REGIONAL PLANNING IN VICTORIA: Is a Revival Possible?

BY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the history of the Capital Regional District (C.R.D.), the regional authority for the twelve municipalities and two electoral areas called Greater Victoria on Vancouver Island, from the birth of regional planning in the 1950's to stagnation in the 1980's and 90's. It seeks to understand what happened in the CRD and what lessons we can learn from Victoria that will add to the existing knowledge of regional planning. Was it the structure of the CRD, the enabling legislation, the process followed in creating official regional plans, local politics, or a combination of factors that prevented the CRD from fulfilling its promise? By understanding the CRD history we are able to identify problems and suggest changes that could begin the planning process once again.

The CRD is studied through personal interviews, newspaper research, secondary sources, and a custom survey of politicians and planners, to determine the political and professional atmosphere surrounding the CRD over its entire history. Other examples of regional planning or, more specifically, urban-centred regional planning, are studied to set the CRD within the spectrum of types of regional authorities.
From the beginning there has been little municipal support, either politically or professionally, for regional planning in the Capital Region. In addition there is the continuing lack of trained professional planning staff in many of the regional municipalities. Thus, the CRD's calls for planning merely fall upon deaf ears.

The final problem has been with the regional authorities themselves. The early CRPB planners may have demonstrated elitism since they were the only planners in the region and worked for what they thought was the 'higher authority'. This apparent arrogance in pursuit of regional goals may have sown the seeds of the mistrust which the municipalities came to regard the regional planning efforts of the CRD. Municipal support withered and was weak in 1983 when the Province stripped Regional Districts of their regional planning powers; however, Saanich has demonstrated an increase in support for regional planning in recent years. However, the municipalities within the region still lack a proper forum and process to resolve regional land issues. Only the Province of BC can restore this through legislation.
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND

The term 'regional planning' has had many meanings applied to it over the past 100 years. Urban planners have leaned towards the notion of planning for a city and the suburban and rural areas around it. Yet, the style of planning, and the reasons behind it, have changed quite radically since the late 1800's. From utopians and anarchists, through the Garden City movement and the scientific geography of the 1960's, and the modern environmental planning, the notion of regional planning has had many different interpretations. Urban centred regional planning, however, has generally focused upon attempts to organize the mix between man and nature within a defined area.

Regional planning in its classical form was first and foremost a response to the metropolitan explosion. Planners like Mumford and Odum, or utopians like Howard, wanted to stop the flood of urbanization and begin a reconstruction of regional life (Weaver, 1984, p.2). Patrick Geddes promoted the idea of a regional survey of the region surrounding a city slated for replanning. Howard Odum and the 'Southern Regionalists' of the 1930's focused upon the region as the planning unit rather than just the city. Friedmann (in the 1950's) began the modern phase of scientific planning by combining many of these ideas and relating regional economic growth to the development of the urban system. The regional planning studied for this thesis is based on all of this historical ideology--the modern urban centred regional planning.
It is the application of urban planning to a region that this thesis focuses upon.
In particular, the efforts within the Capital Region in the realm of urban planning
are examined from the 1950's to the present.

1.2 Purpose

Utilizing the past 100 years of theory and practice of regional planning in Europe
and North America, a basic "success formula" for regional planning authorities,
will be suggested. This formula will be the reference guide against which the
Capital Regional District planning program for an urban centred region is
examined.

Within Greater Victoria, there has been some form of urban regional planning
since the 1950's. However, today the Capital Regional District is no longer
involved in the pursuit of regional planning. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis
is to examine the history of regional planning in the Capital Region and
determine what occurred over fifty years to cause regional planning to cease as
a function of the Capital Regional District. When these causes are identified, a
plan of action to effect a return of regional planning to the Capital Region will be
suggested.

1.3 Victoria Background

The Capital Region Planning Board (CRPB) was created in 1952 with a mandate
to create a regional plan. At that time there were no municipal planning
departments (Victoria was not created until 1965, Saanich in 1958), no base
maps of the area, no resource inventories, and no regional growth pressures.
The regional agency was the top down creation of the Provincial Government
rather than being born of needs of local agencies or governments. Therefore there was little incentive or need for municipalities to fully support an agency they had not asked for nor felt any need to utilize. The Capital Region Planning Board was the creation of the Province, it did not enjoy full support for its mission from all the constituent municipalities of the Capital Region. There were not the growth pressures typically associated with the creation of regional authorities such as in London England, Toronto, or Vancouver. Moreover, urban planning itself was a relatively new municipal service in Canada. None of the eight municipalities in the Capital Region had municipal planning departments with which the Capital Region Planning Board could liaise until Saanich created a planning department in 1958 and Victoria in 1965. Despite this, the Capital Region Planning Board managed to create a draft regional plan in 1954.

The Capital Regional District was created in 1970 and assumed the role of regional planning authority, along with other regional duties, from the Capital Region Planning Board. The Capital Regional District produced two Official Regional Plans (1974 and 1983), yet it appears to have had fluctuating support for its regional planning service from the municipalities. In 1983, the Provincial Government of B.C. chose to remove regional planning from all regional districts as a legislated activity, and the Capital Regional District complied with this change by no longer providing this function, even in an advisory capacity.

In the 1990's, there has been a rise in the population growth rate -- Greater Victoria grew in population 13% between 1986 and 1991 -- and a corresponding rise in the calls for a return to regional planning from the two largest municipalities, Victoria and Saanich, which have suffered the brunt of increased population traffic and use of services. There has been some recent quasi-
regional planning for transportation and for growth analysis, but this has neither been directed by the Capital Regional District nor coordinated through an official regional plan. It is important to understand the history of the Capital Region Planning Board and Capital Regional District before a course of action can be ascertained.

1.4 Problem Statement

The need for regional planning in the Capital Region will be the assumption taken for this thesis. The existence of a draft regional plan in 1954 and Official Regional Plans in 1974 and 1983 seem to indicate a continuing concern for regional coordination. These plans cover the entire Capital Region -- a conglomerate of twelve municipalities and two Electoral Areas, occupying 2420 square kilometres at the southern tip of Vancouver Island in British Columbia.

Why did regional planning, which began with so much promise in the 1950's, virtually disappear by 1994? Was it the structure of the Capital Regional District, the process followed in creating official regional plans, local politics, the confusion of the Capital Regional District's regional role with that of its quasi-municipal role, or a combination of factors that prevented the Capital Regional District from fulfilling its promise to the region?

The above questions are important because without effective regional leadership in the areas connected to planning, the municipalities seem to be drifting apart and putting themselves, individually, ahead of the needs of the region. The result is no regional road network strategy and no regional growth plan. Growth
and servicing decisions that affect the whole region are not addressed beyond subsidized housing, health care, sewage and solid waste services.

The objectives of this thesis are as follows:

(1) To establish, "a base of rules for success" in implementing regional planning. This base will be the result from the study of the history of regional planning theory and an examination of different applications of planning to metro regions in Europe and North America;

(2) To review the history of regional planning in the Capital Region and examine what was accomplished from the 1950's to the 1990's;

(3) To determine the current state of regional planning and its relation to the CRD through the use of secondary sources, an attitudinal survey, personal observation, and interviews with individuals involved in the CRD and CRPB;

(4) To propose a course of action regarding the future of regional planning for the Capital Region.

(5) To understand what can be learned from these findings that can be applied to other regions in order to bring regional planning into practice.
1.5 Methodology

The examination of the Capital Regional District is complicated by the fact that there is no written history to utilize as a reference. Therefore, a multitude of resources were used and cross-referenced in order to piece together a basic history of the past 40 years of regional planning in the Capital Region.

The specific methodology used in each section of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter 2 -- Theory, History and Application of Planning to Regions. Some primary sources were utilized to understand the history of regional planning and how it has changed over the past 100 years. A quantitative review of the literature examining the issue of regional planning is used to provide a base from which to review the Capital Region planning history. It is also used to formulate several recipes for the successful implementation of planning for a region.

Chapter 3 - 1991 Survey of Attitudes to Regional Planning - A survey will be used to determine, the current attitudes towards regional planning. The survey was sent to 120 local politicians and planners and will allow for some insight into the current (1991) views on the issue of planning for the Capital Region and the role of the Capital Regional District.
Chapter 4 -- Planning for the Capital Region -- the Capital Region Planning Board and the Capital Regional District. The history of regional planning in Greater Victoria was established using newspaper articles, plans from the two planning agencies, and interviews with individuals who were involved in the planning process in Victoria. Because many of these sources overlap; it is possible to formulate a timeline of events relating to regional planning in the Capital Region.

1.6 Assumptions

These objectives assume that the information acquired on the Capital Regional District is complete and represents the true progression of planning within the Capital Region. They also assume that there is a need for regional planning, now and in the future, and that regional planning should be the activity of a regional body. At a basic level, there is the final assumption that regional planning is a necessity in a region of this size. One significant limitation to this research was the difficulty in acquiring information on the Capital Region Planning Board and the Capital Regional District. Many personal sources could not be used because they simply did not wish to participate in the study. An effort to broaden the perspective beyond the Capital Region Planning Board and the Capital Regional District was made using former planners in the Capital Region. Time limitations on researching this thesis also precludes intensive review of the council minutes of each municipality.
1.7 Scope

The scope of the thesis includes the methodology used in the creation of regional plans, and the effectiveness in gaining support for regional planning. The definitions of regions or of planning for regions are not in dispute in this thesis; nor is the question of the need for regional planning. The thesis will answer one single question: has the application of planning in the Capital Region been carried out in a manner that would lead to its success? Further, does this regional planning enjoy the support of the municipalities and is it effective?

There are obvious limitations to this analysis of the CRD. Service functions that are regional in scope are not the focus of this study. Therefore, the regional health program, regional parks, sewerage and water will not be a part of the examination of the CRD's regional success. Comprehensive regional planning is understood to refer to the identification, organization, and protection of environmental resources, the planning of the urban environment and regional growth management. Comprehensive regional planning is often the most contentious form of regional direction a regional authority can engage in. The organization of the authority and the support that the regional body creates for its planning will be the focus of study.

