

Form Versus Function: A Critique of
Manitoba's Capital Region Initiative
1989 to 1996

BY

WESLEY DAVID PAUL PAETKAU

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

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to critique Manitoba's Capital Region initiative, the Province's latest and cautious effort in dealing with governance and planning issues in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg. The study takes a closer look both at the objectives pursued through organizational reform efforts, both in Manitoba and across Canada, and whether the functional constructs of such efforts exist to achieve established policy objectives.

This study undertook a literature review to outline relevant theories and concepts which deal with provincial and municipal responses to the emergence of metropolitan regionalism. The context of the critique of Manitoba's Capital Region initiative, which centered on the recent history of significant inter-municipal efforts and relationships, was provided through key informant interviews, and reviews of relevant planning documents, commentaries and media sources. Further interviews, literature reviews, and content analyses of both the Winnipeg/Capital Region Committee's meeting minutes and the *Workbook on the Capital Region Strategy: Partners For The Future*, were then undertaken to aid in determining the strengths and weaknesses of the Capital Region initiative.

The results from this study indicate that the roles of the planner and the profession, along with the institutional roles of regional government in the Capital Region, will have to be reinvented in order to properly deal with the interrelated demands and opportunities associated with today's metropolitan regionalism. Specifically, the study recommends that a two-phase implementation model be employed by the Province, through its Capital Region Strategy and Committee, in order to firstly, establish a regional vision involving extensive collaborative input from a variety of representatives from the public, private and non-governmental sectors. The second phase involves collaboratively engaging in the creation of a Capital Region Service District and a provincial Department of Capital Region Affairs in order to address the rural-urban dichotomous challenges and relationships currently plaguing the Capital Region.

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CHAPTER 1

General Introduction

1.1 What this Study is About

A growing segment of both the business community and middle-to-upper-classes across Canada are moving to the outskirts of major urban centres (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 1). A closer look at this trend reveals that a complex metropolitan regional form is taking shape. This phenomenon is characterized by the interaction of urban and rural spatial order, the local and global economy, as well as market forces and the technological age. Less expensive land on the urban periphery, better transportation and telecommunication networks, and our persistent desire for newness and closeness to nature, have all combined to create a post-modern, metropolitan collage (Wallis, Winter-Spring 1994, p. 49).

Both municipal and more senior levels of governments are facing serious strategic issues relating to the evolving complexities of metropolitan regions. Due to current debt levels, the provincial and federal governments, once a seemingly never-ending source of capital to assist municipalities to fund community development projects, must now look for ways to control spending (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 1). Furthermore, though the acuity may vary from region to region, it is frequently observed that development of the urban periphery often leads to large amounts of greenhouse emissions, global warming, the erosion of non-renewable energy reserves through increased use of the automobile, the deterioration in the quality of a region's

agricultural industries and public open spaces, increased municipal share of costs to extend infrastructure services, and increased social and economic inequities associated with the isolation of the affluent on the outskirts from the disadvantaged in the inner city (Patterson, 1993, pp. 3-4).

This challenging reality has impelled municipal and senior levels of government to search for more accountable, efficient and cost-effective ways to plan and deliver services and to provide for metropolitan region-wide governance. More often than not, this has led to changing both the role and structure of municipal government. General approaches to municipal government reform are not mutually exclusive. Options vary and are molded according to whether a province wishes to implement measures to encourage acts of regional governance through such means as inter-municipal joint service agreements, or to establish an intermediary form of regional government serving in-between the municipalities and the province (Sancton, 1994, p. 8). Thus, determining which option is most appropriate should reflect not only desires to achieve greater economies of scale, but also the needs of the municipalities and the role they are expected to fulfill within this context (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 1).

The metropolitan region centered on Winnipeg, which comprises the City of Winnipeg and the municipalities in its commuter-shed, has not been exempt from having to deal with issues relating to the effects of earlier suburban growth and more recent ex-urban growth. While the metropolitan region as a whole experienced nominal growth rates over the past two decades or so, several municipalities surrounding Winnipeg have witnessed substantial growth (Carter, 1995, p. 1). Though this statement must be tempered with reference to the respective low initial population bases upon

which growth is measured, this general trend has produced some major challenges in terms of inter-municipal relationships. The city, naturally proud of its role as Manitoba's capital, is feeling victimized. It points to its own eroding tax base, the social and physical decay of its neighbourhoods and crumbling infrastructure as evidence not only of the effects of ex-urban growth, but also of a rural populace and provincial government which are not contributing their fair share to arresting this deterioration (Yauk, 1995, p. 2). On the other hand, the surrounding municipalities argue that they have the right as well as the opportunity to develop their own corporate jurisdictions (Taillieu, 1995; Rebeck, 1995; Beachell, 1995). Of particular interest has been the various conflicts between the City of Winnipeg and the surrounding rural municipalities [R.M.], largely as a result of their dichotomous points of view. Matters such as the Browning-Ferris Industries' [B.F.I.] proposal to develop a commercial landfill in the R.M. of Rosser was the primary subject of discussion during recent public hearings on regional waste management issues, sponsored by the provincially appointed Clean Environment Commission. While Winnipeg officials argued that the development could negatively impact the tipping fees at the city's own landfill sites, municipal representatives from the R.M. of Rosser stated that the B.F.I. initiative was necessary to meet the municipality's long-term needs. The Clean Environment Commission approved B.F.I.'s proposal in early 1996, and a final decision from the provincial government was expected later in 1996. Furthermore, conflict over the quality of service delivery in the peripheral areas of Winnipeg led Headingley to secede from the city and to form its own independent municipality, while a second area, St. Germain and Vermette, is currently considering this option. Thus, an apathetic acceptance

of the status quo in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg is no longer appropriate.

It is interesting to note that, apart from changes made to the City of Winnipeg during the 1960s and 1970s, the history of municipal reform in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg has been rather insubstantial. Given the significant changes and challenges which are taking place in the region however, the result "... is that organizational structures and the inter-relationships of municipalities do not always reflect the present needs of the individual municipalities and their citizenry" (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 1). While not seeing a need to change government structures for the metropolitan region at this point, the Manitoba government, through its Round Table on Environment and Economy, has recognized that the municipalities and the Province must cooperate and resolve regional concerns together. For this reason, what is now known as the Capital Region Committee was formed in 1989 (Sancton, 1994, p. 27). The Committee is co-chaired by the provincial Ministers of Urban Affairs, Rural Development and Environment, and also includes elected officials [or their designates] from both the City of Winnipeg and the surrounding municipalities. Its mandate is summarized as follows:

- to provide the Capital Region Municipalities and the Province with a forum for the identification and discussion of regional issues, concerns and ideas;
- to identify approaches to resolving regional issues and concerns, and to implement solutions; and
- to work together to enhance the attractiveness and prosperity of the Capital Region (Sancton, 1994, p. 27).

To this end, the Capital Region Strategy Steering Committee, comprised of three members each from the provincial Round Table and the Capital Region Committee, published a draft of its comprehensive policy objectives in March of 1995 following a few years of meetings, using the Capital Region Committee as a major sounding-board. Referred to as the *Workbook on the Capital Region Strategy: Partners for the Future*, its policy objectives focus on establishing inter-municipal partnerships, achieving sustainable land use planning, improving the region's economy in the global market-place, and enhancing the region's quality of life for all its residents. This document represents a draft strategy for the sustainable development of the Capital Region.

The primary objective of this study is to critique Manitoba's Capital Region initiative, the Province's latest effort in dealing with issues in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg. But first, two related questions that should be addressed concern metropolitan regions in general. *How have formal metropolitan regions come into being? What roles do municipalities and senior levels of governments play within this context?* These are the central questions in this study. The first question can be answered by examining the processes that are involved in transforming city and country into a metropolitan region. Corollaries to the second question are: *what challenges do metropolitan regions bring for municipalities and senior levels of government and how have these challenges been addressed?* The answers to these questions will be provided within a general survey and analysis of metropolitan regions across Canada, centering on how provincial and municipal structures have been changed to reflect current needs. The corollary questions will then guide the analysis of Manitoba's own Capital

Region Committee and the Round Table's Capital Region Strategy for Sustainable Development. Final significant questions in this regard are *why is Manitoba's Capital Region Strategy necessary, what are its strengths and weaknesses, and what type(s) of reform to provincial and municipal structures, if any, would make both the Capital Region Committee and the Capital Region Strategy more effective?*

It is essential to provide a context for this study. This is dealt with in *Chapter 2: A Theoretical Explanation of Metropolitan Regionalism*. It provides a theoretical explanation of the general guiding forces behind the transformation of a city and its surrounding countryside into a metropolitan region, as well as how and why changes to provincial and municipal structures and relationships may have to be made to better fit form and function. From here, *Chapter 3: Metropolitan Regionalism since 1980: Provincial and Municipal Responses across Canada*, highlights precedents of the type of government and governance structural changes which have been implemented across Canada.

The analysis of Manitoba's own Capital Region Committee and Strategy is provided in Chapters 4 and 5. The purpose of Chapter 4, *Manitoba's Capital Region: A Discussion of the Efficacy and Effects of Past Regional Planning and Governance Mechanisms* is twofold. First, it reviews the history of attempts at achieving forms of both regional governance and regional government in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg. Emphasis is placed on the efforts of the Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg formed in 1943; the two-tier metropolitan Winnipeg government which was established in 1960; Unicity, which replaced this two-tier structure in 1972 with the amalgamation of the city's twelve municipalities into a

single-tier urban government; and the Additional Zone policy, in place from 1960 to 1989, which attempted to direct fringe land development in the Winnipeg region to existing settlement centres through land use by-laws and detailed area plans. Next, the chapter highlights critical regional issues and problematical relationships which have underlined the need for some form of regional initiative. Emphasis is placed on the recent secession of Headingley from the city and St. Germain and Vermette's current bid for secession, as well as B.F.I.'s landfill proposal in the R.M. of Rosser. Attention then focuses on how, if at all, the Capital Region Committee and Strategy are both attempting to address these concerns. This review is presented in *Chapter 5: A Critique of Manitoba's Capital Region Strategy and Committee*. The strengths and weaknesses of the Capital Region Committee and Strategy are then examined, particularly in light of the historical perspectives developed in Chapter 4.

The ideas formulated in this study are summarized in *Chapter 6: Planning and Governing the Metropolitan Region of Winnipeg: Study Implications and Recommendations for Further Research*. Once the metropolitan region of Winnipeg is explored in greater detail, it may become evident that the role of the Capital Region Committee and its Strategy will have to be re-examined in order to properly accommodate the evolving metropolitan context.

1.2 Why this Study is Being Conducted

There has been a shift in the way the city and its surrounding region interact. While the city itself is composed of complex interdependent functions and relationships, this complexity has been extended beyond its own jurisdictional limits. Today, this *new city* (Fishman, 1990, p. 22), at its most, contains an amalgam of urban, rural and suburban clusters that have acquired almost all the functions of the once dominant central urban core. It could be argued that this phenomenon is a reflection of life in the late twentieth century, with its embrace of the global market-place and the telecommunications revolution. This shift may have unforeseen and possibly unfavourable consequences for the region itself, if it is not planned and governed effectively.

It is thus imperative that the planner, municipal official and provincial politician better understand the internal interdependencies of metropolitan regions and recognize that both minor and major reforms to existing organizational structures, in response to this constantly evolving phenomenon, may be necessary. In this light, we need to take a closer look at the objectives pursued through efforts to reform organizational structures in order to eliminate metropolitan dysfunction. More likely to be in counter-productive opposition, innovative initiatives are constantly required nowadays to achieve a better fit of form and function, or to manage the tensions and dysfunction in their inter-relationship. The Capital Region Committee and Strategy provides one current example of such an initiative to deal with what is at root a *form versus function* issue.

1.3 How this Study was Accomplished

This study was accomplished in three phases. The first phase involved undertaking a literature review to outline relevant theories and concepts which deal with responses to the emergence of the metropolitan region in general. This phase concluded by reviewing planning commentaries and documents which highlight how region-specific changes to provincial and municipal structures across Canada have attempted to accommodate this phenomenon.

With the first phase as the foundation, the purpose of the second phase was to provide the context within which the Capital Region Committee and Strategy is analysed. Archival research was conducted, centering on the history of significant inter-municipal efforts in the region itself. This historical background provided the basis upon which certain case studies of current inter-municipal relationships and issues in the metropolitan region are outlined. In this regard, key informant interviews with Capital Region Committee members, municipal officials, provincial representatives and policy analysts were undertaken. Moreover, planning documents, commentaries and media sources were also consulted.

The second phase dovetails with the third and final phase which involves the actual analysis of the Capital Region Committee and Strategy. The research obtained in phase two, in conjunction with content analyses of both the Committee's meeting minutes and the *Workbook on the Capital Region Strategy: Partners For The Future*, has been marshalled to aid in determining the strengths and weaknesses of the Capital Region initiative. The study concludes by referring back to phase one of this study to examine if

any of those alternative inter-municipal structural reforms currently in place in metropolitan regions across Canada, or learning the lessons from past regional history, would either make the Capital Region Committee and Strategy a more effective regional planning and regional governance mechanism, or would justify a new, different initiative.

CHAPTER 2

A Theoretical Explanation of Metropolitan Regionalism

2.1 Introduction

Canadian cities, and the regions that surround them, are in midst of a profound transformation. Whereas regionalism prior to the Second World War was concerned with maintaining the central city's hegemony in the region's economy, the economic, social and political structures of metropolitan regions have evolved to the point where today they constitute a *new networked geography* (Wallis, Winter-Spring 1994, p. 41; Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 1). Urban functions are becoming increasingly decentralized, brought about by the revolutionary reorganization of the global marketplace, and by age-old desires of the populace to flee to the countryside, and thereby escape the supposed intractable urban problems which those fleeing feel powerless to help solve (Rosenbaum and Mermel, 1995, p. 35).

Every transformation of regional structures has impelled political institutions to make corresponding reforms to the governance of the region itself (Wallis, Spring-Summer 1994, p. 160). Reform efforts up until the Second World War focused on structural arrangements aimed at reinforcing the hegemony of central cities. But the subsequent decline of central cities, in the face of suburban growth after the War, shifted the focus of reforms to senior governments imposing procedural arrangements which were conducive to fostering coordinated action and comprehensive planning

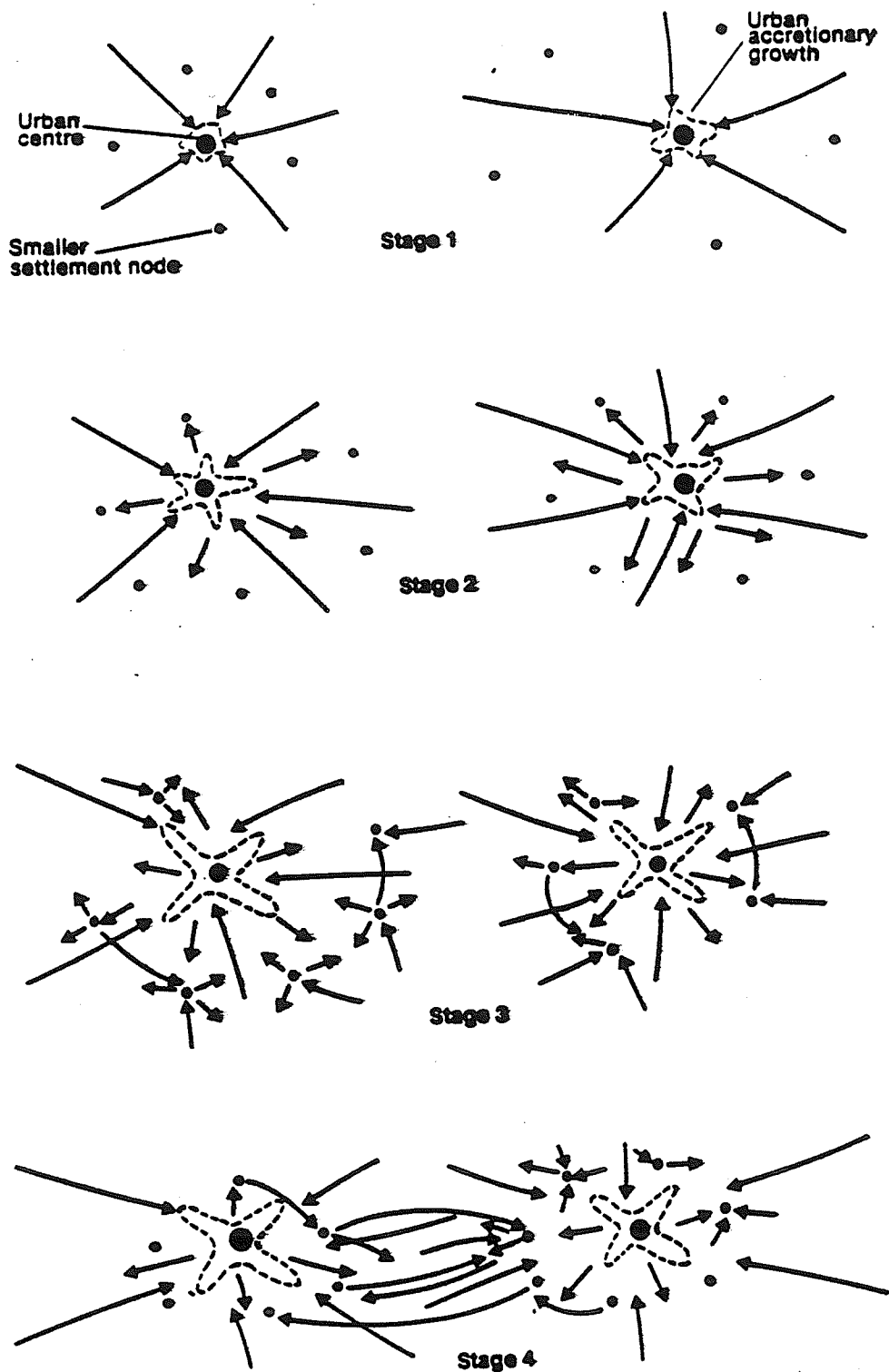
(Wallis, Spring-Summer 1994, p. 160). Today, the calls for reform are based on a set of environmental, socio-economic and political capacity and demand factors, both of which are offering new possibilities in achieving more efficient and effective forms of metropolitan region-wide governance (Wallis, Summer-Fall 1994, p. 291).

2.2 The Evolution of Canadian Metropolitan Regions

As Figure 1 illustrates, metropolitan regions in Canada have evolved through four distinct, though overlapping stages¹. During the first stage which preceded the Second World War, metropolitan regions were monocentric in nature in that they were dominated by their central cities. "At the core was the central business district, with its skyscraper symbols of local wealth, power and sophistication; surrounding the core were factories and crowded workers' housing; and finally, affluent suburbs occupied the outskirts" (Fishman, 1990, p. 25). The mass manufacturing and industrialization economy favoured monocentric metropolitan regions. The concentration of population helped provide adequate low-wage labour as well as the agglomeration of specialized professionals. In addition, the concentration of financial resources supported the development of transportation and other infrastructural services (Wallis, Winter-Spring 1994, p. 160). Virtually all production-related functions, from design to assembly to accounting, took place within a centrally organized and vertically-oriented enterprise (Blais, 1994, p. 16).

¹ Regions across Canada can be expected to vary considerably depending, for instance, on the initial density of urban centres, the regional growth pressures and the degree of the differences in living and business environments between the urban core areas, the suburbs and the areas beyond (Bryant and Coppack, 1991, p. 209).

FIGURE 1
 Evolution of the Metropolitan Region in Canada²



² Source: Bryant and Lemire, 1993, p. 9.

During the second stage which proceeded after the Second World War, many of Canada's monocentric metropolitan regions experienced explosive urban growth and began evolving into more decentralized, polycentric structures (Wallis, Winter-Spring 1994, p. 44). A strong role was assumed by the federal government in this process through financial support for the provision of massive highway and other infrastructure projects as well as a number of urban and suburban housing programs under the **Central [now Canada] Mortgage and Housing Corporation** to accommodate the backlog of housing caused by the Depression and the War (Hodge, 1991, p. 97). As an ever-increasing number of families began moving to the suburbs, developers began constructing suburban commercial strip malls and shopping centres in order to tap into this emerging consumer market (Crawford, 1992, p. 20). Moreover, manufacturing plants, adapting to the growing mechanistic role in production processes, achieved greater economies of scale by relocating along major suburban transportation networks on larger and more affordable tracts of land (Nelson, 1992, p. 351).

The third stage emerged during the 1980s, primarily as a result of the growth of the service economy. As Table 1 illustrates, the service sector [e.g. corporate planning, research and development, advertising and marketing], which accounted for 48.5 percent of the Canadian labour force in 1951, and 65.6 percent in 1971, represented 72.7 percent in 1991. Conversely, manufacturing declined from 28.5 percent of total output in 1951 [30.6 percent of the labour force, including the construction industry] to under 17.0 percent [21.2 percent, including the construction industry] in 1991.

TABLE 1
Structural Transformation of the Canadian
Labour Force, 1951 - 1991³

Year	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary		All Sectors	
	percent	no. (000)	percent	no. (000)	percent	no. (000)	percent	no. (000)
1951	20.9	1,107	30.6	1,615	48.5	2,564	100.0	5,286
1961	13.8	894	28.4	1,838	57.8	3,740	100.0	6,427
1971	8.4	720	26.0	2,246	65.6	5,661	100.0	8,627
1981	6.9	829	24.8	2,972	68.3	8,205	100.0	12,005
1991	6.1	868	21.2	3,018	72.7	10,335	100.0	14,220

To varying degrees, the growth of the service economy has acted as both a centralizing and decentralizing force on Canadian metropolitan regions. On the one hand, businesses appear to be still taking advantage of the agglomeration economies inherent in a city's central business district, and are using information systems and computer networks to send directives to other corporate associates abroad (Rosenbaum and Mermel, 1995, p. 35)⁴. On the other hand, those same information systems and computer networks which are allowing businesses in the central business district to access other markets, are also allowing businesses of all sizes to locate in more non-traditional locations such as home-based enterprises, and in nearby semi-rural areas and small towns (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 53)⁵. These businesses are also realizing substantial savings due to the fact that the most expensive office

³ Source: Coffey, 1994, p. 11.

⁴ In Montreal for instance, approximately 25.0 percent of the city's employment in 1991 was located in the central business district and that employment in the downtown core grew by approximately 12.0 percent from 1981-1991 (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 54).

⁵ Between 1981 and 1991 for example, employment on the outskirts of Montreal grew by 60.0 percent (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, pp. 50 and 54).

space has traditionally been located in the city's central business district (Coffey, 1994, p. 75).

As shall be seen in subsequent chapters, the metropolitan region of Winnipeg is characterized as an amalgam between stages two and three, in that, despite evidence of increased urban decentralization over the past two decades or so, the City of Winnipeg is still the dominant regional centre. Conversely, other metropolitan regions across Canada such as Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver have in fact evolved to a fourth stage wherein significant poly-nucleated urban nodes and activity clusters are locating in the suburbs and further outward in the rural-urban fringe (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 54; Bryant and Lemire, 1993, p. 8).

But economics alone does not give rise to various metropolitan regional forms. Rather, they are the result of an interaction with more socio-cultural forces which have evolved along with the consumer economy (Wallis, Winter-Spring, 1994, p. 47). It appears Canadians are viewing ex-urban areas as a positive residential opportunity. Between 1986 and 1991 for instance, Canada's 25 census metropolitan areas [C.M.A.s]⁶, in total, had a net migration loss in population exchanges with non-metropolitan areas of over 76,000 people (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 36)⁷. Though data is unavailable on where the out-migrants are going, it can be reasonably assumed that they include the following groups: retirement and pre-retirement populations moving to small towns and rural areas; some lifestyle migrants moving to more distant rural and recreational venues; and middle-to-upper-class ex-

⁶ To be classified as a C.M.A. by Statistics Canada, a city must have an urbanized core with a population of at least 100,000 (Sancton, 1994, p. 3).

⁷ Total flows, of course, are much larger: over 780,000 people left metropolitan areas during the five-year period, while 714,000 moved in (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 36).

urbanites relocating to smaller communities in close proximity to metropolitan areas (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 36). It can be further assumed that these groups generally perceive that the urban problems [e.g. congestion, pollution, crime] that originally impelled many of them to move to the suburbs, have now become associated with both urban and suburban living (Beesley, 1988, p. 1; Wallis, Winter-Spring 1994, p. 48). Thus, increasing their isolation from core metropolitan areas in a more rural environment, as well as in more affordable large-scale housing on larger parcels of land, is being seen as a viable alternative (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 53).

2.3 Metropolitan Regions and the Evolution of Governmental Reforms

The legal authority to bring about any desired policy objective is, and always has been, intimately related to the institutions within which the policy functions (Sancton, 1994, pp. 7-8). Every transformation of regional structures, then, has impelled Canada's political institutions to make corresponding reforms to governance. Under the Canadian Constitution, municipalities, as well as all reforms that have been implemented at the municipal or regional level, have always been controlled by the provinces (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 30). In this sense, municipalities and their functions are subject to detailed administrative control from a wide range of provincial ministries, and they have no constitutional protection against provincial laws that could change their structures, functions and financial resources (Sancton, 1994, p. 8).

To this day, provincial governments have had two options for initiating municipal change. First, they can utilize an incremental approach

that is either consistent and directed at long term goals, or an approach that is directed at resolving immediate problems (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 29). Or, secondly, they can introduce legislation intended to effect comprehensive change in a relatively short period of time (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 29). Furthermore, once the need for institutional change has been recognized, the provincial government can either retain or increase control over municipal activities, increase municipal autonomy through the decentralization of provincial decision-making powers, or accept the status quo and implement minor change on an ad hoc basis (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 30).

Reform efforts up until the Second World War focused on ad hoc arrangements aimed at reinforcing the hegemony of central cities. After Confederation in 1867, urbanizing areas either remained unincorporated in rural counties or parishes or were annexed by adjacent incorporated municipalities such as cities, towns and villages (Wichern, 1986, p. 294). As cities expanded during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, suburban municipalities were rapidly developing the administrative capacity necessary to provide infrastructural services of a comparable quality and at less cost than the central cities (Wallis, Spring-Summer 1994, p. 160). Consequently, central city governments expanded their jurisdictional territories and responsibilities through annexations of suburban communities: both Toronto and Montreal annexed thirty communities from 1880 to 1916, for example (Wichern, 1986, p. 294; Sancton, 1994, pp. 14, 21). But in these and most other Canadian settlements, the central city annexations were not comprehensive and did leave many separate municipal jurisdictions intact (Wichern, 1986, p. 294).

Ironically, this incremental approach, in conjunction with subsequent reform efforts of the 1930s, actually further assisted in strengthening suburban autonomy. During the Great Depression when municipal insolvency across the country was prevalent, metropolitan services such as schools, parks and public works were developed and provided through provincially-established region-wide special purpose authorities, and the making of contractual agreements between municipalities (Wichern, 1986, p. 297). Such arrangements allowed suburban communities to obtain infrastructural services without having to submit to more comprehensive forms of municipal government (Wallis, Spring-Summer 1994, p. 163).

Since the dominance of many Canadian central cities after the Second World War was giving way to a growing polycentric morphology, fragmented⁸ municipal government units were leading both to wasteful administrative overlap and to the development of "... elite suburban and ex-urban municipalities while the central city was collapsing in crime and disorder" (Sancton, 1994, p. 46). Thus, provincial reform efforts began imposing approaches on metropolitan regions aimed at expanding the scope of the public sector through comprehensive regional planning and coordinated action between the city, suburb and countryside (Wallis, Spring-Summer 1994, p. 168; Sancton, 1991, p. 9). Numerous Royal Commissions recommended the establishment of expansive single-tier and/or elaborate two-tier municipal systems of government, the structures of which have prevailed to this day (Sancton, 1994, p. 15; Wichern, 1986, pp. 300-302)⁹.

⁸ Fragmentation refers to the number of separate units of government within a local government system. Vertical fragmentation is the number of hierarchical tiers within the system, while horizontal fragmentation is the number of units within a given tier (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 2).

⁹ All municipalities in Canada are multi-purpose in that they are responsible, with varying measures of autonomy, for a range of government functions (Sancton, 1994, p. 7). Within the

Policy-makers at this time argued that an expanded public sector would be efficient and effective¹⁰ for the following reasons. Firstly, they believed that a regional authority was needed to plan future development in and around existing population centres, especially in rapidly growing regions (Sancton, 1991, p. 3). Secondly, they argued that government costs would be saved through economies of scale if services were moved from lower-tier municipalities to the regional or metropolitan level, as well as by merging lower-tier municipalities into either the regional or metropolitan level, or into larger units so that even the most local of services could be delivered by these units (Sancton, 1991, p. 4). Finally, they were convinced that larger government structures would increase inter-municipal equity through their powers to redistribute resources from wealthier to poorer areas within the region itself (Sancton, 1991, p. 4).

These arguments, however, contained inherent flaws. Large government structures and their deterministic and remote decision-making units precluded their bureaucrats from understanding the intricacies of urban

boundaries of a single-tier municipal system, there is only one municipal government that is responsible for all local government functions within its territory such as planning, water supply, sewage, garbage collection and policing (Sancton, 1994, p. 14). All municipalities outside Ontario [and some inside Ontario], Quebec and British Columbia are, by this definition, single-tier systems (Sancton, 1994, p. 14). Upper-tier and lower-tier municipalities exist within two-tier systems of municipal government. In such systems, there is one municipal government, the upper-tier, which is responsible for a wide range of municipal functions thought to require a larger territory than other municipal functions [e.g. regional planning, water supply, sewage, policing] (Sancton, 1994, p. 14). In Ontario and Quebec, upper-tier municipalities go by such names as counties, regions and urban communities, while British Columbia's regional districts serve roughly the same purposes as an upper-tier municipality (Sancton, 1994, p. 14). Lower-tier municipalities share the same territory and are usually concerned with more local municipal functions [e.g. zoning, garbage collection] (Sancton, 1994, p. 14).

¹⁰ By definition, efficiency has to do with making maximum use of available resources. Waste, in the government sense of the word, leads to unnecessarily high levels of taxation and/or low levels of service (Sancton, 1994, p. 16). Effectiveness, on the other hand, has to do with achieving objectives. The more an organization is successful in reaching its objectives, either by efficient means or not, the more effective it is said to be (Sancton, 1994, p. 17).

and ex-urban needs and perceptions (Mercier, 1994, p. 351). For instance, perhaps people in areas with upgraded regional services resulting from a metropolitan regional government were not satisfied with the nature or location of such services, or had no particular desire for such improvements in the first place. When regional government was imposed, they were given no choice (Sancton, 1991, p. 7). Moreover, if either the central city or outlying areas seemed politically stronger than the other, as was the case on the Island of Montreal¹¹ during the 1970s, then it was perceived that an effective regional government would inevitably serve only those interests (Sancton, 1991, pp. 4-5).

2.4 Justifying the New Regionalism: Capacity and Demand Factors

As was highlighted earlier, life in metropolitan regions today is being fundamentally restructured. A set of environmental, socio-economic and political capacity and demand and factors has emerged in metropolitan regions across the country, as a direct result of this restructuring process. These factors are impelling provincial and municipal governments to

¹¹ Montreal's upper-tier government, the Montreal Urban Community [M.U.C.], came into existence in 1970, as a result of a central city service crisis (Sancton, 1994, p. 82). The city's financial resources had been exhausted through various grandiose schemes, and in October 1969, the municipal police department went on strike, demanding to receive salaries equal to those paid in Metropolitan Toronto. During the strike, suburban municipalities, especially those close to downtown Montreal, successfully deployed their own independent police forces around their borders to prevent downtown crime from spilling over into their communities (Sancton, 1994, pp. 82-83). Following the strike, city administrators convinced the provincial government that, despite Montreal's inability to pay, the police should receive a substantial pay increase. The suburbs were identified as the main potential revenue source and the M.U.C., through its implementation of a provincial government decision to create a single M.U.C. police department, was devised as the mechanism for effecting the transfer of funds to the central city (Sancton, 1994, pp. 83-84). For many in the suburbs, the M.U.C. continues to be viewed as the institution responsible for eliminating autonomous local police forces and causing massive increases in property taxes (Sancton, 1994, p. 84).

achieve more efficient and effective forms of metropolitan region-wide governance. In Canada, the capacity factors may be distinguished by the following five interrelated characteristics:

- " • Whereas the regionalism of the past focused primarily on relations among units and levels of government, advocates of regionalism today tend to speak in terms of government [and] governance. The rise of the latter reflects a shift in focus from formal structural arrangements of government to more informal structures and processes for setting policy and mobilizing action. In part, de-emphasizing government recognizes that the public opposes reforms that would effectively create a new layer of government.
- Responsibility for achieving effective regionalism no longer is viewed as primarily falling to the public sector. As the rise of the notion of governance implies, it is an effort requiring the active involvement of the private, public, and non-governmental sectors. Since each sector has unique capacities and specific areas of legitimacy, cross-sectoral arrangements make it possible to combine these in ways that allow for a greater mobilization of effort.
- Whereas a major objective of regionalism, particularly after the Second World War, was improved coordination of public sector planning, today, the cross-sectoral nature of regionalism stresses collaboration. In other words, it is not simply enough to know what others are doing, but to develop arrangements that mobilize the unique capacities and legitimacy of each sector working together to accomplish specific tasks.
- The importance of collaboration places new emphasis on procedural along with structural arrangements. While processes in the past have served the objectives of comprehensive planning, the processes employed today focus on developing a regional vision and goals, formation of consensus among critical stakeholders, and the mobilization of resources to meet policy objectives.
- The increased emphasis placed on collaboration and process is also indicative of the fact that regionalism today operates through network-like organizations. Such organizations reflect the specific tasks being undertaken and tend to have a stable core of stakeholders who share significant interests in specific strategic arenas" (Wallis, Summer-Fall 1994, pp. 292-293)¹².

