting laissez-faire policies which, although not harmful in themselves, should nevertheless be kept within reasonable limits. When added to the fact that quite often land having a high agricultural exploitation potential is used for residential and industrial developments we get conflicts which injure good planning and proper resource management. In this respect the Quebec government has intervened in one concrete fashion by declaring the Island of Orleans as an historic area thereby preserving its predominantly agricultural vocation. Unfortunately the majority of the municipalities within the region have not taken any steps towards preserving good agricultural land from unplanned exploitation, the reason being that they are either too small and don't care or because they are too anxious to welcome developers who will indirectly increase their tax roles, and thus refuse to impose planning restrictions which will scare the developer off thereby sending him and his investment money elsewhere probably a few miles away.

3.3 GENERAL RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE FRINGE

Besides the outstanding particularities mentioned in the pre-

vious section, there are also a few identifying characteristics of a more general nature that may help to better define the Quebec area fringe.

The first of these more "general" relationships can be classified under the residential heading. As mentioned earlier the fringe is the first area that shows any signs of the invasion of agricultural land by residential uses. The results of such a thrust are obvious. Large subdivisions develop near the built up city while certain areas are left completely vacant. Built-up ribbons of houses and shops crop out along the sides of many highways, which later on may form small groups of scattered and partially developed subdivisions.

The Quebec fringe has a few examples of this uneven development. The south shore of the St. Lawrence is an overall example of unplanned growth. The majority of developments in that region are completed in uneven fashion simply as a response to economic needs. The south eastern run of St. Romuald and the north eastern tip of Charny are two of the areas requiring immediate attention.

Another example of uneven development occurs in the form of unplanned trailer parks. It is unfortunate but the transient nature that is often associated with these types of development is often linked to a lesser degree of pride of ownership, resulting in an increase of hostilities within certain parts of the municipality. A personal reconnaissance of the region has disclosed the existence of no fewer than

nine trailer parks; three in the northern sector of Ste-Foy, one in Charny, one in St. Nicolas (a small village west of Charny), one in St. Romuald, one in Vanier, and two in Loretteville. These parks are generally well kept but the inevitable future expansion of these respective municipalities will most likely lead to a few unfortunate confrontations.

The cost of services in itself is an important residential factor of fringe development, especially when one locality's taxes are hiked in order to pay for unplanned sprawl-type developments occurring near its outskirts. The municipalities of Ste.Foy and Charlesbourg, because of their rapid growth, have quite often been faced with this problem. Fortunately a certain degree of planning has prevented any major complications for these larger bodies. The same may not be true however for Charny, St. Romuald, and other south shore localities which if left to proceed unchecked, will not be able to maintain their inevitable expansions in an economically feasible fashion.

The last and probably the most significant problem related to unplanned growth in the fringe is speculation. Land speculation can generally be considered as conserving land over a period of time, without making any significant changes to it, in the pecuniary hope that economic circumstances of the surrounding region will, by themselves, increase the land's value. The speculator can be considered to be a natural byproduct of a capitalistic society. Some people even refer to them as "highly enterprising" individuals who "invest" in the urban

stock market, thereby helping the economic system to prosper! Fortunately such hogwash is quickly becoming a thing of the past as more and more people become aware of the tremendous damage that preventive holding, such as practiced, by the speculator can have on the city's proper growth. This growing social conscience is already penetrating the inner depths of the Quebec scene and none too soon at that, for it is a well known fact that a tremendous amount of speculation prevails in the Quebec fringe. This author has personally experienced such speculative sensations as far east as St. Michel de Bellechasse, some 25 miles from Quebec! That area is particularly indicative of speculation mainly due to the partly substantiated rumors of the building of a bridge linking the south shore to the Island of Orleans thereby making the former area all the more accessible and attractive. It should not be forgotten that speculation has harmful side effects on what could be good agricultural land. As Johnson points out *"One further reason for the absence of cultivation is that land is being kept available for immediate disposal to speculators when the most appropriate moment arrives: the possibility of being able to sell a piece of land of the right moment more than compensates for the loss of agricultural return over a short period"*²¹.

It should now be quite evident that fringes are subject to speculation due to the ever rising demand for land. But

²¹ Johnson Urban geography op. cit. p. 150

since this increasing demand must necessarily lead to a corresponding raise in prices why should one person (i.e. the speculator) get all the profit at the expense (in higher taxes) of the public in general? The answer to this question obviously lies in the way the area is governed and it's growth controlled. There is no doubt in my mind that of all the anomalies, problems, and inefficient economic constraints mentioned as being most evident in the fringe, the great majority of them could be effectively controlled if placed within one single proper framework, i.e. a regional form of government. But before such a solution is discussed in detail it would be better to obtain a cursory look at the legal and legislative constraints already affecting Quebec municipalities.

CHAPTER 4: THE LEGISLATION: PRACTICAL TOOLS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceeding chapters of this thesis have served as an introduction to the subject matter, that is, planning in Québec in general with consideration given to the city's fringe in particular. This chapter will attempt to take a pragmatic approach on the subject by dealing with the legal framework presently in existence which deals with the planning situation, in the province and the city.

Urban planning, as a functional science, can be said to deal with some of the problems affecting urban areas through the use of various forms of legislation relating to the city. An indepth study of the lègislation involved in the urban process would no doubt lead to a better understanding of the process itself as well as the interacting forces involved within it. A vital component of any legislative examination should logically consist in a description of council and planning board jurisdictions, the limitation of their powers and the nature of the equipment available to realize proper development. The study should also include a look at the master plan, zoning by-laws, services control, building and subdivision by-laws. The final item, which is of particular interest, should obviously be the limit of the territorial jurisdiction that local municipalities have in the planning field. But first let us look at the nature of the legislative process.

4.2 PLANNING LEGISLATION

In Canada the urban legislative process is, more often than not, relegated to the province which in turn delivers this power to the municipality.

"Article 92 (8), (13), and (16) of the British North America Act which concern respectively municipal institutions, property and local or private matters of interest are the main articles that are generally referred to as the source of provincial competence in the planning field"¹.

On the provincial level, the two main references used for Québec's planning legislation are the Municipal Code and the Cities and Towns Act. Each one deals with the legislative tools in its own right and each must be used as a reference in order to acquire a complete understanding of the Québec planning scene.

4.2.1 THE MASTER PLAN

The master plan also known as the comprehensive plan, official or general plan, leads the way for the physical development of the land and as such has a major say in the future growth areas which naturally include the cities' fringes. It can also, greatly affect the social and economic make up of these growth areas. This is why it is important to have sound legislative policies regarding the formation and regulation of its various components.