1.8 Organization

In order to examine the effectiveness of planning in the Capital Region by the Capital Region Planning Board and the Capital Regional District, it is necessary to review the theory and history of regional planning itself. This theory will provide the base from which the Capital Regional District will be examined.
Chapter Two, *Theory, History, and Application of Planning to Regions*, will briefly review the history of regional planning and examine different forms of planning authorities that have been utilized in Europe and North America. Several "recipes for success" will also be put forth. This chapter creates a contextual setting that will be used to examine the formation of a regional planning authority in the Capital Region. Chapter Three, *1991 Survey of Regional Planning Attitudes in the Capital Region*, will examine the results of an attitudinal survey taken in 1991. It is hoped that the survey will reveal the levels of support for regional planning, indirectly show the effectiveness, of the Capital Region Planning Board and Capital Regional District, in creating a positive atmosphere for regional planning, and gauge the support for regional planning in the future.

Chapter Four, *Planning for the Capital Region -- the Capital Region Planning Board and the Capital Regional District* examines the history of planning for the Capital Region from the 1950's to the 1990's. This chapter will explore the course of action taken over four decades by the two planning authorities. Chapter Five, *Summary and Conclusions*, will summarize Chapters Three and Four and compare the results to those discussed in Chapter Two. The comparison will yield conclusions regarding the success of authorities in applying planning to the Capital Region. As well, it should be possible to understand why the Capital Regional District is not currently engaged in regional planning and also suggest a course of action for the future.
2.0 -- THEORY, HISTORY, AND APPLICATION OF PLANNING TO REGIONS

To consider a city or town as an entity separate and apart from the extensional landscape -- its suburban, rural and wilderness matrix -- is like trying to understand the phenomenon of Planet Earth outside the context of the planetary system. (Simonds, p.258.)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

"Regional planning, in its classical form, was, first and foremost a response to the metropolitan explosion (Weaver, p.2)." Drawing upon the ideas of earlier regional activists, civic reformers, and libertarian socialists, planners and theorists such as Lewis Mumford and Howard Odum, who wanted to stop the flood of 'metropolitanization', and begin a reconstruction of regional life. They advocated a revitalized territorial civilization built around regional communities which created a majority of the goods and services needed within the region. It was not until the 1960's that the practice of regional planning became a scientific exercise in spatial development and economics (previously it was more about society and the environment). The job of regional planning was to provide the necessary infrastructure and public guidance to speed the process of growth (Weaver, p.6). It was this guidance that was the focus of planning in the Capital Region in the 1950's.

In order to discuss the history of regional planning in Greater Victoria it is necessary to review literature regarding the definition of a region -- and, by extension, planning for a region. This chapter, therefore, will briefly review the definitions of a region, and define the specific parameters of a region within which the Victoria situation will be critiqued. A historical review of the field of regional planning will be used to examine the changing concepts over the past
century. A brief review of the application of regional planning in various cities will lead into a short section describing "the recipes for success" based on the examples and the literature review.

2.2 Theory

A relevant question is: what is the unit to which the theory of regional growth applies? In other words, how do we define a region? The only safe statements are: there is no unique definition; we may wish to define a region in different ways as the objectives of inquiry vary (Richardson, p.6).

As noted in the above quotation, to define a region requires the establishment of parameters and functions to be considered within the context of that region. Therefore, Metropolitan Toronto or the East Midlands of England can both be classified as regions. History, environment, economics, land use, travel patterns, and growth of residential development, are merely a few -- out of a broad spectrum -- of the factors that could be utilized in describing or determining the basic boundaries of a region. Regions may be defined by boundaries which occur in nature or those created by man. This latter boundary can be either permanent or temporary depending upon need for the region and the parameters that are being used to define that region.

H.Richardson (1973), groups the methods of delimiting the boundaries of a region into three categories: homogeneity, nodality and programming. Homogeneity is defined as being homogenous with respect to some key element. The nodal concept emphasizes intra-regional spatial differentiation and it recognizes that population and economic activities will not be scattered uniformly over a region but will concentrate in or around specific foci of activity. The third approach, is to define the region in terms of political and administrative
areas where the political delimitation is supposed to give a unity to the area. Such an area is termed a programming or planning region. (H. Richardson, p.4)

Prior to the mid-twentieth century, most regions were viewed as a natural element because areas were typically limited by natural boundaries. Though the delineation of exact boundaries, based on climate and nature, is a subjective exercise. Peter Hall emphasizes that natural regions can be roughly approximated because geology and geomorphology produce land forms and soil that relate to climate in the creation of a distinctive region. The land form and soils could create agricultural possibilities, influence settlement patterns and travel routes which would thus influence the development of the area (Hall, p.13). This notion of natural regions is particularly true prior to the Industrial Revolution, after which society began to openly alter the physical environment on a scale not previously witnessed.

Hans Blumenfeld prefers to define regions using interaction as the prime factor: "I would define a region as an area within which interaction is more intense than its interaction with other regions (Blumenfeld, p.87)." Within these interactive regions there is either a single focal centre or a multitude of smaller centres that exist more or less upon an equal plane. Therefore, this definition of a region relates to the use of space and the degree of connectivity between urban or metropolitan 'areas' and is less concerned with the physical nature of the space.

The Oxford English Dictionary definition of a region reflects the varied definitions of regions by noting that a region is a place, or space, having some form of boundary or merely showing a set of common characteristics. Therefore, a region's boundaries can be as varied as the reasons for defining it.
In Canada, regions have often been viewed in economic terms by the senior levels of government, particularly where federal fiscal aid is concerned. Each province, or the Maritimes provinces collectively, are assumed by government to be a somewhat cohesive unit exhibiting similar economic and social traits within federal programs. Within British Columbia, regions are interpreted as large segments of the Province. However, there is a large degree of arbitrary boundary imposition upon regional areas in B.C.. For example, the Okanagan is currently not a single political entity but rather is divided into several autonomous regional authorities despite a high degree of interaction within this large region.

Since World War II, the concept of a region has been redefined to include Metropolitan regions (see H. Richardson, Weaver). This is seen in the larger Canadian centres such as Toronto and Vancouver where the length of commuting and the interaction of people, business, and social/recreational factors, between smaller suburban centres and the main urban core has resulted in the extension of the metropolitan region to a massive size.

2.3 Definition of a Region to be used in defining the Capital Region

The definition to be used for defining the Capital Region is a combination of many of the preceding streams of thought. In part (as also stated by Hall, p.15), a region is composed of contiguous areas that show some form of uniformity and are connected through nodal flow patterns. This reflects the definition given by H. Richardson earlier. According to his theory, the Capital Region would be defined as both a programming area and a nodal region. Furthermore, the defined region is of natural delineation within which human settlement, work, and recreation patterns are more or less contained. The region for this thesis is
The metropolitan area, as noted by Blumenfeld (p.79), no longer shows the sharp divisions between the densely built town and the open country. Areas that developed at varying densities, are interspersed with open areas used for recreation and agriculture.

The planning area of the Capital Region includes the current twelve municipalities and two Electoral Areas currently under the Capital Regional District's defined area of jurisdiction. However, the amount of interaction that the outer areas of the Sooke Electoral Area, or the Gulf Islands have with the remainder of the region is limited enough to exclude them from extensive examination. However, based on the amount of commuter traffic from the Southern Cowichan Valley to Victoria -- 1100 cars per hour during the rush hour period (BC Transit, 1993) -- it could be argued that this area should be included in all future planning efforts.
Given the above working definition of a region, the next logical step is to define the limitations to the form or style of planning that is to be undertaken for the region. Regional planning is a term used generically to describe a vast range of planning from metropolitan transit planning to federal economic planning. However, this thesis will concern itself solely with comprehensive land use planning in the physical, economic, social and recreational realms, within a described region. This type of planning came from the early foundations created by Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes -- and other planners and visionaries at the turn of the Nineteenth Century. Regional planning does not deal exclusively with economics and the influence of commerce upon the movement of goods and people, yet "... neither is it exclusively aesthetic or social in its
motivation - rather it is a congregation with many interests, all of which are interconnected." (Hall, p.24.)

Industrial cities were brought into being during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries by the same set of processes as the rise of capitalist industrialism. It was the conditions of everyday life of this new proletariat which appalled and outraged a minority of the educated classes. Urban and regional planning in the contemporary sense was a liberal-leaning mixture of three elements -- progressive reform, urban religious movements, and radical socialism-- and became firmly established among the new 'urban' professions over the 50 years between 1880 and 1930. Their earliest motives were concerned with reforming living conditions of the industrial working class and controlling the growth of industrial cities (Weaver, p.6).

Lewis Mumford (quoted in Simmonds, p.256) defined regional planning to be the "conscious direction and collective integration of all those activities which rest upon the use of the earth as site, as resource, as structure." J.Simmonds, a contemporary planner whose values seem to parallel those of Mumford's, believes that not only is regional planning a conscious movement for the intertwining of man and nature, but that it offers the best opportunity to emphasize both the maintenance of the status quo and the quality of growth rather than simply watching growth occur quantitatively (Simmonds, p.260.).

Simmonds goes further to reiterate the philosophies that were brought forth into the realm of public debate by the Garden City movement:

"Fundamental to regional planning and orderly growth is the concept of intensely developed urban cores with supporting
This also matches Blumenfeld's monocentric region definition. Though cities in Britain and Europe have been planned to some extent for thousands of years, there has always been a strong element of natural unplanned growth. This 'natural growth' creates the feel and atmosphere of unity between the built form and the natural environment in many medium to smaller size cities throughout Europe. The city and the country existed in close proximity in Britain until the Industrial Revolution of the late 1700's during which time all the large urban centres suffered from a loss of parks, increased pollution, and severe congestion due to short range migration from the surrounding countryside (Webb, p.119).

Factories, were built over open space and polluted the air with soot. Cities could not cope with the increased populations because of a lack of housing, suitable infrastructure, and organized transportation. The rapid technological change in a few industries led, primarily by the factory, with the invention of steam and water driven machines (Webb, p.117). At the same time the population began to rise geometrically as noted in England where the population was approximately 7.5 million in the late 1700's, and by 1851 it was 18 million.

The development of utopian socialism can be traced in this time period, for this thesis, to the innovators and precursors of regional planning, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen. These two men presented one of the most compelling theories of Nineteenth Century social theory: the hope that urban life would be transformed by building new planned industrial towns (Weaver, p.32). Because of their ideas -- the new town theory, the belief in class cooperation, the faith in
rationality, the avoidance of politics -- Fourier and Owen were rightly labeled Utopians. Fourier, in particular, advocated largely self sufficient, free standing industrial communities; placing strong emphasis on mixing traditionally urban and rural pursuits. It is precisely these ideas that are still a large part of regional planning today.