¹² It should be noted that, while Wallis has based these capacity factors solely on an American context, it shall be shown in the forthcoming chapters how they can be used to encapsulate reform efforts in Canada.

Based on these capacity factors then, one can see no indication of a so-called *master planner* fully functioning within a top-down hierarchical environment. Rather, the prevailing picture could be akin to a state of mild anarchy, in that, ideally, the operative framework is comprised of elaborate networking and recognized interdependency (Wight, 1996, p. 21). Further on this point, borrowing from Sherry Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation and undoubtedly from many others, intra-regional strategies have been developed based on the following five-rung ladder of inter-municipal and provincial-municipal interaction:

- **Isolation:** Organizations proceed with little attention to neighbours or potential partners, and with the firm belief that all forces acting on their community of interest can be held accountable at the local level.
- **Communication:** Organizations are willing to let others know what they plan to do, and there is an awareness that others are taking action or addressing issues of common interest. While there is no firm commitment to change, efforts focus on broadening understanding and developing relationships, and thereby confirm whether change is necessary.
- **Coordination:** Organizations begin to move beyond largely ceremonial communication to more functional interactions that identify mutual interests and synchronize actions in time or results in space. Despite a limited commitment to change, the goal is to maximize local interests and resources through joint action.
- **Collaboration:** A more fundamental merger of interests occurs, whereby individuals recognize that taking action together can make it possible to achieve individual objectives more efficiently, leveraging more out of the same net level of effort expended through the coordination stage.
- **Partnership:** The development of common objectives and a true merger of interests takes place. Long-term or systemic change is planned involving multiple sectors and leaders (Seltzer, 1995, pp. 10-11; Wight, 1996, p. 22).

Organizations on the first rung will not move to the second rung without a willingness to acknowledge their linkage to a larger system. Similarly, movement between subsequent rungs only occurs as organizations,

territorially based or not, recognize efficiency and efficacy gains in the eyes of their constituents. Successful metropolitan regions will be those that achieve progressively greater levels of fusion (Seltzer, 1995, p. 11; Wight, 1996, p. 22).

Increasing the capacity for governance in itself does not give rise to efficient and effective forms of regionalism (Wallis, Summer-Fall 1994, p. 293). The motivation for change has to come from a set of demand factors. Firstly, since most Canadian cities were originally situated so as to exploit a rural hinterland, continued urban growth has consumed high-quality agricultural lands and other natural resources (Tomalty et al., 1994, p. 4)¹³. Further in this regard, the way in which urban development has been allowed to spread over the landscape has created an excessive dependence on the automobile. This, in turn, has contributed to large amounts of greenhouse gas emissions, global warming and the erosion of non-renewable energy reserves (Patterson, 1993, p. 3). In order to sustain the complex system of networks that define metropolitan regions today, reformers are advocating more intra-regional cooperation and planning policy collaboration to help ensure that these environmental impacts are curtailed (Tomalty et al., 1994, p. 5).

Secondly, in all metropolitan regions across Canada the central city is still poorer than newer suburban and ex-urban areas, despite the impacts of gentrification and incumbent upgrading (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 58). When this trend is taken in light of the urban out-migration trend

¹³ It has been estimated that of the 301,440.0 hectares of rural land urbanized in large Canadian cities from 1966 to 1986, approximately 58.0 percent [180,864.0 hectares] was of high agricultural capability (Tomalty et al., 1994, p. 4). Moreover, by 1991, almost 98.0 percent of the wetlands in the Regina, Winnipeg and the Windsor areas, 88.0 percent in the Toronto and Montreal areas, and nearly 78.0 percent in the Vancouver, Calgary and St. Catherine's-Niagara Falls areas had been converted to more urban-related uses (Tomalty et al., 1994, p. 5).

mentioned earlier, it appears that the central city and newer suburban and ex-urban areas are moving further and further apart in terms of socio-economic status (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 60). This has strained inter-municipal relations since cities are having to address growing social service and public works program requirements with a decreasing revenue base (Bourne and Olvet, 1995, p. 62). But it is interesting to note that, though suburban and ex-urban areas appear to have provided acceptable and even superior substitutes for central-city business and residential locations, recent research suggests the following:

"if they are perfect substitutes, we need not be concerned with central-city decline from an economic growth perspective, since losses in the city will be offset by gains elsewhere. However, if central city growth complements suburban and ex-urban growth, then continued decline of the central city can result in negative spill-over effects when the amenities valued by people throughout the region are jeopardized. Decline may be further aggravated by a concentration of impoverished central city households, rising crime and deteriorating infrastructure. In such cases, cooperative policies to arrest urban decline would be desirable" (Wallis, Winter-Spring 1994, p. 50).

Thirdly, since the boom periods of the 1960s and 1970s municipal governments have become increasingly dependent on both the provincial and federal governments as sources of revenue to support the delivery of community services through conditional and unconditional grants (Sancton, 1994, p. 10). But fiscal downloading, brought about by the current debt levels of the provincial and federal governments, has meant that all levels of government must learn to adapt to a net reduction in financial resources and look for new ways to control spending (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 1). At the same time and despite these limited financial resources, municipal governments are also being held responsible, not just for local service

delivery, but also for generating economic growth as well (Sancton, 1994, p. 1). Boosterism has a rich history in Canada which dates back to the 19th century when communities went out of their way to attract the attention of railway promoters (Sancton, 1994, p. 2). Today however, municipal governments, and the regions they collectively constitute, are no longer competing simply with an adjacent jurisdiction, or a rival city, but globally, with places they do not know and cultures they may not even understand (Kotler et al., 1993, p. 16). Some have gone so far as to suggest that if metropolitan regions are to thrive, or just survive, in this new global reality, then they should be marketed as businesses would, with a view to maximizing competitiveness abroad (Blais, 1994, pp. 17, 19; Kotler et al., 1993, p. 16).

Fourthly, it is common for both residents and politicians, in general, to refer to municipal government as the level that is most accessible for and responsive to the citizen (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 11). Thus, while it is true that the role of the provincial government, and the approach taken by it has, and will, continue to determine the acceptability of any change that occurs, the municipalities and their citizenry are not without their own demands and influences, particularly in this age of political cynicism (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 30). In this light, the provinces must now be careful when using their extensive interventionist powers to effect change, by ensuring that their goals, and the processes by which they are implemented, are generally understood and accepted by the municipalities and the general public (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 30).

2.5 Concluding Remarks

Lewis Mumford, writing in 1925, suggested that, "in a period of flow [people] have the opportunity to remold themselves and their institutions" (quoted in Rosenbaum and Mermel, 1995, p. 31). From rapidly changing technology and global economies, to the decentralization of work and home, most would agree that we are now living in a *period of flow*. And, just as we have been remolded by these ever-changing forces that are around us, so too, have our political institutions. Provincial and municipal governments alike are now recognizing the need to increase intra-regional collaboration in metropolitan contexts through the formation of region-wide governance mechanisms. Chapter 3 examines how these mechanisms have manifested themselves in certain other metropolitan regions across Canada.

CHAPTER 3

Metropolitan Regionalism Since 1980: Provincial and Municipal Responses Across Canada

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter explores how, since 1980, certain provincial and municipal governments across the country have recognized the prevalence of the capacity and demand factors associated with the new regionalism and have thus embarked on implementing intra-regional governance mechanisms. This examination is intended to garner understanding of the types of change which have been instituted, as well as to provide an appropriate contextual basis upon which to offer recommendations as to how Manitoba's own Capital Region initiative might wish to proceed in the future. Attempts are not made in this Chapter to determine which of the following arrangements is the most idyllic. Rather, an assessment has been based on general strengths and weaknesses, as they reflect the local conditions within which each must function.

As was stated earlier, municipalities, as well as all intra-regional reforms that have been implemented, have always been controlled by the provincial governments. Thus, upon recognizing the need for change, the provinces have first had to determine not only whether the existing municipal government units within a metropolitan region are appropriate, but also what roles and responsibilities should be fulfilled by themselves and the municipalities, both during and after the reforms have been instituted.

With this in mind then, the provinces have had two options within which to initiate municipal or regional reforms. The first option deals with effecting comprehensive change, using structural mechanisms, to institute or reinforce forms of metropolitan region-wide government. This can be achieved either through a series of incremental annexations by which a city's jurisdictional boundaries are expanded at roughly the same pace as outward urbanization, or through a massive structural amalgamation of existing municipalities to create one new one (Sancton, 1991, p. 11; Sancton, 1994, p. 21). The second policy option utilizes a more incremental and procedural approach to foster or improve forms of metropolitan regional governance. This can be achieved through a raft of special purpose boards and agencies, whose roles are to provide and manage services beyond the boundaries of a single municipality (Sancton, 1991, p. 35).

Two cases which illustrate each of these options shall now be explored. In terms of reforms effecting metropolitan region-wide government, the cases of London, Ontario and Miramichi, New Brunswick shall be highlighted because, respectively, they provide dramatic examples of how current and prospective regional and provincial concerns inspired an extensive structural annexation and amalgamation. In regards to reforms which effect metropolitan regional governance, the cases of Greater Moncton, New Brunswick and Greater Vancouver, British Columbia are highlighted because they both provide good examples of how the provincial governments have relied on special purpose boards and agencies to enhance the ways in which these metropolitan regions are planned and governed.

3.2 The New Regionalism and Metropolitan Region-Wide Government

There are two major structural mechanisms available in many provinces across the country that facilitate either the reinforcement or creation of metropolitan region-wide governments: incremental annexations; or massive structural amalgamations. Two cases which highlight both of these mechanisms shall now be provided.

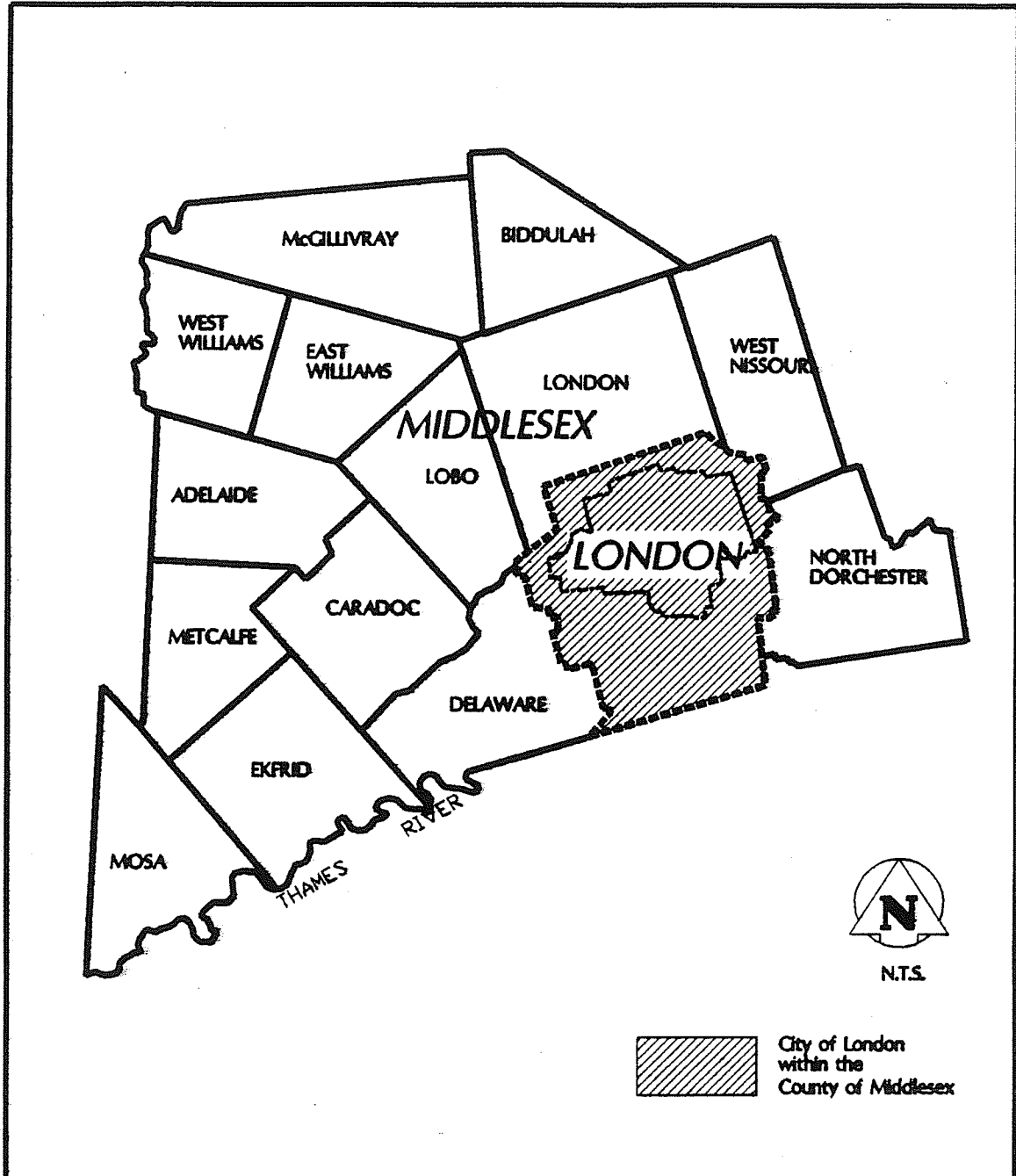
3.2.1 Annexation: The Case of London, Ontario

Most provinces have, at one time or another, expanded the jurisdiction of a metropolitan government through annexations (Sancton, 1991, p. 11). In 1993, the provincial government approved an extensive annexation by the City of London, involving 26,000 hectares of land and the complete absorption of the nearby Town of Westminster. This case is significant because it is a dramatic example of how an annexation reinforced and strengthened the hegemony of London's metropolitan government due to current and future regional and provincial economic development concerns.

The metropolitan region of London is shown on Figure 2. The City of London has always been Ontario's most populous single-tier municipality (Sancton, 1994, p. 28)¹. By the early 1980s, London claimed to be running short of industrial land, while its neighbour to the south, the Town of Westminster, was embarking on an aggressive campaign to attract industrial development just outside of London's city limits. Thus, in 1988, London applied to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs to begin negotiations for

¹ London had avoided two-tier regional government initiatives by the province, especially following the Second World War, because by 1962 it had annexed most of the land [from the adjoining townships] that had already been developed around its borders (Sancton, 1994, p. 28).

FIGURE 2
The Metropolitan Region of London, Ontario²



² Source: Howell, 1996.

boundary readjustments (Sancton, 1994, pp. 28-29). A key feature of the initial negotiations between the Province, London and Westminster was the city's willingness to abandon its policy of refusing to supply water and sewage services outside its own borders and work out a contractual arrangement with Westminster to provide such services for much of the town's existing industrial area (Sancton, 1994, p. 28). But the Province rejected this proposal, claiming that inter-municipal agreements of this kind would make the municipal system less accountable to the taxpayer (Sancton, 1994, p. 32).

By 1991, negotiations had gone nowhere. The Ministry of Municipal Affairs felt that the affected area in the annexation proposal was much more extensive than was identified (Sancton, 1994, p. 29). This caused Westminster to propose a two-tier municipal system of government for the region, while London extended its annexation proposal in all directions, including to the south where it would completely absorb the town (Sancton, 1994, p. 29). Because of this impasse, an arbitrator was appointed by the provincial government, whose role was to determine new local government arrangements for the area. The arbitrator's terms of reference were clearly defined: all recommendations had to reflect provincial interests, the first of which was optimizing current and future growth opportunities within the London region (Sancton, 1994, p. 29). The arbitrator recommended that London should annex 26,000 hectares of land and absorb the Town of Westminster. With provincial approval, London finalized the implementation of the annexation in early 1993.

Though few disputed the fact that London required more land to plan more effectively for future growth, since the city's boundaries were drawn

tightly around its built-up area, the real issue was the amount of land that was actually needed. In the end, London's actual land use requirements involved only 18.2 percent of what was annexed (Sancton, 1994, pp. 30-35). This signifies that this annexation could be problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it appears that the provincial Ministry, in granting its unconditional approval, did not truly appreciate the controversial and cumbersome nature of the prior negotiations between itself, London and Westminster. In light of the aforesaid demand factors associated with the growing political cynicism across the country (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p 30), serious intra-relational issues could once again resurface in this case, especially if the rural and semi-rural areas now within London's jurisdiction merely perceive that they are becoming needlessly embroiled in, as well as frustrated and overtaken by, the city's concerns (Sancton, 1994, p. 35).

Secondly, the fact that other options were never considered by either the Province or the municipalities is also cause for concern. For example, from the perspective of potential new investors in the metropolitan region, a much more modest annexation, in conjunction with London's inter-municipal agreement with Westminster, might have been preferable. This would have allowed the private sector to choose between one municipality and the other, in terms of property tax and service levels, and thereby maximize the region's economic competitiveness abroad (Blais, 1994, p. 17). Though some may question an industry choosing to locate for these reasons as potentially parasitic on the central city, it is just as plausible to argue that the entire region could now lose investment if its unilateral rates are high in relation to other parts of the Province or elsewhere (Sancton, 1994, p. 32). Thus, if there is no future development in the annexed area, it shall place

into question the necessity of such an extensive annexation. But even if there is growth, it shall never be known whether it would have taken place had the area never been annexed in the first place (Sancton, 1994, p. 33).

"Successful boundary adjustments have come about either when only vacant land is involved or when the affected municipalities have arrived at a mutually acceptable accommodation with each other" (Sancton, 1991, p. 33). It seems that neither of these conditions can be applied to the annexation in the metropolitan region of London. This case had the potential to illustrate the *partnership* rung of inter-municipal interaction, based on the initial willingness of London and Westminster to come to an inter-municipal service agreement. In so doing, inter-municipal consensus could have been reached and resources could have been mobilized to meet, and perhaps even exceed, community development objectives. Rather, this case shows how a provincial government can use its extensive interventionist powers to *force* an inter-municipal *partnership*.

3.2.2 Amalgamation: The Case of Miramichi, New Brunswick

The metropolitan region of Miramichi, New Brunswick once included five independent Towns and Villages, and six Local Service Districts [L.S.D.s] which were administered by the provincial government (Burns et al., 1994, p. 7). In 1994, a provincial review of local government structures in the region recommended that these eleven separate government units be structurally amalgamated, and thereby form one metropolitan region-wide government. This case is significant because it provides a recent illustration of how an amalgamation, though bureaucratically complex, offers the potential at least

for a metropolitan region to be planned and governed more effectively than it has been in the past.

The metropolitan region of Miramichi is shown on Figure 3. The review of Miramichi's local government structures highlighted two issues, both of which were impeding the effective and efficient planning and governance of the region as a whole. Firstly, the resource industries, though regional in character in that their labour forces were drawn from many of the surrounding communities, were only generating tax revenues for the municipal jurisdictions in which they were located. This created a wide spectrum of inter-community tax revenue levels which, in conjunction with the region's large commuter-shed, diverse population and high property densities, meant that the relative capabilities of each community to finance necessary infrastructural services were just as varied (Burns et al., 1994, p. 29).

Secondly, there was a recognized need by both residents and policy-makers that a strategic plan was required not only for certain communities, but also for the region as a whole. In the L.S.D. of Chatham Head for instance, a plan was required to address all the future local and regional spin-off developments from a major hospital project in the community, while the L.S.D. of Moorefield was in need of conservation policies in order to protect its rich natural areas which were prized by all the region's residents (Burns et al., 1994, p. 45). But not only did each community plan independently of the other, the residents in the six L.S.D.s, because they were administered by the province, had no form of elected municipal government by which they could direct and demand accountability for community affairs (Burns et al., 1994, p. 29).

FIGURE 3
The Metropolitan Region of Miramichi, New Brunswick³



³ Source: Burns et al., 1994, p. 35.

While both the provincial review panel and community leaders were in general agreement that these problems were significant, opinions varied about how to address them. Thus, after extensive public consultation⁴, and reviewing the merits of other options such as formalizing regional service delivery mechanisms⁵, and revising municipal boundaries⁶, it was deemed by the Province that amalgamating the region's eleven separate government units into one metropolitan region-wide government would be the most direct way to improve intra-regional equity and regional planning capabilities (Burns et al., 1994, p. 29). But structural amalgamation will not, in itself, achieve any of these policy objectives without other equally significant changes to how the region is currently being planned and governed. The following is a sample of other recommendations that were made by the review panel:

- that the boundaries of the new municipality be realigned to establish twelve wards relatively equal in population size. This would be conducive for more accountable representation since the wards would cover relatively small geographic areas and have a low number of electors per elected official;
- that a new planning department be established to devise strategic and sustainable development plans and by-laws for the entire region, thereby eliminating the costly duplication and non-collaborative approach of providing these services separately; and

⁴ A Community Advisory Committee, comprised of political and community leaders, was formed to meet with local government units and the general public, review public presentations, and provide input on the study's recommendations (Burns et al., 1994, pp. 21-27).

⁵ A degree of inter-community cooperation had been taking place in the region through the use of special purpose agencies (Burns et al., 1994, p. 30). Though shifting functions currently undertaken individually to a regional services agency was considered, its structure and mandate would have been difficult to establish due to the fact that it would have had to serve areas that were not being served by an elected municipal government (Burns et al., 1994, p. 31).

⁶ The creation of a smaller number of municipalities by boundary revisions and annexations was considered so that all of the region's residents could have been represented by at least some form of local government. However, the panel was of the view that, while this could improve the accessibility and accountability of local government, it would not address the need to collaboratively plan and develop the region as a whole (Burns et al., 1994, pp. 29-30).

- that in order to reflect the different levels of services throughout the region, a two-tier property tax rate structure be created, with an inside rate applying to areas which received full municipal services, and an outside rate applying to areas which did not receive full services (Burns et al., 1994, pp. 36-46).

This case illustrates the seemingly prohibitive bureaucratic complexities that are involved in any amalgamation process. One should expect however, that such complexities would be offset by the greater economies of scale, inherent when predominantly separate municipal and provincial bureaucracies achieve the *partnership* stage of inter-municipal interaction through the creation of a single metropolitan region-wide government. But since such matters have not been adequately dealt with in the case study literature (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 5), we do not know whether or not inefficiencies are, or will be, reproduced in a different form within the complex organizational apparatus of the larger, more comprehensive structure (Sancton, 1994, p. 33). Moreover, this case also shows how potentially frustrating this process can be for the communities involved, if they are not kept abreast of how this massive and comprehensive restructuring will affect or involve them, or if the changes themselves appear insensitive to a community's identity and its needs. Again, the available case study data is such that only the following speculative conclusion can be drawn: this new metropolitan government, by legitimately planning to establish cross-sectoral links by giving all of its residents and communities the chance to become an integral part of local political processes, as well as recognize, through its planning and taxation policies, the different needs of its urban and rural communities, has the potential at least to plan and govern more effectively than what the region has experienced to date.

3.3 The New Regionalism and Metropolitan Region-Wide Governance

"The fact that metropolitan regions can function, in some fashion at least, without a comprehensive metropolitan government is often forgotten by the most avid of Canadian municipal reformers" (Sancton, 1994, p. 41). Provincial governments have instituted more incremental and procedural regional mechanisms aimed at fostering or enhancing metropolitan regional governance. By using mechanisms such as special purpose boards and agencies, metropolitan-wide services and functions may be managed with varying degrees of accountability, either locally or otherwise, in the absence of a formal metropolitan government structure (Oberlander and Smith, 1993, p. 333).

3.3.1 Special Purpose Commissions: The Case of Moncton, New Brunswick

In 1994, a provincial review of local government structures took place in the Greater Moncton Urban Community [G.M.U.C.]⁷. With extensive input from both the provincial government and the private sector, the G.M.U.C. has been providing municipal services on a regional basis through the use of nine special purpose commissions⁸. Despite the extensive use of commissions and their evident successes, the review panel, responding to provincial and regional concerns that the presence of so many commissions was affecting the role of the three municipal governments, recommended

⁷ The G.M.U.C. is comprised of the single-tier municipalities of Moncton, Dieppe and Riverview. In 1991, close to 70.0 percent of the G.M.U.C.'s total population resided in the City of Moncton (Malenfant and Robison, 1994, p. 30).

⁸ The special purpose commissions within the G.M.U.C. are the following: the Greater Moncton Planning District Commission, the Greater Moncton Economic Commission, the Greater Moncton Sewerage Commission, the Codiac Transit Commission, the Westmoreland-Albert Solid Waste Corporation, the Greater Moncton Pest Control Authority, the Moncton-Dieppe-Riverview Emergency Planning Liaison Committee, the Moncton Industrial Development Corporation, and the Dieppe Industrial Park (Malenfant and Robison, 1994, p. 30).

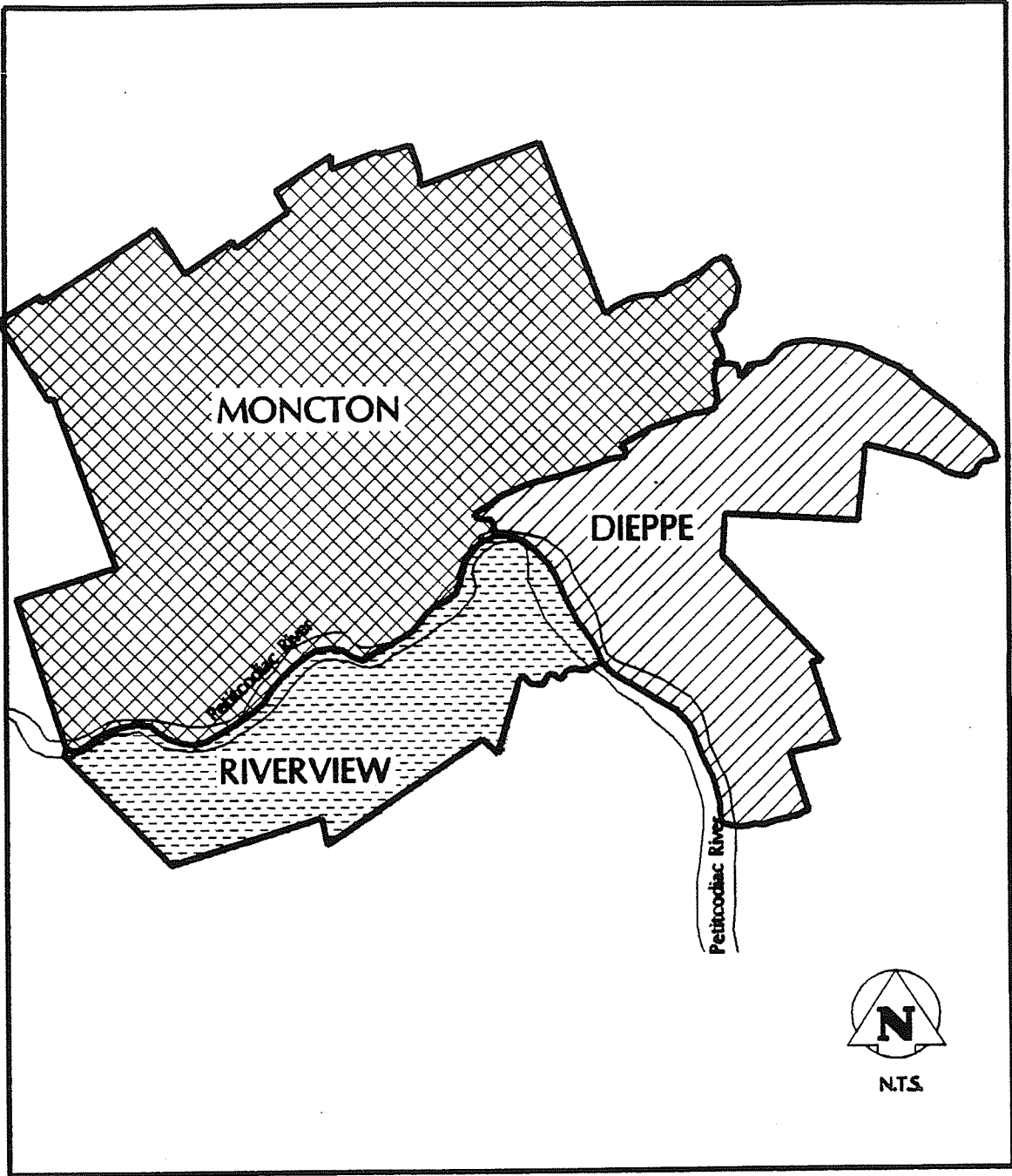
that another special purpose commission be established to better coordinate the other commissions' activities. The successes of the Greater Moncton Economic Commission [G.M.E.C.], along with the Greater Moncton Services Board [G.M.S.B.] which was formed to oversee it, merit further discussion because they both provide good illustrations of the advantages and disadvantages of instituting such arrangements.

The metropolitan region of Moncton is shown on Figure 4. The collaborative efforts of the G.M.E.C. are often touted as one of Atlantic Canada's great success stories in regional economic revitalization (Sancton, 1994, p. 47)⁹. The mandate of the G.M.E.C. is structured around principles of mutual respect for the socio-cultural and economic distinctiveness of each municipality, of fair and equitable exchange of benefits, and cost-sharing agreements among equals to ensure that the entire G.M.U.C. can benefit (Malenfant and Robison, 1994, p. 21). Its course of action has been based on the ability of its bilingual labour force to provide a diverse range of telemarketing, transportation, and information-based technological services for large parts of eastern Canada and beyond (Sancton, 1994, p. 47). As a result of its efforts, 1,600 new jobs were created in 1991 and 1992 by established local businesses, leading *The Globe and Mail* to select the G.M.U.C. in both 1993 and 1994 as one of the best places in Canada to locate business operations (Malenfant and Robison, 1994, p. 19).

Despite these successes, there were provincial and regional concerns that the presence of nine commissions within the G.M.U.C. was negatively affecting the credibility of the three municipal governments. Since there was

⁹ The G.M.E.C. consists of a twenty-one member board of directors composed of elected representatives from both the G.M.U.C. and the provincial government (Malenfant and Robison, 1994, p. 31).

FIGURE 4
The Metropolitan Region of Moncton, New Brunswick¹⁰



¹⁰ Source: Malenfant and Robison, 1994, p. 91.

no identifiable municipal or provincial political unit coordinating or controlling their activities, it was becoming quite evident that the three municipal governments, as well as the commissions themselves, were becoming much too distant from the people they were supposed to serve (Province of New Brunswick, 1992, p. 12)¹¹. But rather than face the decreasing political, public and financial support for comprehensive structural reorganization, the provincial review panel recommended that another commission, the G.S.M.B.¹², be created to better coordinate the various commissions' service delivery functions¹³.

The provincial report highlighted the paradox facing the province and the G.M.U.C. when it stated that its recommendation to create the G.M.S.B. was based on a "... go-with-the-winner approach ..." (Malenfant and Robison, 1994, p. 76), perhaps in partial reference at least to the efforts of the G.M.E.C. If we assume that what is involved in implementing the more formal structural options mentioned earlier is too bureaucratically or financially prohibitive in this case, then the G.M.E.C. and the G.M.S.B. both illustrate the advantages of special purpose commissions. The potential for successful collaborative inter-municipal interaction using a simple framework that is

¹¹ The commissions had complete autonomy over such matters as their operating budgets, personnel administration, as well as policy formulation and implementation (Malenfant and Robison, 1994, p. 39).

¹² The G.M.S.B. is comprised of the Mayors of the municipalities of Moncton, Riverview and Dieppe, as well as three councillors from the City of Moncton and one councillor each from the Towns of Riverview and Dieppe (Malenfant and Robison, 1994, p. 78).