¹ Rejane Charles, "Mythes et Réalités du Zonage au Québec", Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974, Le Zonage au Québec, p. 31

Goodman defines a comprehensive plan as:
*"an official public document adopted by a local government as a policy guide to decisions about the physical development of the community"*²

whereas Nader characterizes it as:

"a political document which formally states the community's goals and objectives, as well as detailing the planning policies which are designed to achieve them"

Abrams considers it

*"at best as the official embodiment of a hope"*⁴

From all of these definitions it is important to understand that the master plan is *"not a piece of legislation"*.⁵

Furthermore, it should not be confused with *"the specific and detailed pieces of legislation which are intended to carry out the general proposals of the comprehensive plan"*.⁶

As Nader states *"Four principal methods are used by municipalities to regulate private land development: zoning, development control, subdivision control and building codes"*⁷, but these shall be discussed later on in this chapter, in the mean time it must be noted that these are legislative tools used for implementing the master plan's general proposals.

² W.I. Goodman, "The comprehensive Plan", International City Manager's Ass., 1968, Principles and Practice of Urban Planning, Washington, p. 349

³ G.A. Nader, "Urban Planning, Municipal Finance and Metropolitan Government", Macmillan, 1975, Cities of Canada, vol.1 p.273

⁴ Goodman: Principles and Practice of Urban Planning op.cit. p. 349

⁵ IBID p. 350

⁶ G.A. Nader: "Cities in Canada vol. 1" op. cit. p. 273

On a provincial legislative standpoint, the Master Plan is indirectly defined by the Province of Québec's Municipal Code. The code states that "*any municipality may commission the preparation of master plan for the territory concerned or for any portion of that territory, by regulating what the land uses of different parts within the territory may be*".⁷

The statement may be interpreted as regulating the use of land under private ownership while also indirectly obliging owners to follow those purposes stated by the Master Plan.

The Master Plan should not, however, be construed as a regulation of land use. Land uses can be determined in detail by means of zoning by-laws.

With regards to control of population densities, legislation can provide such limits by determining the size and location of open areas on a lot, all of which require the existence of a subdivision or zoning regulation, neither of which are the goal of a Master Plan. The establishing of zoning by-laws⁸ allows a control which supplements the Master Plan's proposals for built-up and open lands by stipulating certain specific functions, for example residential, commercial, industrial, institutional, agricultural and recreational. It should be noted that there is no mention in Québec legislation about the use of a plan in connection with, or as a part of, a zoning by-law. If this were not so a zoning plan could thus be considered as a method of describing or limiting areas for building uses. Also a master plan

⁷ Québec Municipal Code, S. 392 f (a); Cities and Towns Act, S. 429, 8

⁸ Q.M.C., S. 392 a; C.T., S. 426 1.

could be used as a limited zoning plan for land use only. Whether or not this can be seen as a deficiency is a matter of personal opinion. The laws as stated were an answer to a need at a time of relatively limited growth in many different areas throughout the province.

Today the coming of major growth poles in certain areas of the province (Montreal, Trois Rivières, Sherbrooke, Québec) require laws of a more specialized nature. These should then deal precisely with an ever increasing growth rate and resulting urban expansion.

The Master Plan should require a certain form of permanency and should not be affected by temporary changes caused by minor building and land-use variations. As was stated earlier it should not be confused with the zoning regulation. Goodman states that "*the plan is long-range and general, it has no legal effect on property; the zoning ordinance is short-range and precise, it does have legal effect*".⁹ Nevertheless there are obviously many parts among a zoning by-law and a master plan which are very similar. The objectives sought after by a master plan may at times be achieved through zoning regulations but not vice-versa. In other words they are not both complimentary to each other. For example, individual lot sizes can't be given by a Master Plan.

⁹ Goodman: "Principles and Practice of Urban Planning" op. cit. p. 353

As far as effect is concerned, the municipal council may enact in such a way as to make the Master Plan obligatory and/or that any subdivision and laying out of streets must coincide with the Master Plan.¹⁰

As a result of this observation we can conclude that land use as determined by a master plan could have the most control on planning questions. Unfortunately there still is a certain amount of confusion regarding zoning regulations and master plans, which inhibits such an interpretation from becoming fully effective.

4.2.2 THE ZONING BY-LAW

Zoning is one means of controlling land use. Zoning by-laws can place certain limits on individual lot use, building uses, and even aesthetic or population densities. Any variations that occur between sectors can thus be related to the intrinsic characteristics of that particular area.

Goodman defines zoning as: *"a legal device enabling the division of a municipality (or other governmental unit) into districts, and the regulation within those districts of:*

- 1- the height and bulk of buildings and other structures;*
- 2- the area of a lot which may be occupied and the size of required open spaces;*
- 3- the density of population*

¹⁰ Q.M.C., S. 392f (b); C.T., S. 429, 8

4- the use of buildings and land for trade industry, residence or other purposes"¹¹

It is important to note that zoning relies on "police power" for its proper enforcement. This concept while accepted in American legislation is not directly stated in the B.N.A. act. As R. Charles states;

"Aux Etats-Unis le zonage découle du pouvoir de police, concept étranger à l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord Britannique et l'exercice de ce pouvoir qui doit être conforme aux exigences constitutionnelles est contrôlé par la Cour Suprême... et c'est l'influence du droit américain qui a apporté au Canada le zonage et le concept de nuisance publique".¹²

Furthermore and on a historical basis she states;

"Le zonage a été adopté au Québec en retard. Le droit de réglementer la construction de leur territoire n'a été accordé aux cités et villes qu'en 1903 (3Ed. VII, Ch.103, art 383). C'est en 1941 (5 Geo. VI, Ch. 41, art. 8) que leur est accordé le droit de diviser leur territoire en zones pour fins de construction.

Parallèlement est accordé en 1930 aux municipalités régies par le Code municipal (20 Geo. V, Ch. 103, art. 14) le droit d'adopter un règlement de construction et de zonage. Mais ces pouvoirs n'é-

¹¹ Goodman, "Principles and Practice of Urban Planning" op. cit. p. 403

¹² R. Charles, le Zonage au Québec, op. cit. p. 22-25

*étaient reconnus qu'aux corporations municipales dont le territoire était adjacent à celui d'une cité ayant au moins 20,000 âmes. Ces pouvoirs furent étendus à d'autres municipalités, corporations de village ou corporations rurales dont le territoire était contigu à celui d'un parc national d'une cité ou d'une ville en 1940 (4 Geo VI, Ch. 72, art. 1). Ils furent enfin octroyés à toute corporation municipale en 1945 (9 Geo. VI, Ch. 70, art. 4)"*¹³