Patrick Le Play first used the notion of 'famille, travail, lieu' (folk, work, place) to analyze the sociology of the family unit and its relationship to the geographical environment in the south of France in 1877 (Weaver, p.34). Patrick Geddes, a contemporary of Ebenezer Howard, was attracted to this triad as a framework for planning and social surveys. He transposed Le Play's triad by placing emphasis on the physical environment and on understanding how it related to human occupations. Geddes felt that to start the task of replanning the industrial city, it was first necessary to have an in depth knowledge of the nuances and special attributes of the city and the region surrounding it (Weaver, p.50). Thus, Geddes arrived at the notion of the regional survey -- a task still maintained today as a function of the Capital Region District through its information services.

Weaver (p.51) states that the early planning theorists shared several common threads:

1. a strong negative reaction to economic and political centralization;
2. a basic revulsion with the industrial city;
3. the conviction that regional life and culture in the outlying provinces must be restored and that this could be accomplished through:
4. a mixing of rural and urban occupations, and;
5. a combination of manual and intellectual tasks, beginning at the essential level of education.

It was a concern over congestion and the loss of the rural lifestyle in London that led Ebenezer Howard to write his utopian view of the region in his work, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. The Garden City concept was an attempt to combine "... the best qualities of city and countryside in autonomous new communities, to be located at some distance from existing cities, on tracts of about 6000 acres, with 5000 acres for farmland and 1000 for the town." (Mumford, 1961, p.521.)

Howard provided a foundation for viewing planning in a regional context, though the ecological basis of a region was not fully identified as a prime consideration until first Geddes, then Lewis Mumford, followed much later by Ian McHarg, and John Simmonds, began to conceptualize ways of harmonizing city and the environment. However, Howard was the first of the modern era of planners to conceptualize that the city and the surrounding region should be planned as a unit rather than allowing sprawl to occur. As Mumford notes, "Howard intuitively grasped the potential of the etherealized city of the future, which unites the urban and rural components into a porous regional complex, multi-centred but capable of functioning as a whole." (Mumford, 1961, pp.520-522.) Thus the notion of a region was beginning to take form as an identifiable unit capable of being studied on many levels as a singular entity.

As already noted, Patrick Geddes and Patrick Le Play expanded Howard's thesis to promote ways of making the earth more habitable by achieving a balance between human and natural factors within a definable region. (Hodge, p.271.) The strong conviction was fostered among early twentieth century planners and
theorists that the city was no longer the sole planning jurisdiction; rather, a larger area must be conceived which took in all of the different facets of the physical environment, human and natural attributes. (Hodge, p.256) This fact became increasingly apparent with the introduction of the electric streetcar and later, the automobile, which greatly increased the distance that people could travel for work or leisure.

Under Howard Odum in the 1930's, the 'Southern Regionalists' -- regional sociologists at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill--along with the Regional Planning Association of America set themselves apart from the work of earlier planners in that their focus was on the region as a planning unit. For both of these latter groups, the region was conceived of as the primary building block of human culture and social life. Regions were real historical places, not merely large industrial cities, that shared a common history, social institutions, and patterns of human/environmental relationships (Weaver, p.60). It is this version of a region that reflects the history of the Capital Region.

John Friedmann, in the 1950's, was among the first post World War II planners to relate regional economic growth to development of the urban system (Friedmann came out of the Chicago School of Planning were the scientific notion of planning was first developed). This meant that regional planning must become spatial planning systems and that the main concern of planners should be optimizing the location of economic activities (Weaver, p.81). Friedmann, had thus joined the budding multidisciplinary field of regional science. Regional Planning as a field of study and professional practice was to interest itself in economic location theory, central place studies, urbanization, and regional economic development. Its methods were to be rigorously scientific and its goal
was to be the functional integration of the space economy -- concentrating people, resources, and economic activities, into a tightly woven network of cities and their adjoining regions.

It is this scientific form of regional planning that the Capital Region Planning Board was created to undertake in the 1950's in Victoria, though there has been some tempering of this philosophy in the 1980's and 90's to more of the Southern Regionalist and environmental streams. The Capital Regional District and the Capital Region Planning Board undertook to begin a regional plan with a regional resource inventory and to use this information as the initial guide for subsequent development patterns. Chapter 4 will examine whether the Capital Regional District followed this form of regional planning or whether there was a movement towards the provision of individual regional services.

Regional planning theory in the 1990's has an added emphasis on environmental protection and its integration with the social, economic and physical requirements of humanity, and has become a higher theoretical concern since the works of Artur Glickson, Ian McHarg, and John Simmonds in the 1960's. Regional planning, however, has typically not been able to fulfill its designed role because of two fatal flaws: political boundaries and human nature. Though many attempts to appease political sensitivities have been utilized over the past century, few have been successful in achieving comprehensive regional planning.
2.5 Application of Planning to Regions

The Garden City ideology as it affected regional planning was brought into reality with the aid of Thomas Adams who took his ideas to Europe and North America. Once such example was the Advisory Plan for Greater Manchester, England completed in 1926. Using the ideas of Adams, the Manchester and District Joint Town Planning Advisory completed a regional plan covering 4 counties and 96 local authorities dealing with industrial parks, the preservation of farmland, regional parks and open space, and all undeveloped land: not too dissimilar from the recurring concerns expressed in the Capital Region since the 1950's. Unfortunately, as so often seems to be the case, the legislation required to give authority and legal backing to the plan and the Planning Advisory was stalled. The result was that ultimately only minor portions of the plan were ever put into effect (Gordon, p.54).

Over the past 50 years regional planning institutions have been created in order to allow larger metropolitan regions the ability to coordinate planning functions among many local participants. Gill Lim in 1983 (p.9) identified six varieties of regional planning institutions that are utilized throughout the Western World.

1. Consolidation of City and County Governments.
2. More planning authority conferred upon Counties along with new taxing capabilities to finance regional projects (e.g. sewerage, Parks, water).
3. Two tier governments like those in Toronto and Miami.
4. The creation of a regional government such as was the case in Portland (Ore.), and Minneapolis-St. Paul.

(6) Special purpose districts such as the Port Authority in New York City, or the Bay Area Rapid Transit Authority in San Francisco.

Each of these forms of regional planning offers an interesting perspective and reveals the different approaches utilized when converting regional planning theory into action. Some approaches can be categorized as being from the environmental stream or the policy stream but in reality the majority of approaches is a mixture.

The Achilles heel of these regional authorities or agencies "... as political and economic institutions, lies in their multi-jurisdictional nature and in the political divergence of their constituencies (Lim, p.11)." Regional planning has not, except in a few isolated instances, made the successful leap from theory to practice.

Peter Self feels that a common error in discussions of comprehensive planning involves identifying this activity with a powerful central agency issuing instructions in a hierarchical or dictatorial manner (Self, p.5). Comprehensive planning is, perhaps, more properly viewed as providing a framework for the more limited plans prepared by functional agencies or municipalities.

The comprehensive planning agency will, it is true, need some effective powers, such as the authority to lay down guidelines for other agencies and to override them or act directly on occasion, but its effectiveness still turns upon mutual dialogue and harmonization of objectives (Self, p.15).
Because regional planning is an organic rather than mechanistic process, it entails teamwork between organization conditions. Thus, the differing factor between the Capital Regional District and the Greater Vancouver Regional District (both of which were established with the same basic objectives) is that the former focused less on regional planning and more on functional activities while the latter kept planning as its primary function.

In the range of planning authorities identified by Lim, the Metro government has the most legislated control over planning in a region while a Council of Government has the least. Regional Planning Boards lie midway along this spectrum.

A Metro scheme, as practiced in London, Stockholm, and Toronto, brings local government structure into "social and economic realities by recognizing the many interdependencies and joint functional interests which exist in a great urban area." (Self, p.61) This is done by setting up an overall public authority for the entire region. A Metro system will, in theory, promote equality. It can assume control over functions which have broad catchment areas -- like transportation or recreation facilities -- and others which have a very uneven incidence of need -- like health and social housing.

"If the regional authority is no more than a coordinating committee of the other local governments with few or no executive powers then it is a step towards metro government rather than its achievement (Self, p.61)." Metro governments, like all regional governments, encounter the political problem of winning support, or overcoming the opposition, of second tier municipalities.
Self notes (p.70) that there are few metro governments of any success in the United States, listing only Dade County Florida. A more common approach in metropolitan areas is the Council of Governments. The Council of Governments is an assembly of elected officials drawn from local governments. It generally lacks executive power and exist only because the federal government made money available for metro planning.

"A Council of Government's teeth derive solely from the ability of a federal or state agency to nominate it as the relevant clearinghouse for ensuring that a grant paid to a local municipality accords with the provision of an area wide plan (Self, p.85)."

The Council of Governments is not a metro government, rather, it is a weak agency for overall coordination and planning that is reluctant to offend any of its local governments.

The regional planning authority in Canada generally has more powers than a Council of Governments in many regional activities except planning. Regional planning is an activity that can be carried out by the Regional District if asked to do so by a majority of the local governments comprising the region. Some Regional Districts in British Columbia choose to offer plans in an advisory capacity only, while others choose to focus on regional activities over which they have control.
2.5.1 Metro Governments

The Metro form of government was pioneered primarily by three cities, London, Stockholm, and Toronto. In 1968 in Stockholm, the Greater Stockholm Traffic Association, the last and strongest of a series of coordinating bodies, took on regional planning and water and sewer planning on an interim basis. In 1971 this changed with a directly elected Greater Stockholm County Council taking over responsibility for regional planning, health, water supplies and sewerage, while the city and suburban communities kept local planning and housing. (Self, p.66) The Stockholm County Council actively purchases land for development and has strong control over regional issues.

The Greater London Reform of 1963 was not supported by many of the more than 100 local authorities, but was enacted by a Conservative Government on the advice of a Royal Commission (Self, p.66). The Commission put a great deal of stress upon the functional needs of urban planning and transportation as well as upon the argument that London comprised a single great city. Only the City of London survived with its original boundaries intact. All the other units were abolished and replaced with thirty-two directly elected Boroughs -- a population of 250,000 was used as a minimum figure -- and a directly elected Greater London Council. Concurrent powers for many functions were given to both levels of government, especially for planning and housing. (Self, p.66) The Greater London Development Plan appeared in 1969 and received formal approval in 1976 on a much revised basis. It is interesting to note that both Stockholm and London chose to have political representation through direct elections. This ensures that the first priority of the politicians is the region rather than a municipality.
The Toronto Metro government was... not an accident, but was the culmination of a long history of citizen and official concern with generally poor housing conditions, with grossly inadequate housing for families of low income, with inadequate attention to physical planning, and with an almost total absence of federal and provincial legislation in these fields (Rose, p.11).