¹³ The mandate of the G.M.S.B. is to act as both an agent on behalf of the G.M.U.C. when entering into all public and private sector agreements, and to strengthen the coordination and public accountability of those services provided jointly, either by making minor revisions to how such services were being provided, or by assuming total control over the commissions themselves (Malenfant and Robison, 1994, p. 78). More specifically, the provincial report recommended that the G.M.S.B. assume responsibility for the regionalization of, and the on-going control over, G.M.U.C.'s three police forces, the G.M.E.C., the Greater Moncton District Planning Commission, as well as their fire and public works departments (Malenfant and Robison, 1994, pp. 79-80).

brought about by semi-autonomous municipal governments and provincial government agencies is indicative of why commissions have a certain appeal to provincial and municipal governments (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 9). Yet, on the other hand, just as the creation of metropolitan region-wide government structures will not, in themselves, lead to desired changes in political decision-making, the same could be argued for instituting simple metropolitan regional governance mechanisms as well. In this sense, the G.M.S.B., and to some extent, the G.M.E.C. and its counterparts, raise such issues as who is accountable for, and who controls and administers, the services being delivered in the G.M.U.C. (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 10). If the purpose of the G.M.S.B. is to wrest power from the G.M.U.C.'s other nine commissions and put in place a more user-friendly system, its own potentially pervasive mandate, which is outside the realm of *all* the elected representatives from the region's three municipal governments, could impel the G.M.S.B. and its coordinating efforts to develop a life of its own and, ironically, to become out of touch with the communities it too was created to help serve.

"Devising a satisfactory system of political control over special purpose commissions is neither obvious nor necessarily uniform. In some instances one level of government may wish to limit political interference from another level of government ... In others, the local government may require significant political input if the interests of local or regional residents are to be taken adequately into consideration" (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 10). It still remains to be seen what impact(s) the modifications made to the special purpose commissions in the G.M.U.C. will have on their abilities to consider the needs of the local residents. But whatever their potential faults, special

purpose commissions, as both the G.M.E.C., and to some extent, the G.M.S.B. show, do constitute a procedural and informal option for municipalities to interact, in a collaborative sense, in order to deal with regional difficulties.

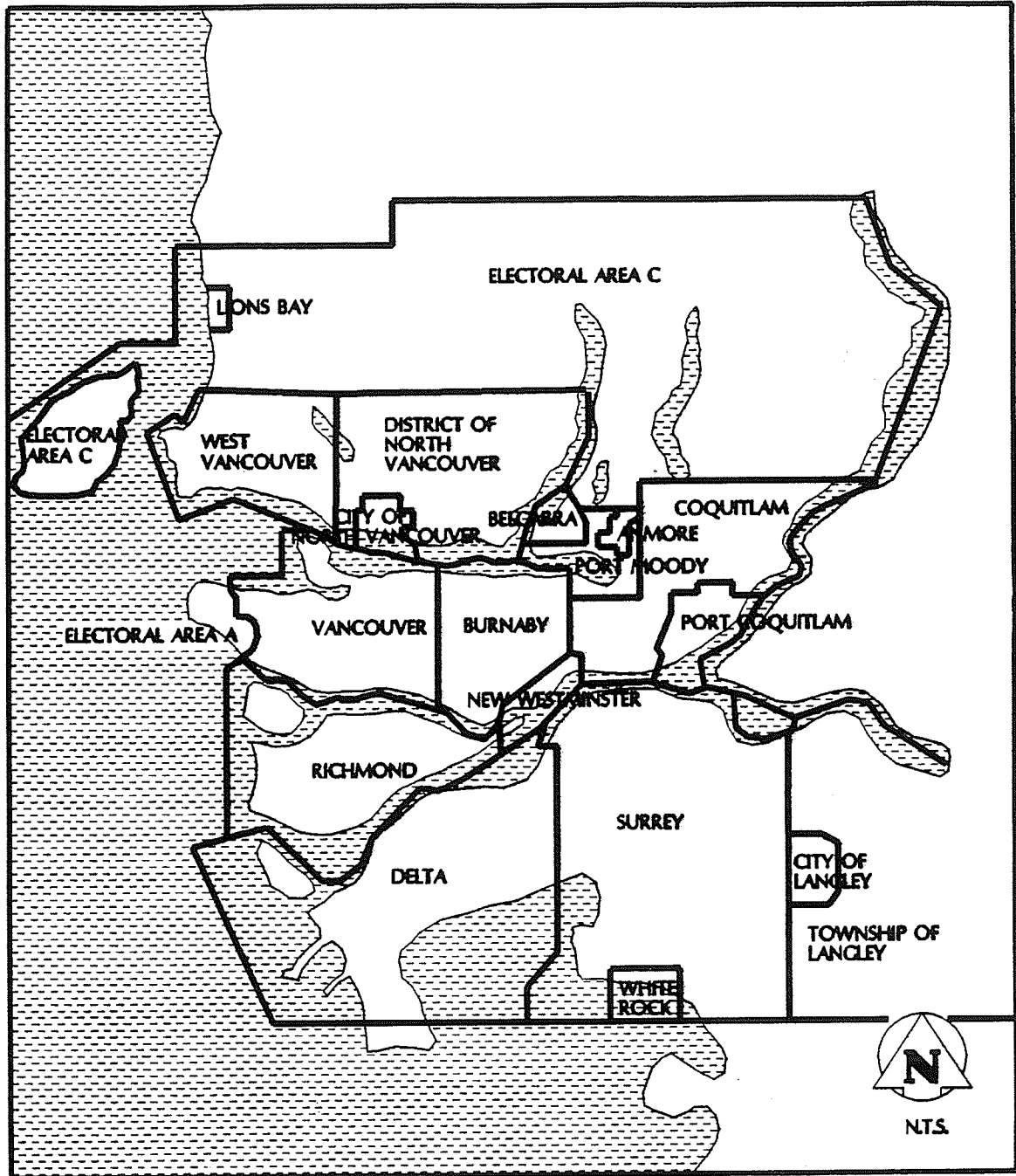
3.3.2 Regional Service Districts: The Case of Vancouver, British Columbia

Metropolitan regional governance has emerged in place of metropolitan region-wide government in the Vancouver region. Services and their spatial implications are managed regionally, involving a mixture of inter-community solutions to service problems and regional policy formulation from both the provincial government and the Greater Vancouver Regional District [G.V.R.D.] (Oberlander and Smith, 1993, p. 33). Established in 1967 in a province-wide reform to replace all special purpose bodies¹⁴ with 29 regional districts, the G.V.R.D. currently comprises eighteen municipalities as full members as well as three unincorporated electoral areas (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 23). Communities both within and around the G.V.R.D. are among the fastest growing areas in the country. Since this has created regional planning policy dilemmas, this case study shall explore such initiatives, and in so doing, highlight metropolitan regional governance in the form of the G.V.R.D.

The G.V.R.D. is shown on Figure 5. It is governed by a 29 member board of directors, composed of mayors and councillors appointed by the member municipalities, as well as locally elected representatives from the unincorporated areas. Voting on the board follows a complicated system of

¹⁴ Until 1967, numerous special purpose bodies had provided inter-municipal services throughout the province (Sancton, 1994, p. 65).

FIGURE 5
The Greater Vancouver Regional District, British Columbia¹⁵



¹⁵ Source: Sancton, 1994, p. 67.

weighting according to area and population, and only representatives from areas affected by specific proposals may vote (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 23)¹⁶. Until 1995, provincial legislation had eliminated not only local authority to tax and spend, but also the regional districts' authority over land-use planning and zoning (Sancton, 1991, p. 10)¹⁷. Thus, the G.V.R.D.'s responsibilities had been reduced to cover such matters as air pollution control, hospital planning, social housing, regional parks, and some aspects of solid-waste management, while its member municipalities became responsible for police and social service delivery, as well as the making of official community plans (Sancton, 1994, p. 70).

The G.V.R.D. has long been confronted with the significant challenge of planning for growth while preserving the quality of life in the region¹⁸. On the one hand, growth has generated jobs, helped finance new infrastructure and facilities, and stimulated capital investment. In the City of Vancouver for instance, the growth imperative is being supported by

¹⁶ British Columbia is the one jurisdiction in which significant changes to municipal jurisdictions or mandates are always decided by local residents through referenda. However, there have been no recent examples in which such changes have been approved (Sancton, May 1994, p. 13).

¹⁷ In 1983, the provincial government, responding to a dispute that had arisen between its Agricultural Land Commission [A.L.C.] and the G.V.R.D., stripped all regional districts of their planning and zoning authority. In 1973, the A.L.C. was created by the provincial government to administer all arable lands in the province. The A.L.C. had four major policy objectives: to preserve agricultural land for farm use; to preserve greenbelt land in and around urban areas; to preserve land banks for urban and industrial developments; and to preserve park land for recreational use (Oberlander and Smith, 1993, p. 361). The creation of Agricultural Land Reserves [A.L.R.] involved all the regional districts. With assistance from the A.L.C., each district was given the responsibility of identifying, reviewing and designating agricultural land reserves within its boundaries and within the context of its own integrated land use plan. Upon final approval by the provincial government, the A.L.C. was empowered to designate the lands as an agricultural reserve (Oberlander and Smith, 1993, p. 361). Shortly thereafter, a power struggle ensued between the G.V.R.D. and the Province over a proposal to remove lands from its A.L.R. for development purposes [Provincial cabinet support for the proposal confronted opposition from the G.V.R.D.] (Oberlander and Smith, 1993, p. 363).

¹⁸ Between 1986 and 1991 for instance, the region experienced more population growth than seven of the ten Canadian provinces combined (Province of British Columbia, 1994, p. 3).

provincial and municipal policies which are aimed at attracting investment capital and mega-project developments to service the city's role as a major player in the global marketplace¹⁹. At the same however, the quality of life concerns and ecological costs of such explosive growth have also intensified. Corporate restructuring, in light of global competitiveness, has made an increasing number of jobs redundant, thereby pushing more people into the ranks of the chronically unemployed or under-employed (Boucher and Roseland, Spring 1994, p. 4)²⁰. Furthermore, continued outward growth has increased the costs of providing municipal and regional services, and has also been a direct contributor to the loss of natural areas, development pressures on agricultural land, air and water pollution, traffic congestion, and inadequate public transit (Province of British Columbia, 1994, p. 4)²¹.

Historically, planners in the Lower Mainland have always been obsessed with protecting the natural environment and with maintaining a livable region. In 1975 for example, the G.V.R.D. adopted its *Livable Region Plan* [L.R.P.] (Sancton, 1994, p. 68). The L.R.P. sought to create guidelines, based on forecasts, citizen preferences and economic conditions, for the future development of the G.V.R.D. Intended to be pro-active and dynamic through the involvement of the public, planners and politicians, the main objective of the L.R.P. was to prevent urban sprawl by minimizing commuting. Its plans were to create more jobs in regional town centres, complete with a regional

¹⁹ Two provincial laws passed in 1988 have given Vancouver's financial institutions that serve foreign clients the possibility of receiving a full reimbursement of corporate taxes on monies derived from their international activities (Coffey, 1994, p. 7).

²⁰ At least 50.0 percent of the poor in Vancouver are the working poor, caught in low-paying jobs and in a city where the cost of living is continuing to rise (Boucher and Roseland, Spring 1994, p. 4).

²¹ At the current rate of urban and suburban development in the G.V.R.D., it has been estimated that the region will run out of prime agricultural land, as well as suitable land for further development, in approximately fifteen years (Boucher and Roseland, Spring 1994, p. 4).

rapid transit system, so that people could live closer to where they worked (Sancton, 1994, p. 69). Throughout the 1980s, the consensus achieved throughout the L.R.P. process helped shape the region. "The G.V.R.D.'s successes included identifying the alignment of the regional rapid transit system, encouraging regional town centres as foci for higher density development and rapid transit in suburban communities, and acquiring regional park space" (Oberlander and Smith, 1993, p. 364).

Despite the elimination of the regional districts' planning authority, which made it difficult for the G.V.R.D., and the local governments that comprised it, to develop a collaborative intra-regional and inter-regional mandate (Province of British Columbia, 1994, pp. 5-7), the G.V.R.D. continued to demonstrate its capacity to plan in a regional context (Oberlander and Smith, 1993, p. 365). In 1990 for example, following an extensive public consultation program²², the G.V.R.D. adopted an updated version of its plan entitled, *Choosing Our Future*. It set out 54 inter-related steps to maintaining and ensuring a more livable region. These steps included, among others: limiting private automobile use; having a better housing-jobs balance through the creation of sustainable satellite communities; and improving the region's air and water quality (Oberlander and Smith, 1993, p. 365). Critics dismissed these recommendations as an unobtainable wish-list, but also approved of its vision of limiting economic growth on the grounds that it could negatively affect the region's natural environment (Sancton, 1994, p. 69).

²² The consultation process involved seven regional seminars, one forum, six community meetings, and a number of research reports (Oberlander and Smith, 1993, p. 365).

As was stated earlier, the regional planning function, in the form of establishing regional growth strategies, was formally restored to all regional districts in 1995. Referred to as the *Growth Strategies Act* [G.S.A.], it provides a modernized framework that ensures that the municipalities, and the regional district of which they form a part, work together to prepare a regional growth strategy²³. Rather than create special purpose bodies or a new level of government, the G.S.A. has introduced three important tools to local governments and the regional districts. They are as follows:

- **A Regional Growth Strategy [R.G.S.]:** a twenty-year regional vision that is reviewed every five years, committing affected municipalities and regional districts to a course of action to meet common social, economic and environmental objectives. It is initiated and adopted by a regional district and referred to all affected local governments for acceptance²⁴.
- **A Regional Context Statement [R.C.S.]:** a portion of a municipality's Official Community Plan that sets out the relationship between the R.G.S. and the municipality's plan. This statement must be prepared by the municipality within two years of adopting an R.G.S. and shall be referred to the regional district for acceptance.
- **An Implementation Agreement [I.A.]:** a partnership agreement between a regional district and other levels of government, their agencies or other bodies which spells out the details of how certain aspects of the R.G.S. will be carried out (Province of British Columbia, 1995, pp. 2-21).

²³ Although the G.V.R.D.'s L.R.P. pre-dates the G.S.A., the Ministry of Municipal Affairs is currently working with the G.V.R.D. on the design of transitional mechanisms to enable the L.R.P. to be formally adopted as an R.G.S. (Province of British Columbia, October, 1995, p. 6).

²⁴ Though normally the regional district would initiate an R.G.S. by resolution of its board, as a last resort the province has the ability to require an R.G.S. for regions where extreme growth rates indicate a need for one. In terms of the R.G.S. itself, it is limited and focused on key issues such as housing, transportation, regional district services, parks and natural areas, and economic development, all of which must be managed at the regional scale. While these items are mandatory, each regional district has the flexibility to develop the R.G.S. in order to meet local and regional needs. Once an R.G.S. has been initiated, the regional district must not only provide for on-going public consultation, but must also form an inter-governmental advisory committee [I.A.C.], comprised of district board staff as well as provincial and local government officials, to help identify common issues and coordinate inter-governmental policies. Such coordination is further enhanced through a Deputy Ministers' Committee which brings together the key provincial ministries to oversee and facilitate the I.A.C. negotiations, and develop provincial policy guidelines, wherever necessary (Province of British Columbia, 1995, pp. 5-21).

The G.V.R.D., though not a formal metropolitan regional government, does play an important, even central, role in the governance of the metropolitan region of Vancouver (Oberlander and Smith, 1993, p. 367). In establishing cross-sectoral links with the public, private and non-governmental sectors, it has developed as a supra-municipal governance mechanism that is well suited to dealing with the socio-economic and environmental demands which have arisen as a result of the region's astronomical growth. The G.V.R.D.'s inherently flexible and non-interventionist approach, in conjunction with its gradual expansion of activities in response to local decisions, has resulted in a system that is accepted, practical and functional (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 14).

3.4 Concluding Remarks

Even though the provincial and municipal governments highlighted in this Chapter have recognized the need to address the current demands of regionalism through the creation or reinforcement of metropolitan region-wide governance mechanisms, their resulting abilities to govern the region effectively or efficiently depends just as much on the balance and interaction of political forces within the region itself, as on the proposed reforms themselves (Sancton, 1994, p. 53). These political forces should be cognizant of, and attempt to balance, the needs of the municipalities involved, and to provide the necessary frameworks which allows them to come to their own decisions (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 38). This Chapter has illustrated that this objective has been difficult, though not entirely impossible, to achieve.

With respect to the new regionalism and provincial efforts to institute or reinforce forms of metropolitan region-wide government, the annexation case in London, Ontario shows how a provincial government can use its extensive interventionist powers to force an inter-municipal partnership. But instead of attempting to develop common inter-community objectives, such action was taken only to strengthen the dominance of a region's central city government. While all the provinces have a constitutional right to do so, the processes involved can be extremely controversial, especially if questions of community need and identity not only conflict with what is proposed, but are also subservient to a larger provincial agenda. Next, the amalgamation case in Miramichi, New Brunswick illustrates how provincial and municipal arguments over the need to achieve both greater economies of scale and better cross-sectoral links to address diverse community needs and concerns, can be used to justify the establishment of the ultimate inter-municipal partnership.

In terms of the new regionalism and provincial efforts at utilizing a more incremental approach to foster metropolitan regional governance, the special purpose commissions case in the G.M.U.C. illustrates the importance of instituting regional change that is sensitive to both local political processes and community needs. It also shows how special purpose commissions can be used by municipalities to interact, in a collaborative sense, in order to deal with regional difficulties. And in the face of decreasing support for provincially-sponsored comprehensive structural reorganizations due to political complexities and financial constraints, they may be the only available options in many provinces (Sancton, 1991, p. 34). Finally, the G.V.R.D. case illustrates the regional benefits that can be garnered from establishing cross-

sectoral links with the public, private and non-governmental sectors in order to deal with the socio-economic and environmental demands of regional growth. Such a system has only been enhanced through the institution of the G.S.A.

Chapter 4 shall now examine how past attempts by Manitoba's provincial governments to institute regional planning and governance initiatives in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg, have affected inter-municipal relational dynamics, particularly in light of current metropolitan regional growth trends. This discussion shall not only highlight critical factors which have necessitated the creation of the Capital Region initiative, but shall also provide an intra-regional contextual basis upon which to offer a critique of the initiative itself.

CHAPTER 4

Manitoba's Capital Region: A Discussion of the Efficacy and Effects of Past Regional Planning and Governance Mechanisms

4.1 Introduction

"Unquestionably, the establishment from the very beginning of local government and municipal structure[s] made up of multiple autonomous authorities [in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg has] made area-wide planning [and governance] impossible ... [W]ith the passage of time, each became strongly entrenched in its position, and jealous of its powers" (Levin, 1993, pp. 323 and 379). And after fifty years of experimentation with metropolitan regional planning and governance mechanisms such as the Metropolitan Planning Commission [formed in 1943], the two-tier Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg government [established in 1960], the single-tier Unicity government [created in 1972], and the Additional Zone policy [in place from 1960 to 1989], it is becoming increasingly evident that the provincial government, which is ultimately responsible for municipal governments under the Canadian Constitution, has yet to effectively mitigate contemporary intra-regional parochialism and urban-rural polarity.

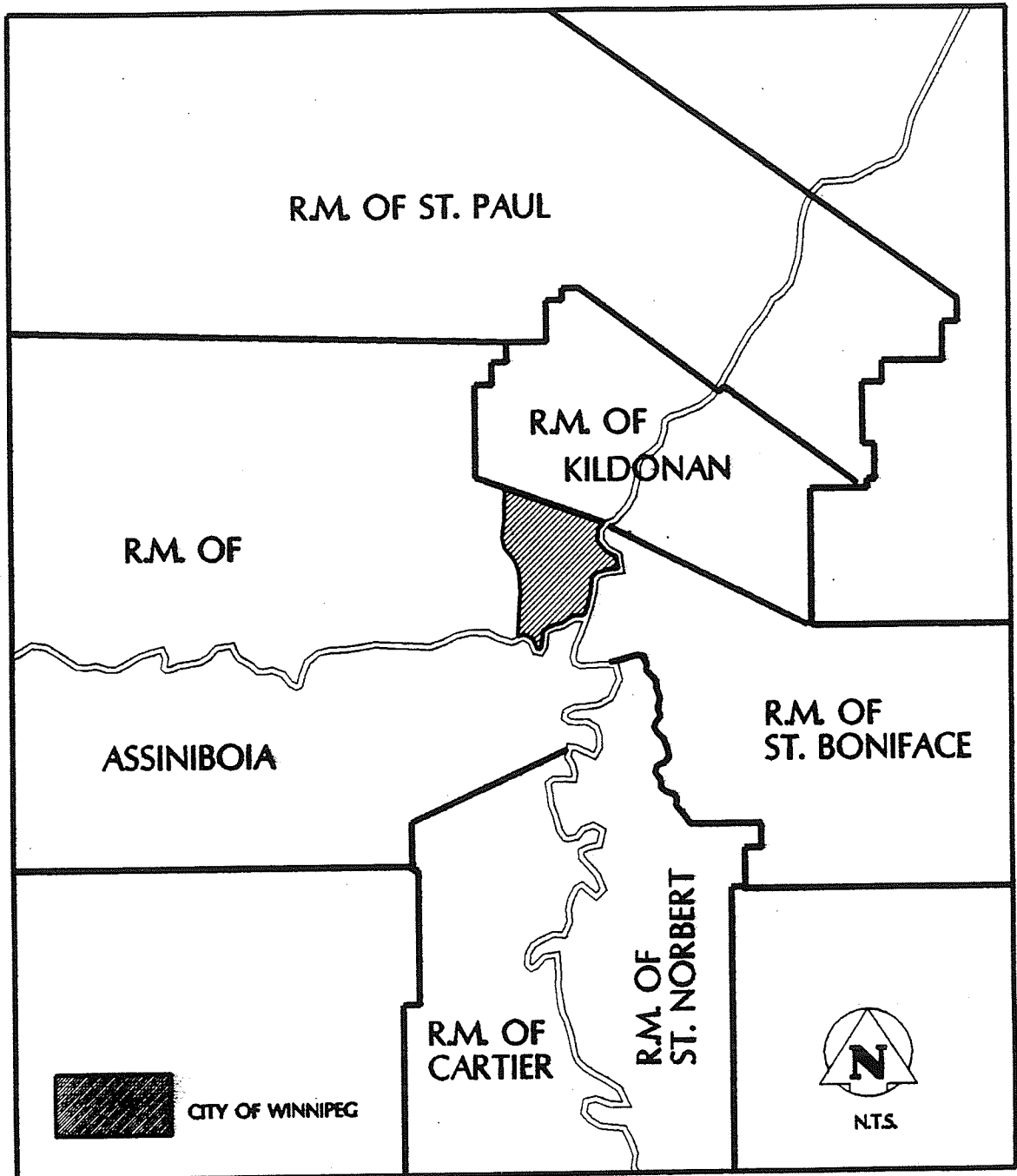
While people and businesses have been exercising their rights to leave the city and seek out the lifestyles and tax regimes that are most attractive to them, the City of Winnipeg has been unable to stem this out-migratory tide. But because of the Province's inability to create collaborative metropolitan

regional planning and governance initiatives, the municipalities comprising the region have instead repeated history by competing for, and reacting over, various regional development initiatives (Neville, 1995, p. A6). Naturally, this has produced some major inter-municipal conflicts, especially between the City of Winnipeg and the surrounding municipalities. Recent conflicts include Headingley's secession from the City of Winnipeg in 1993 and St. Germain-Vermette's current bid for secession, as well as the Browning-Ferris Industries' [B.F.I.] landfill development proposal in the Rural Municipality [R.M.] of Rosser. Such conflicts, however, signify that an acceptance of the status quo by all the political players within the region itself is no longer appropriate, especially in light of the aforesaid demand and capacity factors associated with the new regionalism.

4.2 Planning and Governance in the Metropolitan Region of Winnipeg

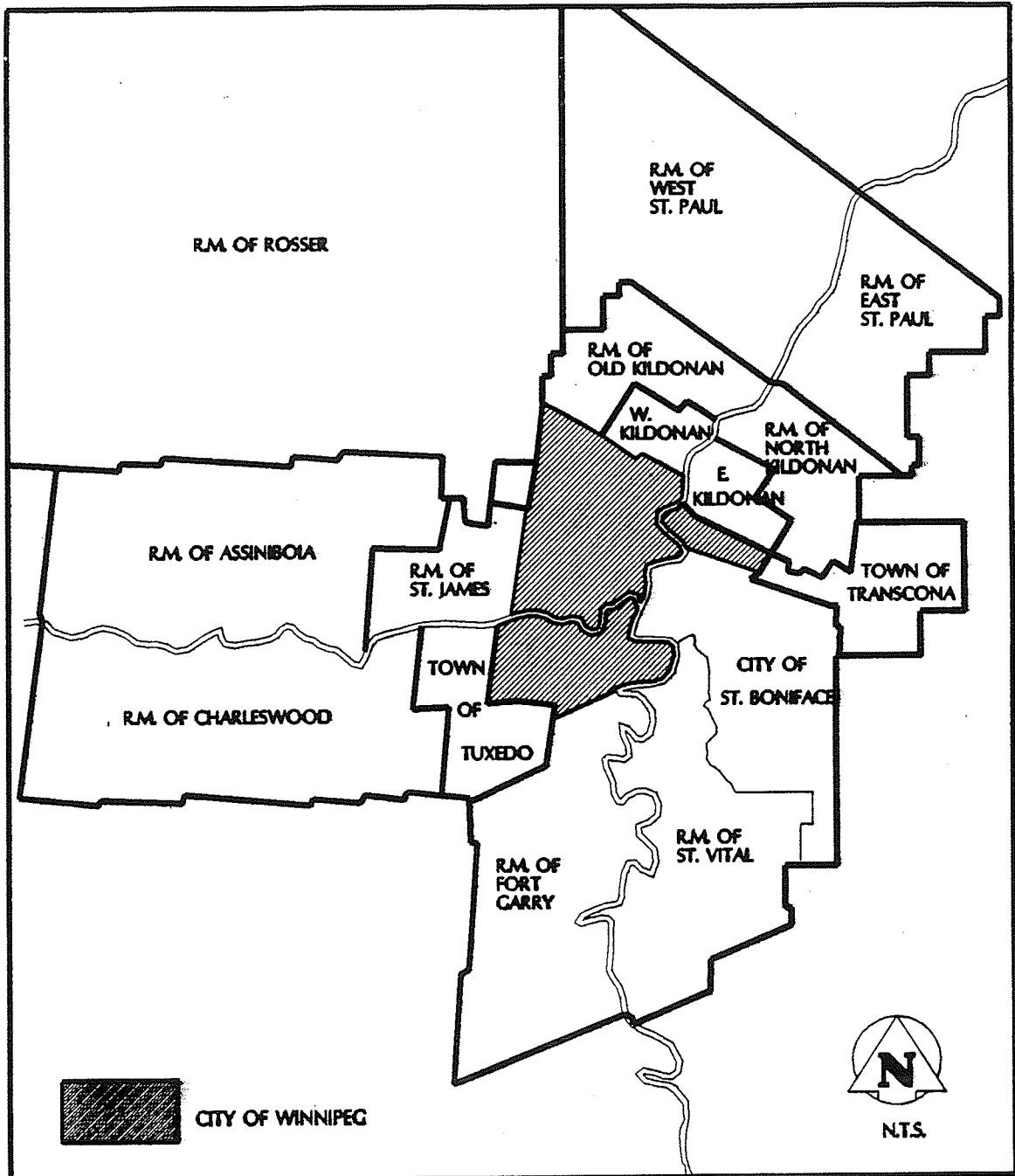
As was stated in Chapter 2, metropolitan regions in Canada have evolved through four distinct, though overlapping stages. The first stage in the case of the metropolitan region of Winnipeg commenced in 1873, when Winnipeg was incorporated as a City. It was the first to do so under provincial legislation which allowed any district with more than thirty-five free-holders to be incorporated upon petition by two-thirds of the property owners (Wichern ed., 1973, p. 8). As shown on Figure 6, by 1880, only the City of Winnipeg as well as the surrounding R.M.s of Assiniboia on the west and south, Kildonan on the north and St. Boniface on the east comprised the metropolitan region of Winnipeg, and the total population was approaching 8,000 people. As Figure 7 illustrates however, by 1921, there were thirteen

FIGURE 6
The Metropolitan Region of Winnipeg - 1880¹



¹ Source: Wichern ed., 1973, p. 8.

FIGURE 7
 The Metropolitan Region of Winnipeg - 1921²



² Source: Wichern ed., 1973, p. 12a.

municipalities which comprised the metropolitan region³ and the total population was 229,212 (Levin, 1993, pp. 235 and 239). As a result of this rapid growth, due in large part to a surge of real estate speculation and local business activity associated with the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway's transcontinental main line through the city, Winnipeg became the epitome of monocentric metropolitan regions west of Toronto (Levin, 1993, p. 230). But it is interesting to note that, in spite of Winnipeg's spectacular growth, there were no public demands for formal metropolitan regional planning or governance mechanisms up until the post-Second World War period. For the most part, provincial reforms of the municipal government system focused on ad hoc structural arrangements aimed at reinforcing the regional dominance of Winnipeg (Wichern ed., 1973, pp. 9-12). For example, by 1920 and with on-going provincial legislative endorsement, the rapid expansion of Winnipeg had forced its city council, or *Board of Control*⁴, as it was officially called, to implement a series of extensive annexations of surrounding territory. Ironically perhaps, annexations were approved by the provincial government if, and only if, a plebiscite held in the affected community showed that a majority of its residents supported such action (Wichern ed., 1973, pp. 9-10)⁵.

³ The municipalities that effectively comprised the metropolitan region of Winnipeg in 1921 were as follows: the City of Winnipeg, the City of St. Boniface, the Towns of Transcona and Tuxedo, and the R.M.s of Assiniboia, Charleswood, East Kildonan, Fort Garry, St. James, St. Vital, West Kildonan, East St. Paul and West St. Paul (Wichern ed., 1973, p. 9).

⁴ The Board of Control was comprised of the Mayor and four Controllers, all of which were elected annually by the city at large. By 1921, the Board of Control was abolished and replaced by a municipal government system composed of a Mayor and eighteen Aldermen (Wichern ed., 1973, pp.11-12).

⁵ Annexed communities were compliant because they viewed being a part of the City of Winnipeg as a means by which they could receive better water and sewage services (Wichern ed., 1973, pp. 9-10).

The metropolitan region of Winnipeg started progressing from the first to the second evolutionary stage between 1921 and the post-Second World War period. During this time, the population of the metropolitan region of Winnipeg grew to 320,484, an increase of 91,272 persons. Of this, 49,958 accrued to the city and 41,314 accrued to the suburbs (Levin, 1993, p. 241). Though Winnipeg was still the dominant regional centre and provincial capital, suburban communities and their residents were beginning to identify more with their own municipalities, and these municipal councils were growing increasingly protective of their authority over local affairs (Levin, 1993, p. 241). Nevertheless, in the 1940s inter-municipal concerns over a possible post-war depression, the need for a post-war housing construction program, as well as the spread of urban development and its impacts on both the environment and infrastructural service provisions, contributed to public and political perceptions that metropolitan regional planning and governance mechanisms would be necessary. Thus, the Province created the Metropolitan Planning Commission [M.P.C.] in 1944 (Hodge, 1994, p. 38)⁶. The M.P.C. was comprised of the two representatives from the Province and two each from the councils of the City of Winnipeg, the City of St. Boniface, the Town of Transcona, the Town of Tuxedo, the Village of Brooklands, and the R.M.s of Assiniboia, Charleswood, East Kildonan, Fort Garry, St. James, St. Vital and West Kildonan (Levin, 1993, pp. 248-249). It was empowered to prepare metropolitan regional master plans, to provide municipalities with planning assistance, to offer advisory opinions to the municipal councils, and

⁶ It should be noted that the Province had established a number of special-purpose agencies before and after World War II. These agencies were as follows: the Greater Winnipeg Water District [1913]; the Mosquito Abatement District [1927]; the Greater Winnipeg Sanitary District [1935]; the St. James-Winnipeg Airport Commission [1937]; the Rivers and Streams Authority No. 1 [1940]; the Metropolitan Planning Commission [1944, 1949]; the Metropolitan Defence Board [1951]; and the Greater Winnipeg Transit Commission [1953] (Levin, 1993, p. 242).

to prepare reports on more specific planning matters such as housing, highways and zoning (Kaplan, 1982, p. 501). Though the M.P.C. fostered a degree of communication among municipalities and helped initiate thinking about planning issues within a wider regional context, its major reports and plans were only advisory in function (Hodge, 1994, p. 38; Tindal and Tindal, 1995, p. 102), and were usually met with a "... uniformly hostile municipal response" (Kaplan, 1982, p. 501)⁷.