Today, Québec legislation allows municipalities to divide their territories into "zones" and "sectors".¹⁴ The zoning control legislation covers two types of regulations. The first type is the regulation controlling the population density by limiting the number of buildings within an area. This rule in fact determines the limitations on the individual lot form as well as the shape of the lot as a unit among others. The second type of control deals with the use of the lot as such, by stipulating the percentage of built and non built land. This regulation is achieved by means of limits on building lines, lot sizes and percentage of land occupancy.¹⁵ As far as building uses are concerned this control is achieved

¹³ IBID pp. 31-32

¹⁴ Q.M.C., S. 392a, N.B. before 1963 amendment to "zones" and "sectors" the terms "zones" and "districts" were used. C.T., S. 426, 1

¹⁵ Q.M.C., S. 392; C.T., S. 426.

by determining the sizes and functions of buildings. It is stipulated that the municipalities can control the future use of all structures as well as that of any immovables (immeubles), and the classification of dwellings of any use. For residential areas, the zoning by-law may stipulate the type of family dwelling that may be built on each lot. This specification is limited to the following classifications: single-family, two family, multiple, detached or semi-detached. The legislation also allows control over the size of the buildings with relation to floor area, height, number of stories and sometimes bulk and size of rooms.

As far as aesthetic regulations are concerned the municipality can establish by-laws regarding fences, trees, advertisements, symmetry, alignment and anything pertaining to the aesthetics of a building.¹⁶

There are various ways that these regulations may be put into use by the municipalities. For example when the population density of a given sector cannot be determined directly on a percentage basis, a pre-determined density can be obtained by the division of the territory into zones. Within each of these areas a limit may be placed on construction type, whether it be for residential, commercial, industrial or recreational.

Within each residential sector a further division may be needed, if the demand of the area necessitated the establish-

¹⁶ Q.M.C., S. 392a; C.T., S. 426,1

ing of multiple dwellings. Consequently the type of dwellings permitted must be regulated within each sector. Furthermore, even when the same type of building is to be permitted the territory can be further divided to allow a control of building sizes thereby pre-determining the median quality of each part of the sector under development. In addition to these requirements, zoning by-laws can be used to further control population density, by regulating the size of lots within each sector for the various building types.

It should be noted however that by leaving out one of the above-mentioned controls, more liberty can be left to the individual developer's tastes. For example, within a high density area allowing apartment buildings, the population density can be fixed by limiting only the open spaces without determining either the lot sizes or the open spaces themselves. By stipulating the size of open spaces per number of floors a lenient form of control can be maintained in so far as the division of the sector into blocks/lots is concerned.

As was mentioned earlier there seems to be some confusion among municipal officials regarding the importance of zoning by-laws -vs- the master plan. (This confusion was substantiated by the author through various personal interviews with municipal officials throughout the region). In many cases zoning legislation has been passed by municipalities without even the existence of a master plan. This type of situation can lead to an overemphasis on short term piecemeal planning at the expense of a more global approach. With re-

gards to the fringe areas the problem can become even more acute. As Nader states; "in the urban fringe where land is being actively converted from rural to urban uses, there is a need for more direct planning control, since applications for development are not likely to be of a routine nature."¹⁷ He then goes on to recommend that "under these circumstances Development Control offers the flexibility required to deal with land use changes which are largely unpredictable except in the short term, and which cannot, therefore be legislated far in advance."¹⁸

The concept of development control which "permits each application for development to be judged on it's own merits (for example in terms of it's contribution to public welfare) rather than on whether it conforms to a preconcieved set of regulations,"¹⁹ can be a valuable tool in controlling growth on fringe areas but only in those specific municipal regions where one city is responsible for the majority of the total fringe area concerned. It is this author's personal opinion that development control would probably not be effective for the Québec métropolitan region where many small municipalities are responsible for the majority of the land situated on the fringe area. It would, for all practical purposes, be impossible in the present situation to get all the bodering municipalities to agree to the same control principles.

¹⁷ G.A. Nader: "Cities in Canada, Vol. 1 - op. cit. p. 279

¹⁸ IBID p. 280

¹⁹ IBID p. 274

A survey undertaken by A. Lajoie²⁰ substantiates this position. In her study of more than 1400 municipalities within the province she concluded that inter-municipal cooperation with regards to major planning regulations was extremely low (3% to 6%)²¹.

It would be this author's recommendation (which will be explained in the fifth and final chapter) that a more realistic solution would consist in an eventual regrouping of those small municipalities coupled with an overall application of certain modified, more flexible, zoning regulations.

4.2.3 THE SUBDIVISION BY-LAW

A precise definition of a subdivision is important, from a legislative standpoint, because of its link to the planning tool known as subdivision control, which in turn can be tied to the establishment of parks and playgrounds, the transfer of the ownership of the land reserved for such purposes to a municipality, the proper identification of these lots and finally the installation of public services for each.

Charles Abrams defines a subdivision as *"the process of dividing a given area of land into sites, blocks, or lots with streets or roads and open spaces; also an area so di-*

²⁰ Andr  e Lajoie, "Les structures administratives r  gionales", Montreal, les Presses de l'Universit   de Montr  al, 1968, p.241

²¹ IBID p. 245

vided".²² The legal definition of subdivision is "the official division of land in small lots to be built upon, or the separation by transfer of property of a part of land from another".²³

As Goodman states; "for the planner, subdivision regulations are important at two distinct levels. First they enable him to coordinate the otherwise unrelated plans of a great many individual developers and in the process to assure that provision is made for such major elements of the land development plan as rights of way for major thoroughfares, parks, school sites, major water lines and sewer out falls and so fourth. Second they enable him to control the internal design of each new subdivision so that it's pattern of streets, lots and other facilities will be safe, pleasant and economical to maintain".²⁴

Lot by lot development has often occurred for the sole reason of avoiding subdivision control. It is therefore vital that any form of separation of one piece of land from another be considered as a subdivision thereby requiring the submission of a plan to the municipality in question.

²² C. Abrams, The language of cities, op. cit. p. 299

²³ Cadastral act 1946, R.S.Q. 320; civil code, S. 2175

²⁴ Goodman: Principles and Practice of Urban Planning, op. cit. p. 445

The eventual control of these submissions is based, as with zoning regulations, on an exercising of a certain "police power" by the municipality.

In Québec, a municipality may require the preparation of an official subdivision to be deposited with the Provincial Registration System for every lot to be built upon.²⁵ Due to the legal distinction between the cadastral plan as prepared by the government and the subdivision of an original lot as shown on a cadastral plan (which is a subdivision prepared by the owner) the separation of one lot can be considered a subdivision. Therefore when a subdivision by-law has been adopted within a given municipality, a plan must be submitted to the municipality before being deposited by the government.²⁶ Consequently where such subdivision control has been adopted, a single lot subdivision has to comply with the zoning, parks and playgrounds requirements and street layout conditions.