The central city grew 7% between 1930 and 1953 while the suburban areas grew in population by more than 200% (Goldenburg, p.22). Only the City of Toronto, out of thirteen municipalities making up the region, had full sewerage and utilities.

The City of Toronto faced a massive backlog of public works projects due to aging of the infrastructure and overuse from the daily influx of commuters from the suburbs (Goldenburg, p.22). The inner city residential areas had become rundown, the welfare roles had increased, and traffic congestion caused by the growing number of suburban commuters had become a massive concern. This resulted in the construction of the Don Valley Parkway and the Queen Elizabeth Expressway as well as the 401 and 404 highways and the aborted Spadina Expressway (Goldenburg, p.23).

It was during this period of rapid growth that the push towards regional government began. In 1925, a Bill seeking to establish a Metropolitan Area of Toronto, died on the floor of the Provincial House (Goldenburg, p.23). A subsequent 1935 Ministry of Municipal Affairs report written by a University of Toronto Political Economics professor (A.Plumptre) urged the amalgamation of the urban sections of the Toronto Area. On December 20, 1945, a white paper entitled Where are Toronto and its Metropolitan Area Heading?, was published.
by the Bureau of Municipal Research. Within this paper it is pointed out that Toronto and the suburbs were "one social and economic unit and any attempt to treat them as a series of independent units cannot but lead to grave failure in the end." (Goldenburg, p.24)

When in 1949, the Toronto and York Planning Board recommended the unification of the City of Toronto with the other 7 municipalities lying between the Humber River and the Township of Scarborough, many local politicians in Toronto felt that the erosion of local powers was simply too great a price to pay for any venture towards metropolitan or regional administration. Opposition, in the various forms, would continue until overridden by the province in the creation of Metro Toronto.

In 1953 the Ontario Municipal Board, a permanent review body, suggested the concept of a regional authority. This was combined in the report with partial amalgamations which would reduce the thirteen central municipalities to only six. The OMB metropolitan suggestion was put into effect on January 1, 1954. The report recommended a two-tier form of government which was described as a version of the federal system of government which duplicated that which exists at the federal-provincial level. The Metro Council consisted of twenty-five members, twelve from the City of Toronto and one from each of the twelve suburbs, an independent chairman appointed by the Province for the first two years and thereafter a chairman was to be elected by the Metro Council (Self, 66; Horan, p.115).

The case for financial equalization between municipalities and a solid directive during this period of explosive growth, were major factors in the Metro scheme's
design and acceptability (Self, p.68). Part XIV of the new Metro Toronto Act (Bill 80) excluded all powers with respect to redevelopment, subdivision control, zoning and building by-laws at the local level from Metropolitan control. It did authorize agreements with Metro Toronto and its member municipalities as they related to conditions for the approval of subdivision plans (Goldenburg, p.33). The Metro Government was, however, charged with the responsibilities for the preparation of an official plan for the Metro Planning Area (Report of the Royal Commission, p.207). This Planning Area included the 240 square miles within the Metro boundary plus an additional 480 square miles in rural townships adjacent to Metro Toronto. The additional coverage was to ensure that growth in the rural areas bounding Metro would follow Metro's policies.

In 1959, six years after the creation of Metro Toronto, a Regional Plan was published in draft form and the Planning Board of Metro Council had the final word on all subdivision applications throughout the region. This draft Official Regional Plan, the first of its kind in North America (Governing Metro Toronto, p.105) was intended to be a framework for public discussion (Report of the Royal Commission, p.208) and was therefore never submitted to the province for ratification as an 'official' plan. The plan established a basic land use and development framework, proposed decentralizing employment, and emphasized the need for public transit. Also proposed were policies for the distribution of residential population, the preservation of open space, and the redevelopment of declining areas.

The OMB, in response to a request by the City of Toronto to reconsider the amalgamation issue of 1950, prepared a report that ultimately resulted in four Boroughs being created out of the 13 surrounding municipalities. Furthermore,
the Province has since created regional governments around Metro Toronto in the form of York, Peel, and Durham in order to reduce the number of agencies required to act on any issue.

Metro Toronto's population grew rapidly from 1.1 million in to 2.8 million in 1980. Initially, Metro Toronto was busy with the provision of new infrastructure to the twelve municipalities. Zoning laws and development control were responsibilities of the Boroughs and Metro's formal role was to advise the provincial review bodies (the OMB for zoning and the Ministry of Housing for subdivisions) about the wisdom of local proposals; but in practice, Metro could influence local development decisions fairly effectively because of this infrastructure works program (Self, p.69).

In theory, the answers to development problems lay in the official metro plan, which, it was hoped at the time, would establish basic policies for future change and development (Self, p.69). Considerable staff time was given to preparing Official plans in London and Toronto, and their political importance was often stressed, yet "...their history in both cases has been one of ineffectiveness and frustration, if not futility (Self, p.69)." Such is not the case in Stockholm because the County Council is actively involved in the purchase and development of land thus helping pursue regional plans for development. In Toronto, a draft metro plan was published in 1959, and a final plan, unofficially adopted by Council, in 1966. Twelve years later a second Royal Commission to investigate Metro was deploring the absence of an official plan.
2.5.2 Council of Governments

The American contribution to the various forms of regional planning authorities is the Council of Governments. As noted earlier, the Council of Governments is essentially a coordinating committee of other local governments. It has very few, if any, executive powers, but can be considered at least a step towards full regional government. By the term 'full', it is meant the regional authority has sufficient legal authority to enforce its policies.

Although the major activity of the COG is regional planning and the formulation of regional policy, the most publicized function is the ability to provide a forum for local government leaders to discuss their problems. This second function would appear critical to the success of the COG because, "once local officials are able to converse and accept the institutional setting of Council of Governments, they can begin the task of identifying mutual regional problems (Horan, p.157)."

Council of Governments do not have the legal authority to levy taxes, pass ordinances, or require legislation or action from local governments (Horan and Taylor, p.155).

One example of this form of regional authority is Portland, Maine. The Portland Metro area is located in the Casio Bay portion of Cumberland County, Maine. The most densely populated county in the state, Casio Bay contains two moderately sized cities, Portland (65,000) and South Portland, plus a large suburban base. In 1956, the Greater Portland Regional Planning Commission was formed to develop comprehensive plans for the Portland Region - the first regional planning attempt in the State of Maine (Horan, p.163). However, no enforcement powers were granted to the Commission. Therefore, the GPRPC
could only produce plans and policies that acted as guidelines for the member municipalities. It was the choice of each municipality whether or not to adhere to these plans and policies.

In Portland, concerns over the clean up of an estuary led Senator Edmund Muskie to suggest the notion of a COG for Portland in 1966. The Greater Portland COG jurisdiction was extended to the 22 communities that compromise the Cumberland Planning and Development District. The COG consists of two major bodies: the General Assembly, the legal policy making body, and a smaller Executive Committee. Each member municipality has a minimum 2 members in the Assembly plus 1 additional representative for each 10,000 persons in the municipality. At least one half of the representatives must be, by law, municipal officers.

The General Assembly meets once a year chiefly to: adopt a budget, adopt a membership fee schedule, and to establish guidelines for the Executive Committee. It is this Executive Committee--composed of 1 elected official from each member town, the Chairperson of the GPCOG planning committee, and a Cumberland County Commissioner--that makes the decisions regarding regional issues. This committee meets monthly but delegates work to a variety of sub-committees.

Several problems exist in the Council of Governments. First, it is without legislative authority because it is a voluntary collection of municipalities. Further, there is no political accountability to the COG. Without legal authority, there is no recourse for the authority when local areas are in conflict with regional goals.
2.5.3 Regional Districts

Regional Districts in British Columbia share some of the characteristics of the American Council of Governments, and some characteristics of the Metro form of government. With respect to the unincorporated areas under a regional district's sphere of influence, the executive powers of the regional district are complete. Incorporated areas, though compelled by law to be members of the regional district, are not required to follow regional development plans. Typically, only regional health and welfare, water and sewerage, and parks are within the powers of the regional district. Some regional districts, however, have voluntary control over other regional issues through agreement with the municipalities. The regional district is a step closer to the metro form of government than is the Council of Governments, but it still has limitations -- particularly in relation to regional planning.

Greater Vancouver, British Columbia, is one regional district that has been successful in promoting regional planning despite the lack of regulatory powers. Greater Vancouver is located in the south west corner of British Columbia and in just over 100 years has grown from a series of small towns to a large metropolitan region with well over 1.5 million inhabitants.

During World War II, the Province of British Columbia was petitioned by a group of municipalities to undertake regional planning in the Lower Mainland area. The Vancouver Town Planning Commission then submitted a draft bill to the legislature which included provisions for regional planning.
This move towards a regional planning authority was given a considerable push in 1947 when the British Columbia division of the Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC) undertook the establishment of the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board as one of its main objectives. As a result of meetings arranged by the CPAC between local municipalities and the Minister of Municipal Affairs, an amendment to the Town Planning Act in 1948 to allow for the definition of 'regional areas' and the establishment of 'regional planning boards' was established (Lower Mainland Planning Board, p. 1). This merely allowed for the creation of a planning board but did not denote specific powers to be given to the boards.

The creation of a regional planning board in Greater Vancouver was made technically possible through an official agreement between all Lower Mainland municipalities that stated that each member municipality recognized the need for a regional outlook as regards to growth and development in the region as a whole. Using this agreement, the provincial government was petitioned, resulting in the creation of the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board (LMRPB) and the gazetting of the planning area on June 21, 1949 (LMRPB, p. 5). This was the first planning body of its kind in British Columbia. The Board consisted of one member from each of the twenty-eight municipalities. The Board was then empowered to hire staff, prepare an official regional plan, plus other sundry reports (Tennant, p. 11). The creation of the first regional plan was started immediately, though the publishing of a background report entitled, The Lower Mainland Looks Ahead took until 1952 to produce.

The LMRP Board stated that the aim of regional planning, as the Board interpreted it was, "to anticipate certain basic needs of man; to assess his
resources; and to advise him as to the wisest use of his resources (LMRP, p.2)."
The LMRP Board advocated a higher level of government not unlike that which was to occur in London, Stockholm, and Toronto, though, they also noted that other options existed such as a Regional Council.