While post-war urbanization in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg gained momentum⁸, the need for a formal metropolitan regional growth strategy remained largely unrecognized until 1955 (Waddell, 1973, p. 23). At this time, the Province established the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission [G.W.I.C.]⁹, whose mandate was to devise a metropolitan region-wide governmental framework which would provide regional services as well as manage and finance regional growth in a more effective manner (Levin, 1993, p. 253). Following extensive public consultation¹⁰, the

⁷ Further on this point, shortly after the formation of the M.P.C., the City of Winnipeg established its own Greater Winnipeg Planning Commission [G.W.P.C.], arguably as a result of some degree of jurisdictional rivalry between it and the Province. Both the G.W.P.C. and the M.P.C. continued to co-exist under the auspices of a Joint Executive Committee on Metropolitan Planning (Levin, 1993, pp. 249-250). It was comprised of five members from each of the two parent bodies. Upon recognizing the need for a metro-wide, fully representative planning program, the M.P.C. and G.W.P.C. were amalgamated to form the Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg [M.P.C.G.W.] in 1949. But, like the M.P.C., the M.P.C.G.W. was purely advisory in function, with no policy-making or administrative responsibilities (Levin, 1993, p. 251).

⁸ Between 1941 and 1956, the population of the metropolitan region grew from 302,024 to 412,243, an increase of approximately 37.0 percent. The City of Winnipeg however, only grew from 221,960 to 255,093, an increase of barely 15.0 percent, while the suburban population grew from 80,064 to 157,155, an increase of over 96.0 percent (Levin, 1993, p. 252).

⁹ The G.W.I.C. was comprised of five commissioners, each of whom was selected from a list of names submitted by the various municipalities (Waddell, 1973, p. 24).

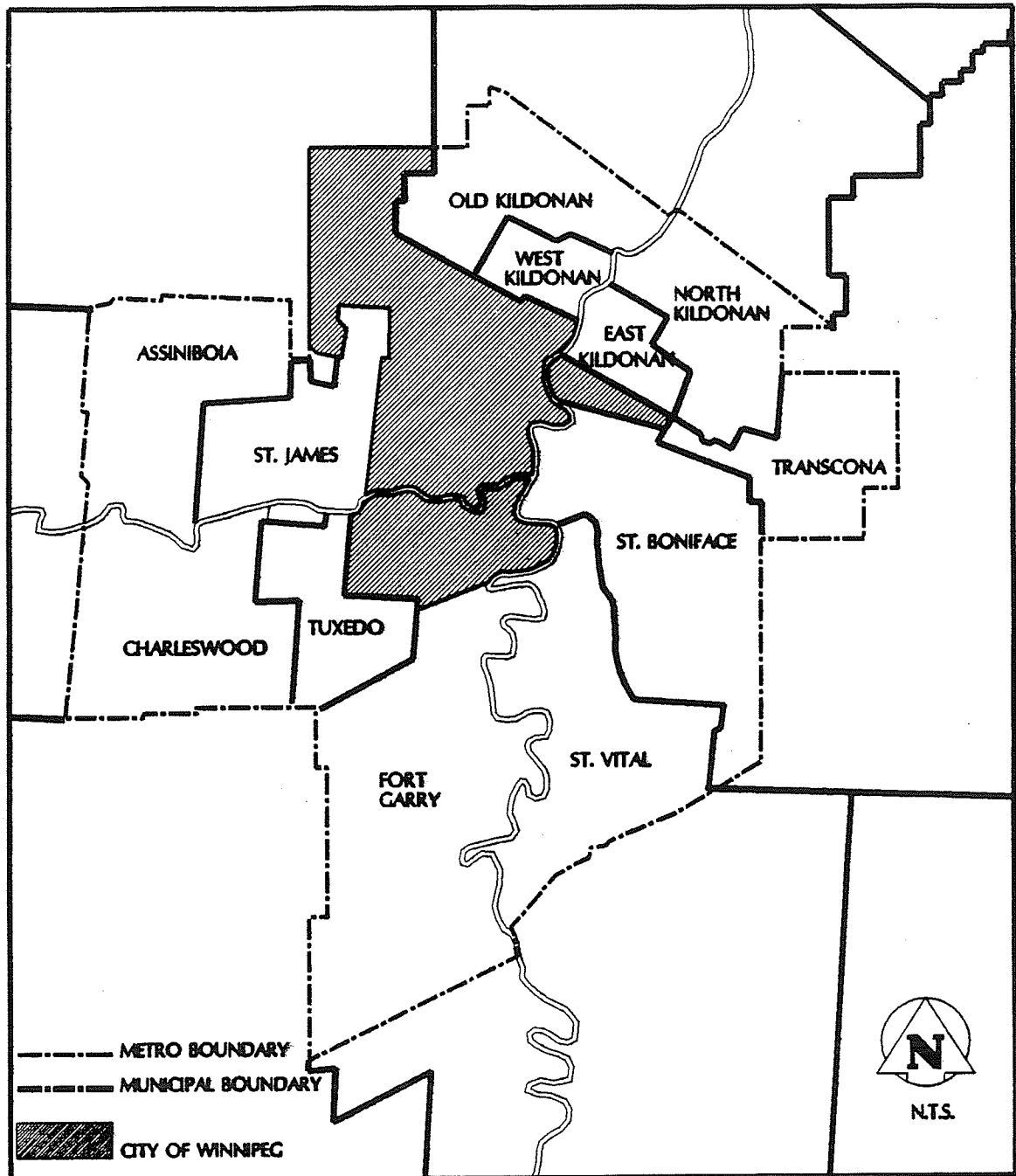
¹⁰ It is interesting to note that no consensus was found on how to best address the problems within the metropolitan region of Winnipeg. While the City of Winnipeg favoured a two-tier metropolitan region-wide government system, the suburban municipalities were resistant to any measures that would have either forced them to surrender any part of their jurisdictional control, or negatively affect the explosive growth that they were experiencing at the time (Levin, 1993, p. 255).

G.W.I.C. recommended, in 1959, that a two-tier system of metropolitan region-wide government be formed. Upon passing the *Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg Act* in 1960, the Province established the two-tiered Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg [*Metro*] in 1961 (Waddell, 1973, p. 26). *Metro's* jurisdictional boundaries are shown on Figure 8. The upper-tier component of *Metro*, referred to as the *metropolitan government*¹¹, was given responsibility for those services thought to require a larger territory such as formulating development plans, zoning by-laws, building codes, undertaking property assessments, and developing parks and regional public works. The lower-tier component, referred to as the *area municipalities*, was comprised of thirteen municipalities, including Winnipeg and the twelve R.M.s which surrounded the city at that time. The area municipalities were responsible for implementing the metropolitan government's plans and for providing more local services such as police and fire protection, social welfare and local public works (Tindal and Tindal, 1995, p. 103; Levin, 1993, p. 325).

Metro received mixed reviews shortly after it was implemented. On the one hand, "[t]he principle of managing the growth of the metropolitan region through the adoption of development policies and objectives in a statutory long-range plan, and the control of development to conform with that plan through the instruments of zoning and building bylaws ..." (Levin, 1993, p. 261) was recognized for the first time as a part of the municipal government system. An example of how this principle manifested itself in a

¹¹ The metropolitan government council was comprised of five members from Winnipeg and five members from the surrounding area municipalities. Not only did all prospective metropolitan councillors have to be directly elected, they also could not hold local office (Tindal and Tindal, 1995, p. 103). This method of representation on council was defended by the Province on the grounds that it would avoid parochialism in civic politics (Waddell, 1973, p. 28).

FIGURE 8
The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg - 1961¹²



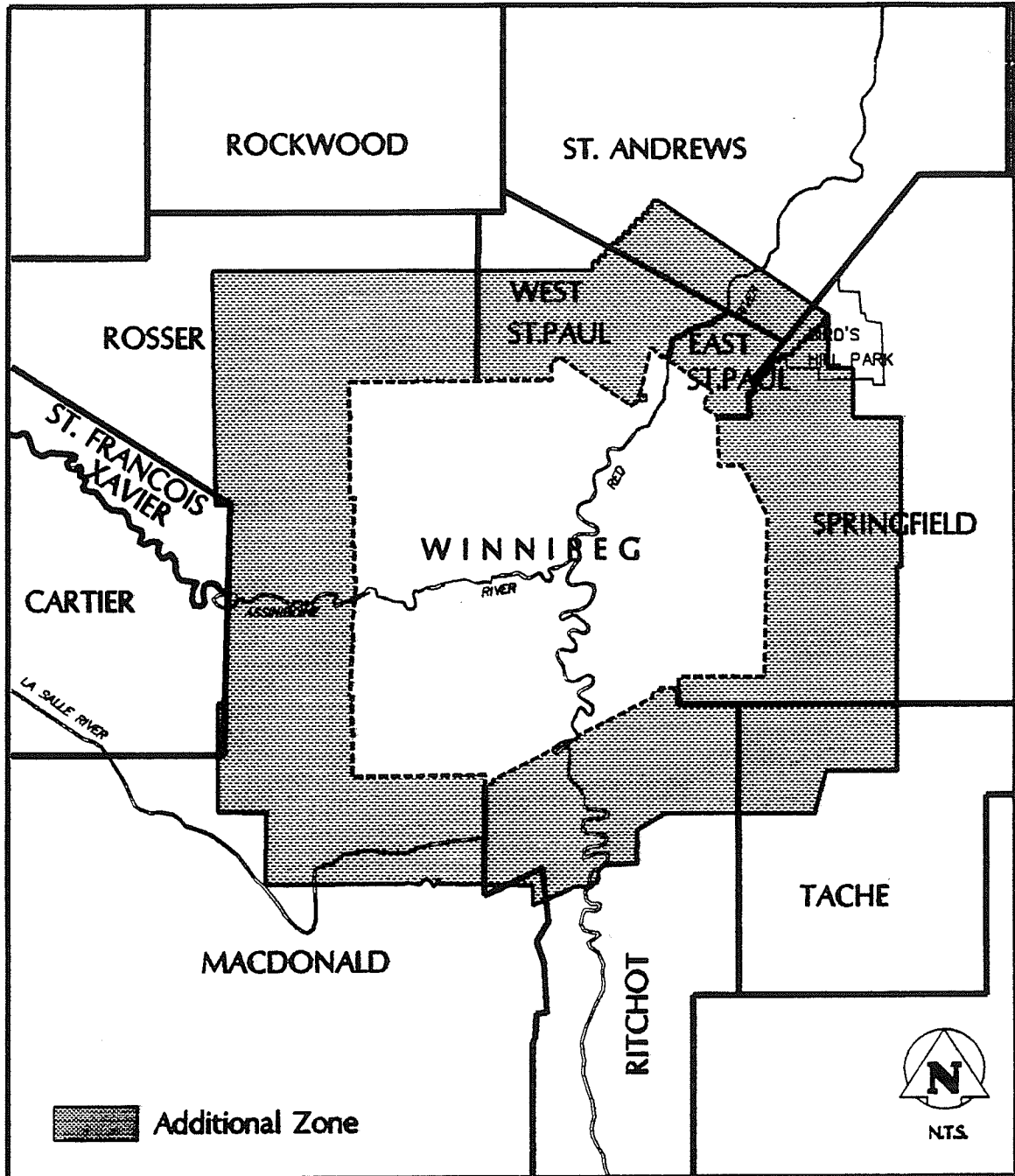
¹² Source: Waddell, 1973, p. 40a.

regional context was through the Additional Zone. The Additional Zone boundary, shown in Figure 9, was an area of land surrounding the Metropolitan Winnipeg boundary that was placed under the metropolitan government's jurisdiction by the Province (Selwood, 1981, p. 402). The Province argued that the metropolitan government, by formulating detailed area plans within the Zone that would direct development to existing urban settlement centres (Kaplan, 1982, p. 585), could best combat the negative environmental and socio-economic effects of haphazard residential and non-residential development in ex-urban areas (Selwood, 1981, p. 402).

On the other hand, Metro's structure and purview was not well integrated with community planning needs or concerns. Both the lower-tier area municipal councils and the R.M.s within the Additional Zone were insulted by the aggressive and insensitive presence of the metropolitan government in their own municipalities. For instance, area municipalities were quite upset by the new levels of property taxation Metro introduced a few short months after it had been created. The new Metro property tax levy was applied to an equalized assessment base for the entire metropolitan area which produced what amounted to drastic property tax increases in certain municipalities where rates had previously been low (Levin, 1993, p. 268)¹³. Area municipal complaints over these increases, as well as the apparent inequitable share of expenditures they received in relation to their financial contributions, were dismissed by the metropolitan government on the grounds that all its decisions were made objectively, and in the public interest (Tindal and Tindal, 1995, p. 103). Resentment toward the metropolitan

¹³ The City of Winnipeg's tax rate rose by 7.0 mills, while the rates in East Kildonan and Assiniboia rose by 8.0 mills and 15.0 mills respectively (Levin, 1993, p. 268).

FIGURE 9
The Additional Zone - 1964¹⁴



¹⁴ Source: The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg Planning Division, 1964, p. 43.

government, though not universal, quickly became widespread: Stephen Juba, the then Mayor of the City of Winnipeg, called the metropolitan government dictatorial and arrogant, among other things, and spent the next decade of his political life leading the battle against it (Levin, 1993, pp. 265 and 272). Furthermore, in terms of the Additional Zone, the Reeve of the R.M. of Rosser characterized the community's relationship with the metropolitan government in the following manner: "Approximately 75.0 percent of Rosser's lands were within the Additional Zone. Whenever our municipal council had approved a community planning proposal of any kind, we had to take the proposal to the metropolitan government on bended knee for final approval. It seemed that the metropolitan government had all the authority but was not accountable to the people" (Beachell, 1995). A representative of the Province's Rural Development department even stated that Metro lost interest in formulating regional planning initiatives within the Additional Zone due to jurisdictional battles with the R.M.s, and turned a blind-eye to land development either within or just beyond the Additional Zone boundary (Sawatzky, 1995). But what is equally important to recognize is that the Province did not intervene and implement any conciliatory mechanisms within the overall Metro framework in order that an operative regional plan of action could have ultimately been realized (Levin, 1993, p. 326). Though opposed Metro plans could have been implemented through provincial ministerial prerogative, the Province refused to become involved in these so-called *urban* issues, and, at best, held Metro at arms-length (Levin, 1993, pp. 327-328). Thus, with so many layers and lines of authority, it was no wonder that Metro and the Additional Zone operated under a seemingly constant state of siege and made the successful implementation of any intra-regional

planning and governance mechanisms highly uncertain, if not impossible (Tindal and Tindal, 1995, p. 104; Levin, 1993, p. 261).

Metro lasted just ten years before it fell victim to on-going opposition from both the lower-tier municipalities and a newly elected New Democratic Party [N.D.P.] government (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 15; Tindal and Tindal, 1995, p. 104). After the Province had released its White Paper¹⁵ on municipal government restructuring in 1970, it passed the *City of Winnipeg Act* in 1971 and in 1972, the latest Winnipeg, or *Unicity*, was created with the amalgamation of twelve municipalities into a single-tier municipal government (Levin, 1993, p. 330). At the same time, the Ministry of Urban Affairs, a provincial government department, was created with a mandate to concern itself with, among other things, ensuring that Unicity would prepare plans to guide future development in both the inner city and the Additional Zone (Selwood, 1981, p. 404; Sancton, 1994, p. 23).

Though the population and growth potential of the suburban municipalities was greater than that of the inner city, it was hoped that inner city revitalization would be subsidized by the wealthier suburbs, if the costs of providing infrastructural and other community services were spread equally throughout the urbanized Winnipeg area (Sancton, 1994, p. 23). But it was naive to assume that this would occur. Since representation by population was made a provincial cornerstone of Winnipeg's civic political structure, the disproportionate size and wealth of the suburbs in comparison to the inner

¹⁵ "The main thrust of the White Paper was the unification of all the metropolitan area municipalities into a single city and the centralization of municipal services and taxation, while at the same time decentralizing the political process" (Levin, 1993, p. 331). It was argued by the Province that such a structure would promote administrative efficiency, area-wide equity in levels of municipal services and property taxes and greater opportunities for citizen participation through what were referred to as community committees and residents' advisory groups (Sancton, 1994, p. 23).

city inevitably created a suburban-dominated city council (Sancton, 1994, pp. 24-25; Tindal and Tindal, 1995, p. 107)¹⁶. Given the growth potential and political powers of the suburbs within Unicity, as well as the continuing lack of operative metropolitan regional planning policies within the Additional Zone, there appeared to be very little preventing urban-related development from taking place further and further into the hinterland. Therefore, from the perspective of metropolitan regional growth management, the imbalance of political powers within Unicity only compounded the inefficacy of the Additional Zone policy.

This lack of intra-regional collaboration only intensified when the Province, with legislation passed in 1976, enabled municipalities to opt out of the Additional Zone and form or join Planning Districts. In so doing, municipalities could gain greater planning autonomy since the city, or any other non-member municipality, was to be *excluded* from a Planning District's planning and governance processes, except through appeals to the Municipal Board of Manitoba (Lyon, 1983, p. 47). Though this legislation was to foreshadow the dissolution of the Additional Zone, the Province only managed to take conclusive action in this regard in 1989¹⁷, thirteen years

¹⁶ It is interesting to note that not only were sixteen of the city council's original fifty seats allocated to the inner city, a Committee of Review report in 1975 concluded that greater equity in distributing the tax burden had resulted from the creation of a single tax rate throughout the city, and that inter-community service level disparities had been reduced. In fact however, the ratio of capital works expenditures between the suburbs and the inner city was as high as 7:1 in favour of suburban areas (Tindal and Tindal, 1995, p. 106). Subsequent amendments to the *City of Winnipeg Act* have reduced the number of councillors from fifty to twenty-nine, and in 1992 to the present fifteen (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 15), with inner city representation now diminished to only three seats (Tindal and Tindal, 1995, p. 107).

¹⁷ The R.M. of Rosser joined the South Interlake Planning District in 1980, the R.M.s of Macdonald and Ritchot formed their own Planning District in 1983, while the R.M. of West St. Paul joined the Selkirk and District Planning District in 1989 (Manitoba Department of Urban Affairs, 1990, p. 8). Since the R.M.s of East St. Paul, Taché, and Springfield were the only municipalities left in the Additional Zone, the policy was dismantled by the Province (Patterson, 1993, p. 81).

later. Consequently, the Province not only failed to take immediate and proactive action with respect to dismantling or revising the Additional Zone policy, it had again failed to mitigate municipal parochialism and polarity in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg, with the mutually exclusive presence of Unicity on one hand and the Planning Districts on the other.

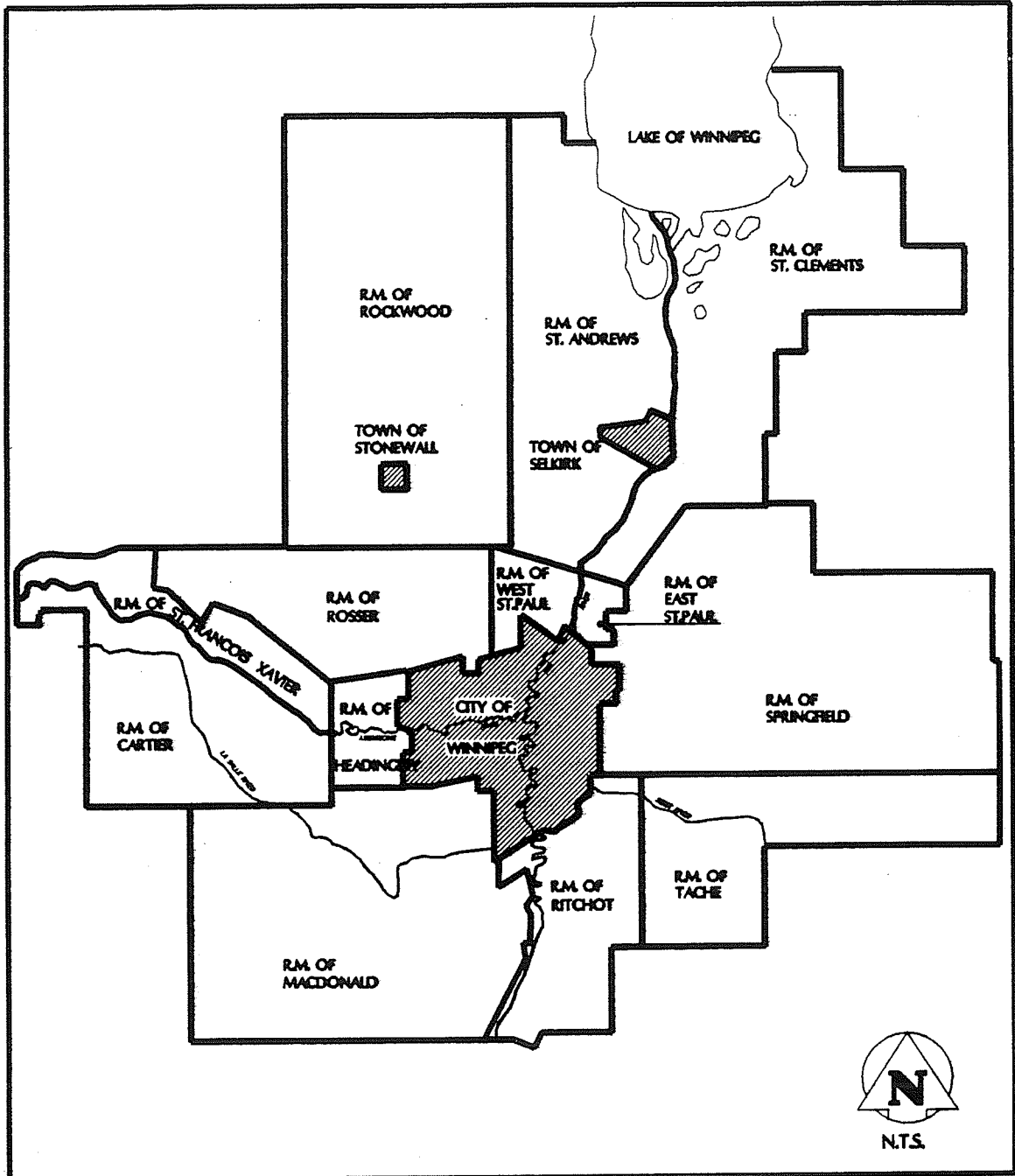
4.3 Demand Factors in the Metropolitan Region of Winnipeg

The previous section begs the following question: *How has intra-regional municipal parochialism, and urban-rural polarity manifested itself within the metropolitan region of Winnipeg, particularly since the dissolution of the Additional Zone?* But before this question is addressed, it is important to highlight urbanization trends in the metropolitan region itself [in the form of Manitoba's Capital Region], the current definitional boundaries of which are shown on Figure 10:

- In 1976, the population of the metropolitan region was approximately 620,258, of which Winnipeg's population comprised 90.0 percent. In 1991, the region's population had increased to 696,570, of which Winnipeg's population comprised 89.0 percent. This represents a 10.0 percent population increase for the city and an almost negligible 1.0 percent growth rate for the region as a whole over this fifteen year period (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 5). The most rapid growth in the metropolitan region however, has been occurring outside the city: between 1976 and 1991, the population in the municipalities surrounding Winnipeg had increased by 34.0 percent (Carter, 1995, p. 2)¹⁸;

¹⁸ Of special note, between 1976 and 1991, the R.M. of East St. Paul had a growth rate of over 122.0 percent. This figure however, must be qualified against East St. Paul's actual size: in 1991, the population of East St. Paul was 5,815, whereas the City of Winnipeg's population was 616,790 (Manitoba Department of Urban Affairs, 1992, p. 12).

FIGURE 10
The Metropolitan Region of Winnipeg - 1996: The Capital Region¹⁹



¹⁹ Source: Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 6.

- Taken together, the ex-urban growth rate and the overall metropolitan regional growth rate signifies that there has been a negligible migratory influx of people from outside the region or the Province. Instead, ex-urban settlement has been due mostly to an out-migration of city families (Carter, 1995, p. 2)²⁰;
- When compared to the surrounding municipalities, Winnipeg has a higher proportion of adults between 20 and 34 years old [28.0 percent versus 23.0 percent on average] as well as those in the 55 year and over age group [22.0 percent versus 19.0 percent on average] (Manitoba Department of Urban Affairs, 1992, p. 12). Furthermore, the average household income in the municipalities surrounding Winnipeg is higher than in the city [\$46,000.00 versus \$35,000.00 on average]. In addition, the surrounding municipalities have a lower unemployment rate in relation to Winnipeg [9.0 percent versus 5.0 percent on average]. As a result, the incidence of low income is also higher in the city as compared to the surrounding municipalities [21.0 percent versus 6.0 percent on average] (Carter, 1995, p. 2);
- Between 1976 and 1991, the number of new homes in the municipalities surrounding Winnipeg increased by 12,289 units, or 91.0 percent, whereas in the City of Winnipeg, the number of new homes increased by 78,532 units, or 48.0 percent (Manitoba Department of Urban Affairs 1992, p. 12).

²⁰ In 1991, there were more family households in the surrounding municipalities than in the City of Winnipeg [32.0 percent versus 25.0 percent on average] (Carter, 1995, p. 2). An anecdotal look at this trend reveals a classic illustration of those push and pull forces associated with living in rural-urban fringe areas highlighted in Chapter 2: "Ian Hendry pulled up stakes in the city and built a spacious house in The Oaks, a development in Oakbank, just twenty minutes east of Winnipeg: "This is a good place to raise a family. We lived in Elmwood in an old character home, but the neighbourhood was deteriorating. There were derelicts all over the place. My wife and I were worried about our kids constantly"" (Davis, 1994, p. D7). Furthermore, as Table 2 illustrates, the property tax factor should also not be overlooked when determining why people such as Ian Hendry are moving from the City of Winnipeg to ex-urban areas:

Table 2: Select Property Taxes in the Metropolitan Region of Winnipeg - 1994

Municipality	Total Mill Rate	Property Taxes
Town of Oakbank	39.06	\$1,423.74
Village of St. Anne	45.30	\$1,651.18
Town of Selkirk	52.77	\$1,923.53
Town of Stonewall	47.92	\$1,746.68
City of Winnipeg [St. Vital neighbourhood]	63.63	\$2,319.27

(Source: Davis, 1994, p. D11)

A vast majority of these new units outside the city's limits have been single-detached dwellings on large lots (Carter, 1995, p. 2)²¹;

- Transportation technologies have evolved to the point where it is now feasible for approximately 66.0 percent of the region's population to commute outside of their own respective municipalities to get to work (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 9). A vast majority are commuting daily to work in Winnipeg²² and are also availing themselves of other amenities of city life such as, among other things, restaurants, theatres, shopping centres, sports events and recreational facilities (Leo, January 23 1996, p. A7); and
- Of the 720,000.0 hectare agricultural land base within the metropolitan region of Winnipeg, approximately 80.0 percent has been rated as prime for agricultural capabilities by the Canada Land Inventory. Between 1966 and 1991, 1,419 farms were lost outside the City of Winnipeg's boundaries due to urban-related development. This translates into approximately 15,864.0 hectares of prime farmland (Patterson, 1993, p. 46).

These trends indicate that the metropolitan region of Winnipeg is currently between the second and third stage of metropolitan regional evolution, in that, despite evidence of increased urban decentralization over the past two decades or so, the City of Winnipeg is still the dominant regional centre. The trends also illustrate however, that the city is growing more slowly than the surrounding municipalities with decided inter-municipal differences in housing and population characteristics. Consequently, these trends have not only created a number of regional environmental concerns with respect to non-renewable resource depletion, but have also created a rift between the city and the surrounding municipalities. On the one hand, the

²¹ People are using the property tax savings from living in rural-urban fringe areas to build bigger and more expensive homes: housing values in the municipalities surrounding Winnipeg are, on average, approximately \$120,000 in comparison to \$90,000 in the city (Davis, 1994, p. D11).

²² For instance, approximately 70.0 percent of the work-force in the R.M. of Springfield and the Town of Stonewall commute daily to work in the city (Martin, 1995, p. A9; Wilson, 1995). Though some may view this as an inconvenience, others feel that "... the drive to work is no worse than if people were living in Charleswood, and working in the opposite end of the city. And it's highway driving now. It's not bumper to bumper. You're always moving" (Davis, 1994, p. D7).

City of Winnipeg, naturally proud of its role as both a regional centre and provincial capital, is feeling victimized. It points to its own eroding tax base, the social and physical decay of its neighbourhoods, and crumbling infrastructure, as evidence not only of the effects of ex-urban growth, but also of a rural populace which is not contributing its fair share to arresting this deterioration (Yauk, 1995, p. 2). As a result, Winnipeg, since it is fearful of seeing development simply leap-frogging into ex-urban areas, has extended costly road, sewer and water systems within its own jurisdictional boundaries, in order to permit more suburban-type developments (Leo, October 8 1995, p. A7). The surrounding municipalities on the other hand, argue that both provincial statutes and the consumer market have given them the right, as well as the opportunity, to develop their own jurisdictions as they see fit. They go on to claim that their residents already pay taxes, albeit indirectly, to Winnipeg when they shop and make use of the city's facilities (Leo, January 23 1996, p. A7; Wilson, 1995). In fact, they argue that Winnipeg would be in a much better position if it was managed more efficiently and planned more effectively. If this were the case, the city would not have to charge such high property taxes and its social and physical decay would not be as pronounced (Taillieu, 1995; Rebeck, 1995; Beachell, 1995). These dichotomous points of view have led to inter-municipal conflicts, three of which are highlighted below.

4.3.1 Secession from Winnipeg: Headingley and St. Germain-Vermette

The relationship between municipal taxation and services to property is a politically sensitive issue. The Province's *Municipal Assessment Act* requires the city, as well as all municipalities in the Province, to assess property so it can fairly and equitably divide the property taxes it must raise. Property is assessed at the price a property could normally sell for on the real estate market in a given year. The objective of the assessment is to value all similar properties in the same way so they pay similar taxes (August, 1995, pp. 4 and 6). Despite the fact that the city pools its tax dollars to purchase services for the entire city jurisdiction, since the late 1980s there has been increasing dissatisfaction expressed by rural-urban fringe communities within the City of Winnipeg such as Headingley and St. Germain-Vermette, about the apparent inequitable provision of services in relation to taxation levels. Whereas Headingley seceded from the city in 1993 over this issue, St. Germain-Vermette is currently considering this option.

In 1986, Unicity was placed under review by a provincially-appointed committee. Considering past policies which favoured municipal amalgamation, one surprising recommendation from this review was that Headingley should be allowed to secede from the city (Sancton, 1994, p. 26). In making this recommendation, the committee felt Headingley shared more characteristics with neighbouring R.M.s than with Winnipeg, since it had no municipal water or sewer services (Tindal and Tindal, 1995, p. 107)²³. Then,

²³ *Plan Winnipeg* limited urban development to those areas where there was an availability of municipal services (Department of Environmental Planning, 1987, p. 6). Most of the city west of the Perimeter Highway, including Headingley, was designated as a *Rural Policy Area* and servicing was restricted in these areas (Hilderman et al., 1988, pp. 27-30). While Headingley residents expressed an interest in receiving improved community services, the costs of providing these services would have been too great for recovery by taxation and charges at tolerable

in a classic case of poor political timing, Winnipeg conducted a city-wide property reassessment shortly thereafter in 1987. With the seeds of secession already sowed by the Province's committee, the resulting property tax increases from the city's reassessment ranged from 20.0 percent to as high as 400.0 percent in Headingley (Hilderman et al., 1988, p. 3)²⁴. Naturally, Headingley residents complained bitterly about these drastic increases²⁵. With frustration mounting, 389 Headingley residents formed the Headingley Taxpayers' Association in 1987 and petitioned the Province, requesting assistance to review Headingley's municipal status²⁶. Upon completion of the review in 1991, the Province conducted a referendum among all residents and property-owners in Headingley. Of the 1,390 persons enumerated, 1,163 [83.6 percent] voted and, of these, 1,008 [86.7 percent] supported secession and the creation of an independent municipality (Manitoba Municipal Board, 1992, p. 9). In 1993, provincial legislation was passed to make this possible.

The *Headingley Area Study* concluded that, while the city would save \$642,000 in service costs as a result of Headingley's secession, it would lose not

levels. Since Headingley was under Winnipeg's jurisdiction, it was also ineligible for direct provincial grants to separate municipalities for service upgrades (Taillieu, 1995).

²⁴ In 1972, the city adopted a by-law giving a tax reduction to properties used for farm purposes. In 1975, city council decided to phase this reduction out by 1978. Moreover, a by-law passed in 1972 also gave a property tax reduction for agricultural activities which were not part of Metropolitan Winnipeg when Unicity was created. This by-law applied to certain lands in the former area municipalities, including Headingley and St. Germain-Vermette. This reduction was also phased out by city council by 1978 (August, 1995, p. 6).