There are varying points of view as to why subdivision control is added to already existing land-use legislation.

With regards to zoning it can be considered as an added means of implementing a development plan. Here its main object would be to secure the provision of various public works and services at as modest a cost as possible, all the while insuring that their installation and existence of sufficient land will be borne by the developer.

²⁵ Q.M.C., S. 392e; C.T., S. 426 (30a); Cadastral Act, C. 320, 1964, S.R.Q.

²⁶ Cadastral Act, C. 320, S. 20.

Nader states that, "*subdivision control is designed to produce the same benefits as zoning by-laws, i.e. to promote the health, safety, convenience and welfare of the future inhabitants*".²⁷

With regards to fringe areas the subdivision regulations could theoretically help restrict unneeded growth along most municipalities' borders. Unfortunately competing municipalities are usually only too happy to comply via lenient regulations in the hope of attracting higher tax sources.

The approval of a subdivision plan, which is the final procedural result of subdivision control, presupposes the adoption of criteria which would be in accordance with proper planning proposals. In Québec, by means of the Municipal Code and the Cities and Towns Act, the power to establish conditions with regards to subdivisions (in accordance with planning proposals) belongs to the municipality. The necessary by-laws require a preliminary notice of motion and come into effect fifteen days after their adoption by council.²⁸

The council may also authorize an officer to issue subdivision permits and to approve subdivision plans, which may or may not be subject to the recommendation of a planning commission.²⁹

²⁷ Nader, *Cities in Canada*, vol. 1, op. cit. p. 280

²⁸ Q.M.C., S. 392f; C.T., S. 429 (80).

²⁹ Q.M.C., S. 65; C.T., 68 (1)

4.2.4 BUILDING BY-LAWS AND SERVICES CONTROL

These two planning "tools" are of secondary importance and require only slight mention with regards to planning legislation.

Nader defines a building code as *"by-laws which specify minimum standards for construction materials, size of windows, essential services and other building features"*.³⁰

Their main use is in preserving minimum health and safety standards within a community.

Regarding building by-laws in the Province of Québec, a municipality can appoint building inspectors with the responsibility of issuing building permits. Unfortunately there is no reference which would allow the municipalities to adopt the National Building Code. But in practice the general powers seem to be sufficient to allow the municipalities to get reasonable control by including building regulations in their respective by-laws .

As far as services control is concerned, the control limitations are slightly less ambiguous. First of all if a municipality owns the land involved and is ready to install the services, the use of services control isn't necessary. When, however, the installation of those services is left to the owners of the land involved, some form of control must be exercised.

³⁰ G.A. Nader, *Cities in Canada*, vol. 1 - op. cit. p. 280

In such cases legislation should provide that no subdivision plan should be approved until the ownership of the land is transferred to the municipality by deed. The legislation should also stipulate that, as soon as the plan is deposited in the registry office, the locality should acquire the ownership and resulting service's responsibilities.

In Québec, the municipality can install services but may refuse the issuing of a building permit if public water and sewer services are not already in existence or if the lot to be built is not adjacent to a public street.³¹ Since a municipality is not obliged to acquire the ownership of a proposed street with the resulting responsibilities, it may impose certain conditions before acquiring them. Consequently a municipality may request that the services be installed according to predetermined specifications.³²

With regards to fringe areas it would seem that both of these forms of regulations would have relatively minor effect, the possible exception being those housing units on the fringe's outer extremities which were built by an owner who precisely wanted to escape such restrictions many years before. In any event such cases would occupy only a minority of the total undeveloped land space available.

³¹ Q.M.C., general powers; C.T., general powers

³² Québec amendment to Municipal Code, 1963, S. 392 (c)

4.3 TERRITORIAL JURISDICTIONS OF MUNICIPALITIES WITH REGARDS TO PLANNING

In the Province of Québec there are four kinds of municipalities. First there are those municipalities which fall under the Cities and Towns Act, second those that come under the Municipal Code, third the municipalities coming under the Cities and Towns Act which have special charters and finally the county municipalities which are composed of the mayors of all rural municipalities. .

All municipalities are governed by a council, which is formed by a mayor and six councillors, elected by the ratepayers every two or three years. Certain cities such as Montréal, Québec, Trois-Rivières, Sherbrooke, Hull also have an executive committee.

The adoption of any by-law requires the usual notice of motion to be given at a council meeting which is followed by a reading and subsequent sitting.

Under the Cities and Towns Act, a council may establish certain procedures regarding the number of readings required before adoption.³³ Any by-law must be signed by an officer and clerk. A certificate is then signed by the mayor and clerk when such a by-law has to be submitted to the Lieutenant Governor, the Minister of Municipal Affairs or the Québec Municipal

³³ Q.M.C., S. 359; C.T., S. 385.

Commission for approval. In planning matters the county councils may be assumed to have very little power. The whole of the organized territory, however, may be covered by planning legislation of one form or another, since the areas covered by the councils are under the jurisdiction of the municipalities.

As P. Viau states, "all those municipalities governed by the Municipal Code and all those under the Cities and Towns Act have equal powers in planning matters, the only exceptions being those municipalities provided with an official charter. The council of all the local municipalities may establish their own Planning Commission or several municipalities may join together to form a joint planning commission. All of these commissions, regardless of their formation, have the same basic powers regarding Master Plans and subdivision control, as well as building services and zoning control".³⁴ The commissions, however, are inherently limited in their decision making powers as only the council can adopt the necessary by-laws. They must therefore be considered simply as advisory boards. The same can be said for the Municipal Commission of Québec but as for the Minister of Municipal Affairs his powers are limited to that of a minister in the National Assembly and as such can be seen as an indirect instigator of the necessary legislation.

³⁴ Pierre Viau "Les Municipalités du Québec", Les Editions de la Place Inc., Montral 1968, p. 23

4.3.1 PLANNING BOARDS

In Québec, the urban legislative process is, more often than not, relegated to the Department of Municipal Affairs, which via certain forms of legislation, has delivered it to the municipality. It can thus be concluded that the physical planning of an area is under the jurisdiction of local governments.

It is through this part of the planning process that the individual can have a direct form of participation in any form of decision making. He can be called upon, as a group, by referendum, to make known his decision on the various legislative aspects of the planning process in question. Occasionally he may also be called upon to sit on planning commissions as a non-elected representative.

The concept of planning boards (or commissions) was devised in order to take advantage of non-elected representative support for the municipal council, which in fact is the final authority responsible for the general administration of the municipality. The planning boards themselves are generally created by the Municipal Council.³⁵ The creation of the board however is not compulsory as is the municipal council.³⁶

³⁵ Q.M.C., Amendment 1963, 11-12 Eliz. II, C. 65, S. 392 (d); C.T., 1964 R.S.Q. 193, S. 68 (2), amendment 1959-60, 8-9 Eliz. II, C. 76.