In 1957, the Province of B.C. brought the provisions for community and regional planning under the authority of the Municipal Act as follows:

It is the duty of the [Regional Planning] Board to prepare regional plans applicable to the planning area, and for this purpose may appoint and employ such planning engineers or consultants and such other persons as may be necessary, whose salaries and other remunerations shall be paid from the general funds of the Boards (S.721(1) RSBC 1960).

Within this revised statute the Board membership is described as the 'parliament' of the region with all Board members required to be members of local councils. Between 1949 and 1969 some 40 major regional reports were produced and acted upon including the 1966 Official Regional Plan.

In 1957, the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board and the Metro Joint Council studied the creation of an effective form of regional government. The Metro Joint Committee, consisting of a Chairman and two delegates from each of eleven municipalities, was enacted to study the feasibility of placing single-purpose regional authorities such as the Greater Vancouver Water District, the Greater Vancouver Sewerage and Drainage District, and the Greater Vancouver Park District, under the jurisdiction of a single metropolitan board. This concept was adopted by the Province of British Columbia in 1965 and gave the Minister of Municipal Affairs the power to establish, by letter patent, Regional Districts. (Tennant, p.44) The Regional District of Fraser-Burrard was created in June
1967, though no functions were initially assigned it. Ultimately, the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board was dissolved and the function was absorbed by the Greater Vancouver Regional District which had greater boundaries than that of its predecessors.

In 1968, the name of the Regional District of Fraser-Burrard was changed to the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD). For the first three years the GVRD was relatively inert, not even acting as a coordinating body for planning between the existing regional authorities. Finally between 1971 and 1973 many regional functions that had previously been the responsibility of independent regional agencies were absorbed by the GVRD (such as sewerage and parks). Regional planning was, however, removed as a function of all British Columbia Regional District's by the Provincial Government in 1983.

The cooperative strategy of the Livable Region Strategy was continued to 1989 when the GVRD began a process involving all Lower Mainland politicians and the public to update the Livable Region Strategy. This new Regional Survey would be termed 'Creating Our Future'. It was developed coincident with a minor change to the Municipal Act which gave Regional Districts the power to establish and operate regional district development services consisting of coordination, research and analytical services as they related to the development of the Regional District. The survey was used to update the policies and practices of the Livable Region Strategy.

Thus, though devoid of legal backing to enforce or ensure adherence to a regional goal or plan, the GVRD managed to continue as a regional force by using the process of information gathering and input.
2.6 Summary

We thus have a unique situation in Greater Vancouver: municipalities looking primarily after local neighbourhoods; regional governments trying to govern by consensus which eludes them; and provincial authorities simply incorporating municipal plans into their larger ones. And no one is addressing the general regional issues that are most critical -- the environment, housing, the economy, transportation, and the overall quality of life (Artibise and Seelig, p.91).

The effectiveness of planning in any large organization is entirely dependent on the adequacy of the machinery and processes set up, not only to do the planning, but to ensure that it is put into effect (N.H.Richardson, p.570).

All planning implies some organizational framework, and there are several frameworks, according to Peter Self (p.14), for comprehensive planning. One such framework is the coordinated exercise of powers by a multifunctional unit such as a city government in pursuit of general objectives. Another example is the planning done by some coordinating agency in some broad field such as transportation or energy policies. A third example is planning by a multi purpose public corporation or special agency. A fourth, is a broad inter-organizational agency such as a regional planning body.

Metropolitan centred regions dominate the field of regional planning primarily because the need to resolve conflicts that occur between densely populated municipalities is more pronounced than those of a more rural regional area.

The voluntary Council of Governments approach has had by far the least success in terms of implementing any policies. Clearly, participation by municipalities in regional planning on a volunteer basis can be successful to a
degree, however, the resolution of politically volatile issues becomes exceedingly difficult.

Having municipalities volunteer to participate in a process that views the region as a whole has had a greater degree of success in Vancouver (notwithstanding the criticisms of Artibise and Seelig). Despite a lack of legislated authority, the GVRD has managed to create a positive atmosphere within the region regarding its policies and plans. The GVRD has succeeded because they invited public input, had a clear set of goals, and a planning process that was understood by all. Thus, planning efforts such as "Creating Our Future" have the support, from the beginning, of politicians and the populace though recent events (such as Surrey refusing to agree with growth projections for its area) have shown that the municipalities tend to agree with those policies and goals that will not affect their area to any great degree.

In 1975, the GVRD presented to the public a regional strategy that would set goals and policies for the entire Lower Mainland. Termed the Livable Region Strategy, it made regional town centres a priority in decentralizing growth, and looked at values that required public and political support if Greater Vancouver was to remain a livable region. The Greater Vancouver Regional District hoped that together with massive public support (there was considerable public and local political input into the Strategy) and local municipal support, the provincial government would be forced to act upon the Strategy and create the necessary legislative support for regional planning in the lower Mainland (Bernard and Levelle, p.3).
The Metro form of regional government has had the greatest impact on the implementation of regional planning policy than any of the other forms of regional planning authority. Though regional agencies involved in the application of a single service have success, it is for the same reason as Metro governments -- the executive authority to implement policy. Moreover, these regional agencies are not involved in regional planning over a broad range of issues.

Toronto has had success for several reasons: first, there was such a massive development boom that caused the inner municipalities to recognize early in the twentieth century that they would need to work together to reduce the costs of growth. As the Ontario Municipal Board noted of the pre-Metro situation:

".. the present division of jurisdiction with respect to community planning and the control of land uses is considered by the Board to be a most serious weakness of the present system of local government. No intelligent or efficient extension of municipal services throughout the Metropolitan area can be expected in the absence of a comprehensive metropolitan plan of development and some centralized control of major land uses (Rose, p.29)."

Second, the creation of a Metro government coincided with a reduction in the number of municipalities in existence; therefore, there were fewer municipalities to create conflict. Third, the Metro government was given the necessary authority it required to enact regional policies as were the County Councils of London and Stockholm.

If there is one factor that flows through all the examples of planning applications, it is that a higher level of government must be committed to regional planning and must allow the regional authority the necessary legal means to implement regional policies. As seen in Vancouver, mutual co-operation can be successful
in the creation of policies, however, the implementation of these policies lies purely with the municipalities. By creating a process which includes the municipalities and the people of the region, it is possible to foster a positive atmosphere regarding regional planning. The reduction of conflict in regional planning is a key in getting policies or plans implemented if the regional authority has no legal means to do so. To create this positive atmosphere, the regional authority must be clear and consistent in its goals.

2.7 RECIPES FOR SUCCESS

Based upon the theory, it would appear that there are several 'recipes' for creating a successful regional planning authority. N.H.Richardson (Insubstantial Pageant), conceived of five goals which would allow regional planning to become a reality:

1) A planning program must be clear and consistent - that is must be understood by all.

2) The main aim should not be to produce dramatic concepts or instant grand designs but to secure an effective planning process based on soundly conceived institutional arrangements.

3) The objectives of the program at any given time should be explicit, limited, and most important, attainable.

4) The right locus of responsibility for planning must be found within the structure of government. Planning should not suffer the jealous
outrages of other departments in government or be left to be implemented by a different department than that which created the policy.

5) The planning process should have broad participation including constituent municipalities.

Though simple, these five goals seem to be very difficult to reconcile with the politics and goals of municipalities with a region. Regional planning is, and should be considered to be, far more than economic development strategies. Planning must utilize economic theory without becoming a slave to it. There is interaction within regions, therefore, municipal policies must take account of such interdependence. Moreover, planning must not be viewed as a threat to municipal authority rather, regional planning should take into account all factors within a region and promote policies based on these factors. However, until politicians come to understand how regions function there likely will continue to be little planning implemented at the regional level.

By 1990, the GVRD had become the fastest growing metropolitan region in Canada despite having the most limited land base of any metro region in North America (GVRD, 1991, p.1). With a population base of 1.5 million, some 551 politicians, 200 Boards and Commissions all contained in an area split among eighteen municipalities and three Electoral Areas, regional planning efforts can be difficult: yet, the GVRD has managed to overcome these obstacles without the authority of a metro government like Toronto. The GVRD's vision of the
future as seen in the Livable Region Strategic Plan and the Long Range Transportation Plan and rests on a philosophy of three basic principles:

1) Knowledge is a powerful tool (the regional information base is critical)

2) Good Ideas, consistently and coherently presented, will triumph over bad ideas.

3) Maximizing co-operation will produce the regional interest.

(GVRD, The Regional role, p.4)

This regional strategy is endorsed locally through the many workshops held by the GVRD for local politicians and the general public. Despite the apparent success of its program the GVRD gives the following assessment of its current mandate: (GVRD, Choosing Our Future Discussion Paper, p.3)

1) Lacks clear authority, accepted by all parties, to take direct action,

2) Inadequate connection to incremental decisions,

3) Produces compromise solutions rather than dealing with hard choices on issues where bold action may be needed,

4) Produces situations where independent interpretation and action by municipalities may not best serve the regional district,

5) Follows, rather than leads the cutting edge of urbanization in the Fraser Valley
Peter Self feels that the meaning and scale of the 'urban region' depends to some extent upon whether and how it is planned. A long term plan taking into account long term growth usually encompasses a larger physical area than a plan that is short range and conservative. (Self. p.5) Furthermore, Self (p.5) outlines three aims for comprehensive planning in a region:

1) The integration and coordination of the three major determinants of urbanization patterns: the location or residences, the location of employment and major service facilities, and the transportation network.

2) The planning and conservation of the resource base of the urban region, including water, air, and energy.

3) The improvement of the urban environment, and the allocation of environmental costs and benefits, across a zone of high inter-dependencies in terms of location possibilities and relationships.

Essentially, this is little different than that put forth by the Southern Regionalists and Freidmann. Based on these principles a planning authority would be concerned with general community objectives. Its operating functions would be limited and related clearly to its goals, though it would retain the ability to review all physical plans within the region. The Planning Authority would have the power to provide financial and technical assistance to the municipalities or other bodies in the region. It would prepare a regional plan and have special powers to ensure the realization of that plan. It would have the financial powers to approve and coordinate all major investments in its area and have an
independent source of taxation. Finally, it would require an effective political base that is directly elected with full support of a higher level of government (Self, p136). Effectively, this would appear to describe the metro form of government as practiced in Stockholm. This is also endorsed by the American Planning Association (So, pp.166-184). It is from this base that the application of planning to the Capital Region will be judged.
CHAPTER 3 - A SURVEY REGARDING THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS REGIONAL PLANNING IN THE CAPITAL REGION.