²⁵ The residents argued that the reassessments, especially on agricultural lands, were based on inflated 1975 market values and did not reflect the decreasing values during the mid-1980's (Graham, 1995). Furthermore, the tax increases did not reflect the quality of the city services they were receiving at the time (Hilderman et al., 1988, p. 3). But since Headingley is virtually bisected by the Assiniboine River, it was represented by two independent city councillors from the St. James-Assiniboia and Fort Garry-Assiniboine Park wards. As a result, Headingley had immense trouble trying to present a politically united front on this issue (Taillieu, 1995).

²⁶ This review, entitled *Headingley Area Study*, deals with the implications of the following three jurisdictional options which Headingley residents might pursue: to establish a separate R.M.; to amalgamate with an adjacent municipality or municipalities; or to remain within the jurisdiction of the City of Winnipeg (Hilderman et al., 1988, p. 4).

only control of land use planning in the Headingley area, but also approximately \$58.0 million in property assessment and \$1.4 million in annual tax revenues, which would have to be made up through increased taxes from other city properties (Hilderman et al., 1988, p. 106). At a Municipal Board of Manitoba hearing in 1992, which heard arguments dealing with the creation of Headingley's jurisdictional boundaries, the Mayor of Winnipeg was unequivocal: "the city is not simply a legal entity but a means whereby the people come together to meet their needs and bear the costs of services. Those who seek relief by secession gain that relief only at the expense of those who remain" (The Municipal Board of Manitoba, 1992, p. 2). As a result of Headingley's secession, and the city's feelings of socio-economic and political victimization because of it, inter-municipal relations between these two municipalities have become increasingly guarded²⁷.

The communities of St. Germain-Vermette, though still a part of the City of Winnipeg, have also complained to the Province that they do not receive the same services for their tax dollars, which are levied at city rates, as their more urban neighbours²⁸. Consequently, they are currently in the midst of examining other, possibly more suitable options for their community. The Province commissioned a study to examine the implications of the

²⁷ For example, the City of Winnipeg recently rejected a long-term, multi-million dollar offer by Headingley to have the municipality tap into, and pay for, the use of the city's full sewer and water services to accommodate future growth (Yauk, 1995; Taillieu, 1995). Interviews with officials from both municipalities revealed different interpretations of why the city refused this proposal. Whereas the Winnipeg official cited concerns over long-term resource base depletion (Yauk, 1995), the Headingley councillor felt the city was sending a clear message about how it feels about his community's recent independence (Taillieu, 1995).

²⁸ For example, since the community is designated as a *Rural Area* under *Plan Winnipeg*, Winnipeg's water and sewer systems do not extend to the community, and it is not served by the city's transit system. Area residents obtain their water either from private wells or from cisterns supplied by hauled water. Also, waste water is disposed of either through private septic fields, holding tanks, or privately-owned package treatment plants (August, 1995, pp. 6 and 15).

following three jurisdictional options which St. Germain-Vermette residents might pursue: to establish a separate rural municipality; to amalgamate with an adjacent municipality or municipalities; or to remain within the jurisdiction of the City of Winnipeg (August, 1995, p. 1).

If allowed to secede from the city, whether as a separate municipality or to amalgamate with the nearby R.M. of Ritchot, the city would, again, lose not only control of land use planning in the area, but also approximately \$32.0 million in property assessment and \$1.0 million in annual tax revenues which would have to be made up through increased taxes from other city properties (August, 1995, p. 3). This would only further diminish the financial capacity of the city to serve the needs of its older neighbourhoods and to upgrade its aging infrastructure. But if St. Germain-Vermette remains in the City of Winnipeg without any change in current circumstances or services, the city would continue to experience the consequences of the dissatisfaction of its residents (August, 1995, p. 33).

4.3.2 Regional Solid Waste Management: The Rural Municipality of Rosser

In 1995, the provincially appointed Clean Environment Commission held public hearings to address waste management issues within the metropolitan region of Winnipeg. While there were those who insisted that the public hearings were designed to develop an overall solid-waste management plan for the region as a whole²⁹, there were others who were

²⁹ The Province has since developed a Regional Solid Waste Management Strategy. Briefly, it involves the following: (1) separate hazardous waste from the regular solid waste stream; (2) divert specific solid waste streams away from waste disposal grounds; (3) upgrade waste disposal ground infrastructure; and (4) reduce the amount of solid waste generated at the source (Capital Region Committee, December 7 1994, p. 2).

lined up to criticize plans by Browning-Ferris Industries [B.F.I.], a solid waste management firm, to open a landfill site north of Winnipeg in the R.M. of Rosser. The hearings revealed however, that the issues went far deeper than most had originally thought.

Historically, the R.M. of Rosser has prided itself on protecting its prime agricultural lands and retaining its rural living environment (Beachell, 1995; South Interlake Planning District Board, 1983, pp. 3-38)³⁰. Ironically perhaps, Rosser's vast rural land base, in conjunction with its proximity to Winnipeg and municipal tax rates which are 30.0 percent lower than in the city, have made it conducive for economic development initiatives. In particular, B.F.I. recently proposed to develop a regional waste management site within Rosser's municipal limits. This development would be ideal for the municipality since its own landfill site is quickly becoming obsolete (Beachell, 1995). However, Winnipeg is concerned that the landfill site's proximity to the city could lead to as much as \$10.0 million annually in lost tipping revenues due to decreased business activity at its own landfills (Martin 1995, p. A9). Furthermore, the city estimates that its Brady Road land fill site has sufficient capacity to continue operating on a regional scale for the next seventy-five years (Robertson, August 15 1995, p. B1).

It is interesting to note that, after presenting these cogent arguments at the Clean Environment Commission's public hearings in 1995, city officials were surprised to learn that several municipalities, including Rockwood and the Town of Stonewall, have had no choice but to develop their own

³⁰ It is interesting to note that the R.M. of Rosser actually opted out of the Additional Zone in 1980 over a city proposal to develop a frontier village motif in the R.M. in order to accommodate summer festivals and concerts. Rosser was adamantly opposed to this because it would have negatively impacted on the community's rural environment (Beachell, 1995). It thus joined the South Interlake Planning District.

community waste management strategies since their requests to haul waste to Winnipeg's landfill sites were rejected by the City of Winnipeg's Works and Operations Department in 1992. Officials from the R.M. of Rockwood were told by the city that all such requests were being denied as the Summit landfill would be closing within two years: the Summit landfill site is now scheduled to close in early 1998 (Robertson, August 16 1995, p. B3). An embittered R.M. official, who spoke at the hearings, was hauntingly skeptical about the possibility for any constructive resolution to this issue³¹: "the opportunity for [inter-municipal] partnerships passed a long time ago" (Robertson, August 16 1995, p. B3).

4.4 Concluding Remarks

People and businesses have every right to seek out the lifestyle and tax regimes that are most attractive to them. In the case of the metropolitan region of Winnipeg, this right has manifested itself in a degree of urban out-migration to the Towns and R.M.s surrounding the City of Winnipeg. But those who move to the outskirts of the city have not, in effect, turned their backs on urban life. And given the negligible metropolitan regional growth rates over the past two decades or so, these same people, businesses and surrounding municipalities cannot shield themselves from how this out-migration is affecting the socio-economic decline of the City of Winnipeg. Moreover, since Winnipeg is both a regional centre and provincial capital, one cannot avoid making a direct causal link between how the city's socio-

³¹ The Clean Environment Commission approved B.F.I.'s landfill proposal in early 1996, and a final decision from the provincial government on this matter was expected later in 1996 (Capital Region Committee, January 18 1996, p. 2).

economic decline will negatively affect the long-term viability of the metropolitan region as a whole (Leo, January 23 1996, p. A7).

In addition, one must also not overlook how continued ex-urban growth could affect the long-term viability of those municipalities surrounding Winnipeg. As growth, and the need to service this growth, continue further into the rural hinterland, one can infer that the perception of the area as a pastoral environment will become increasingly less possible (Beesley, 1988, p. 2). In fact, the surrounding municipalities could be forced to promote even more growth in order to recover the long-term costs of providing infrastructure and other community service requirements (Gayler, 1982, p. 326; Taillieu, 1995). These factors can compromise an ex-urban community's attractive living environment and can even create community conflicts. "These conflicts, for example, can be between new residents with urban-oriented ideas and demands and older residents who prefer things to remain as they have in the past" (Lyon, 1983, p. 11).

As was highlighted earlier in Chapter 2, there are five levels of inter-municipal and municipal-provincial interaction with respect to developing and promoting collaborative planning and governance efforts on a metropolitan regional scale. To reiterate, comparatively low levels of relationship such as isolation and communication can be supplemented by higher degrees of interaction inherent in such notions as collaboration and partnership. The history of provincial attempts at regional planning and governance initiatives in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg indicates that the inter-municipal partnership stage has rarely been achieved. The Metropolitan Planning Commission, though it helped initiate thinking about regional planning, had no authoritative leverage requiring municipalities to

engage in any common inter-municipal objectives. Thus, its initiatives were not implemented at the municipal level. Furthermore, while Metro and the Additional Zone had the potential to nurture inter-municipal partnerships by attempting to deal with regional issues beyond the competence of a single municipality, its lack of rootedness in those urban and rural communities it was supposed to serve made it politically impotent. Elements of the partnership stage had been evident with Unicity, in that an apparent pre-arranged inter-municipal marriage was instituted by the Province. And, despite growing operative inequities between the suburbs and the inner city, Unicity's very essence - one with the strength of many - hoped to remedy Metro's shortcomings (Neville, 1995, p. A6).

Today, however, history is repeating itself, except on a more dispersed urban scale. The City of Winnipeg is growing more slowly than the surrounding municipalities with decided inter-municipal differences in housing and population characteristics. This has created a number of regional environmental concerns with respect to non-renewable resource depletion, as well as a rift between the city and the surrounding municipalities. Thus, the metropolitan region of Winnipeg is faced with much the same isolated and parochial urban, ex-urban, and rural relationships as existed over fifty years ago (Neville, 1995, p. A6). Herein lies the need for proactive and multilateral coalition-building in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg. Chapter 5 deals with how the provincial government's Capital Region initiative hopes to stem this tide by transforming this *region-parochial* into the *region-unified*. But is such an initiative too little, too late?

CHAPTER 5

A Critique of Manitoba's Capital Region Strategy and Committee

5.1 Introduction

Since about 1992, Manitoba's provincial government, through its Round Table on Environment and Economy, has been engaged in developing a Sustainable Development Strategy for the metropolitan region of Winnipeg, commonly referred to as the *Capital Region Strategy*. Its mandate has been to facilitate more effective regional planning and governance by providing a forum wherein intra-regional concerns can be collaboratively identified and addressed by the public, private and non-governmental sectors in a more sustainable manner. This mandate has manifested itself through the efforts of the Capital Region Committee. It is comprised of provincial officials, as well as elected representatives from both the City of Winnipeg and the surrounding municipalities. Together with members from the Manitoba Round Table on Environment and Economy, the Capital Region Committee authored and published a draft strategy document in March of 1995 called the *Workbook On The Capital Region Strategy: Partners For The Future* which highlights strategic regional objectives and policies. A critique of the Capital Region Committee and Strategy is the focus of this Chapter.

As was argued in Chapter 4, the metropolitan region of Winnipeg is currently typified by municipal parochialism. Thus, since the ultimate objective of the Capital Region Strategy is to nurture cross-sectoral

collaboration, it will have to progress beyond the so-called isolation stage of inter-municipal interaction and achieve greater levels of intra-regional fusion. The purpose of this critique then, is to determine how successful the Capital Region initiative's efforts have been, and will be, in this regard. This in turn, will help in ascertaining whether the current roles of the general public, municipalities, and the Province in the Strategy's overall framework are conducive to ensuring the long-term socio-economic, political and ecological viability of the metropolitan region of Winnipeg. As shall be seen, this Chapter argues that, despite the Strategy's call for collaborative regional planning and governance, its powerless Capital Region Committee, in conjunction with the on-going lack of public involvement and vacuous notions of sustainability in the Strategy, bespeak of a seemingly new regionalist initiative that actually appears to have been created by the provincial government only to maintain the current status quo.

5.2 Manitoba's Capital Region Strategy and Committee

The provincial committee that reviewed Unicity in 1986 recognized that an increasing amount of urban-related development was taking place outside Winnipeg's boundaries. As a result, it recommended that a new advisory organization linking all municipalities within the metropolitan region of Winnipeg be established. While the review committee made it clear that it was not recommending the creation of another layer of governmental bureaucracy in the region, it did see such an organization as having a role in assembling data and research relating to such matters as the socio-economic, political and environmental effects of development trends

and planning practices on the metropolitan region as a whole (Sancton, 1994, p. 27).

Thus, the provincial government formed the Winnipeg Region Committee in 1989, shortly after the dissolution of the Additional Zone policy. The Committee has since been co-chaired by the provincial Ministers of Urban Affairs, Rural Development, and Environment, and includes elected officials from the City of Winnipeg, the Towns of Selkirk and Stonewall and the Reeves of the Rural Municipalities [R.M.] of Cartier, East St. Paul, Headingley, Macdonald, Ritchot, Rockwood, Rosser, Springfield, St. Andrews, St. Clements, St. Francois Xavier, Tache and West St. Paul (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 5). The Committee's mandate has been to facilitate the establishment of strategic cross-sectoral metropolitan regional planning and governance initiatives within the context of sustainable development (Leach, 1995). This mandate has manifested itself in both perceptive and operative ways. In terms of the former, the Winnipeg Region Committee was changed by the Province, in name only, to the Capital Region Committee in 1992 in order to strengthen the idea that the Committee belongs to all member municipalities (Capital Region Committee, May 28 1992, p. 2). In addition, each Committee member has one vote when decisions are made on Committee matters. Interviews with provincial officials from the Departments of Rural Development and Urban Affairs revealed that this reinforces the notion that everyone on the Committee is an equal partner in the formulation of strategic regional policies (Sawatzky, 1995; Leach, 1995).

With respect to operative manifestations of the Committee's mandate, the Province, through the Capital Region Committee, has embarked on a

four-phase process in preparing and implementing strategic regional policies. The first two phases have already been completed. Firstly, in March of 1995, the Capital Region Strategy Steering Committee, which is comprised of three members each from the provincial Round Table and the Capital Region Committee, authored and published a draft policy document called the *Workbook On The Capital Region Strategy: Partners For The Future* [or the *Draft Strategy*], following six years of informal meetings¹, using the Capital Region Committee as a major sounding-board. The *Draft Strategy* outlines the following seven goals that provide a general framework within which the Capital Region Strategy's policy areas have been developed:

- To promote sustainable development;
- To modify planning and management mechanisms to ensure resources are developed and used in an environmentally sound and economically sustainable manner;
- To protect natural habitats and landscapes in the Capital Region, and protect critical natural resources;
- To ensure the policies for the Capital Region, Rural and Northern Manitoba are mutually supportive and result in improved and balanced development so that all Manitobans benefit;
- To promote diverse programs and initiatives that protect and improve the infrastructure and natural and built environment of the Capital Region;
- To promote measures to achieve the full human potential of the diverse population of the Capital Region in a sustainable manner; and
- To ensure the integration of sustainable development principles and guidelines in local and Provincial decision-making" (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 16).

These goals have been translated into the following five strategic policy areas²:

¹ The Capital Region Committee met seventeen times since 1990 and each meeting, on average, lasted approximately 3.5 hours (Winnipeg/Capital Region Committee, 1990-1996, n.p.).

² For further information on the strategic policy areas, please refer to Appendix 1.

- **Working Partnerships and Regional Citizenship:** The Capital Region initiative plans to form multilateral partnerships involving the Province, municipal governments, and private sector and other non-governmental organizations³.
- **Settlement:** The Capital Region initiative intends to implement a number of community planning strategies⁴ designed to help the region evolve in a more sustainable fashion.
- **Economy:** The Capital Region initiative plans to use multilateral partnerships⁵ to encourage growth in the new global economy without causing harm to people and the environment.
- **Environment and Resources:** The Capital Region initiative plans to implement environmental and resource management practices as well as public awareness programs⁶.

³ Partnerships shall be used to: (1) ensure that everyone has opportunities to participate in decision-making; (2) better coordinate policies, laws and processes; (3) develop the economy in an environmentally sustainable manner; (4) achieve greater economies of scale with respect to municipal service delivery; and (5) improve the health and well-being of Capital Region residents (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, pp. 18-21).

⁴ These community planning strategies are as follows: (1) land should be used more efficiently through mixed use and infill developments, the revitalization of older buildings and neighbourhoods, better management of transportation and utility service corridors, and protecting prime agricultural lands, waterways and natural habitats; (2) energy and waste management programs should be implemented in the home, school and workplace; (3) development should be directed to areas where the existing infrastructural services can support it over the long-term; (4) though existing settlement patterns cannot be changed, future settlement patterns and plans should be better coordinated by formulating comprehensive regional plans; (5) urban-related development should be directed away from unsafe or flood-prone lands and environmentally sound sewage systems should also be installed where piped sewage systems are not available; and (6) adequate and affordable housing options should be provided for everyone in the region (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 22).

⁵ The role of the private sector in this regard would be to provide the capital, innovation and employment needed to allow the region and the rest of the Province to compete internationally. The role of the public sector would be to create appropriate legislation and training programs to attract new investment in the region, and ensure that fair opportunities are provided for everyone to participate fully in the global economy. For its part, the general public could become more self-reliant through employee-purchased businesses (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 32).

⁶ Such practices and programs relate to the following: (1) potentially adverse effects of significant initiatives should be anticipated and prevented by undertaking sustainability assessments early in the decision-making process; (2) prime agricultural lands should be conserved so that farming activities could remain strong, and natural areas could flourish; (3) energy resources should be used in a way which minimizes environmental damage; (4) air quality should be protected and enhanced; (5) natural areas as well as cultural and heritage resources should be protected so that each can continue to be a major source of economic development in areas such as tourism; (7) the region's rivers should be better protected in order to ensure their sustained use for wildlife, drinking water, recreation, irrigation and industrial

- **Human Resources:** The Capital Region initiative intends to encourage programs that produce a skilled labour market and harmonious cultural and social relationships⁷ (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, pp. 17-54).

The second phase of the Capital Region Strategy involved the public consultation component. During June of 1995, the Capital Region Committee hosted public workshops and hearings on the *Draft Strategy* in the communities of Selkirk, St. Adolphe, Thompson, Brandon and Winnipeg. A total of eight people made presentations and twelve people participated in the workshops (Leach, 1995; Manitoba Round Table, 1996, p. 12). Then, in January of 1996, the provincial Round Table published a *What You Told Us* document which reports on what revisions will be made to the strategic policy areas as a result of the public consultation process. Despite making more specific references to the term *sustainable development* in the Economy, and the Environment and Resources policy areas, no other policy changes are currently envisioned for the Capital Region Strategy (Manitoba Round Table, 1996, pp. 8-9)⁸.

Phases three and four of the Capital Region Strategy respectively involve the application and implementation of the strategic policy areas. An *Applications* document is planned to be released which shall outline the approved policies as well as how they will be utilized (Manitoba Round Table, 1996, p. 3). The fourth phase will involve the release of an *Implementation*

consumption; and (8) the aesthetic qualities of the region should be preserved and enhanced to ensure that the region would continue to be a desirable place to live, work and visit (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 39).

⁷ The following strategies are being considered in this regard: (1) a healthy working and living environment should be created in order to strengthen socio-economic activities and raise human potential; (2) the education and training system should be upgraded so that people would have the skills to compete in the new global economy; and (3) human service initiatives should be adopted to ensure that everyone can support and participate in achieving sustainability (Manitoba Round Table 1995, p. 49).

⁸ For further information on the *What You Told Us* document, please refer to Appendix 2.

Plan document, the purpose of which will be to provide a framework wherein the Capital Region Committee can implement the policies (Manitoba Round Table, 1996, p. 3; Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 57).

5.3 A Critique of Manitoba's Capital Region Strategy and Committee

At the beginning of the first Committee meeting in 1990, the Ministers of Rural Development, Urban Affairs, and Environment all emphasized "the need for open and frank discussion of ideas, and the importance of working together to develop coordinated approaches to planning and development in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg" (Winnipeg Region Committee, February 15 1990, p. 1). But just how effective has the Capital Region Strategy and Committee been since this time, and how effective could it be, in achieving progressively greater levels of cross-sectoral collaboration, particularly in light of the assumed roles of the general public, municipalities, and the Province in the initiative's overall framework? This question shall now be explored.

Positive advances in terms of inter-municipal interaction through the Committee were tangibly evident early into its mandate. During a 1990 Committee meeting, the municipalities surrounding Winnipeg requested that they receive on-going information on City of Winnipeg applications for zoning changes, plan amendments and subdivisions near their borders (Winnipeg Region Committee, June 6 1990, p. 4)⁹. After responding favourably to this request, the City approved an amendment in this regard to

⁹ It is interesting to note that, under *The Planning Act*, the municipalities surrounding Winnipeg are required to inform the city on similar matters (Winnipeg Region Committee, June 6 1990, p. 4).

The City of Winnipeg Act in 1991, which was subsequently passed by the Province later that same year (Winnipeg Region Committee, June 5 1991, p. 2). Indeed, it appeared that the municipalities which comprise the metropolitan region of Winnipeg were finally starting to progress beyond the isolation stage of inter-municipal interaction to the communication stage.

In addition, the inter-municipal effort that went into the formulation of the *Draft Strategy* was another positive sign that effective regional change was just on the horizon. During Committee meetings since 1992 for instance, members regularly formed focus groups to identify pressing regional issues and strategize on devising policies to mitigate their impacts (Winnipeg/Capital Region Committee, 1992-1996, n.p.). This strategizing was ultimately translated into regional policy consensus vis-a-vis the publication and release of the *Draft Strategy*. It is also interesting to note that the *Draft Strategy* idyllically mirrors the aforesaid capacity factors of the new regionalism: it represents a regional-global vision that is based on principles of intra-regional socio-economic equity and enhancement, participatory democracy, and environmental management (Sawatzky, 1995), which shall be fulfilled through the collaborative networking of public, private, and non-governmental sectors (Wallis, Summer-Fall 1994, pp. 292-293).

While it is evident from the above discussion that a degree of success has been achieved through the Capital Region initiative, common sense tells us that its regional policies must ultimately be translated into regional collaborative action in order for it to be truly successful. And, upon investigating the Capital Region Committee and Strategy more carefully, three inherent flaws arise with the initiative as a whole. These weaknesses relate to the impotence of the Committee, the on-going lack of public

involvement in the Capital Region initiative, and finally, the vacuous notions of sustainability in the *Draft Strategy*.

The first weakness deals with the Capital Region Committee itself. So as not to place municipalities at odds with each other, the Province has deemed it in the best interest of the region as a whole that involvement in the Capital Region Committee and Strategy be strictly voluntary, in that each member municipality is only *morally* bound to take part, and implement those policies which have been formulated and endorsed at the Committee level (Sawatzky, 1995; Leach, 1995; Rebeck, 1995). This proviso has made Capital Region Committee meetings counter-productive. For instance, it is interesting to note that Headingley's secession from Winnipeg and St. Germain-Vermette's current bid for secession from the city have not been a part of the Committee's meeting agendas to date, despite the fact that these issues have been a part of the region's political fabric since the Committee's inception. On a related note, to date, the Browning-Ferris Industries' [B.F.I.] landfill proposal in the R.M. of Rosser has received only scant attention during a Committee meeting in 1994 and 1996. At both meetings, the Ministers of Environment and Urban Affairs, though reaffirming the Province's commitment to developing a regional waste management strategy, appeared to dismiss questions from the member municipalities by stating that the B.F.I. issue would be more appropriately addressed at the provincial level (Capital Region Committee, December 7 1994, p. 2; Capital Region Committee, January 18 1996, p. 2). Still further, after a City of Winnipeg official had expressed concern that the Capital Region Committee had not discussed altering municipal boundaries as a *potential* policy area for the *Draft Strategy*, officials from the municipalities surrounding the city

argued that they received provincial guarantees that municipal boundaries would never be part of the Committee's meeting agendas (Capital Region Committee, September 19 1995, p. 3). In fact, the surrounding municipalities stated that they would never have gotten together to form what is now known as the Capital Region Committee had municipal boundaries been a matter for Committee discussion. Consequently, this request by the city was shelved and *may* be considered at a future meeting (Capital Region Committee, September 19 1995, p. 3). With these examples in mind then, it seems that there is very little requiring anyone to negotiate, or even discuss, particularly sensitive regional issues. This, in turn, has made it conducive for the metropolitan region's internally parochial and isolationist nature to make itself glaringly evident once more.

In a similar vein, another weakness of the Committee concerns the fact that it has only met on a triennial basis, on average, since its formation in 1989. This could be dismissed as a moot point in light of the Committee's current inefficacy. Moreover, as was highlighted earlier, the City of Winnipeg contains almost 90.0 percent of the Capital Region's population. But it has only one voting member out of sixteen on the Committee. Again, this too could also be conceded as hardly mattering, given the non-legislative impotence of the Committee itself (Neville, 1995, p. A6). At the same time however, both elements are quite troubling. The number of meetings are vastly insufficient, particularly if the Committee's mandate is to resolve regional issues. The Committee membership furthermore, appears to be not only inconsistent with the dominant socio-economic role Winnipeg plays as a regional centre and provincial capital, but also incompatible with the significant challenges the city is currently facing as a result of increasing ex-

urban growth. Even the structural composition of the Committee is much too vertically and horizontally fragmented, in that there are a number of municipal authorities which are subjugated to three chairing provincial departments. Thus, serious doubts arise as to whether the Committee, which is supposed to be responsible for implementing the Strategy, will either have the reason, or the ability, to consider, and act upon, the associated costs and benefits of its decisions in terms of the well-being of the region as a whole.

Readers should recall however, that this study suggested that the *one-member-one-vote* approach at past meetings has been conducive to fostering open and frank inter-municipal dialogue, particularly in relation to the drafting and release of the *Draft Strategy*. But the *Draft Strategy* represents shortcomings as well. First, it can be reasonably concluded, since only a handful of people actually took part in providing their input at the workshops and public hearings on the *Draft Strategy* itself, that the Capital Region Committee's public consultation component has largely been unsuccessful to date. A closer look at the Committee's meeting minutes however, reveals that the public has not really been given an appropriate opportunity to become involved in the Capital Region initiative. As was aforementioned, Committee meetings since 1992 were frequently used as forums by its member municipalities to provide comments on the *Draft Strategy*. Conversely, the public was *invited* to provide its input only after the *Draft Strategy* had been published in March of 1995. Together, both these facts indicate that the Committee, which ironically stresses the importance of establishing cross-sectoral alliances in its *Draft Strategy*, has failed to impart a sense that the Capital Region residents have a stake or partnership in its ongoing evolution. Therefore, while the *Draft Strategy* has been commended as

an example of how the Capital Region Committee reached inter-municipal policy consensus, it could have gone further by nurturing cross-sectoral alliances with private sector and non-governmental groups at the strategic policy formulation stage.

In addition, a central tenet of the *Draft Strategy* is its recognition that the Capital Region must be planned and governed in a more *sustainable* manner. A vast amount of literature on sustainability has developed over the years analysing why there is such a lack of sustainability in our societies. Sim Van der Ryn and Stuart Cowan, in a recent work entitled *Ecological Design*, write that, while these analyses are valuable in that they offer the possibility of ecological balance within our chaotic world, they fail to deliver the day-to-day particulars involved in making the transition to achieving greater sustainability. Thus, we are left with hopeful, yet vague policy statements (Van der Ryn and Cowan, 1996, p. 4). Sim Van der Ryn and Cowan refer to this type of sustainability as *technological sustainability*. With technological sustainability, fundamental change in direction is not necessary since every problem has either a predictable technological answer or a market solution (Gunton, 1983, pp. 40-44; Van der Ryn and Cowan, 1996, p. 4).

This type of sustainability is used for the purposes of this study because the Capital Region Strategy, including the *Draft Strategy* is a prime example of the vacuous nature of technological sustainability. For example, the Capital Region Strategy's definition of sustainable development echoes the highly influential 1987 report from the World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*: "sustainable development means that we have to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (The World Commission on

Environment and Development, 1987, p. 43; Manitoba Round Table, 1995, pp. 1-2). Though this definition is appealing for its reference to future generational needs, it has also been phrased as unobtrusively as possible, and begs the following questions: *what constitutes a need?; and given our uncertainties about living systems, can we guarantee that this generation's actions will still leave viable ecosystems for future generations?* (Van der Ryn and Cowan, 1996, p. 5). Moreover, the policy areas in the *Draft Strategy* are packed full of equally vague statements, albeit ecologically idyllic, relating to regional matters such as: the consolidation of long narrow parish lots to maximize their use for agriculture; the use of ecologically advanced technologies as a market niche in order to gain access to burgeoning global markets; and the development of a comprehensive regional network of public open space corridors along regional waterway systems (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, pp. 18-54). Personal interviews with certain municipal members of the Capital Region Committee revealed that they could not object to the policies because of their mass, generalist appeal¹⁰. At the same time, all were very skeptical when asked whether the political and financial logistics surrounding the actual implementation of these policies had been given serious thought at the Committee level (Beachell, 1995; Taillieu, 1995; Rebeck, 1995).

There is also the point that, throughout the *Draft Strategy*, sustainable development seems to be shorthand for sustainable *economic* development. For instance, "the ability of Manitoba to become economically sustainable will depend to a great extent on the ability of the Capital Region to compete in the world's marketplaces. To do so, however, it must have a clear strategy for

¹⁰ Again, for a more detailed description of the *Draft Strategy*, please refer to Appendix 1.

sustainable economic development which is customized to build on Manitoba's and the region's strengths" (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 14). This statement is a mirrored reflection of technological sustainability which sees the world through the eyes of a gentler form of reductionism, wherein its advocates do a more efficient job of using up, accounting for, and managing nature in order to fulfill primarily economic objectives (Van der Ryn and Cowan, 1996, p. 6). Technological sustainability is thus compelling to those who use it because it fits well into existing top-down structures of power relationships: "it looks to a new group of experts to fine-tune the interface between people and the biosphere, and in the process, often neglects the details of culture and community while displaying a rather naive optimism concerning our ability to manage [regional] systems" (Van der Ryn and Cowan, 1996, pp. 6-7). In wishing to become an active part of today's global economic paradigm using barren references to sustainable development, one has to wonder whether the Capital Region Strategy is merely a veiled and placatory attempt on the Province's part to rate economic goals before ecological concerns (Breheny and Rookwood, 1993, p. 151).

It is interesting to note that Van der Ryn and Cowan discuss the antithesis of technological sustainability, commonly referred to as *ecological sustainability*. This type of sustainability views our world as finite, rather than infinite. Moreover, instead of adhering to the concept that socio-economic and environmental problems have a reductionist technological or market solution, ecological sustainability sees the world's challenges as being interrelated and in a constant state of flux (Van der Ryn and Cowan, 1996, pp. 6-7). Given such interrelated complexities then, our ability to comprehend and manage regional systems is naturally quite limited, and thinking and

acting on too large a scale can make these limitations a liability (Van der Ryn and Cowan, 1996, p. 7). Thus, alternatives to the practices that got us into trouble in the first place must be found. It is necessary to rethink our central values relating to, among other factors, the practice of urban and regional planning and its effects on the environment, agriculture, energy and resource use, transportation, and community patterns. Traditional knowledge that co-evolves out of culture and place using locally self-reliant and self-organized communities is a critical building block for this change (Van der Ryn and Cowan, 1996, p. 7). Ecological sustainability is discussed in this study because it represents a perspective other than what has been mandated to the Capital Region Strategy and Committee. As shall be seen in Chapter 6, this alternative is used as a frame of reference within which to offer recommendations on how the Capital Region Strategy as a whole can better reflect a more ecologically sensitive approach to addressing the capacity and demand factors of the new regionalism.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

As was stated earlier in Chapter 2, provincial governments have the constitutional right to endorse the status quo and implement minor change to municipal government structures on an ad hoc basis. Does the Capital Region initiative fit well into existing top-down structures of power, and thereby embrace a thinly veiled business-as-usual approach (Van der Ryn and Cowan, 1996, p. 7)? Based on this critique of Manitoba's Capital Region Strategy and Committee, there appears to be scant evidence to suggest the contrary. While the provincial government might consider the Capital

Region initiative to be an example of the new regionalism, in reality, it seems to have been created by the Province to maintain the current status quo, or at best, to treat the metropolitan region in an arm's-length manner. But such treatment, especially in light of the Strategy's lack of ownership with those urban and rural communities it is supposed to serve, could ultimately make it politically impotent, if current efforts have not already done so (Neville, 1995, p. A6).