³⁶ Q.M.C., S. 392 (d); C.T., S. 68 (2).

This in turn means that the fact that there is a board doesn't necessarily have to be a prerequisite to the preparation and enactment of planning legislation.³⁷

The composition of planning boards follows certain rules: Any taxpayer and/or member of a council can be appointed as a member of a planning commission. The local corporation may determine the number of members and other prerequisites such as the percentage of taxpayers and council members as well as their length of term in office;³⁸ but unfortunately no provision has been made regarding their remuneration. This oversight has more than just a financial side effect. The very implication of the benevolent or non profit nature of these boards has the effect of belittling their importance thereby limiting their effectiveness.

One of the main purposes, and thus powers, that a commission may have, is to inform the public and at the same time provide it with a forum for economic, social or even political matters. It is therefore of much importance that their decisions be made public either by official means or by the local media.

As far as strictly defined legislative functions are concerned the planning commissions can act in an advisory capacity to the municipal councils in addition to exercising this advisory capacity for planning purposes. They may also serve in an

³⁷ Q.M.C., S. 392 (f); C.T., S. 429 (8).

³⁸ Q.M.C., S. 392e (a) & (g); C.T.; S. 68 (2) (a) & (g).

executive capacity if such a power has been delegated to them by council. More specifically the commission has the power to make recommendations for the preparation of legislation in matters of construction, zoning, aesthetics and last but not least, Master Plans, the only exception being subdivision control. A subdivision plan is subject to council approval in as much as it is also accepted by the cadastral division of the Department of Lands and Forests for the purpose of registration in local registry offices.³⁹ The vagueness of the legislation in this matter is one of the many weak points characteristic of the "older" nature of Québec's legislation. As far as executive capacity is concerned the council may delegate certain powers to the commission concerning the application of all development by-laws, once again excepting subdivision control.⁴⁰

The structure of the board seems to follow the same logic as its composition. The officers, consultants and employees must be appointed by resolution of council. The council on the other hand may create such positions as chairman, vice-chairman and secretary treasurer.⁴¹ There is no provision for compulsory meetings nor is there any mention as to whether or not the meetings are to be held publicly. The council however can and usually does determine these matters when it defines the basic composition of the commission.⁴²

³⁹ Q.M.C., S. 392e (b & e), amds, 392f (e); C.T., SS. 68 (2) (b & c) and 429 (8)

⁴⁰ Q.M.C., S. 392e (b & c); C.T., S. 68 (2) (b & c).

⁴¹ Q.M.C., S. 392d (d & h); C.T., S. 68 (2) (d & h)

⁴² Q.M.C., S. 392d (e & f); C.T., S. 68 (2) (e & f)

The by-law which creates the commission doesn't necessarily require a referendum. A resolution is used to appoint the necessary members, officers and consultants as well as for the voting of those sums of money required by the commission. By-laws are used for a general approval as well as for any specific assignment relating to the planning commission such as determining the number of members, the area from which they may be chosen etc.⁴³

4.3.2 THE REGIONAL PLANNING BOARDS

Due to the inherent limitations of the small local governments to control areas larger than those given them in area, legislation has provided for the establishing of Joint District of Metropolitan Planning commissions. Any municipality may, with a by-law, enter into an agreement with another municipality, in order, to establish a joint planning commission for the whole of the territory under joint jurisdiction, while having the powers, duties and functions given to it which are usually equivalent to those of any local planning commission.⁴⁴ This potential for regrouping can therefore be a strong factor in establishing a positive form a control over the future expansion of many metropolitan areas. The commission thus formed can and should recommend policies concerning the future

⁴³ Q.M.C., S. 392d; C.T., S. 68 (2)

⁴⁴ Q.M.C., S. 392e; C.T., S. 68 (3)

growth areas of the fringe involved. It is unfortunate that the commission is not given any concrete power with regards to land use control in the fringe for as such it is the only legal entity having any kind of overview on the whole area and is therefore not limited to any specific local biases.

Besides this general limitation of power the planning commission is adequately cared for in the Québec Acts. There are a few minor corrections which could be made specifically with regards to the mix or proportion of political and non-political representation on the council. This should, in my opinion, be arranged in such a way that a minority of the commission's members are councillors but are at the same time sufficiently great in number to be a majority of the total on the city council. The result of such a mix would have the ultimate effect of lending slightly more credibility to the planning commissions' recommendations in the eyes of the municipal council. Also the formation of a planning commission should become obligatory for any municipality of a certain specified population. The resulting classification by population would tend to lend even more credence to the commission's views when presented to the minister and would in turn force smaller localities to join together if in need of planning help from provincial authorities thereby limiting the total number of individual demands and clarifying the whole urban "political" structure within the province. As it is now there are a multitude of tiny municipalities which individually petition their respective member of parliament

with particular needs which don't always coincide with planning guidelines set for the larger surrounding regions. An additional correction to this problem could be to give provincial authorities the legislative power to intervene when the need of a regional planning commission presents itself, and one or more of the potential municipalities refuses to join.

CHAPTER 5 : POLICIES IN A REGIONAL CONTEXT: AN EVALUATION AND SOME PROPOSALS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The description of the Quebec region in this study was given in detail, first by examining the various pertinent planning aspects of the city in Chapter 2, then by focusing on some of the particularities of the fringe in Chapter 3. The objective of Chapter 4 was to place the legislative aspect of the municipal scene in proper perspective in order to prepare the reader for a more particular inspection as described in this the fifth chapter.

A knowledge of the various jurisdictions involved within the Quebec region will more clearly define the setting required for a truly regional government. It is the main contention of this thesis that only by the formation of a government on a regional basis, will we be able to properly control the growing excesses that are presently being encountered on our fringes. And furthermore it is only by a proper control on land uses within that fringe that we can obtain a viable urban setting in the not too distant future.

5.2 JURISDICTIONS WITHIN THE QUEBEC REGION

The Quebec metropolitan area is under the control of a variety of organizations each having jurisdiction over their respective and sometimes common territories. These legal entities can be grouped under the following headings: those .

bodies under federal, provincial or municipal jurisdiction and the commissions established by more than one legal body and having a regional or quasi-regional power.

5.2.1 FEDERAL ENTITIES

There are six bodies exercising a certain power within the Quebec region, which are of federal origin. They are:

- 1) Conseil des Ports Nationaux;
- 2) Department of Public Works;
- 3) Department of Transports;
- 4) Department of National Defense;
- 5) National Battlefield Commission;
- 6) Department of Indian Affairs.