To begin a reconstruction of regional planning and its application to the Capital Region, the current (1991) attitude towards this issue was considered vital. By gaining an understanding of the current state of regional planning and the success of the two planning authorities that have existed in the Capital Region, we can better judge the history of these organizations. Essentially, if the organizations have created a positive atmosphere for regional planning, it should be prevalent in the attitudes of contemporary politicians and planners. To judge attitudes towards planning, a questionnaire was developed and sent to every local politician within the Capital Region (excluding Sooke and the Gulf Islands), every Director of Planning or Chief Engineer, all local MLA's as well as 50% of each of the Advisory Planning Commissions of Victoria and Saanich. This survey was sent out in July and October of 1991. Additional surveys were also distributed to the remaining planners at the Capital Regional District as well as four Directors.

The attitudinal survey consists of thirty questions. The responses to these questions will be used in an attempt to gauge the respondents' understanding of the Capital Region, the importance of regional planning, and the views of the respondents on specific regional issues. Gaining an accurate understanding of people's attitudes and feelings can be a difficult task -- particularly when the subject is controversial and politically charged. The decision to use a survey was based on necessity, owing to the difficulty in judging attitudes from secondary sources alone.
The majority of questions were phrased to take either a pro- or anti-regional planning stance. The respondent was given the choice of four standard responses as seen below:

(9) The City of Victoria must assume the responsibility of increasing population densities in order to slow down suburban sprawl.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

No neutral option was given in order to reduce the number of responses that could not be subject to interpretation. Despite this, several respondents refused to answer questions that they perceived as being unnecessarily provocative or false statements.

The survey was designed with the guidance of Professor Henry Hightower and Professor Brahm Wiesman of the School of Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia (Vancouver, B.C.). The survey was pretested on four active members of the Planning Institute of British Columbia.

The survey was a mail back questionnaire with addressed and stamped return envelopes included. Of a total 107 distributed, forty-two were returned. Though a reminder notice was sent out, the unfortunate coincidence with the November 1991 Civic elections kept the number of respondents lower than anticipated. However, it is concluded that the sample size is sufficiently large enough to be representative of the planners and politicians in the Capital Region. A second reminder notice was considered but the peak of returned questionnaires was small enough after the initial reminder (only six were returned after the initial
reminder) that no significant benefit would likely be derived. Fiscal and time constraints did not allow for the personal interviewing of respondents.

**FIGURE 3.1 RESPONSE RATES OF MUNICIPALITIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Sent</th>
<th>Returned</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Core</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak Bay</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esquimalt</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saanich</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>41.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peninsula</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saanich North</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saanich North</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western Communities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>View Royal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colwood</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metchosin</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.R.D.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLA</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.1 shows the number of returns by municipality and sub region. Despite the length of the survey -- 8 pages in total -- the response rate was very good for a mail back survey. The overall return rate is reflective of the 'sub regional' return rates. Of the ten municipalities surveyed, only two registered less than a 40% return rate. Metchosin's rate is not surprising considering the relative youthfulness of the municipality. It is likely that local issues were, at the time of the survey, still considered more important than regional ones. The greatest surprise was the lack of response from the District of Saanich -- particularly given that Saanich has been leading many regional style plans over the past decade.

Saanich has been at the forefront of regional development and growth issues since the late 1980's, yet one would never suppose this judging from the poor response to the questionnaire. Of the three returned by Saanich, one was
deemed to be unusable as it was only partially completed by the Planning Director. One particular note is that there was no response from either of the Advisory Planning Commissions of Victoria or Saanich. Public perception of the issue of regional planning in the Capital Region, is, therefore, a matter of some speculation. Sampling current public perception is considered to be too large a task for this thesis and is, therefore, left as an unknown.

Questions One and Two of the survey were open ended and attempted to encourage the respondent to identify the region they lived and worked in, and how they would describe the region. Unfortunately, the questions were interpreted by all respondents in such a manner as to render the answers unusable. Virtually all responses simply indicated the existing boundaries of the Capital Region with little thought or explanation as to why those boundaries exist.

Question 3 asked the following two questions:

(a) Where (on a scale for one to ten, with 10 signifying that regional issues were the most important issues and 1 identifying local issues as most important) would you place the current state of regional planning?
Figure 3.2 shows that only three of forty-two respondents felt that regional planning in 1991 was a strong force in the community. The majority placed regional planning as a less than average force within the community. Certainly, given that there was fifty years of regional planning history in the Capital Region, one would have anticipated higher results than witnessed here.

Figure 3.3 shows virtually the exact opposite response to Figure 3.2. A majority of respondents felt that regional planning in its current state, was not a regional influence and that it should be. It is interesting to note that eleven respondents, some 25%, believe that regional planning should remain in its current state.

Questions 5 and 6 were simple indicators used to identify the extent of the knowledge of the history of regional planning efforts in the Capital Region.

Question 5 asked the respondents if they knew about the Capital Region Planning Board without giving details of when the Board existed or what it did. The response was split
as shown in Figure 3.4 with a slim majority having some knowledge of the Board. Note that this question did not ask for any details of the Capital Region Planning Board's work or its relevance to the region. This continuation of history would appear to be one important element in fostering a positive atmosphere towards planning.

Figure 3.5 shows the response to Question 6: Are you aware of the Visions Victoria Conference of 1989. Only 2 respondents had no knowledge of this 1989 conference sponsored by the City of Victoria to discuss regional issues. It is regrettable that a follow up question regarding the participants' thoughts on the conference was not included in the survey, however, the conference statements compiled by CitySpaces Consulting showed that a majority of participants felt that they should be directing their comments to the Capital Regional District and not the City of Victoria. Figure 3.5 does show that the virtually all planners and politicians in the region -- in 1991 -- knew of the conference and were interested enough in the subject matter to obtain some information on it.

Questions 9 through 29, as noted earlier, focused upon gaining an
understanding of the attitudes towards regional planning and planning issues. The questions were divided into pro- and anti-regional planning sections. An anti-regional planning question would phrase a regional issue in such a manner as to encourage the respondent who is against regional planning to agree with the issue. The reverse is true for pro-planning questions. Questions 9, 10, 15, 16, and 23 were considered to be anti-regional planning questions with the remainder in the pro camp. The anti-planning questions acted as checks to ensure that the respondents were properly interpreting the questions. Figure 3.7 shows the total response numbers by category -- strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree.

The responses to anti-planning questions show a majority of respondents in disagreement with the statements made in the questionnaire. Pro planning question response supports this with the majority of responses in favour of regional planning. Note that this agreement is not 100% pro planning, however, the overall responses indicate a favourable
climate for regional planning within the Capital Region.

Prior to conducting this survey, it was believed that only the 'core' municipalities (Victoria, Saanich, Esquimalt, and Oak Bay) would be in favour of regional planning while the suburban municipalities would be neutral or lean away from regional planning. Figure 3.7 shows the response by category for each sub-region and the CRD. Note that the Core responses are virtually devoid of any influence by the District of Saanich due to the lack of response to the survey. The CRD refers to the organization rather than the region.

The Peninsula includes Central Saanich, North Saanich and Sidney, while W.C. refers to the Western Communities of View Royal, Colwood and Metchosin. Langford and the Highlands were not part of this study because they were either not incorporated at the time or were not yet organized enough to have staff. The responses confirm the earlier noted trend of a positive atmosphere for regional planning throughout the Capital Region. The anticipated results of having only the CRD and Core municipalities in favour of regional planning was proved false with respect to the Western Communities. The respondents from the Peninsula communities were split with a majority against the principle of regional planning. Judging from comments included with the questionnaire, the Peninsula respondents view regional planning as an intrusive instrument for altering their own destiny.
Figure 3.8 shows the distribution of responses to the anti-regional planning questions. These questions were placed so as to act as a check against the pro-planning responses. The CRD and Core respondents were in complete disagreement with the anti-planning aspects of the questions as would be expected from their support of pro-planning questions. The Western Communities leaned in favour of regional planning but with a larger number in agreement with the anti-planning questions. The Peninsula respondents were split again with a slight majority disagreeing with the anti-planning sentiment. This seems to show that the Core municipalities agree with regional planning regardless of the issue, whereas the suburban communities are very issue sensitive with regards to their support of regional planning.

3.1 Summary

The survey has shown that there is a base of support for the concept of regional planning in the Capital Region. The Core municipalities were in favour of the concept as were the Western Communities -- though the Western Community support wavers depending upon the issue. It is difficult to gauge the attitudes in Saanich given the lack of response to the survey. Only the Peninsula communities were split with a majority of respondents against regional planning. It is interesting to note that most respondents, while in favour of regional
planning, were negative towards the Capital Regional District as the agency for planning.

There is a knowledge of the history of regional planning in the Capital Region and a high level of awareness regarding regional issues. It would appear, based on the results of this survey, that a regional planning process should be able to be effective and have the support of a majority of the municipalities in the region. That this is not currently the case means that there has been something in the history of the Capital Region Planning Board or the Capital Regional District that has created a negative attitude towards the Capital Regional District as a planning agency. Regional planning in the Capital Region has been affected as a result. Chapter 4 will review the history of the application of planning to the Capital Region and attempt to understand why the Capital Regional District is held in such low regard in the region with respect to regional planning.
"Thus, in many ways this region is an indivisible whole, knit together by common interests, so that many of its problems can be tackled only as a whole problem and not on a piecemeal basis (CRPB, 1954, p. 1)."

The preceding chapters have served to identify regional planning, examine several different methods of creating a regional authority responsible for the planning of a prescribed region, and to identify some 'recipes for success' for pursuing regional planning. This chapter will focus exclusively on the Greater Victoria region, utilizing the previous chapters as guideposts, to examine the history of the regional authorities in the Capital Region. The underlying assumption is that the two regional authorities that have existed in Victoria have had the potential to create a regional planning process and to implement regional plans. This chapter will seek to understand the history of both organizations, the changes in planning philosophy and ability that have occurred and determine whether regional planning has been successfully applied to the Capital Region.