In light of the current challenges facing Manitoba's Capital Region, the provincial government, in ultimately being responsible for municipal governments under the Constitution, must take more of a proactive role where the Capital Region Strategy and Committee is concerned. Thus, "efforts must be based on finding a way to deal with the imminent issues of the day and take the notion of involvement to one of responsibility" (Yauk, 1995, pp. 2-3). Chapter 6 shall conclude this study by examining if any of those alternative inter-municipal reforms raised in Chapter 3, or learning from past regional shortcomings in Chapter 4, or exploring alternative options to the paradigm of technological sustainability raised in Chapter 5, would make the Capital Region Committee and Strategy a more effective regional planning and regional governance mechanism.

CHAPTER 6

Planning and Governing the Metropolitan Region of Winnipeg: Study Implications and Recommendations for Further Research

6.1 Introduction

This thesis examined seven questions with respect to metropolitan regionalism in general, and Manitoba's Capital Region Committee and Strategy in particular. These questions were as follows:

- *How have formal metropolitan regions come into being?*
- *What roles can/do municipalities and senior levels of governments play within this context?*
- *What challenges do metropolitan regions bring for municipalities and senior levels of government?*
- *How have metropolitan regional challenges been addressed?*
- *Why is Manitoba's Capital Region Strategy necessary?*
- *What are the strengths and weaknesses of the Capital Region Strategy and Committee?*
- *What type(s) of reform to provincial and municipal structures, if any, would make both the Capital Region Strategy and Committee more effective?*

All of these questions but one have been addressed in the previous five Chapters, and are summarized in the following section. The final question however, in dealing with the matter of how the Province and its partners might proceed with a revamped regional initiative, is addressed within the

balance of this Chapter, being largely dependent on the outcome of the other investigations.

6.2 Investigating Metropolitan Regions: The Study Questions Revisited

6.2.1 How Have Formal Metropolitan Regions Come into Being?

As discussed in Chapter 2(2) and 2(3), metropolitan regions in Canada have evolved through four distinct, though overlapping stages. Moreover, it was further suggested that every metropolitan regional transformation has impelled Canada's political institutions to make corresponding reforms to municipal structures. The first stage developed up until the Second World War in response to the growth of monocentric metropolitan regions during the era of mass manufacturing and industrialization. Reform efforts during this period focused on ad hoc arrangements aimed at reinforcing the hegemony of central cities. During the second stage, following the Second World War, many of Canada's monocentric metropolitan regions began evolving into more decentralized, polycentric structures. This was due, in large part, to federal government support of massive infrastructure programs and housing projects. Reform efforts thus centered on expanding the scope of the public sector through comprehensive regional planning and coordinated action between the city, suburb and countryside.

More intensified polycentric urbanization and ex-urbanization patterns, evident during the third and fourth stages, have emerged in Canadian metropolitan regions since the 1980s. This *multi-nucleated networked geography* (Wallis, Winter-Spring 1994, p. 41) has been primarily

due to the development of global service economies, information technologies, and on-going socio-cultural perceptions that the urban problems which originally impelled the business community and the middle-to-upper classes to move to the suburbs, have now become associated with both urban and suburban living. Thus, living and working in a more rural, upper-scale environment, yet still within close proximity of the city, is being seen as a viable alternative. Further discussion on how provincial and municipal governments have impelled corresponding reforms to municipal structures in light of these trends and patterns is provided throughout the rest of this Chapter.

6.2.2 What Roles do Municipalities and Senior Levels of Governments Play Within this Context?

Chapter 2(3) revealed that all municipalities in Canada are multi-purpose in that they are responsible, with varying measures of autonomy, for a range of service and government functions which have been delegated to them by the provinces under the Canadian Constitution. With these constitutional powers in mind then, two basic options have been available to the provinces for initiating municipal or regional change. First, they can utilize an incremental approach to change that is either consistent and directed at long term goals, or is directed at simply resolving immediate problems. Or, secondly, they can introduce legislation intended to effect comprehensive change in a relatively short period of time. Determining which course of action is most appropriate is based on the desired policy objectives the provinces wish to fulfill in this regard.

At the same time however, the municipalities and their residents are not without their own influences, and it is these influences which are

generally fuelling the shift from giving passive consent to governments, to actively participating in processes of governance. Current national and provincial debt crises have left municipal governments with the somewhat daunting responsibility of supplying local services and generating economic growth within the highly competitive global economic paradigm. Residents are also using the local democratic tradition to become more knowledgeable, active and self-determining in dealing with local community issues. Thus, in initiating municipal or regional change, the provinces must now also ensure that their goals, and the processes by which they are implemented, are generally understood and accepted by the municipalities and the general public.

6.2.3 What Challenges do Metropolitan Regions Bring for Municipalities and Senior Levels of Government?

On a related note, as discussed in Chapter 2(4), metropolitan regionalism today is impelling provincial and municipal governments to achieve more efficient and effective forms of metropolitan region-wide governance. This restructuring was characterized according to capacity and demand factors. The capacity factors center on formal and informal governmental processes for setting policy and mobilizing action. Such action requires the collaborative and network-like involvement of the private, public, and non-governmental sectors. Each sector has unique capabilities that are most conducive to developing a regional vision and consensus among critical stakeholders, as well as mobilizing resources to meet policy objectives. Successful metropolitan regional strategies are those that achieve progressively greater levels of intra-regional fusion.

Provincial and municipal governments are, in turn, being encouraged to give attention to these capacity factors by an interrelated set of environmental and socio-economic demand factors. These factors relate to: the negative effects of continued urbanization on the supply of agricultural lands and on other renewable and non-renewable natural resources; inter-municipal socio-economic disparities, and the strains this is placing on municipal social service, public works and social program delivery capabilities, as well as inter-governmental relationships; and fiscal downloading, brought about by the current debt levels of the provincial and federal governments, signifying that all levels of government must now learn to adapt to a net reduction in financial resources and look for more cost-effective ways to deliver public services.

6.2.4 How Have Metropolitan Regional Challenges Been Addressed?

Chapter 3 focused on how certain provincial and municipal governments across the country have recently attempted to recognize the prevalence of these factors by either instituting metropolitan region-wide government or metropolitan regional governance. In terms of the former, which can be found in Chapter 3(2), the annexation case study of London, Ontario showed how a provincial government can use its interventionist powers to reinforce the dominance of a region's central city government in order to fulfill a seemingly hidden economic agenda. The critique of this case pointed to the importance of an alternative strategy, of establishing collaborative, inter-municipal alliances in order better respond to municipal and community needs. The amalgamation case study of Miramichi, New Brunswick appeared to bear this out by illustrating how factors relating to inter-community socio-economic equity, political accountability, and the

achievement of greater economies of scale in public service delivery, can be used to justify the establishment of the ultimate in inter-municipal partnerships.

In terms of metropolitan regional governance, as discussed in Chapter 3(3), the case study of Moncton, New Brunswick illustrated the importance of instituting regional change that is sensitive to community needs. It also showed how special purpose commissions can be used by municipalities to collaborate on regional economic development activities, and thereby transform regional challenges into opportunities. Finally, the case study of the regional service district for Greater Vancouver highlighted the regional benefits that can be garnered from establishing active links with the public, private and non-governmental sectors in order to deal with the socio-economic and environmental challenges arising from explosive regional growth.

6.2.5 Why is Manitoba's Capital Region Strategy Necessary?

The literature review conducted in Chapter 4(2) revealed that, after Winnipeg's incorporation as a City in 1873 and the consolidation of its dominance as both a regional centre and provincial capital, suburban communities began to become increasingly protective of their own local authority. As urbanization continued further into the rural hinterland, four subsequent provincial reform efforts to implement a formal metropolitan regional growth strategy have only perpetuated this parochialism. Firstly, in terms of the Metropolitan Planning Commission which was formed in 1944, its lack of authoritative leverage amounted to only the merest of encouragement of inter-municipal planning efforts. Consequently, the

Commission's initiatives were usually met with hostile and protectionist municipal responses. Secondly, Winnipeg's two-tiered Metro government, in place during the 1960s, along with the Additional Zone policy, in place until 1989, both attempted to implement long-term regional plans in order to address the effects of suburban and ex-urban development. But such efforts, since they were not sensitive to the needs or concerns of the region's individual urban and rural municipalities, created confrontations between the upper-tier metropolitan corporation and the lower-tier municipal councils. This counter-productive environment, in conjunction with the Province's apparent disinterest in doing anything about it, made the implementation of any intra-regional planning or governance initiatives highly unlikely, if not impossible.

The structural amalgamation of twelve municipalities in 1972, which ushered in Winnipeg's current single-tier Unicity government, was intended to address what Metro could not solve. It was argued by the Province that such a structure would promote administrative efficiency, area-wide equity in levels of municipal services and property taxes, and greater opportunities for citizen participation. Instead, it has set in motion a new wave of metropolitan regional problems further out into the rural hinterland. As Chapter 4(3) illustrated, the City of Winnipeg, though still the most dominant urban centre in both the metropolitan region and Province, is growing much more slowly than the surrounding municipalities. Not only are there decided inter-municipal differences in housing, population and property taxation characteristics, but, based on recent statistics, the source of this ex-urban growth appears to be emanating from disheartened city residents. These trends are consequently affecting the socio-economic decline of

Winnipeg due to its increasing inability to meet social service and public works program delivery requirements. On the other hand, representatives of the surrounding municipalities, citing the free market, the business their residents already bring to the city, and apparent bureaucratic inefficiencies of city-run departments, seem to have very little sympathy for the city's plight.

These trends have provided the basis for various inter-municipal conflicts, including Headingley's secession from the City of Winnipeg in 1993, St. Germain-Vermette's current bid for secession, and Browning-Ferris Industries' [B.F.I.] landfill proposal in the Rural Municipality [R.M.] of Rosser. But this parochial metropolitan regional environment is troubling on an even deeper level, in that, given Winnipeg's predominant socio-economic role in the region and Province, one cannot avoid making a direct causal link with how the city's decline will negatively affect the long-term viability of the metropolitan region as a whole. Moreover, as growth, and the need to service this growth, continues further into ex-urban areas, one can infer that the perception of ex-urban areas as an appealing, pastoral environment will become increasingly less possible. These factors indicate that an acceptance of the current status quo within the metropolitan region is no longer appropriate.

6.2.6 What are the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Capital Region Strategy and Committee?

As was discussed in Chapter 5(2), in 1989, the provincial government recognized the need to try to address this parochialism through the formation of what is now known as the Capital Region Committee, and the subsequent effort to achieve a Regional Sustainable Development Strategy in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg. The Committee's mandate has been to

reflect the capacity factors associated with today's metropolitan regionalism by planning to facilitate the creation of cross-sectoral alliances, and thereby implement collaborative metropolitan regional planning and governance initiatives. This mandate became clearer in March of 1995, when the Capital Region Steering Committee issued a draft policy document called the *Workbook On The Capital Region Strategy: Partners for the Future [Draft Strategy]*. Taken together, the policy areas in the *Draft Strategy* are based on the principles of *sustainable development*, in that multilateral efforts will be directed at implementing a number of environmentally-sensitive community planning and economic development strategies. It is hoped that this, in turn, will help in maximizing the region's competitiveness abroad (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 17).

The Chapter 5(3) review of the Capital Region Committee's meeting minutes, as well as the *Draft Strategy* document, revealed that positive advances were being made in terms of achieving progressively greater forms of intra-regional fusion. Winnipeg had agreed to inform the surrounding municipalities on all of the city's planning matters near their borders. Also, the one-member-one-vote approach on the Committee has created an environment of political equals, which translated itself into significant inter-municipal effort to strategize and publish the *Draft Strategy*. Even the policy areas in the *Draft Strategy*, in extolling the virtues of intra-regional equity, participatory democracy, and environmental management, have contributed to an optimistic outlook that collaborative change in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg may be close at hand.

Unfortunately, this same review also highlighted significant weaknesses with the Capital Region Strategy and Committee which will

prevent, or significantly impede, the successful implementation of its policies. The reasoning behind the problems with the Committee can be summarized in the following quote:

"[t]he suggestion that the Capital Region Committee offers a solution is laughable ... Winnipeg, with 90.0 percent of the region's population, has one member out of 16. The numbers, it must be conceded, hardly matter ... Within that body there is no leverage and no power requiring anyone to negotiate anything" (Neville, 1995, p. A6).

The impotence of the Committee, which has been exacerbated by its insufficient number of meetings and counter-productive meeting agendas, has only nurtured the metropolitan region's internally parochial and isolationist nature. This raises serious concerns as to whether the Committee, which is supposed to be responsible for implementing the Strategy (Manitoba Round Table, 1995, p. 55), will either have the reason, or the ability, to consider, and act upon, the costs and benefits of its advice to the Province in terms of the well-being of the region.

In addition, the lack of public involvement or interest in the Strategy indicates that those steering the development of the Strategy have failed to establish cross-sectoral alliances throughout its on-going evolution. Had there been involvement of the private and non-governmental sectors at the outset, innovative assessments could have been provided with respect to the relationships and perceptions that have developed between the City of Winnipeg and the surrounding municipalities, as well as the achievement of common understandings as to what challenges must be overcome in order for the Capital Region to become more sustainable. On this *sustainable* note, the final weakness with the Strategy dealt with its particular interpretation of the term *sustainable development*. A review of Van der Ryn and Cowan's

most recent work, *Ecological Design*, prompted the conclusion that the Capital Region Strategy has embraced technological sustainability, an environmentally misguided form of reductionism, wherein its advocates do a more efficient job of using up, accounting for, and managing nature in order to fulfill primarily economic objectives. However, it is politically astute to adhere to technological sustainability because it fits well into existing top-down structures of power relationships. In this light then, while the provincial government might consider the Capital Region initiative to be an example of a new form of regional development, in reality, it seems to have been created by the Province to maintain the current status quo, or at best, to treat the metropolitan region in an arm's-length - but not necessarily hands-off - manner.

6.3 The Planning and Governing of Metropolitan Regions

6.3.1 The Planning Profession

There are numerous traditional roots of the planning profession in general, and professional planners in particular. One such tradition is based on technocratic grounds (Friedmann, 1981, p. 1). Typically, technocracy in planning has been characterized by the assumption of continued positivist trends, and by the construction of elegant, scientific conceptualizations of the planning environment (Seasons, 1991, p. 33). Comprehensive and rational plans, be they on an urban or regional scale, are devised to impose stability and predictability onto the future, and are carried out by a central governing authority according to specific program requirements (Friedmann, 1981, p. 1). Formal deviations from this design are permitted but must be duly noted in

the plan itself, which, in its remaining parts, is then adjusted to preserve the overall structure as an integrated whole (Seasons, 1991, p. 33).

It can be garnered from such an approach that its central tenet is a bureaucracy and professionalism which operationalizes power and expertise by using procedural norms, provincial statutes and regulatory mechanisms in a top-down, abstract and systematic manner in order to manipulate situations (Gerecke and Reid, 1991, p. 60). An example of how this power of discourse manifested itself in an urban context would be the urban renewal projects of the 1950s and 1960s. Faustian-like planning categorizations, which classified neighbourhoods into blighted, declining and transitional states, became the basis for determining the fate of whole communities with little or no concern for those residents who were most directly affected (Gerecke and Reid, 1991, p. 60).

6.3.2 The Governing of Metropolitan Regions

On the surface, one could argue that technocracy has not infiltrated the governing of Canada's metropolitan regions. After all, as was highlighted earlier in Chapter 2(3), at the core of municipal governments in Canada are their democratically elected councils (Sancton, 1991, p. 44). Residents feel comfortable about phoning their councillor to raise an issue, request a service or complain about a decision of council (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 11). Having said this however, during the 1960s and 1970s, when provinces across Canada launched reforms to municipal structures, and thereby formally established current systems of metropolitan region-wide government, their primary motivation for doing so was not based on metropolitan regional

redistributive issues: had this been the case, public opinion might have been sought by the provinces through local referenda (Sancton, 1991, p. 42).

Rather, in keeping with the technocratic agenda, such reforms had "more to do with attempting to meet the alleged needs of provincial and local public servants, particularly land-use planners" (Sancton, 1991, p. 42). Granted, it was hoped that comprehensive regional planning and coordinated action within a comprehensive region-wide government system would address regional redistributive concerns. But the lack of rootedness in the urban and rural communities which such reforms were institutionalized to serve, precluded the planner and politician from understanding the inter-related intricacies of an evolving, polycentric, metropolitan regional morphology.

6.3.3 The Planning and Governing of the Metropolitan Region of Winnipeg

Historically, in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg context, provincial reforms of municipal government structures have also not been spared of technocratic influences. One need only refer back to how Metro's upper-tier bureaucracy dismissed complaints from the lower-tier municipalities, and the rural municipalities impacted by the Additional Zone, on the grounds that all of its decisions, be they planning-related or not, were made objectively, and in the public interest (Tindal and Tindal, 1995, p. 103). Ironically, it could be argued that the technocratic in scope and intent of both Metro and the Additional Zone were eventually victimized by local democratic processes.

At the same time however, on a deeper level, these, and subsequent reform efforts by the provincial government, also indicate how they have

only perpetuated, or re-activated, another set of governmental and planning problems on a broader, metropolitan regional scale. True, the creation of Unicity had attempted to be innovative by instituting notions of administrative efficiency, area-wide equity, and citizen participation through the structural merging of the city, suburb and countryside. But it is also interesting to note that, with the *Planning Act* amendment in 1976 which allowed rural municipalities to opt out of the Additional Zone by forming Planning Districts, there has since emerged multiple, and dichotomous, governmental entities in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg, with the urban-oriented Unicity structure on the one hand, and the rural-oriented Planning District structures on the other.

6.4 Study Implications: The Planning and Governing of Metropolitan Regions

6.4.1 The Planning Profession

Another tradition of the planning profession and planners can be characterized as the social or mutual learning approach. It also represents a stimulus for professional re-focus. A central aspect of the social or mutual learning approach deals with the need to engage in a form of civic and regional action, in which groups of people with different abilities and backgrounds decide to work together with planners on a common problem-solving task:

"[i]f the currently held images of the world support success, then all is well. But if the results are negative and unexpected, as they often are, further inquiry must be conducted. Initially, this may lead only to questions about strategy, but eventually the theory itself will have to be examined" (Friedmann, 1981, pp. 2-3).

In this conception then, social action is treated as the primary phenomenon in the sense that theoretical approaches to planning respond to, and are shaped by, planning practice.

Rather than fulfilling the role of a top-down regulatory technocrat, planners, in response to these ever-changing post-modern times and the increasing presence of multiple stakeholder groups, appear as facilitators and mediators of multi-sectoral consensus-based collaborative practices (Friedmann, 1981, pp. 2-3). To do so, requires the planner to not only become part of an organizational environment that is conducive to creativity and innovation, but also to embrace uncertainty, and understand the dynamics of change within which both the planner and profession are caught (Seasons, 1991, p. 33). This naturally represents a giant leap of faith for planners and their profession. In a way, both entities must share the abstract purposes of multi-lateral client groups, and must also make alliances in ways that will abolish status differences arising from a command of different kinds of knowledge (Friedmann, 1981, p. 3).

6.4.2 The Governing of Metropolitan Regions

As was discussed in Chapter 2(4), whereas governing in past metropolitan regional contexts focused primarily on relations among units and levels of government, today, metropolitan regionalism has seen the rise in prominence of regional governance. This represents a shift in focus from formal structural arrangements of government, to more informal structures and processes for collectively setting policy and collaboratively mobilizing action. Moreover, responsibility for achieving effective and functional - rather than dysfunctional - regionalism, is no longer viewed as primarily

falling on the public sector. Instead, it is an effort requiring the active involvement of the private, public, and non-governmental sectors. Such cross-sectoral and multilateral alliances make it possible to combine areas of legitimacy in ways that allow for a greater mobilization of effort, and new institutional capacity-building.

What often binds such alliances is a sense of identification with the region as a common place, with a common history, and as a commons of people. Consequently, there is a sense of stewardship or responsibility for preserving and enhancing the long-term viability of the metropolitan region's constituent communities (Wallis, Fall-Winter 1994, p. 450). In accordance with the social or mutual learning approach to planning, metropolitan regional governance starts with pre-established strategic interests, and moves iteratively and progressively toward developing the legitimacy and capacity of these collaborations so that they can form the basis of an institutionalized form of governance. As this process implies, it is premature to define governance arrangements at the outset. Rather, decisions should flow from an understanding of the strategic objectives raised by the multilateral stakeholder groups. Resulting governance arrangements may be highly idiosyncratic and flexible, reflecting, as they should, intra-regional intricacies and relational dynamics (Wallis, Fall-Winter 1994, p. 450).

6.4.3 The Planning and Governing of the Metropolitan Region of Winnipeg

Based on the above discussion then, it seems apparent that there can be no single quick fix to the Capital Region's problems (Leo, October 8 1995, p. A7). In terms of quick fix candidates, and as was highlighted in Chapter 3, at least four mechanisms, which are being used by provincial governments

elsewhere to institute forms of either regional government or regional governance, may be deemed potentially appropriate for the Capital Region. These were: (1) annexation, (2) amalgamation, (3) special purpose commissions, and (4) a regional service district system. However, because of current parochial attitudes to inter-municipal relationships in the region, all four policy mechanisms would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to implement, at least at this stage. Annexations by the City of Winnipeg and amalgamation of urban and rural municipalities have already played a part in the historical development of the metropolitan region of Winnipeg. Resistance to both mechanisms would most likely arise from the affected rural municipalities due to their loss of municipal autonomy. Moreover, marked differences in traditional urban and rural land uses and infrastructural service provisions between the City of Winnipeg and the surrounding hinterland may not lend themselves to a common equitable property tax base (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 39).

In addition, merely formulating special purpose commissions in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg would also be problematic. Because of their ad hoc approach, they would not be conducive to establishing a consistent and collaborative mandate for addressing regional issues and concerns (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 36). In terms of creating a regional service district in the Capital Region [as part of a provincial system of such districts], the Province would have to legislate procedures or guidelines for the approximate size, method of political representation, and functional reach of the districts themselves. This would be controversial in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg, particularly given the regional socio-economic dominance of the City of Winnipeg (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 40). Conversely, if the Province

would accommodate rural municipal concerns by providing permissive legislation in order to allow the rural and urban municipalities to come together to form regional districts of their own accord, this could simply reprise the patchwork of the Planning Districts which emerged during the 1970s and 1980s, and thereby impede collaborative metropolitan regional planning and governance efforts (Diamant and Pike, 1994, p. 41).

It should not be inferred however, that this study is advocating a mere acceptance of the current status quo. In fact, serious consideration has been given to advocating the imposition by the Province, of some top-down regional authoritative mechanism, in order to mobilize region-building. Ironically perhaps, such a regional authority may already be manifesting itself through the Province's forthcoming proposed *Sustainable Development Act* legislation. While specifics have yet to be revealed by the Province, the *Sustainable Development Act* may give sweeping new powers to a new so-called *super-board*. It would take over and/or coordinate areas of responsibility for land use planning now in the *Municipal Act*, the *City of Winnipeg Act*, the *Environmental Act*, or discharged by the Municipal Board of Manitoba (Jones, 1996, p. A1). Manitoba's municipalities, including those in the Capital Region, may be justified in fearing that, if this legislation is approved, they will no longer have the same say in the way land gets used for certain purposes in their own communities (Jones, 1996, p. A1). While this may be considered a positive occurrence for some, especially in light of the current inefficacy of the Capital Region Strategy and Committee, readers should recall that, just as all of Manitoba's municipalities fall under the purview of the provincial government, so too does Manitoba's Capital Region initiative.

Rather, the point to be made is that much more collaborative and cross-sectoral groundwork has to be laid by all the political and non-political stakeholders in the Capital Region itself before such measures can even be considered. Therefore, in determining this study's implications for how to develop and institute more effective planning and governance mechanisms in the Capital Region, it may be helpful to follow a sequential and generic two-phase process for iteratively building regional legitimacy and capacity, as elaborated by Wallis in his 1994 article, found in the **National Civic Review**, entitled, *Inventing Regionalism: A Two-phase Approach*. While the first phase involves establishing a collaborative regional vision, the second phase institutionalizes mechanisms for its implementation. The following are more specific elements of each phase.

The First Phase: Creating a Sense of the Region

- " • *Sponsor Coalitions*: Pre-established coalitions already operating within the metropolitan regional context may not have sufficient legitimacy and/or capacity on their own to sustain the process. Consequently, an established coalition should seek full-time, cross-sectoral partners to help define strategic regional concerns, as well as launch and sustain the initiative.
- *Trending and Bounding*: Part of the iterative process of problem definition should involve the placing of the problem in a broader, more temporal, environmental, socio-economic and political regional context. In so doing, the boundaries of the region affected by the issues in question will be more clearly delineated.
- *Vision and Image*: Simply defining a problem, regardless of the level of detail, does not mobilize a coalition. There should be a vision that both interprets the significance of trends for affected interests, and imagines alternative futures and/or solutions. Cross-sectoral alliances are instrumental in this regard by providing a forum wherein a breadth of information and depth of values and experiences can be expressed.
- *Assessing Technical Capacity*: Either during or after the visioning process, consideration should be given to establishing a mechanism or system capable of tracking and analysing trends associated with achieving the vision.

- *Assessing Civic and Political Capacity:* Civic capacity should be assessed in order to determine if there are any gaps which could impede the implementation of the regional vision. Also, political capacity should be assessed in order to help identify common [inter-governmental] problems and develop joint solutions. Such networking should reveal whether municipal or provincial governmental restructuring is necessary to improve collaborative efforts.
- *Action Plan:* A clear plan of action should be required so that efforts can move ahead toward the implementation phase" (Wallis, Fall-Winter 1994, p. 450-457).

The Second Phase: Institutional Capacity-Building

As the vacuous nature of the *Draft Strategy* has already indicated, regardless of the quality of the formulated metropolitan regional policies, results will be futile unless they can be structured effectively into existing or new political frameworks and institutions. This is the objective of the second phase.

- *Establishing Capacity for Action:* Here, the visionary idealism which ultimately led to the formulation of the Action Plan should be brought up against the wall of political reality. It is necessary to consider the appropriateness of various structural options often associated with regional governance in order to develop a clear understanding of objectives and the capacities needed to achieve them.
- *Aggregating and Augmenting:* While aggregating should build capacity by merging several agencies already operating at the regional level, augmenting should build capacity through the increase of power and responsibilities of an existing agency.
- *Establishing Linkages:* Linkages should be drawn on the connection between an area of growth and decline so that the former can help improve the condition of the latter. This should involve avoiding a one-size-fits-all form of regional governance and provide incentives for the formation of effective regional coalitions.
- *Legitimacy and Representation:* Representation in regional governance is typically discussed in terms of whether there should be a directly elected governmental body. The fact that regionalism is cross-sectoral however, signifies that representation ought to be drawn from those sectors that can

provide the capacity necessary for meeting the challenges embodied in the regional vision" (Wallis, Fall-Winter 1994, pp. 457-461).

6.5 Study Recommendations

This study recommends that the planning and governing mechanisms currently in place in the metropolitan region of Winnipeg, as well as Manitoba's Capital Region initiative as a whole, must be completely re-focused in accordance with the tenets of the aforesaid two-phase metropolitan regional governance model. Such a re-focus could embody the following elements.

The First Phase: Creating a Sense of the Capital Region

- *Sponsor Coalitions:* The Province, through the Capital Region Committee, should seek out full-time, cross-sectoral partners to help define strategic regional concerns. Coalitions should be established involving both the University of Manitoba and University of Winnipeg, various community groups in the region, as well as private sector research firms and businesses.
- *Trending and Bounding:* Not only should cross-sectoral coalition-building be a part of a revamped Capital Region Committee, but other coalitions should also be served by a specifically formed Institute of Capital Region Studies [based on the Portland model (Seltzer, 1995, p. 11)], whose mandate would be to conduct metropolitan regional research in order to foster an on-going understanding of the following issues: the values and perceptions that define the metropolitan region of Winnipeg as a community of communities; the nature and characteristics of regional development patterns; demographic trends; intra-regional housing and community service profiles; environmental profiles of the region as well as the environmental impacts of regional growth patterns; and the regional nature of urban challenges and Winnipeg's ability to address these challenges (Seltzer, 1995, p. 11). All project funding should come from the benefiting provincial agencies, municipalities, and corporations, as well as from both Universities, and appropriate foundations.

- *Vision and Image*: The Province, through the Capital Region Committee, and/or the Institute of Capital Region Studies, should co-sponsor public workshops and conferences with a wide range of public, private, and non-governmental organizations in order to bring new ideas and tap into the experiences of others, and thereby aid in the establishment of a regional vision (Seltzer, 1995, p. 12).
- *Assessing Technical Capacity*: Results from the research conducted by the Institute of Capital Region Studies should be published either annually or bi-annually and sent to elected officials, provincial and municipal representatives, community groups, planners, University faculty, and interested private sector firms. The objective of this publication would be to alert a wide range of organizations to others sharing the same regional interests (Seltzer, 1995, p. 11).
- *Assessing Civic and Political Capacity*: **Winnipeg 2000** should be renamed as the **Capital Region 2000**, and its mandate should be expanded to deal with socio-economic promotional considerations within the Capital Region. All its funding should come from the Province, municipalities, and corporate sources. Moreover, with increased collaborative efforts as a basis, the Province, through the Capital Region Committee, and/or the Institute of Capital Region Studies, should investigate the logistics surrounding the restructuring of existing provincial, municipal and government departments and inter-governmental policies in the Capital Region in order to assess whether such action would improve collaborative efforts. For example, consideration could be given to a single provincial ministry dedicated to Capital Region Affairs.
- *Action Plan*: In a similar vein to the *Draft Strategy*, but involving more of a cross-section of stakeholder groups, the Capital Region Committee should use the research from the Institute of Capital Region Studies to coordinate the redrafting of a much more region-specific action plan.

The Second Phase: Institutional Capacity-Building in the Capital Region

- *Establishing Capacity for Action*: Based on the research conducted for this study, along with the collaborative efforts that the study recommendations up to this point should hopefully foster, the Province should formally establish a Capital Region Service District [C.R.S.D.], whether or not such action would be part of a provincial system of such districts.
- *Aggregating and Augmenting*: In a similar vein to the Greater Vancouver Regional District [G.V.R.D.], the C.R.S.D. would be responsible for such matters as regional planning, environmental management and enhancement, housing and solid-waste management. Its member municipalities would be responsible for police and social service delivery,

as well as for the making of community development plans which would be have to be consistent with the goals and objectives of the C.R.S.D. By creating a single C.R.S.D. that deals with local and regional issues, the metropolitan region of Winnipeg could mitigate its current rural-urban dichotomous dilemma, and thereby enhance collaborative cross-sectoral efforts. Further in this regard, whereas past and current provincial reform efforts [highlighted earlier in Chapters 2 and 3], both in Manitoba and across Canada, have not addressed the need for concurrent reforms to provincial government departments, this study recommends that the name and mandate of Manitoba's Ministry of Urban Affairs be respectively changed and expanded to the Ministry of Capital Region Affairs. Such action would hopefully enhance collaborative efforts at the provincial-municipal level by having one provincial coordinating body which covers the C.R.S.D. in its entirety.

- *Establishing Linkages:* The issue of economic development and property taxation should be linked so that areas of growth and decline can be equalized. A variety of measures, including the equalization of property taxes across the region, as well as gasoline taxation, can contribute to that end, by using the proceeds to fund socio-economic and infrastructural service initiatives in needy communities. Moreover, the possibility of tax-base sharing should also be considered. In this case, the C.R.S.D., in its regional planning capacity, would determine appropriate intra-regional locations for various economic development initiatives. So as to ensure that the entire region would garner economic benefit from such an initiative, a portion of the development's property tax revenues would be redistributed to the rest of the region in the form of ecological support for infrastructural restoration, and sustainable socio-economic development programs.
- *Legitimacy and Representation:* The C.R.S.D. board should be comprised of mayors and councillors appointed by the member municipalities, similar to what currently exists on the Capital Region Committee. The challenge however, will lie in determining a fair and equitable method of political representation, particularly given the dominant role the City of Winnipeg currently plays in the region itself. Voting on the board will most likely have to follow a complicated system of weighting according to issue, area and population. At the same time, the surrounding municipalities must feel that their concerns are receiving equal consideration as well. Moreover, all significant changes to municipal or regional jurisdictions or mandates should be decided by local residents through referenda. Considerable guidance should be available through experiences in British Columbia with its regional district system approach.

6.6 Extensions of the Research

There are numerous areas where further research should be conducted. Interviews with, and surveys of, urban and ex-urban residents would have been helpful to generate more specific discussion about the value systems of City of Winnipeg and ex-urban communities. Likewise, more interviews with Capital Region Committee members, as well as the City of Winnipeg and provincial government representatives to discuss the study's recommendations at a preliminary stage, would have been valuable in that they could have ascribed a sense of greater legitimacy to the recommendations themselves.