The Conseil des Ports Nationaux is probably the most important of the six in as much as it regulates an area which is considered by many to be Quebec's prime economic area, i.e. an inland sea port. It came into being after the passing, in 1936 of "La Loi sur le Conseil des Ports Nationaux", (ch. 42, Statuts du Canada). The area under it's jurisdiction is the Quebec port which is defined as being on both sides of the St.Lawrence from Cap Rouge to the west, to Ile d'Orléans to the east, a distance of approximately 13 miles. The port authority has no strictly defined planning power but it can nevertheless plan for the port's expansion in conjunction with those municipalities concerned. The Conseil also has the power to administer the land within the port area, but must obey

certain municipal regulations. As far as strictly defined jurisdiction is concerned, it's port authority is limited to the land and buildings belonging to the Crown. The fact that this body has a certain control over the St. Laurent's shoreline within the Quebec area automatically places it among the more powerful bodies with regards to planning future growth within the region.

The Federal Department of Transports is responsible for that area on the St. Laurent situated outside the C.P.N.'s jurisdiction, as well as for the area containing the Ste. Foy airport. It can therefore have a moderate influence on the fringe area situated on both the extreme eastern and western edges of the metro Quebec area.

The Federal Department of Public Works is responsible for the undertaking of those works which are the result of the needs expressed by other Federal Departments within the region. Generally speaking it has very little effect on planning within the area.

The Department of National Defense is responsible for two areas in the Quebec region, the Citadel, situated within the city centre, and Base Valcartier situated north west of the centre. The Base has an area of about 100 square miles and covers a part of the territory bordering on eight municipalities. It is considered as being a completely autonomous body and does not pay any municipal taxes.

The National Battlefield Commission is responsible for the 235 acres comprising the Plains of Abraham and is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Indian Affairs. This Department is also responsible for the Indian reserve in Loretteville.

5.2.2 PROVINCIAL ENTITIES

There are basically four provincial bodies having a certain authority over specific territories in the Quebec region. The Department of Public Works is responsible for the building and maintenance of the administrative offices of the Province. Considering the very large number of provincial civil servants that live and work in Quebec, the decisions that this department undertakes have a major influence on planning within the region, both in the central business district (where the majority of government offices are now situated) and in the suburbs (where entire Departments will soon be relocated).

The Quebec urban community planning commission (C.A.C.U.Q.) was created in 1969 with very little real power and it has continued since then to play only a secondary role. To date, it has prepared various studies and reports, the most notable being the "schéma d'aménagement", whose proposals will be discussed in greater detail later on in this chapter.

The historical monuments commission is primarily concerned with the preservation of historically significant build-

dings and sometimes, places. The commission as such controls most of Old Quebec and certain parts of Charlesbourg, Beauport and Sillery. It has no direct planning function but can, under the authority of the Department of Cultural Affairs, acquire, restore and administer significant areas of land, thereby having an indirect effect on the planning scene.

The "Société d'Habitation du Québec" is the one mainly responsible for the majority of urban renewal studies already undertaken in the region. All such studies which include the preparation of a plan, and program including their execution require this body's approval. Because of the seemingly unlimited type of power given it by the "Loi de la Société d'Habitation" (15-16 Eliz. II c. 55) this body is probably the one with the most potential power from a planning point of view. The real effects of the law can't yet be evaluated simply because only one municipality, Sillery, has undertaken a renewal program while the remaining have only begun the execution of already prepared planning concepts.

5.2.3 THE MUNICIPALITIES

The preceding section of this chapter showed that there were quite a few bodies having various degrees of authority over the Quebec region. Yet none of these are really as powerful as the municipalities themselves, for it is these that really control the planning and growth within their area.

There are sixteen municipalities within the Quebec region that are controlled by the Cities and Towns Act- nine of which are classified as cities and seven as towns. The nine cities are Quebec, Ste. Foy, Charlesbourg, Lévis, Sillery, Beauport, Lauzon, Loretteville and St. Romuald. The towns are in alphabetical order:

Ancienne-Lorette
 Charny
 St. David de l'Auberivière
 St. Nicolas
 Val Bélair
 Vanier
 Lac Delage.

On January 1st, 1976 the new cities of Beauport and Charlesbourg were formed (Bill 255, December, 8th, S.Q.). Beauport was formed as a result of the grouping together of Giffard, Beauport, Villeneuve, Montmorency, Courville and Ste. Thérèse de Lisieux, where as Charlesbourg, Charlesbourg-Est, Orsainville and Notre-Dame-des-Laurentides became Charlesbourg.

Those municipalities governed by the municipal code are subdivided into four categories: villages, parishes, municipalities without designation and united townships. They are:

Villages: St. Emile
 St. Jean de Boischâtel
 St. Rédempteur
 Parishes: Ange-Gardien

St. Augustin

Ste. Brigitte de Laval

St. Dunstan du Lac Beauport

St. Félix de Cap Rouge

Without
designation: Lac St. Charles

Lac Edouard

St. Gabriel de Valcartier

St. Gabriel Ouest

United
townships: Stoneham

Tewkesbury.

Besides these localities there are also a few special cases; two hospital zones, Sacré Coeur de Jésus, Notre-Dame-des-Anges . . . Laval University and the Indian reservation of Lorette are all given their own legal identity as far as autonomous territorial control is concerned.

In analyzing the urban growth problems of these varied legislative frameworks, one can't help but notice that the municipalities have unfortunately reacted very slowly. The majority of the municipalities within the region had adopted rudimentary regulations, of one form or another, by 1950. Their late reaction to urban growth within their respective areas had very little effect in controlling certain urban sicknesses which were well underway. Furthermore, little was done to make these rules public, thereby greatly hindering any form of private citizen participation. As far as development

plans were concerned the majority of the larger municipalities (see Table IX) had some sort of master plan prepared but few of those actually had any reference to anything that was going on outside their own territory.

Generally speaking, the planning of the urban scene within the region has undergone a few major changes, but only in the last decade. Unfortunately the truth of the matter is that the fact that the urban agglomeration of the region logically covers more than the individual municipalities themselves has quite often resulted in a lack of understanding of the region's growing processes on the part of each locality's administrators. It is absolutely impossible to plan correctly for a city without also considering the regional framework in which it is situated. There is definitely a need for a regional organization which has the real power to prevent the making of individual plans that don't consider their neighbour's needs. The existing Québec Urban Community (as described in Chapter 1) is obviously too small in area and too limited in real powers to change the situation.

5.3 REGIONAL CHANGE - SOME PROPOSALS

The justification for the establishment of a stronger metropolitan form of government based on a larger regional scale can easily be related to the general problems that an eventual regrouping can have on the individual municipalities.