In researching the history of the Capital Regional District, there were several types of information utilized. The greatest portion of the history of the Capital Regional District and its predecessor, the Capital Region Planning Board, is recorded in the lives of the planners involved. The planners, professional staff of municipalities, the people and the politicians of the Board and the Councils hold most of the history of the Capital Regional District within them. Some of these thoughts are in the plans of the Board or municipalities, or can be judged through newspaper articles and interviews. However, much of the reason
behind the disputes within the Capital Regional District, and externally with the municipalities, can only be speculated upon using few sources. There are few written records of this era of planning and fewer still are the non-planners who are willing to share their version of history. The planners who were willing to discuss the history of regional planning in Victoria were Brahm Weisman (CRPB 1950's), Charlie Wakelin (Capital Regional District regional planner 1970-1983), Jim Masterton (Director of Community Planning, CRD, 1978-1989), Mike Bennett (Capital Region Planning Board and Capital Regional District, 1960's to present), Yoon Chee (Capital Regional District planner 1978 to present), Geoff Greenhalgh (Director of Planning for City of Victoria 1960's), and Raul Allueva (District of Saanich Planner 1988 to present).

Because of the above mentioned lack of willing participation, in many instances, newspaper articles were relied upon, in conjunction with the interviews that were conducted. Regional plans were checked against these statements to verify some of the accuracy of the interview statements. However, much of the history remains hearsay. An attempt to identify these attitudes towards regional planning through the attitudinal survey showed the resounding acknowledgment of the need for regional planning. There was not, however, total unanimity from all municipalities of the issue of the Capital Regional District as the proper vessel to bring about such planning. Much of the available information has been brought together in this chapter to give a glimpse into the history of planning for the Victoria region and how its successes varied through the first 40 years.
4.1 Introduction

There are three distinct phases of regional governance which will be examined. The first begins with the founding of the Capital Region Planning Board in 1951 and continues to the creation of the Capital Regional District in 1970. The second phase follows the Capital Regional District from its inception in 1970 (as the planning authority for the region) until 1983 when regional planning powers were removed from Regional Districts by the Province of BC. The last period is from 1983 to the present to review the events that have transpired since the Capital Regional District's legal planning powers were removed. This chapter will be an examination of the different episodes in the life of the application of regional planning to the Capital Region and how events from each era affected the ability of the Capital Regional District to produce regional consensus.

FIGURE 4.1: THE CAPITAL REGION
This region, encompassing the southern tip of Vancouver Island in British Columbia, currently (1994) consists of twelve municipalities and four Electoral Areas. For the purposes of this analysis, the Gulf Islands component will be excluded because the permanent residents of these Islands are, for the most part, independent from the Greater Victoria Area and have not been included in the local definition of the Capital Regional since 1978. Moreover, they are currently under the planning jurisdiction of the Islands Trust. The Capital Regional District covers a land area of 2300 square kilometres and holds a population currently estimated (1993) to be 290,000 -- excluding the Gulf Islands. Individual municipalities range in size from Saanich with 90,000+ to the Highlands with a population of 1,500.

Although the City of Victoria is the physical and economic centre of the region, it is not the largest municipality, containing less than 70,000 residents (the District of Saanich is the largest, approaching 100,000). There are essentially three areas within the region: the core (Victoria, Oak Bay, Esquimalt and Saanich); the Western Communities (View Royal, Langford, Colwood, Metchosin, Highlands and the Sooke and Langford Electoral Areas); and the Peninsula (Central Saanich, North Saanich, and Sydney).

Each of these areas of the region is distinct due to the history of development in each sub-region. The 'Core', due to the harbours and early settlement patterns developed first and most densely with development spreading outward as available land dwindled in the core and transportation links to the rural areas improved. The Peninsula grew faster than did the Western Communities chiefly due to the accessibility of land and harbour facilities in Sidney which helped
reduce the distance to Vancouver. Both of the non-core areas remain semi-rural with clusters of dense settlement.

Until recently, much of the Western Communities was under the jurisdiction of the Capital Regional District, however, the communities of View Royal, Colwood, Metchosin, the Highlands, and Langford have incorporated since 1984 while Sooke has made moves towards incorporated status.

4.2 1951 - 1970 -- THE CAPITAL REGION PLANNING BOARD

The very essence of planning is looking ahead; and there should be looking ahead in British Columbia ... But we are not alive to the desirability of planning or to the benefits which planning could give us. We have no enthusiasm for planning. At most we tolerate it, and we shall never get very far that way. (from a Vancouver Daily paper, quoted in Proposed Provincial Planning Act with Supporting Brief, Vancouver Town Planning Commission. Vancouver: 1943. p.6.)

Regional planning in the Capital Region was given its first opportunity by the provincial government when it created the Capital Region Planning Board of British Columbia in 1951. This Board operated under the stewardship of J.W. Wilson, chairman of the Lower Mainland Planning Board, and was funded through grants from the province and grants on a per capita basis from the municipalities - though this funding was initially withheld until 1954. (Daily Colonist, November 1954) According to B. Wiesman, former Director of Planning for the Capital Region Planning Board from 1952-1959, the limited staff concerned itself primarily with selling the concept of regional planning and the benefits of the Capital Region Planning Board to the municipalities. When funding finally became available in 1954, the province allocated $10,000 to the Board. The City of Victoria contributed $4900, Saanich $2700, Oak Bay $1200,
Esquimalt $1000, and Central Saanich declined to provide any funds. The Board initially consisted of five members with one appointed by the province and the remaining four from the participating municipalities. The Board consisted of Planning Commission members, though this was subsequently changed to include political representation in order to give the Board some legitimacy at the local level. This change was initiated internally and was based upon work done by Wiesman.

The duties of the Board, according to a report in the *Daily Colonist* ("Planning Group...", November 1954) were listed as follows:

1) To prepare and maintain regional and metropolitan plans for land development, major streets, and parks,

2) to assist town planning commissions (there were only two at this time in Victoria and Saanich) in preparing, maintaining and administering plans for zoning, streets, parking, parks, et cetera,

3) to assist existing inter-municipal bodies such as school boards, water boards and civil defense boards with appropriate aspects of their work,

4) to advise on layout of new subdivisions,
5) to act as a source of information to the general public on population, economics, and land resources in the region,

6) to cooperate with bodies such as the Chamber of Commerce in their promotional and development activities.

Thus the Board was to act as the guide for planning in the region both by creating regional plans and by providing assistance in municipal planning. The first few years of the Capital Region Planning Board's existence (as noted by Wiesman) were occupied with acquiring a staff of professional planners and identifying the extent of the development that had taken place to date (i.e. examining the rate and type of development within the region over the previous twenty-five years).

The working group of professional planners in the Capital Region was limited at this time to only those employed by the Capital Region Planning Board. There were no existing regional authorities or services, nor were there any municipal planners. There were only a dozen 'professional citizens' - those involved in local planning commissions and interested in the affairs of the region - and no planning departments when the Capital Region Planning Board was formalized in 1951.

The expectations of the five Board staff members were quite high with respect to charting the future of the region, though visions regarding the controlling of growth were less than clear (Brahm Wiesman, Dec. 1991). There was, according to Wiesman, a naïveté regarding the amount of work involved in
regional planning. Many felt that the mere creation of a metropolitan planning agency would solve the problems of the region (later events would prove this assumption incorrect). Yet, there was, according to Wiesman (Director of Planning for the Capital Region Planning Board from 1952-59) a feeling among many politicians and engineers that the professional staff of the Capital Region Planning Board could solve all the problems of the region. The first two large documents produced by the Board would show that the Board's planners could envision a future for the region, however, the implementation of this future would prove to be a far more difficult task to handle.

In October, 1954, the first document produced for public consumption was a broad review of resources and development potential entitled The Capital Region Takes Stock. Of prime importance for the Capital Region Planning Board was to establish the physical parameters of study -- in essence, defining the borders of this 'Capital Region'. The Capital Region Planning Board determined these borders to be the area from Greater Victoria to the peninsula, the area east to Sooke and lying south of the Island Highway because, "it contains almost all the land on the Southern tip of Vancouver Island which is suitable for development. In addition, it is fairly well defined by mountains and sea (J.M.Wilson, 1954, p.1)." The report is a catalogue of the natural and man-made landscape of the region and basic assessments of development potential. The main purpose of this report was to establish a basis for a regional plan and to act as a promotional document for convincing politicians and the public of the need for both regional planning and the Capital Region Planning Board (Weisman, 1991).
In 1955, the Capital Region Planning Board began the task of creating a regional plan based upon the resource inventory, as well as producing numerous studies on regional transportation, schools and parks. Though initially to be ready by the end of 1957, it was not until 1959 that the draft regional plan was released. There was no force behind the Board's plan until the 1957 Provincial provision that mandated authority to Regional Planning Boards to prepare regional plans and hire staff. Therefore, the CRPB had to remain open to discussion and ensure that the planning process was correct, open and understood in order to sell it to the municipalities.

However, such was the Board's initial difficulty in convincing local municipalities of the benefits of regional planning, that Oak Bay withheld its funding in 1958 stating that "...since the Board has been operating for the area we have got nothing from it yet (Norris, Daily Colonist, 1958)." This seems to indicate that the regional board had yet to be viewed, by one of the larger municipalities -- after four years of operation as a planning body -- doing practical rather than just theoretical planning. It is, however, evident from newspaper articles and editorials of the day that some municipalities or members of the press were able to appreciate the Board's holistic vision of the region. The following page shows some examples of the attitudes both for and against the Board. One example is the following Daily Colonist editorial (January 31, 1958):

The Regional Planning Board is to be commended for a steady and objective approach to one of the crucial needs of the region. The days are past when communities can be left to 'just grow'.

The Capital Region Plan of 1959 was an example of long term regional planning. Looking ahead 25 years, the Board proposed possible growth patterns, a basic transportation network, regional parks and other regional needs. However,
transportation network, regional parks and other regional needs. However, suggestions of amalgamation, in order to reduce the number of municipalities and the proposed regional growth nodes, were not received well by the municipalities. Unfortunately, according to newspaper articles of the time (see Figure 4.2 previous page), these proposed policies helped foster a fear of the Capital Region Planning Board as a hostile agency with a goal of taking over powers from the municipalities.

Though the Capital Region Planning Board had tried, the lack of municipal planners in the Capital Region, meant that the regional staff had to convince local politicians about regional planning, and indeed, the very issue of planning itself. It also meant that because the Capital Region Planning Board had to act alone in the regional planning process. The main aim of the regional plan was to produce grand designs, however, the issue of securing an effective planning process was not included in this initial planning effort in the region. In addition, there simply was not broad enough planning participation and support from all of the municipalities to allow the planning concepts to be put into effect.