As the study recommendations indicate, much more work needs to be done to solidify and address the apparent differences between the City of Winnipeg and the surrounding municipalities. On a related note, a more thorough ecological, socio-economic, planning, and political inventory of the communities which comprise Manitoba's Capital Region would assist in any future prospects of achieving more effective regional planning and governance mechanisms. To do so however, would require that the two-phase model mentioned earlier would have to be pursued to its final stage. But rather than treat this as an inherent weakness, this study should be considered as an initial step in this evolving process. Perhaps the words of Humphrey Carver, writing in 1955, would still suffice in this regard: "in the large-scale task of putting cities and regions together in which we all live and work, we have not yet stretched our abilities" (quoted in Hodge, 1991, p. 369). Gerald Hodge has also concluded a recent survey of Canadian planning practice with the observation that, "regional planning still awaits discovery"

(Hodge, 1994, p. 49). Perhaps the new regionalism modelled earlier in this Chapter, and proposed for application in the Manitoba Capital Region context, will provide the vehicle for the new regional planning that Hodge awaits. Only further research of actual practice will tell.

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APPENDIX 1

The Capital Region Strategy: Partners for the Future
Draft Strategy Policy Area Excerpts

POLICY AREA 1: PARTNERSHIPS

Introduction

Partnerships are, and will be, one of the key means by which the challenges of sustainable development will be met, the risks, responsibilities and rewards of sustainable development shared, and the Capital Region's transition to sustainability successfully achieved. It will only be through working together, respecting others and building trust that the complex problems facing the region will be overcome.

In the past, government was often left to elected officials and their staff. It is now recognized that sustainability requires everyone's participation. It is also recognized that government cannot afford to continue to function as it has. Important questions are being asked about how much government can and should be doing, and what others should be doing. Answers to these questions can only be found when citizens are involved and partnerships are formed.

Partnerships can produce more efficient and effective use of the region's natural resources. When all parties consult and coordinate their efforts, resources can be better managed, protected and developed, pollution can be better monitored and controlled, environmental policies, regulations and research can be better coordinated, and laws better enforced.

Partnerships can lead to the creation or expansion of businesses and can generate more investment in the economy and environment. By expanding the size and scope of activities— through such means as joint purchasing; sharing personnel, equipment or facilities; and coordinating functions— business operations can become more viable and savings to government can be redirected to other priorities like integrating economic and human development with environmental management.

Combining the strengths of the private sector with the public sector can provide new capital and lever available public funds. A public-private partnership may be able to develop new facilities more rapidly and efficiently. Prospective private operators may also be able to supply specialized expertise, and be more flexible in their operation than government. New revenues for government may be produced through taxes, leases or franchise payments from private operators. Risk-sharing between the public and private sectors may also allow some important projects to be developed which neither partner could undertake alone.

Partnerships can improve the quality of services and thus, improve the health and well-being of citizens of the region. By working together, certain services requiring a large number of people to be effective can be provided, geographic problems limiting solutions can be overcome, and specialized personnel, equipment or services can be acquired.

Finally, partnerships can produce better understanding and respect among the region's citizens by facilitating the sharing of each other's views, needs and aspirations. From this foundation, common goals can be identified which will enable the region's citizens to share equitably in the benefits of sustainable development.

Partnerships' Strategy

Working Together. The public, business, non-government organizations, municipalities and the Provincial government will work together to achieve the goal of a sustainable region. Information will be shared, and opportunities provided for everyone to participate. Policies, laws and processes will be coordinated and integrated.

POLICY AREA 1: PARTNERSHIPS

OBJECTIVES

1. To promote and encourage partnerships to address specific environment-economy issues and to increase public participation in decision making; policy formulation; and program, project and plan development and implementation.
2. To use partnerships to increase public knowledge and awareness of the links between environment, economy and human development, and the benefits of sustainable development.

POLICIES

Policy 1.1 (Working Partners)

Partnerships shall be used to develop the economy in an environmentally sustainable manner, to improve the health and socio-economic well-being of residents, and to meet the needs of citizens effectively at a cost the community is prepared to accept.

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
1.1a Examine problems and issues to determine if a partnership with another party would provide a more effective and cost efficient solution, and act to develop the partnership.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1.1b Fully account for the costs of any partnership before the initiative is commenced, and fairly allocate the costs to the participants.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1.1c Rationalize and integrate services and programs, and share in revenues and expenditures in order to improve the delivery of regional services.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1.1d Define inter-municipal cooperation policies in municipal and district development plans.	✓	✓			
1.1e Identify priorities for partnerships based on the relative need for change in the way facilities, programs or services are delivered.	✓	✓			
1.1f Coordinate and integrate, where appropriate, existing public administrations and resources in order to provide services in the most efficient and effective way possible.	✓	✓	✓		

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 1: PARTNERSHIPS

Policy 1.2 (Public Information and Participation)					
Everyone shall have opportunities to participate in decision making processes, and equal and timely access to information.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
1.2a Obtain information on significant community, regional and provincial initiatives, and participate in decision-making.				✓	✓
1.2b Consult with governments and citizens on decisions which have a significant impact on the community, region or province.			✓	✓	
1.2c Develop public information programs and use the formal education system, in order to: inform residents about environmental, economic, health and social linkages; encourage individual and corporate responsibility for resource conservation; and foster greater understanding of shared values and different interests.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1.2d Improve public information and opportunities for participation in sustainable development matters with region-wide implications, and ensure the participation of under-represented groups.			✓	✓	
1.2e Establish and promote formal and informal methods of communication among jurisdictions to facilitate intergovernmental cooperation.	✓	✓			
1.2f Foster and promote a common understanding and appreciation of sustainable development, and make decisions which contribute to sustainability.	✓	✓	✓	✓	

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 1: PARTNERSHIPS

Policy 1.3 (Coordination of Policies, Laws and Processes)					
Policies, laws and processes shall be coordinated and integrated.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
1.3a Identify to government: laws and processes which overlap, conflict or unnecessarily delay decision making affecting sustainable economic development.				✓	✓
1.3b Amend laws and introduce processes to enable sharing of revenue and authority among jurisdictions and between the public and private sectors as a means of fostering cooperative regional sustainable economic development.	✓	✓			
1.3c Harmonize provincial and local laws and processes based on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the principles and guidelines of sustainable development; • uniform, common or appropriate planning, development, environmental and natural resources standards and processes; • integrated environmental, development and land use reviews; • repeal or amendment of laws, regulations and by-laws which conflict with the principles and guidelines of sustainable development; • defining jurisdictional responsibility and eliminating duplicate laws, by-laws and processes; and • the highest standards and requirements applicable between jurisdictions. 	✓	✓	✓		
1.3d Consult on proposed laws, by-laws and processes which may affect more than one jurisdiction prior to adoption.	✓	✓	✓		
1.3e Coordinate policies within administrations and ensure that departmental policies further public sector strategic plans and priorities.	✓	✓	✓		

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 2: SETTLEMENT

Introduction

The road to sustainable economic development will be closely tied to the way settlement is planned, developed and managed. A sustainable settlement is one which functions and grows within the biophysical limits of its environment and resources, and meets the basic needs for the health and socio-economic well-being of its residents. It is in settlements where most of our resources are consumed, pollution generated, economic activity undertaken and personal growth engendered. Ensuring that where we live is sustainable will improve the quality of life for the region and province, and strengthen the region nationally and internationally.

Settlement Strategy

Efficient Use and Development of Land. Land will be used and developed efficiently through compact and mixed use development, infill of vacant or underused parcels of land, more intensive use of land, revitalization of older buildings and neighbourhoods, planning and maintaining transportation and utility service corridors, and protecting important natural resources like prime agricultural land, waterways and natural habitat.

Effective Resource Management. Settlements will minimize energy and water consumption, pollution and waste production. As much as possible, pollutants and wastes will be managed at their source—in homes, in schools, in the workplace.

Pay as You Go. A “pay as you go” approach will be adopted. Development will be directed to areas where there are existing services or road capacity able to sustain the increased use. The full costs of developing, operating and maintaining services will be apportioned among the beneficiaries. A balance will be found between people’s desires and needs, the larger community’s ability to pay, and the capability of the environment and resources to sustain the use. Large lot rural residential development will be supported within this context.

Coordinated Regional Planning. Although existing settlement patterns cannot be changed, future settlement patterns will be coordinated, shared problems will be addressed, and rational, comprehensive plans will be developed so settlements can develop economically while minimizing environmental degradation.

Healthy and Safe Communities. Settlements will be designed to enhance the health and well-being of the people who live in it. Residential and similar types of development will be directed away from unsafe or flood-prone land, or land where the use may result in odour or noise problems for people. Major truck routes will be designated and concentrated to enhance public safety. The quality of the water supply will be protected. Where a piped sewage system is not available, on-site environmentally sound and sustainable sewage systems will be installed.

Sufficient Housing. Adequate and affordable shelter in a range of housing options will be ensured for everyone.

POLICY AREA 2: SETTLEMENT

OBJECTIVES

1. To ensure settlement and shelter supports environmentally sound and sustainable economic growth and an improved quality of life.
2. To coordinate planning and development in the region.

POLICIES

Policy 2.1 (Sustainable Land Use)

Land use shall contribute to the sustainability of the region's resources and environment, economic growth of communities, and the health and well-being of people.

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.1a Develop a long term comprehensive sustainable development plan for the Capital Region.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.1b Participate in community planning and development.			✓	✓	✓
2.1c Coordinate provincial, district and municipal development plans and policies by consulting with each other before adoption, and incorporating statements in municipal or district development plans on compatibility with adjoining plans.	✓	✓	✓		
2.1d Apply policies adopted as part of Manitoba's Sustainable Development Strategy.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.1e Reduce dispersed settlement with its associated inefficient land use and increased servicing costs, by encouraging compact and intensive use of land where feasible, directing development to areas where existing servicing capacity is underused, and revising the regulatory framework accordingly.	✓	✓			
2.1f Direct unserviced large lot residential land uses to rural areas except to infill to prevailing densities.	✓	✓			
2.1g Allocate land uses and suitably classify sufficient land to meet local and regional needs over a reasonable period of time.	✓	✓			
2.1h Direct land uses of an urban nature to existing urban centres.	✓	✓			
2.1i Direct seasonal residential land uses to sites which can sustain the development and associated recreational use, and which can improve access to, and use of, recreational amenities by the general public.	✓	✓			

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 2: SETTLEMENT

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.1j Direct non-resource related land uses (eg. residential, institutional, intensive or indoor recreational, commercial, transportation) away from hazard lands, valuable natural or heritage resources, intensive agricultural operations and mineral resources.	✓	✓			
2.1k Provide adequate separation between potentially incompatible land uses to minimize conflicts and adverse impacts.	✓	✓			
2.1l Plan land uses in the vicinity of present and future transportation and utility corridors and facilities to ensure compatibility, encourage economic viability, minimize adverse impacts from inappropriate uses, and achieve safe operation.	✓	✓			
2.1m Develop land use policies, design guidelines and rehabilitation and maintenance programs which will enhance and preserve the character and aesthetic qualities of the region, including rivers, prairies, natural reserves, vistas and downtown.	✓	✓			
2.1n Encourage the consolidation of the long narrow parish lots to maximize their use for agriculture, rural residential development and other sustainable land uses.	✓	✓			
2.1o Establish a municipal registry of remnant land parcels available for cultivations.		✓			
2.1p Protect prime agricultural land from conflicting land uses and threat of conversion to other uses so that agricultural industries and the agri-food sector can continue to develop.	✓	✓			

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 2: SETTLEMENT

Policy 2.2 (Sustainable Land Development)					
Strategies for development and growth shall be consistent with regional interests, community priorities, the efficient use of resources and financial costs.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.2a Obtain information and participate in demonstration projects on how to develop land more economically and in a way which reduces consumption of resources and environmental impacts.	✓	✓		✓	✓
2.2b Infill or expand existing subdivisions; reuse, renovate or refit existing buildings and structures; and redevelop underused land, before developing new areas.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.2c Incorporate water and energy conservation and waste minimization features into buildings, subdivisions, and recreational open space development.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.2d Evaluate the immediate, long-term and cumulative costs of development (eg. economic, environmental, fiscal and social) in relation to revenues and other benefits, and impacts on the surrounding area, as part of the development review.	✓	✓	✓		✓
2.2e Use public information and demonstration projects to promote sustainable settlement.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2.2f Establish a minimum parcel size for large lot rural residential development based on physical constraints, the provision of appropriate water, sewer and transportation services, recreational open spaces, and the need to maintain the rural character of the area.	✓	✓			
2.2g Determine the timing, location, and magnitude of development, in consultation with the public, based on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the municipality's projected growth and desired development patterns; • evidence that there is sufficient demand, in relation to regional and local supply, to justify subdivision and development; • the carrying capacity of the land; • evidence that existing services have sufficient capacity to sustain the development, and are environmentally sound; • the principles of sustainable development; • Provincial Land Use Policies. 	✓	✓			
2.2h Revise criteria, standards, and building laws, regulations and development by-laws, to ensure water and energy conservation and waste minimization measures are incorporated into the design and development of buildings and building sites, and consult with the private sector and public in the process.	✓	✓			

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 2: SETTLEMENT

Policy 2.3 (Shelter)					
Adequate and affordable housing should be promoted for residents throughout the region and shall be located in areas convenient to employment and services, and in well planned communities.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.3a Develop a range of housing options, types and tenures throughout the region.	✓			✓	
2.3b Acquire, rehabilitate and market existing homes.				✓	✓
2.3c Allocate sufficient land to facilitate residential development and locate residential land use designations close to workplaces and schools, where practical.	✓	✓			
2.3d Classify residential land to provide for a range of housing options in neighbourhoods and communities, where practical.		✓			
2.3e Cooperate in programs and initiatives to maintain and preserve the region's housing stock, stabilize older neighbourhoods and provide affordable shelter.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Policy 2.4 (Servicing)					
The growth and development of settlements shall be supported by infrastructure and services which are safe, efficient, environmentally sustainable and affordable.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.4a Reduce capital and operating costs, and adverse environmental impacts, of utility and transportation infrastructure and services.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2.4b Identify the full costs and revenues of utility and transportation infrastructure in a development proposal.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2.4c Direct new development to areas where existing transportation and utilities' services are not being used to capacity, and maintain and improve existing infrastructure rather than develop new infrastructure unless it is not practical.	✓	✓			
2.4d Ensure utility and transportation services and infrastructure contribute to human health and well-being, and are appropriate to the type and level of local economic development and settlement.	✓	✓			
2.4e Maximize the sustainable use of land and reduce land fragmentation by using multi-use utility and transportation corridors and routing services along lot lines.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 2: SETTLEMENT

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.4f Apportion the costs of developing, operating and maintaining transportation and utilities among the beneficiaries in accordance with their share of the benefits and their relative effects on operational costs, where practical.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2.4g Price utilities and transportation where practical to reflect the actual costs of supply to the consumers, and where the demand approaches available supply, the first option shall be to manage demand.	✓	✓	✓		
2.4h Identify, maintain and improve infrastructure and utilities essential to the sustainable economic growth of the region and province, where practical.	✓	✓	✓		

Policy 2.5 (Transportation)

Transportation shall be planned and coordinated on a regional scale to support the region's desired development pattern and economic growth objectives, and to minimize adverse impacts.

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.5a Participate in the planning of transportation infrastructure and services.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.5b Acquire abandoned railway lines and undeveloped government road allowances for public uses such as linear parks, bicycle and walking trails, high occupancy vehicle routes, and wildlife corridors, as appropriate to location and need.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2.5c Prepare a regional transportation plan, in consultation with the private sector, non-government organizations and the public, which: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • relates to present and future settlement patterns in the region and province; • identifies ways to design settlements to reduce the consumption of land and resources by transportation and impacts of transportation infrastructure; • provides direction for the efficient integration of municipal roads with the regional road and provincial highway system, and with roads of adjoining municipalities; • addresses hazardous highway and rail locations; • identifies a dangerous goods and hazardous substance route for protection of public health; • recommends measures and actions to develop an integrated, multi-modal and efficient transportation system to serve the region and province; and • evaluates options for financing, constructing, maintaining and managing regional transportation infrastructure as part of the provincial highway system in partnership with the private sector. 	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 2: SETTLEMENT

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.5d Standardize load restrictions and lane capacities for major transportation routes throughout the region to ensure the safe and efficient movement of goods and people.	✓	✓			
2.5e Designate and concentrate major truck routes to serve provincial and regional economic activities, protect residential neighbourhoods and other areas, reduce traffic congestion and ensure public safety.	✓	✓			
2.5f Examine the short and long term impacts of development on the local and regional transportation system prior to approval, price the development to provide for full cost recovery of the capital and operating costs of the transportation infrastructure related to the development, and ensure that the roads to service new development form an integral part of the provincial, regional and municipal road hierarchy system.	✓	✓			
2.5g Protect the viability of airport operations and road corridors in the region through legislation, by-laws and other means, to ensure the long-term efficient movement of goods and people.	✓	✓			

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 2: SETTLEMENT

Policy 2.6 (Water Service)					
The region's surface and groundwater resources shall be protected and supplies conserved to ensure dependability, safety and accessibility.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.6a Conserve water by reducing consumption.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.6b Work to eliminate storage of potential pollutants where ground or surface water contamination is likely to occur.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.6c Identify environmental and groundwater hazard areas, including the salt/fresh water boundary, in development plans and allocate land uses and establish development policies compatible to these areas.		✓			
2.6d Require a geohydrological impact study to be submitted for significant developments in proximity to the salt/fresh water boundary or groundwater pollution hazard areas.	✓	✓			
2.6e Plan and develop potable water supply and distribution on a regional scale, where feasible, and protect existing supplies such as Shoal Lake and groundwater.	✓	✓			
2.6f Adopt water pricing systems and amend by-laws to encourage water conservation and to pay for infrastructure renewal.	✓	✓			
2.6g Establish, implement and enforce regulations related to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • discharges; • storage of potential pollutants; • design, construction and siting of containment facilities and water supply infrastructure to protect ground and surface water; • decommissioning of water supply infrastructure; and • well design, construction and decommissioning. 	✓	✓	✓		
2.6h Assign and apply Provincial Watershed Classifications and Manitoba Surface Water Quality objectives to waterways to protect water quality for present and future uses and for natural habitat.	✓				
2.6i Allocate, monitor and regulate groundwater, including areas along the salt/fresh water boundary, to ensure that withdrawals do not exceed the critical limits, and undertake information programs and, if necessary, regulate, to support allocation decisions.	✓				

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 2: SETTLEMENT

Policy 2.7 (Waste Minimization)					
Management of solid waste shall be planned and coordinated on a regional scale, and the amount of waste generated shall be reduced by year 2000 to 50% of the 1988 waste volumes.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.7a Reduce consumption, re-use, compost and recycle.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.7b Adopt procurement policies and make purchasing decisions which favour low waste, reusable, non-toxic and recycled materials.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.7c Develop and adopt technology which uses waste and waste exchanges.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2.7d Participate in the planning of regional waste management and minimization.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.7e Introduce full-cost user-pay pricing for waste management, for domestic, industrial and hazardous waste, including the life-cycle costs associated with pick-up, disposal, maintenance, decommissioning of landfill sites and monitoring.		✓			

Policy 2.8 (Effluent Management)					
Effluent shall be managed to protect public health and the environment, and to ensure adequate collection and treatment capacity to meet present and future needs.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.8a Install in areas not served by a piped sewage system, on-site environmentally sound and sustainable sewage systems suited to soil conditions and adequate to meet present and future site uses.		✓		✓	✓
2.8b Install low water use toilets.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.8c Reduce water use in order to reduce the amount of water requiring treatment.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.8d Revise standards and regulations for sewage treatment to incorporate sustainable development principles and guidelines.	✓	✓			

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 2: SETTLEMENT

Policy 2.9 (Land Drainage)					
Flooding and stormwater run-off shall be managed to reduce the adverse impacts on persons, property and the environment.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
2.9a Undertake measures to protect property from the effects of flooding and stormwater run-off, and ensure that on-site development does not create problems for the existing site and regional drainage system and on adjacent property.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.9b Provide and maintain a comprehensive and sustainable system of land drainage works.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.9c Direct new development to areas which are not subject to major flooding and where the drainage system, together with lot grading, will provide sufficient protection from local flood problems.		✓			
2.9d Prohibit development in areas subject to flooding until: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • an engineering study has been submitted demonstrating that the development can be carried out safely without adversely affecting the drainage system and properties; or • the drainage system is upgraded to meet local needs and ensure minimum or no personal property damage or loss. 		✓			
2.9e Revise by-laws and development standards to take into account the effects of major storms, where practical.		✓			
2.9f Form cooperative agreements to reduce drainage problems across municipalities.		✓			
2.9g Facilitate regional planning and coordination of flood control and drainage.	✓	✓			
2.9h Adopt guidelines and standards for development on flood prone land.	✓	✓			

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 3: ECONOMY

Introduction

Over the last decade, there have been profound changes in economic conditions and political attitudes around the globe. National borders which once defined trading areas have declined in importance. We now have a global economy. In basic terms, a global economy means that anyone with products or services to buy or sell can do so anywhere in the world.

To survive in the new economy, we will have to compete. To compete successfully, Manitoba and the Capital Region will have to produce products and services which are as good as, if not better than, those produced elsewhere. Our environment, communities and people will have to be second to none. In competing, however, we will have to ensure that our production, marketing and trading practices are not detrimental to people and the environment in other parts of the province, Canada or the world.

The private sector will be the engine for sustainable economic growth in the region and province. Today it accounts for 75% of the employment and income generated in Manitoba, and nearly all the goods and services that can be traded. As we strive to develop a sustainable economy, the private sector will provide the capital, innovation and employment, and some of the training, to allow the region and province to compete internationally. It will also generate the income necessary to finance priority government services like health, education and social services so we can continue to enjoy a high quality of life.

The role of government in the new economy will be to create the right conditions for sustainable economic development in order to attract innovative investment in existing enterprises, encourage new investment in growth sectors, and ensure fair opportunities for all segments of the

population to participate fully in the new economy. For its part, the public will provide the talent to competitive enterprises, and take individual actions to become more self reliant and less dependent on government.

The benefits that will accrue to the Capital Region from sustainable economic development will also be felt by other regions of Manitoba. The Capital Region can contribute to the sustainable economic development of the rest of the Province by forming partnerships in everything from planning to procurement.

Economic Strategy

Competitive growth. A few key areas of our economy will be targeted and developed and international trade agreements will be used to gain access to world markets. We will be innovative and outward looking in our thinking and assertive in our marketing.

Entrepreneurship and Enterprise Development. Entrepreneurship and enterprise development will be encouraged in order to create jobs and thus pay for environmental initiatives and social programs. The right climate for business will be provided by reducing the tax burden through the control of public expenditures and the provision of a sound legal framework to allow for sustainable economic growth.

Workplace. Measures will be taken to ensure the workplace promotes the health and well-being of people. Without a healthy and well-adjusted workforce, people will not be able to thrive and economic prosperity will not be achieved.

Civic Pride: Civic pride will be encouraged in order to develop a positive attitude toward the region's assets and the future of the region's communities.

POLICY AREA 3: ECONOMY

OBJECTIVES

1. To support and encourage a dynamic, growing and environmentally sustainable economy which ensures the quality of life and standard of living.
2. To assertively position the province and region to compete economically in the national and global marketplaces by building on internal strengths.

POLICIES

Policy 3.1 (Economic Growth)

Key economic sectors and value-added businesses shall be targeted for growth.

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
<p>3.1a Develop a long-term comprehensive sustainable economic development strategy for the Capital Region within the context of Manitoba's strategy, which:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • facilitates increased partnerships on economic development within the region and with Rural and Northern Manitoba; • encourages and stimulates community economic development; • expands employment opportunities and addresses labour force development; • addresses promotion and marketing; • capitalizes on the region's natural resources and existing industries; • strengthens existing viable businesses and industries, as well as those businesses and industries which support the sectors where the region has a competitive advantage; • provides for ongoing measures to monitor and assess initiatives aimed at local economic development; • encourages new and leading edge business and industry; and • includes public consultation. 	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<p>3.1b Concentrate major business development and education/training efforts on the following sectors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • health care and health care technologies; • information and telecommunications; • agricultural industries and agri-food; • environmental industries exchanging knowledge and products; • aerospace and transportation; • tourism; • other emerging technologies where the region may have a competitive advantage. 	✓	✓	✓	✓	

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 3: ECONOMY

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt. ;	Other		
3.1c Make Manitoba and the Capital Region a centre for excellence in the major sectors targeted for development (see 3.1b).				✓	
3.1d Use provincially and locally available products, services and people, insofar as possible.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3.1e Identify opportunities within the region for the production of goods and services which are currently, or potentially will be, imported, and encourage new industries to use human, natural and other resources and products available in the region and province.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.1f Make available relevant and timely information, data and assistance to the local, national and international investment and development community.	✓	✓	✓		
3.1g Develop new environmentally sound and financially competitive products and services for the global marketplace.				✓	
3.1h Participate in trade missions, fairs and activities in Canada and abroad to promote investment in the region and to market the region's products and services.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.1i Establish cooperative agreements with other governments, organizations and businesses in North America and around the world in order to make: valuable business contacts; exchange new technology and information; identify and take advantage of new investment opportunities; and develop new markets for goods and services.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.1j Provide technical advice and assistance to municipalities and business development organizations on preparing local sustainable economic development strategies and implementing viable projects.	✓				
3.1k Prepare and maintain community profiles which provide prospective businesses with information about the community's services, facilities and other assets.		✓			
3.1l Undertake reforms to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • improve intergovernmental and interdepartmental cooperation in order to facilitate competitive growth; • induce the private sector and the public to follow environmentally sustainable and economically viable practices; and • ensure existing environmental legislation and regulations are being implemented. 	✓	✓			

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 3: ECONOMY

Policy 3.2 (Entrepreneurship)					
Entrepreneurship and small business activity shall be encouraged and a healthy business climate supported.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
3.2a Pursue entrepreneurship opportunities, particularly in the economic sectors targeted for development (see 3.1b).				✓	✓
3.2b Initiate and take advantage of education and training programs aimed at developing entrepreneurship skills.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3.2c Allocate sufficient land for business and industrial development in development plans, and ensure that public sector policies and actions support entrepreneurship and enterprise development.	✓	✓	✓		
3.2d Implement market incentives to assist with entrepreneurial development and small business investment, and to encourage availability of private capital.	✓	✓	✓		
3.2e Structure public sector grants to non-profit groups, and other incentive programs, to ensure that business is not placed at a competitive disadvantage.	✓	✓	✓		
3.2f Encourage immigration of people able and willing to establish new businesses or invest in existing ones, and to create jobs.	✓	✓			
3.2g Encourage employee purchased and owned businesses.	✓	✓			
3.2h Revise legislation, regulations and by-laws to facilitate small business development including home based businesses.	✓	✓			
3.2i Develop the entrepreneurial skills of public sector employees and facilitate the transfer of knowledge to other sectors of the economy.	✓	✓	✓		
3.2j Teach youth through school curriculum, and would-be entrepreneurs through continuing education, about how to launch, operate and expand a business, and the role and responsibilities of an entrepreneur.	✓		✓		

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 3: ECONOMY

Policy 3.3 (Investment Climate)					
A positive fiscal environment for investment and enterprise development shall be maintained and strengthened.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
3.3a Promote the Capital Region and Manitoba to investors, meeting and convention planners, and tourists.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3.3b Identify and inform the public sector of opportunities to improve the investment climate in the province, region and municipalities.				✓	✓
3.3c Minimize the tax burden on residents and businesses in the region by emphasizing expenditure controls and adopting a "pay as you go" approach to community development.	✓	✓			
3.3d Increase efficiency and cost-effectiveness of the public sector by monitoring the number and purpose of departments, agencies and programs.	✓	✓	✓		
3.3e Harmonize and coordinate policies and regulations within and between governments, eliminate overlap, and streamline development approvals.	✓	✓			
3.3f Anticipate and prevent environmental, economic and social problems rather than responding to crises by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • developing budget systems which examine the implications of spending decisions over a 10-year period; • establishing and implementing a schedule for maintenance, renovation and reconstruction of infrastructure to ensure maximum useful life at the most cost-effective price; • identifying alternative future directions for the community and province, in consultation with the public, by analyzing trends, developing alternative scenarios, and making proposals; • undertaking investment, environmental and social impact analyses when new or amended legislation, regulations and by-laws are being considered; • developing integrated plans. 	✓	✓	✓		
3.3g Consider local, regional and provincial sustainable economic development in determining capital expenditure priorities.	✓	✓	✓		
3.3h Identify and implement new and innovative measures to deliver public services more effectively and at a lower cost, including injecting more competition into providing public services.	✓	✓	✓		
3.3i Strive to reduce borrowing costs and the long-term debt commitments of future generations by prioritizing construction of capital infrastructure or investing more equity into capital infrastructure in the initial stage of development.	✓	✓			

"✓" identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 3: ECONOMY

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
3.3j Analyze the impacts on the local, regional and provincial economies of major fee or tax increases before making a decision to implement the increase.	✓	✓	✓		
3.3k Work toward reducing the public sector's long-term debt and balancing the Provincial budget.	✓	✓	✓		

Policy 3.4 (Workplace)					
The structure and organization of work shall be flexible so everyone can contribute to the economy and their own personal development.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
3.4a Learn other jobs in the workplace.					✓
3.4b Participate in opportunities to upgrade skills, contribute to an improved workplace and adapt to change.					✓
3.4c Involve employees in rethinking product or service delivery, organizing work and hiring new employees.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.4d Provide employees with opportunities to upgrade their skills and add new ones.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.4e Expand team-based work arrangements so as to train workers in a variety of skills, thus allowing jobs to be interchanged and work to be shared.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.4f Increase use of technologies (eg. computer networks, teleconferencing, voice mail and electronic mail) which enable employees to work at home.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.4g Adopt flexible working hours so employees can meet family, work and educational responsibilities without excessive stress and rush hour "bottlenecks" on streets, bridges and public transit can be reduced.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.4h Broaden human resource management to include support for employees with dependents and to establish links with social service networks.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.4i Promote harmonious labour relations and consultative labour-management working relationships.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.4j Adopt the principles of consensus decision making and apply them to the workplace.	✓	✓	✓	✓	

"✓" identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 3: ECONOMY

Policy 3.5 (Civic Pride)					
A positive attitude toward the region's assets and future of the region's communities shall be promoted.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
3.5a Provide financial support to community groups or organizations to foster civic pride.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.5b Promote civic pride through public education.	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Policy 3.6 (Research)					
Research related to the region's sustainable development shall be undertaken, assembled and shared.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
3.6a Cooperate in the development and management of a comprehensive data base system for the Capital Region.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.6b Where appropriate, undertake joint research in order to develop new knowledge.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3.6c Exchange information through discussions with other governments and metropolitan regions.	✓	✓			
3.6d Provide public access to data and research which has been collected by public sector departments and agencies.	✓	✓	✓		

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 4: ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES

Introduction

We can compromise the future of the economy and people of Manitoba and the Capital Region if we over exploit resources or damage the environment. We must ensure that we grow within ecological and resource limits if the advantages that we have today are to be here for our children tomorrow.

Environment and Resources Strategy

Sustainability Assessments: The potentially adverse effects of major or significant initiatives will be anticipated and prevented by undertaking assessments of their sustainability early in the decision making process. The public will be an integral part of this process.

Soil Resources: Soil will be conserved so our agricultural industry can remain strong and competitive, and trees and other vegetation can flourish. Approximately 80% of the region's soil is prime agricultural land. About 15%, or \$300 million, of the province's agricultural production takes place in the region.

Mineral Resources: Access to, and wise use of, the region's mineral resources will be assured. The sand, gravel, limestone and other industrial minerals are needed for roads, railway lines, sewer and water facilities, and building construction.

Energy Resources: Energy will be used in a way which minimizes environmental damage and assures our continued physical and economic well-being. Energy supply is vital to our sustainable growth. Without a reliable and affordable supply, we cannot heat and light our homes, operate our farms, businesses and institutions, and move people and goods from place to place.

Air Resources: Air quality will be protected and enhanced. Although the region generally enjoys excellent air quality compared to other regions of similar size in Canada, there are areas where

certain odours, noise and other air pollutants affect local residents and their environment. The province and region will also do their part to contribute to national and international initiatives to reduce emissions which deplete the ozone layer. Ozone in the upper atmosphere is beneficial since it filters unwanted ultraviolet radiation from the sun. When this radiation filters through, human health can be affected and certain plant and aquatic life important to our environment and economy can be adversely affected.