TABLE IX

QUEBEC REGION: MUNICIPAL SERVICES

Municipal Services	Waterworks	Sewage System	Running Water	Planner	Engineer	Manager	Police	Fire Prevention	Waste Disposal	Recreation	Munic. Aff. Housing	Library	Employees	Zoning	Municipal Court	City Clerk
Québec	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2,000	x	x	x
Sainte-Foy	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	525	x	x	x
Charlesbourg	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x			110	x	x	x
Beauport	x	x	x					x	x	x			50	x	x	
Sillery	x	x	x		x			x	x	x			80	x	x	x
Giffard	x	x	x		x			x	x	x			40	x	x	x
Orsainville	x	x	x					x	x				37	x	x	
Loretteville	x	x						x	x	x	x	x	54	x		
Vanier	x	x						x	x	x			45	x	x	x
Ancienne-Lorette		x						x	x				25	x	x	x
Courville	x	x	x					x	x	x		x	30	x		
Montmorency	x	x	x					x	x	x	x	x	20	x		
N.D. des Laurentides	x	x	x					x	x			x	9	x		
Bélair	x	x	x					x	x		x		9	x	x	
Villeneuve	x	x	x					x	x	x	x		12	x		
Cap-Rouge	x	x	x		x			x	x	x			10	x		
Lévis	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	76	x	x	x
Lauzon	x	x	x		x			x	x				50	x	x	x
St-Romuald	x	x	x		x			x	x			x	40	x		x
Charny	x	x	x					x	x	x			18	x		

Source: A. Lord "Etude sur la restructuration municipale de l'agglomération urbaine de Québec, M.A.M. Québec 1972, p. 64

In the Québec region the Department of Municipal Affairs has commissioned and undertaken a few studies which sought to establish these problems. In one of these¹ the following pertinent observations were made:

"First of all too many municipalities are responsible for administering local services, and as a result, a few of these are too small and cannot furnish their citizens with even the minimum of amenities related to a larger urban territory".

"Secondly, tensions come up when the larger municipalities see the need for expansion while the smaller ones fight to justify and conserve their independence. There is then a certain mistrust that occurs between these areas thereby hindering any type of collaboration which would otherwise be natural when dealing with equal powered partners".

"Thirdly, there are often a few small municipalities which are uniquely residential in nature and whose land values are higher than the regional average. These "dormitories" usually offer a high quality of services and are therefore more inclined to retain the status quo for financial reasons only, refusing higher taxes which would be used to subsidize their poorer neighbours".

¹ Lise Garon, Gérard Hébert, François Poussard; "Etude comparative des organismes métropolitains". M.A.M. Québec p. 1

"Last but not least, each area plans and zones its territory in a way that increases its property values or that attracts industry, but neglects to plan for low income housing which requires as many services but brings in little taxes".

Another study pointed out that "a majority of municipalities have no long term planning program...and on the fiscal side disparities are great. There can exist as many different kinds of taxes as there are municipalities, and in one town, two owners having the same land evaluation can pay differing amounts in taxes... Also evaluation bases vary from one municipality to the next, so that the taxation rate is not imposed on a number that is arrived at along the same criteria along the whole of the territory."²

In solving these problems one should first attempt to list certain criteria which could be used in evaluating possible solutions. Government sponsored studies have listed the following criteria in no particular order of importance:

- 1- "The governments must have a wide jurisdiction in order to be able to face their problems head on, permitting them to plan, decide and execute in a direct and therefore more efficient fashion".
- 2- "The sources for financing must be sufficient and at the same time equitable. In other words the tax-services disparity that exists between municipalities should disappear".

² Ministère des Affaires Municipales, P.Q.; "Etude des implications financières et administratives du regroupement de 25 municipalités de la Rive Nord du Québec Métropolitain en trois ou quatre unités de regroupement" 1972, p.1

- 3- "Municipalities' limits should be able to vary easily, thereby permitting often needed expansion".
- 4- "Governments should be multi-functional, otherwise financing and coordination problems would only increase".
- 5- "Areas should be large enough to permit everyone to receive the benefit of certain scale economies".
- 6- "Local governments should be easily accessible and controlled by the public. This criteria becomes doubly important when the time comes to decide the members of government, type of nominations, length of their mandates, the distribution of their functions, consulting procedures, etc."
- 7- "Active citizen participation in local governments should be encouraged."
- 8- "Reorganization must be politically feasible, in other words clear arguments should be formulated by taking into consideration the attitude of the authorities involved in the decision making, the legal problems involved in the change, the procedure required to introduce it, the "resources" of those who propose the change, and finally the menace of those who presently occupy government positions with the resulting political implications."³

³ L. Garon; op. cit. p. 2

The first step in solving these regional problems lies in the choice of possible solutions. Among those that are commonly suggested are:

- 1- Allowing the central or largest city to expand via fusions or annexations
- 2- Inter municipal agreements
- 3- Voluntary cooperation on the part of municipalities throughout the region.
- 4- Extra territorial powers of the central city.
- 5- A federation of municipalities
- 6- Special authorities or public corporations
- 7- Administration of the region by the central government i.e. national district.

Of all these possibilities, L. Garon et al. state that *"for urban communities in Québec, it seems that the choice must be made between a unitary system (via fusions) or on two levels (a federation) although a combination of the two could be ideal... But then a federal system would not work if the participating members were of greatly unequal size, or had different resources or functions"*.⁴

As was noted earlier the Québec government seems to have taken a step in the right direction by ordering the forming of the two new cities of Charlesbourg and Beauport.

⁴ IBID, p. 16

There is however more to be done. A map of the municipalities within the C.U.Q. shows that there still are ten small municipalities which could possibly benefit from future annexations or transformations into larger cities. For example St. Jean de Boischatel could belong to Beauport, Lac St. Charles and St. Emile to Charlesbourg, Loretteville, Vanier, Sillery and Val Belair could go to Québec whereas Cap Rouge and St. Augustin could join Ste. Foy.

The detailed study of all possible permutations is beyond the objective of this thesis but suffice it to say that a joining together of certain municipalities would be the first step, followed by the forming of a regional planning board which would have the necessary powers enabling it to implement effective regional growth strategies.

A final addition to these reasons, is the fact, as was pointed out earlier in this thesis, that the south shore will rapidly become an important growth centre in the not too distant future. There is therefore absolutely no reason, from a planning point of view, not to include this area in a newer, stronger regional form of government. The resulting Québec Urban Community, aided by the good will of the other municipalities would surely be better prepared to solve many of the problems within the Québec city region.