Natural, Cultural and Heritage Resources:

Natural, cultural and heritage resources will be preserved so they can continue to be the source of many jobs and economic opportunities in areas such as tourism and fishing. Natural lands will also be conserved and enhanced to maintain processes necessary to sustain life and biodiversity, and to reduce the problems of global warming and soil erosion.

Waterways: Waterways will be protected and enhanced in order to ensure their sustained use for drinking water, recreation, irrigation, industrial consumption and for aquatic life and wildlife. In the past, water quality has been negatively impacted by sewage effluent and non-point source pollution from both urban runoff and upstream rural runoff. The water quality entering the region is generally of superior quality compared to the water leaving the region. Bacteria densities and ammonia concentrations in Winnipeg's rivers often exceed the Manitoba Surface Water Quality Objectives. Remedial action will be taken to ensure that beneficial uses are not impaired by inadequate pollution abatement measures.

Aesthetic Qualities: The aesthetic qualities of the Capital Region will be protected and enhanced to ensure that the region continues to be a desirable place to live, work and visit. The harmony between the natural and built environments will be protected and enhanced.

POLICY AREA 4: ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES

OBJECTIVES

1. To manage natural resources to support sustainable economic development and to enhance the region's quality of life.
2. To maintain and enhance the quality of air, water, and terrestrial ecosystems, and to restore, where possible, previously degraded environments to healthy conditions.

POLICIES

Policy 4.1 (Sustainability Assessments)

Sustainability assessments of significant proposed developments shall be undertaken based on the principles and guidelines for sustainable development.

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
4.1a Participate in the development of guidelines for sustainability assessments.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.1b Conduct sustainability assessments in order to anticipate and prevent future impacts of present decisions.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.1c Report on the organization's or administration's performance in implementing sustainable development.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.1d Enhance workplace safety, adopt pollution control measures and environmental clean-up technologies and practices, and undertake initiatives to enhance the environment.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.1e Require the submission of a sustainability assessment with an application for a significant development.	✓	✓	✓		
4.1f Raise awareness in the community and demonstrate by example that sustainable practices can save money.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.1g Eliminate overlap or duplication between provincial and local authorities' requirements for development reviews, and investigate ways to integrate environmental review as a part of the overall planning and decision-making process.	✓	✓	✓		
4.1h Develop a training program for elected officials, planners, economic development officers and administrators on the identification and review of environmental impacts of development proposals.	✓		✓		

"✓" identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 4: ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES

Policy 4.2 (Soil Resources)					
Topsoil shall be conserved and the productivity of soils shall be maintained and enhanced.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
4.2a Preserve topsoil.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.2b Practice conservation farming.				✓	✓
4.2c Plant shelterbelts to reduce wind erosion.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.2d Support and encourage shelterbelt planting to reduce wind erosion.	✓	✓			
4.2e Adopt by-laws and take actions to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reduce soil erosion; • improve the organic content and physical property of soil; • prohibit removal of topsoil from land prior to development approval; • require replacement of topsoil removed without approval; and • establish standards for topsoil removal and replacement. 		✓			
4.2f Require applicants for development approval to submit topsoil protection plans.		✓			
4.2g Promote conservation farming (eg. crop rotation, proper tillage practices, reduced pesticide and herbicide use, and crop residue management) through information and extension programs.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.2h Protect prime agricultural land for agricultural uses, insofar as possible, and minimize the consumption and fragmentation of agricultural land by other uses.	✓	✓			

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 4: ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES

Policy 4.3 (Mineral Resources)					
Economically valuable mineral deposits shall be protected from land uses which limit mineral exploration and development. Mitigative action shall be taken to minimize environmental and human health impacts from mining operations.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
4.3a Plan and use mineral resources in an efficient and responsible manner.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.3b Consult with local authorities, residents and the Manitoba Government prior to development and rehabilitation of mineral extraction sites.				✓	
4.3c Promote and undertake the rehabilitation of lands disturbed by mining to a condition that is safe, stable and compatible with adjoining lands.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.3d Ensure mineral extraction takes place in a manner compatible with surrounding land uses, and establish a process to resolve and mitigate conflicts between mineral extraction operations and adjacent land uses.		✓			
4.3e Designate economically valuable mineral deposits in development plans, direct conflicting land uses away from mineral deposits, and protect the mineral deposits in the review of project proposals.		✓			
4.3f Identify, evaluate and legally protect significant mineral deposits.	✓				
4.3g Reuse and recycle aggregate, concrete and asphalt materials, and use substitutes (eg. crushed glass) where possible.	✓	✓		✓	
4.3h Provide technical advice to local authorities on land use proposals which may have an impact on mineral resources.	✓				

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 4: ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES

Policy 4.4 (Energy Resources)					
The use and development of energy resources shall be safe, efficient, equitable, environmentally compatible and promote sustainable economic development.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
4.4a Undertake research on alternative energy sources.			✓	✓	✓
4.4b Produce energy efficient products.				✓	
4.4c Undertake measures which conserve energy, materials and resources, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promoting home offices and telecommuting; • insulating and weatherstripping buildings; • using natural and low energy (eg. fluorescent) lighting where possible; • buying energy efficient vehicles; • using solar energy; • car pooling, building safe bicycle routes and using public transit; • minimizing energy use. 	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.4d Improve or introduce energy efficient production processes.				✓	
4.4e Examine opportunities for independent power production and co-generation.				✓	
4.4f Develop business opportunities to turn waste biomass (eg. wood, straw, etc.) into energy products (eg. pellets, electric generation, etc.).				✓	
4.4g Undertake energy efficiency audits.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.4h Review and revise laws, by-laws and policies to allow and encourage the use of energy conservation technologies and sustainable alternative, renewable energies.	✓	✓	✓		
4.4i Conserve resources in operations and use alternative, renewable energies where there are cost effective applications.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.4j Examine energy supply options, including alternative energy supply sources, in areas not currently served by the major sources of energy and, where applicable, remove barriers to market entry by energy suppliers.	✓				
4.4k Provide information and training to industry, local government and the public on measures that can be taken to reduce energy use.	✓				

"✓" identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 4: ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
4.4l Undertake measures related to conserving energy in the transportation sector including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • improving the efficiency and attractiveness of alternative modes of transportation such as walking, bicycling and public transit; • promoting community, corporate and institutional vehicle pooling to reduce the number of single occupant vehicles; • managing road traffic operations by controlling access to, and development along, major arterial roads; • examining and modifying traffic control systems to optimize energy efficiency; • encouraging agencies and organizations with fleet vehicles to switch to environmentally sound, alternative fuel vehicles; and • discourage the unnecessary idling of private and commercial vehicles. 	✓	✓		✓	✓
4.4m Plan for energy supply disruption emergencies.	✓	✓		✓	

Policy 4.5 (Air Resources)

Emissions to the air shall be managed to improve regional, national and global air quality and enhance human health.

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
4.5a Reduce polluting emissions, including obnoxious odours, to the air and undertake mitigative actions where required.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.5b Monitor air quality through the Federal/Provincial National Air Pollution Surveillance Program and the Manitoba Ambient Air Quality Network and maintain air quality within the "good" rating as defined by the Canadian Annual Index of Air Quality and within the "maximum desirable level" objective as defined by the Provincial air quality objectives.	✓				
4.5c Control point source industrial emissions through education, regulation, licensing, monitoring, inspections and enforcement.	✓				
4.5d Manage burning of stubble and refuse through education, publication of burning guidelines, regulation and enforcement.	✓	✓			
4.5e Investigate the production of "greenhouse gases" in the region, and implement measures to reduce ozone-depleting and other emissions to meet air quality objectives established provincially, nationally and internationally.	✓				
4.5f Require periodic emission testing of vehicles in conjunction with an improved system of vehicle safety inspections.	✓				

"✓" identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 4: ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES

Policy 4.6 (Natural, Cultural and Heritage Resources)					
Natural, cultural and heritage resources shall be conserved, managed and appropriately developed.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
4.6a Maintain and plant native vegetation.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.6b Protect wetlands, wooded areas and other plant communities, and rehabilitate natural lands where appropriate.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.6c Protect and preserve heritage resources, and reuse heritage buildings.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.6d Provide technical advice and assistance on natural, cultural and heritage conservation.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.6e Develop public interpretative facilities, programs and information related to wildlife viewing, habitat management, the protection of property from wildlife damage, and heritage and cultural resources.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.6f Develop programs to manage, enhance and promote the sport fishery.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.6g Inventory the region's natural, cultural and heritage resources; designate significant areas and sites; and where appropriate, promote the resources to visitors.	✓	✓		✓	
4.6h Develop a comprehensive regional network of public open space corridors along waterways, through public parks and abandoned or undeveloped rights-of-way and, where possible, link these together and with natural, heritage and cultural resources.	✓	✓			
4.6i Undertake measures to protect sensitive habitats and threatened or endangered species of vegetation, wildlife and aquatic life including participating in large scale projects such as the North America Waterfowl Plan.	✓	✓		✓	
4.6j Use the tax system and other incentives to encourage owners to preserve heritage resources and to adapt heritage buildings to a viable use.	✓	✓			
4.6k Where appropriate and feasible, rehabilitate lands to their natural condition.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.6l Incorporate policies in development plans for managing natural, cultural and heritage resources, and protect the resources from incompatible development.		✓			
4.6m Participate in the development of standards and guidelines for the protection, management and enhancement of natural, cultural and heritage resources.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 4: ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES

Policy 4.7 (Waterways)					
Waterways shall be managed to sustain the environment, economy and ensure human health and well-being.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
4.7a Undertake rehabilitation programs to improve water quality and aquatic habitat.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.7b Participate in the management, protection and enhancement of the region's waterways.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.7c Adopt Best Management Practices (including education, restoration and monitoring) aimed at minimizing pollution of the waterways.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.7d Protect and improve public access and promote environmentally sound use of the region's waterways.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.7e Control point source municipal and industrial discharge.	✓	✓		✓	
4.7f Coordinate water quality monitoring among jurisdictions and agencies.	✓	✓			
4.7g Unlicensed dischargers who are not presently licensed under The Environment Act will be licensed.	✓				
4.7h Encourage volunteer water quality monitoring programs and citizen clean-up programs.	✓	✓			
4.7i Plan and manage waterways from a basin-wide perspective, in consultation with the Federal government, neighbouring provinces and states, local authorities, the private sector and the public, in order to protect water quality and watershed ecosystems, allocate water, regulate use, establish future requirements and improve the attraction and use of the waterways by residents and tourists.	✓				
4.7j Implement adopted water quality objectives for the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and their tributaries within and downstream of the City of Winnipeg, and monitor water quality trends.	✓				

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 4: ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES

Policy 4.8 (Aesthetic Qualities)					
The aesthetic qualities of the Capital Region will be preserved, enhanced and appropriately developed.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
4.8a Designate and develop image routes, scenic drives and bicycle/pedestrian paths.	✓	✓		✓	
4.8b Implement and coordinate beautification programs to enhance the aesthetic qualities of the region.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.8c Establish high quality design standards for public works and major development projects.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4.8d Control litter and promote cleanliness.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 5: HUMAN RESOURCES

Introduction

The environment, economy and people are intimately linked. Environment and resources must be managed effectively for sustained economic development to occur and to ensure the health and socio-economic well-being of people. Sustained economic development is needed to pay for improvements to education, health, nutrition, the environment and other areas. When the full potential of people is realized, then the environment and resources can be better managed, more investment can be attracted to Manitoba and its regions, and sustained economic development can occur.

In the past human resources have not always figured prominently in our settlement plans, economic development initiatives or environment/resource management strategies. Today we realize that to have sustainable development, we need: skilled, educated, healthy, productive and secure people; harmonious cultural and social relationships; and the full participation of everyone in society and the economy. We also need people to take responsibility for their own future. The private sector can contribute to skills development, improving employee and client working relationships, and enhancing working conditions. Government can provide the right environment to

foster human development and access to these opportunities. It can also ensure that public expenditures on human service programs are supportive of this objective. Only individuals, however, can take advantage of education and skills upgrading opportunities, volunteer for community initiatives, learn about other social and cultural groups, and adapt to the changes occurring in the world today.

Human Resources' Strategy

Healthy Community. Actions will be taken to improve the health and well-being of people in order to strengthen economic and productive activities and raise human potential.

Job Readiness. Our education and training system will be upgraded and made relevant so that our youth, working population and unemployed can have the knowledge and skills needed over their lifetime to compete in the new and continually changing economy.

Community Participation. Initiatives will be taken to ensure that everyone can participate in the sustainable development of the region, and that all social and cultural groups are part of the community and the region's future. Human service programs will be equitable and support the region's sustainable development.

POLICY AREA 5: HUMAN RESOURCES

OBJECTIVES

1. To enhance the quality of life for everyone by fostering opportunities to earn a living, access community services, and enjoy a quality environment.
2. To provide equitable access to human development opportunities while fostering self-reliance and increased independency.
3. To improve the performance, accessibility and relevance of the education and training system.

POLICIES

Policy 5.1 (Healthy Communities)

The region shall be developed in a way that supports and promotes the health and well-being of residents, and people shall be encouraged to adopt a healthy lifestyle

ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt	Municipal Govt	Other		
5.1a Promote the quality of life advantages of the province and region in order to retain and attract people and investment.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5.1b Promote healthy lifestyles and choices in peoples' daily lives with respect to school, home, the workplace and all other social and economic relationships.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5.1c Prevent or deter crime and improve public safety.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5.1d Ensure that the impacts of proposed development on the health and socio-economic well-being of people are analyzed, and address any problems.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.1e Work with the public, employers, labour organizations, educational institutions and other interested parties to ensure that the basic needs of residents are fulfilled and they have opportunities to contribute to the economic prosperity of the region.	✓	✓			
5.1f Develop integrated policies, in consultation with the public, to promote and enhance the health of communities.	✓	✓	✓		
5.1g Incorporate policies into development plans to enhance the health and socio-economic well-being of people.	✓	✓	✓		
5.1h Plan and provide public open space throughout the region.	✓	✓	✓		
5.1i Provide emergency response capability to protect public health and well-being from industrial accidents.	✓	✓	✓	✓	

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 5: HUMAN RESOURCES

Policy 5.2 (Education and Training)					
The education and training system shall promote life-long learning and ensure that the labour force has the necessary skills to meet sustainable economic development opportunities.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
5.2a Gather information about learning opportunities and pursue them.					✓
5.2b Provide a learning environment at home for children, and encourage youth to complete secondary and post-secondary education.					✓
5.2c Work with one's employer to promote on-the-job training, define training needs and find innovative ways to upgrade skills.					✓
5.2d Develop and promote the Capital Region as a centre for life-long learning and learning excellence.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.2e Review and revise school, post-secondary and continuing education curriculum to meet present and anticipated future employment needs.	✓		✓	✓	
5.2f Provide training, retraining, apprenticeship, co-operative and other upgrading programs (e.g. literacy and numeracy skills).	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.2g Use communications links (eg. cable, telephone and satellite) and develop new technologies to bring learning to people in the home, classroom and workplace.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.2h Inform workers of the skills and knowledge needed to secure future employment.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.2i Harmonize Manitoba's standards for skills and other employment requirements with those of other provinces and territories.	✓				
5.2j Establish benchmarks for student achievement relative to Canadian and international standards, and implement improvements to the education system based on this information.	✓		✓		
5.2k Implement measures to retain more students in secondary and post-secondary education.	✓		✓	✓	

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 5: HUMAN RESOURCES

Policy 5.3 (Population Diversity)					
Cultural and social diversity shall be respected and promoted in support of sustainable economic development.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
5.3a Learn about the region's diverse social/cultural heritage.				✓	✓
5.3b Hire, promote and appoint qualified persons from under-represented groups to reflect the composition of the region's population.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.3c Promote good working relationships among employees, and between employees and members of the public, from different social and cultural backgrounds.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.3d Use the resources of the multicultural community in trade and tourism and attracting business to Manitoba.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.3e Promote understanding, mutual respect and acceptance among the region's cultural communities and minorities.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.3f Ensure the delivery of public services and programs takes into account different cultural values and traditions, and social needs.	✓	✓	✓		
5.3g Provide support to residents to overcome language and literacy barriers and acquire the skills necessary to contribute to the region's economic prosperity.	✓		✓	✓	
5.3h Reduce discrimination through public education and enforcement of laws, by-laws and regulations.	✓	✓	✓		

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 5: HUMAN RESOURCES

Policy 5.4 (Volunteers)					
The contribution of volunteers and volunteer organizations to building stronger communities, neighbourhoods and families shall be supported and enhanced.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
5.4a Volunteer.				✓	✓
5.4b Promote and recognize volunteer and charitable activities which support a healthy, sustainable environment and address human development concerns.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.4c Coordinate volunteer activities in order to maximize impact.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.4d Train and use volunteers and volunteer organizations.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.4e Encourage seniors to participate as volunteers, so as to make use of their time, knowledge and expertise.	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Policy 5.5 (Access)					
The full participation of all people in the community and economy shall be promoted, and barriers limiting full participation shall be reduced.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
5.5a Institute fair and equitable employment practices.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.5b Provide safe, barrier-free physical access to facilities and transportation.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.5c Work with under-represented groups to address the cultural, social, economic, employment, health and educational barriers they experience.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.5d Facilitate integration of residents with disabilities into the community.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.5e Provide equitable access to human services (health, social, education, recreation and cultural), community facilities and amenities.	✓	✓	✓		
5.5f Revise regulations and programs to eliminate institutional barriers to accessing human development opportunities.	✓	✓	✓		
5.5g Provide human services which are relevant to, and respect, the needs of the Aboriginal people.	✓	✓	✓		

"✓" identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

POLICY AREA 5: HUMAN RESOURCES

Policy 5.6 (Human Service Programs)					
Human service programs shall support sustainable economic development, and provide for the fairest possible sharing of limited financial resources.					
ACTIONS	MANITOBA PUBLIC SECTOR			Private Sector/ NGOs	Individuals
	MB Govt.	Municipal Govt.	Other		
5.6a Encourage home employment, flexible employment approaches, job-sharing, micro-businesses, and labour co-operatives.	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5.6b Inventory, rationalize and coordinate human services and programs in the region.	✓	✓	✓		
5.6c Refocus policy and program objectives to prevention and early intervention in order to help people resolve their own problems with minimal external intervention.	✓	✓	✓		
5.6d Develop programs to inform Manitobans on the importance of sustainable development.	✓	✓	✓		
5.6e Provide human services which: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are results and client oriented and community based; • relevant and delivered in the most cost-effective and least intrusive manner; • use alternative, quality and less costly forms of delivery whenever possible; • enable participation by volunteers; • reflect the needs of the population which they serve; and • include community-based outreach programs for specialized human services which cannot be delivered cost-effectively in smaller centres or to a dispersed population. 	✓	✓	✓		
5.6f Refocus support programs so that the unemployed and disadvantaged can be better helped to achieve their full potential and contribute to the region's sustainable economic development.	✓	✓			
5.6g Orient health care services to prevention of illness recognizing that health and wellness are impacted by biological, socio-economic, cultural and other personal factors.	✓	✓	✓		
5.6h Promote realistic public expectations of the human services system, within the context of sustainable development and the fiscal limitations of government.	✓	✓	✓		

“✓” identifies the sector responsible for implementing the action.

APPENDIX 2

The Capital Region Strategy: Partners for the Future
What You Told Us Document Excerpts

Policy Area 1 Partnerships

OBJECTIVES

1. *To promote and encourage partnerships to address specific environment-economy issues and to increase public participation in decision making; policy formulation; and program, project and plan development and implementation.*
2. *To use partnerships to increase public knowledge and awareness of the links between environment, economy and human development, and the benefits of sustainable development.*

DRAFT POLICIES

Policy 1.1 (Working Partners)

Partnerships shall be used to develop the economy in an environmentally sustainable manner, to improve the health and socio-economic well-being of residents, and to meet the needs of citizens effectively at a cost the community is prepared to accept.

Policy 1.2 (Public Information and Participation)

Everyone shall have opportunities to participate in decision making processes, and equal and timely access to information.

Policy 1.3 (Coordination of Policies, Laws and Processes)

Policies, laws and processes shall be coordinated and integrated.

COMMENTS

- all too often partnerships with business means lower environmental standards
- government must not abdicate its responsibility to the citizens of Manitoba
- government must share in any profit and private sector in any losses
- someone must take responsibility for decision making
- timely decisions are important
- elected officials should make decisions
- need a balance between proponents and opponents
- use simple language and respect the first languages of our population
- regulatory reform very important
- need to consolidate government
- what relations are embraced and is the multi-stakeholder model being used
- appears to focus overly on relationship between government and business which is not always positive
- CRC members meet as equals reducing vote of Winnipeg which has majority of population - Winnipeg needs more official representation on CRC
- CRC and ARM - Winnipeg meetings should be open to public
- in 1.3a municipal government should be checked
- multi-stakeholder participation needed, not clearly stated in Partnerships section
- communication between City and Rural Manitoba is important

REVISED OBJECTIVES AND POLICIES

*Objectives
No revisions*

Policy 1.1 (Working Partners)

No revisions

Policy 1.2 (Public Information and Participation)

No revisions

Policy 1.3 (Coordination of Policies, Laws and Processes)

No revisions

Policy 1.4 (Research)

Research related to the region's sustainability development shall be undertaken, assembled and shared.

(Formerly Draft Policy 3.6)

Policy Area 2 Settlement

OBJECTIVES

1. To ensure settlement and shelter supports environmentally sound and sustainable economic growth and an improved quality of life.
2. To coordinate planning and development in the region.

DRAFT POLICIES

Policy 2.1 (Sustainable Land Use)

Land use shall contribute to the sustainability of the region's resources and environment, economic growth of communities, and the health and well-being of people.

Policy 2.2 (Sustainable Land Development)

Strategies for development and growth shall be consistent with regional interests, community priorities, the efficient use of resources and financial costs.

Policy 2.3 (Shelter)

Adequate and affordable housing should be promoted for residents throughout the region and shall be located in areas convenient to employment and services, and in well planned communities.

Policy 2.4 (Servicing)

The growth and development of settlements shall be supported by infrastructure and services which are safe, efficient, environmentally sustainable and affordable.

Policy 2.5 (Transportation)

Transportation shall be planned and coordinated on a regional scale to support the region's desired development pattern and economic growth objectives, and to minimize adverse impacts.

COMMENTS

- will this result in jobs
- regional development has to be environmentally sound
- need to stop urban sprawl
- need policies for infill housing and to revitalize the older part of Winnipeg
- encourage private enterprise to undertake low-cost housing projects
- provide support for groups like Habitat for Humanity
- need better long term planning
- not all people want to live close together or close to work
- landlords should be required to maintain and upgrade rental properties
- conversion of selected public housing projects to co-operative housing should be considered
- development in rural areas is fine provided good agricultural land is not used
- present utilities should be used to capacity
- use of cars should be discouraged
- road construction should not be used as make work projects
- need to focus attention on road condition
- public transportation should be affordable and be accessible
- designated bicycle paths should be developed
- quality of drinking water does not match other major Canadian cities
- approval of a private landfill is contrary to policy.
- need something to address junk mail
- packaging creates most waste
- city-wide recycling program needed
- manufacturers must be made to recycle
- need to keep reducing after 2000

REVISED OBJECTIVES AND POLICIES

Objectives

No Revisions

Policy 2.1 (Sustainable Land Use)

No revisions

Policy 2.2 (Sustainable Land Development)

No revisions

Policy 2.3 (Shelter)

No revisions

Policy 2.4 (Servicing)

No revisions

Policy 2.5 (Transportation)

No revisions

Settlement cont'd

Policy 2.6 (Water Service)

The region's surface and groundwater resources shall be protected and supplies conserved to ensure dependability, safety and accessibility.

Policy 2.7 (Waste Minimization)

Management of solid waste shall be planned and coordinated on a regional scale, and the amount of waste generated shall be reduced by year 2000 to 50% of the 1988 waste volumes.

Policy 2.8 (Effluent Management)

Effluent shall be managed to protect public health and the environment, and to ensure adequate collection and treatment capacity to meet present and future needs.

Policy 2.9 (Land Drainage)

Flooding and stormwater run-off shall be managed to reduce the adverse impacts on persons, property and the environment.

- it is unacceptable to dump raw sewage into the Red River
- need to use small sewage treatment plants and reduce the use of lagoons
- more effective planning is required
- need to keep storm drains clean
- channel growth into selected centres thereby reducing dispersed development
- not every municipality in the region should expect to develop land for residential or industrial use unless it is sustainable
- large lot residential development should be discouraged unless it is on land with no agricultural value
- Policies 2.1 and 2.2 - the province should take leadership role for sustainable land use and development within its own legal framework
- Policy 2.2 - delete "regional interest" until defined and approved
- Policy 2.6 - province should be responsible for, except 2.6a
- Province should not pressure City into a regional water supply distribution system
- any decisions on regional water supply distribution systems should include full public participation before a decision is made
- not convinced that full-cost accounting can be achieved in Manitoba
- in Policy 2.1 who has responsibility to enforce the policies? Where an action has more than one checkmark, the body with the leadership responsibility has to be identified separately (eg. 2.2f, 2.2h, 2.4c, 2.4g, 2.6b-i, 2.8, 4.1g, 4.5d)

Policy 2.6 (Water Service)

No revisions

Policy 2.7 (Waste Minimization)

No revisions

Policy 2.8 (Efficient Management)

No revisions

Policy 2.9 (Land Drainage)

No revisions

Policy Area **3** Economy

OBJECTIVES

1. To support and encourage a dynamic, growing and environmentally sustainable economy which ensures the quality of life and standard of living.
2. To assertively position the province and region to compete economically in the national and global marketplaces by building on internal strengths.

DRAFT POLICIES

Policy 3.1 (Economic Growth)

Key economic sectors and value-added businesses shall be targeted for growth.

Policy 3.2 (Entrepreneurship)

Entrepreneurship and small business activity shall be encouraged and a healthy business climate supported.

Policy 3.3 (Investment Climate)

A positive fiscal environment for investment and enterprise development shall be maintained and strengthened.

Policy 3.4 (Workplace)

The structure and organization of work shall be flexible so everyone can contribute to the economy and their own personal development.

Policy 3.5 (Civic Pride)

A positive attitude toward the region's assets and future of the region's communities shall be promoted.

Policy 3.6 (Research)

Research related to the region's sustainable development shall be undertaken, assembled and shared.

COMMENTS

- target low energy users and green industries
- need more involvement from private sector
- need economic growth
- all sectors must grow
- need to continue to encourage small farms and businesses
- requires favourable tax policies
- provided they are environmentally friendly and encourage energy conservation
- help small and home businesses and include cooperative enterprises
- not if this means lower business taxes
- need to be leaders not followers
- provided our social programs are not diminished
- add good paying jobs, good benefits and safe workplace
- some structure is needed
- training and skills upgrading are important
- need to ensure that flexibility does not become an excuse to hire part-time workers
- province and municipalities must provide positive publicity
- not sure about financial support in 3.5a
- put money toward making people's quality of life better and civic pride will follow
- provided within reasonable economic guidelines
- should be part of Policy 1.1

REVISED OBJECTIVES AND POLICIES

Objectives

No revisions

Policy 3.1 (Economic Growth)

No revisions

Policy 3.2 (Entrepreneurship)

Entrepreneurship and small business activity shall be encouraged and a healthy business climate supported consistent with the principles and guidelines of sustainable development.

Policy 3.3 (Investment Climate)

No revisions

Policy 3.4 (Workplace)

No revisions

Policy 3.5 (Civic Pride)

Deleted

(Actions incorporated into Policies 1.2 and 3.1)

Policy 3.6 (Research)

Changed to Policy 1.4 (Research)

Policy Area **4** Environment and Resources

OBJECTIVES

1. To manage natural resources to support sustainable economic development and to enhance the region's quality of life.
2. To maintain and enhance the quality of air, water, and terrestrial ecosystems, and to restore, where possible, previously degraded environments to healthy conditions.

DRAFT POLICIES

Policy 4.1 (Sustainability Assessments)

Sustainability assessments of significant proposed developments shall be undertaken based on the principles and guidelines for sustainable development.

Policy 4.2 (Soil Resources)

Topsoil shall be conserved and the productivity of soils shall be maintained and enhanced.

Policy 4.3 (Mineral Resources)

Economically valuable mineral deposits shall be protected from land uses which limit mineral exploration and development. Mitigative action shall be taken to minimize environmental and human health impacts from mining operations.

Policy 4.4 (Energy Resources)

The use and development of energy resources shall be safe, efficient, equitable, environmentally compatible and promote sustainable economic development.

Policy 4.5 (Air Resources)

Emissions to the air shall be managed to improve regional, national and global air quality and enhance human health.

Policy 4.6 (Natural, Cultural and Heritage Resources)

Natural, cultural and heritage resources shall be conserved, managed and appropriately developed.

Policy 4.7 (Waterways)

Waterways shall be managed to sustain the environment, economy and ensure human health and well-being.

Policy 4.8 (Aesthetic Qualities)

The aesthetic qualities of the Capital Region will be preserved, enhanced and appropriately developed.

COMMENTS

- it seems that sustainability is sometimes overlooked in favour of job creation
- can better farming practices be mandated?
- need to maintain balance
- encourage private sector participation, put out energy saving guidelines for all buildings, provide grants or rebates for energy retrofitting, and promote the use of public transportation, bicycles and walking
- should have zero tolerance for new business
- stop stubble burning
- maintain heritage buildings if they can serve a useful purpose
- cost a concern but a necessity
- precautions need to be taken with respect to economic development and waterways
- agree with preserved but not necessarily developed
- in 4.1g only the highest standards should be applied
- in 4.5d stubble burning should be eliminated totally
- dumping of raw sewage into the Red River is not acceptable
- Policy Area 4 become the first Policy Area presented and that the remaining policy areas be introduced as supportive of the overriding policy of protecting the natural environment

REVISED OBJECTIVES AND POLICIES

Objectives
No revisions

Policy 4.1 (Sustainability Assessments)

No revisions

Policy 4.2 (Soil Resources)

No revisions

Policy 4.3 (Mineral Resources)

No revisions

Policy 4.4 (Energy Resources)

No revisions

Policy 4.5 (Air Resources)

No revisions

Policy 4.6 (Natural, Cultural and Heritage Resources)

No revisions

Policy 4.7 (Waterways)

No revisions

Policy 4.8 (Aesthetic Qualities)

The aesthetic qualities of the Capital Region will be preserved, enhanced and appropriately developed consistent with the principles and guidelines of sustainable development.

Policy Area 5 Human Resources

OBJECTIVES

1. To enhance the quality of life for everyone by fostering opportunities to earn a living, access community services, and enjoy a quality environment.
2. To provide equitable access to human development opportunities while fostering self-reliance and increased independency.
3. To improve the performance, accessibility and relevance of the education and training system.

DRAFT POLICIES

Policy 5.1 (Healthy Communities)

The region shall be developed in a way that supports and promotes the health and well-being of residents, and people shall be encouraged to adopt a healthy lifestyle.

Policy 5.2 (Education and Training)

The education and training system shall promote life-long learning and ensure that the labour force has the necessary skills to meet sustainable economic development opportunities.

Policy 5.3 (Population Diversity)

Cultural and social diversity shall be respected and promoted in support of sustainable economic development.

Policy 5.4 (Volunteers)

The contribution of volunteers and volunteer organizations to building stronger communities, neighbourhoods and families shall be supported and enhanced.

Policy 5.5 (Access)

The full participation of all people in the community and economy shall be promoted, and barriers limiting full participation shall be reduced.

Policy 5.6 (Human Service Programs)

Human service programs shall support sustainable economic development, and provide for the fairest possible sharing of limited financial resources.

COMMENTS

- adequate funding for health care
- need reciprocal agreements for facilities
- needs of all citizens must be met (housing upgraded and readily available, encourage life-long learning, safety audits undertaken and implemented, good jobs, adequate social payments, promotion of illness prevention)
- business needs to pay for retraining
- need high quality jobs to reverse the brain drain
- reduce the number of high school dropouts
- focus should be more than skills development
- use our rich pool of cultural knowledge and expertise
- do not base on a quota system
- use volunteers but not to replace paid labour
- need affirmative action program
- use grass-roots participation and plain language
- limited financial resources should be identified elsewhere
- jobs are needed

REVISED OBJECTIVES AND POLICIES

Objectives

No revisions

Policy 5.1 (Healthy Communities)

No revisions

Policy 5.2 (Education and Training)

No revisions

Policy 5.3 (Population Diversity)

No revisions

Policy 5.4 (Volunteers)

No revisions

Policy 5.5 (Access)

No revisions

Policy 5.6 (Human Service Programs)

No revisions