5.4 PROPOSALS FOR BETTER FRINGE AREA PLANNING AND GROWTH CONTROL

In the preceeding section a proposal for the regrouping of the smaller municipalities on the north shore, coupled with an integration of the south shore in the region's effective planning process was made. With regards to better fringe area planning this proposal would be very useful. A study of the region's municipalities indicates that a majority of those municipalities which "contain" the fringe area have a relatively small population. In fact all south shore municipalities (with the exception of Lévis) are small and on the north shore, St. Augustin, Val Belair, Lac St. Charles and St. Jean de Boischatel all contain part of the fringe area yet are too small to effectively deal with it's inherent problems.

Besides the regrouping of those smaller municipalities, other proposals may be made concerning fringe control.

The first proposal would be to bring about certain modifications in the present day zoning legislation. As was pointed out in chapter 4 there is a commonly accepted notion that zoning is presently suffering from a certain malaise that only a major "overhaul" can cure.⁵

⁵ Author's note: a few books that deal with the zoning question are: "The zoning Game" by F. Babcock, "The politics of zoning" by S.J. Makielski, "Zoned America" by S.I. Toll and "The structure of urban zoning" by N. Williams.

As R. Charles states; "*les potentialités réelles du zonage en tant qu'instrument juridique d'aménagement détenu par les villes paraissent très limitées.*"⁶ As was shown in the first part of this chapter there are extra municipal bodies which can play an important role in choosing the locations of basic infrastructures which can also limit the municipalities planning and subsequent use of zoning regulations.

In order to be able to make it's land use decisions in a more justifiable manner a municipality should modify it's zoning regulations by taking social, economic, ecological and other spatial considerations into account. This of course would also require a greater amount of flexibility in the defining of zones along with more cooperation on the part of all. It would also help if the preparing of zoning regulations was undertaken according to the planning guidelines of some sort of master plan.

In addition to modifications that should be brought to zoning regulations, canadian municipalities have adopted certain basic policies which aim at controlling urban growth.⁷ Some of these policies are:

- 1- limiting residential growth in certain areas;
- 2- no growth on the periphery of the town;
- 3- establishing a moratorium on water and sewer extensions;
- 4- limiting the number of building permits.

⁶ R. Charles; "Le zonage au Québec", les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal 1974, p. 98

⁷ Author's note: for a detailed study of how these policies are applied in various canadian cities refer to "legislative attempts to control urban growth in Canada" pub. by the Bureau of Municipal Research, Nov. 1976 , Toronto.

In the Québec area a few municipalities have adopted regulations which limit residential growth in certain areas as well as the number of building permits, but most have only discussed the possibility of limiting growth on the periphery.⁸

Of all these possibilities the Québec area would probably most benefit from a policy which seeks to direct growth in certain specific areas away from the region's fringes. In order for such a policy to be truly effective a regional planning body should be established. This body would be responsible for suggesting general policies or growth strategies which would be applied throughout the region. It would also be responsible for publicizing these policies thereby encouraging public debate and hopefully arriving at some sort of consensus among those municipalities which it represented.

5.5 THE FINAL QUESTION - WHO WILL PAY?

A thesis whose main objective is to underline the need for the formation of a new regional government is of little real value if it does not at least mention what many consider to be the most important aspect of the question, namely the financing.

The listing and in-depth examination of all the possible solutions to this eternal problem could in itself be the subject of a complete thesis so it would be more realistic for

⁸ Bureau Municipal Research, op. cit. p. 79

this study to simply note the possible sources available and describe their size or potential availability.

The main sources for municipal financing are property taxes, services and business taxes (see example of Table X) as well as the various forms of government subventions. The Québec Government's Financial Assistance for the Municipal Sector⁹, from 1970 to 1974 is given in Table XI. An examination of that table shows that the assistance has increased by more than \$300,000,000. over five years. It should be noted that of this financial help an important share has been given for the "Urban and regional" communities. The Montreal, Québec and Outaouais Urban Communities have been entrusted with certain local responsibilities such as public transportation, real estate assessment and industrial promotion among others. The financing of these communities is becoming an increasingly heavy financial burden for the municipalities. It is for this reason that the 1974/75 Estimates allocate \$28.7 million to these communities for balancing their budgets, more than twice the amount paid in 73/74.¹⁰ The obvious importance of these constantly growing areas are proof that regional governments need provincial assistance in order to effectively administer their territories. The provincial government has been aware of this regionalization phenomenon for the last decade or so and as such would surely be open to any proposals which would lead to a more efficient use of funds.

⁹ Taken from the 1974/75 Budget Speech.

¹⁰ Budget Speech 1974/75, p. 14

TABLE X

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF MUNICIPAL REVENUES
(1969 (in millions of dollars))

1. Municipal taxes		
a- land	264.0	(33.7%)
b- services	191.9	(24.6%)
c- sale of electrical energy	18.0	(2.2%)
d- business	59.8	(7.7%)
e- others (rental, amu- sement penalties etc.)	91.5	(11.7%)
2. Sales tax	123.5	(15.8%)
3. Government subventions	34.2	(4.3%)

Source: Document de travail sur le financement municipal
Conférence Provinciale-Municipale 1971

TABLE XI

QUEBEC GOVERNMENT'S FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE
MUNICIPAL SECTOR

from 70/71 to 74/75
(in thousands of dollars)

	70/71	71/72	72/73	73/74*	74/75*
<u>Subsidies for specific purposes</u> (water treatment, urban renewal, housing, road maintenance, etc.)	80 567	82 712	114 000	139 173	188 091
<u>General subsidies</u> (includes among others, redistribution of sales tax, grants to urban communities, etc.)	173 241	184 654	218 403	274 774	311 150
Fiscal transfer payments			16 000	34 400	72 400
TOTAL	258 808	267 366	348 803	448 347	571 641

* Estimates

Source: Province of Québec - Budget Speech 1974-75

If a strong case could be made for the benefits and increased efficiency of regional agglomerations then the provinces, as one of the prime sources for future financing, would surely be glad to be of assistance.

The next group to be considered is usually the last in line when it comes to considering potential sources. This is ironic in as much as the taxpayers are after all the real source for any municipal financing. The question has often been raised as to whether or not the taxpayers of a region are willing to pay supposedly higher taxes for a municipal regrouping. As it was mentioned previously the only way for the planner to achieve his bonding goal (if that is his objective) is by selling the idea to the public in the proper fashion. The explanation of the cost-benefits, when placed on a long term, are surely the best way to sell the regionalization of any area, for they in fact are the only means of displaying a picture approximating the possible reality of twenty years from now. Unfortunately, planners can also be susceptible to the well known disease called public shortsightedness which when, left to itself, can quite often lead to terminal urban decay. That in essence is the case placed before the urban practitioner - the curing of an ill which all too often approaches major proportions just as it is first identified.

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