The Capital Region Plan predicted growth sweeping through the peninsula if the regional plan was not taken seriously by the municipalities. There was an emphasis upon the restriction of growth in the Western Communities unless full services (water and sewerage) could be provided, while the matter of a regional transportation grid was examined in great detail. The underlying principle for the regional road plan was that motor vehicle traffic is generated by land use and therefore satisfactory regional road plans could only be prepared in conjunction

Planning for the Future

One of the most difficult hurdles which community planners everywhere have to surmount is the resistance to change put up by property owners who see or imagine financial disadvantages to themselves. The announcement of any farsighted plans by those trained in the recognition of trends and in preparing now for conditions calculated to develop years hence almost invariably provokes inarticulate objections.

Like most other cities in Canada, Victoria unfortunately contains abundant evidence of past hesitancy and of either initial or refusal to look ahead. The beauty which Victoria possesses it owes mainly to nature—in its setting and natural surroundings and particularly to the cultivated charm. Architecturally it is not as a whole a beautiful city, leaving out some of its more recently developed residential parts. In fact if one passes to look at it critically, Victoria's business section and the immediate outskirts are ugly, containing perhaps one building in a score that is pleasing to the eye.

Except where an old building is torn down to make way for a new, not very much can be done today about yesterday's failure to plan, at least so far as the heart of the city is concerned.

In the residential field, however, new construction is taking place at a rapid rate with a strong trend towards large apartment blocks. Here is a type of development which can be molded and regulated in such a way as to enhance the appearance of the city with advantage to everyone, including property owners who may fancy themselves the victim of a too-stinted building code.

This is what the Capital Region Planning Commission is trying to accomplish in part through its proposal; approved by the city council this week, that in future new apartment buildings be set back a minimum of 25 feet from the property lines.

When one considers the improvement this would bring about in the appearance of apartment districts it is rather hard to understand why the city building inspector should have added his voice to those protesting.

Mr. C. D. Stockdill, a member of the commission and a practising architect, has presented convincing arguments in favor of the new regulations, showing that from a planning viewpoint the city is well endowed with the kind of open space that is central to a healthy, well-balanced community.

The adoption of this new code for apartment buildings, which are multiplying rapidly, is one of the most encouraging town planning developments in recent years. As Mr. Stockdill summarizes the need for it: "If we wish our city to grow in a beautiful and healthful way, looking 25 years and more ahead, we must start working toward that end now."

Regional Planning

Progress on a suggested master plan for the physical development of the capital city area and the Greater Victoria region was reported this week by officials of the Regional Planning Board. The first full draft of the scheme may not be completed for some weeks yet, but publication of the plan will be expected then.

In it the regional board is attempting to forecast what may be the actual growth of the Greater Victoria region in construction, services, traffic, highways and so forth in the years ahead. That is an extremely difficult thing to do, but there is no question that a determined study of the subject, such as is being made now, should be a very useful guide.

Although planning is a relatively new adjunct to municipal administration, one has only to look at the past to understand how the absence of any agreed-upon design has militated against the wisest use of even public property. When there is added to that the much larger scope of private endeavor, growing pressure of population and the ever-increasing availability of open spaces, the complexity of the present problem will be realized.


Tempest Brewing

On Capital Plan

A storm is brewing over the long-awaited plan for the future physical development of the Victoria "capital region."

The mayor and aldermen yesterday had a look at the plan, a secret shared by only 20 others. But even before seeing it, Mayor Percy Souruch said he personally would object to adopting it. He said too that he thought two other Greater Victoria municipalities would reject it.

His reason, he indicated, was not connected with the contents of the plan, but with loss of council power to the non-elected Capital Region Planning Board, on which Victoria city has only one vote, the same as Sidney, Central Saanich, Saanich, Oak Bay, Esquimalt and the provincial government.

Two-thirds vote of the board members, the municipalities will be barred from making zoning changes in conflict with it, except with the board's consent.

"We ought to be extremely careful in dealing with this plan," the mayor told the council finance committee. "Once we adopt the plan we are in their (the board's) hands."

The representatives of the outside municipalities, he said, "would like to see it in the council chamber at first; now Victoria's council as well as the Saanich councillors, the board and its technical staff and its advisers are 'in on' the secret.

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In the residential field, however, new construction is taking place at a rapid rate with a strong trend towards large apartment blocks. Here is a type of development which can be molded and regulated in such a way as to enhance the appearance of the city with advantage to everyone, including property owners who may fancy themselves the victim of a too-stinted building code.

with plans for the location and extent of residential, commercial and industrial development within the region. Furthermore, the regional plan recommended bold measures which would improve public access to the waterfront, preserve farmland and natural wilderness areas, control urban sprawl and coordinate schools, shopping centres, industry and tourist accommodation.

The Capital Region Plan was never officially adopted. The lack of substantial problems that accompany economic growth and population booms (such as traffic congestion, housing shortages, increased housing costs, wear and tear on roads and utilities) meant that there was no sense of urgency at the municipal level to engage collectively in long range regional planning. Furthermore, the lack of any municipal planning departments meant that the Board was essentially on its own in convincing all municipalities of the benefits of the regional plan. Moreover, the Regional Board acted unilaterally in the planning process and did not appear to set up an effective planning process that included the municipalities (though the planning theory of the 1950’s was not based upon consultation and process but instead upon the ‘top-down’ scientific planning), and produced a plan that predicted dire consequences unless this regional plan was followed.

The City of Victoria was against the regional plan based upon the loss of zoning power that was assumed from the need to comply with the Plan (Victoria Times, January 15, 1959) and that the two-thirds majority vote concept within the Board (which meant that a dissenting municipality could be overruled by the Board because of the weighting of votes in favour of the larger municipalities) was troubling to all of the suburban municipalities. Central Saanich attempted to withdraw from the regional board because it felt that it should not be obliged to
hire the required professional staff (indeed, Central Saanich hired its first planner only in 1991). Oak Bay opposed both the structure of the Board and the voting procedure. Only Esquimalt appears to have been a vocal supporter of the plan. (Victoria Times, March 17, 1959)

As the editors of the Daily Colonist noted: (Daily Colonist, March 11, 1959)

... it is idle to overlook the existing state of affairs among these five municipalities. They have rejected civic union. They are opposed to regional board extension. Not one of them will hold itself dependent upon another. It is expecting too much, no doubt, that with no real unity of aim in mind the five areas would consent now to placing themselves unreservedly under the provincial town planning statute.

Interestingly enough, these five (Victoria, Sannich, Oak Bay, Esquimalt and Sidney) municipalities have now become 13 and the rejection of civic union - even at the planning level - has never abated. Thus the stage was set: the Capital Region Planning Board against the municipalities and in such an atmosphere no regional planning or cooperation was likely. Though the Capital Region Planning Board cannot be blamed for the state of affairs when it was created, it did not seek to follow the same path as the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board in establishing a consultation process in conjunction with the creation of a plan.

The Capital Region Planning Board, subsequent to the rejection of the regional plan, shifted much of its manpower towards the development of a regional park system and a health care program (both conducted as separate issues) though local planning remained one of its central mandated functions (the Board did a plan for Victoria on contract and acted as a planning consultant for all
municipalities in the region until 1983). The Capital Region Planning Board functioned more in an advisory capacity than as a regulatory body, though it is surprising how much this advice was followed in the Capital Region given the antagonism towards the Capital Region Planning Board created by the draft regional plan. However, it was in this advisory capacity that the Capital Region Planning Board managed to build up a good working arrangement with the municipalities on non-planning regional issues such as regional parks and hospital planning.

The City of Victoria began doing planning through its engineering department in the early 1960's and established a city planning department in 1966 with Geoff Greenhalgh as Director. Saanich similarly broke from the Capital Region Planning Board establishing a planning department in 1958 with Tom Loney as Director. The good relations between the Capital Region Planning Board and the municipalities was due in part to the addition of professional planners to the region. The key factor was that the Mayors of Victoria (Hugh Stevens) and Saanich (Hugh Curtis) tried to establish a good working relationship between them. This reflected in the attitudes of the municipal staff and the staff of the Capital Region Planning Board. The lack of fragmentation of the Capital Region at the time meant that if the three had political relations, then working relations would follow (Greenhalgh, 1994).

This allowed the municipalities to observe the work of the Capital Region Planning Board in less politically sensitive arenas and would ultimately lead to the Capital Regional District undertaking some regional planning during the 1970's. Once the Capital Region Planning Board was no longer viewed as a
threat from the planning standpoint, municipalities seemed to find use in the Capital Region Planning Board in non-land use regional or local capacities.

4.3 1970 - 1983 -- The Birth of the Capital Regional District

Under the 1965 Statute (Ch. 28 of the Revised Statues of British Columbia), regional districts could be created by letters patent by the Minister of Municipal Affairs. In the late 1960's, the Capital Region Planning Board attempted to gain legislative authority over regional zoning and planning through a move to Regional District status because it appeared, according to both Wiesman and Wakelin, that the province might remove its support of the Capital Region Planning Board as an organization. This move, on December 31, 1969 was a decisive step taken to "... weld the fragmented rural-urban Greater Victoria Area into a cohesive unit capable of decisions and planning on a regional rather than parochial scale (Murphy, Daily Colonist, 1969)." Indeed, it is this rural-urban dichotomy that remained difficult to overcome throughout the history of the Capital Regional District. On January 21, 1970 the Capital Region Planning Board was incorporated into the Capital Regional District and regional planning was made a function of the Capital Regional District via an amendment to the Municipalities Enabling and Validating Act.

At this time, Regional Districts gained power over a function through the process of Letters Patent. The Capital Regional District, which had been created in 1965, had effectively no staff until it gained the planning function in 1970. At this point the process of hiring planning and engineering staff began, though Capital Region Planning Board staff were initially carried over. The Capital Regional District's first course of action was to complete planning work on the Gulf Islands.
At the time, according to planners and newspaper accounts, there was a fair amount of speculative development occurring in the Islands yet there was no controlling force. The citizens of several Islands appealed to the Capital Region Planning Board for assistance. The Capital Regional District followed up this assistance and completed subdivision plans and zoning by-laws for all the Islands.

The Director of Planning for the Capital Region Planning Board and the Capital Regional District from 1959 to 1972 was Tony Roberts. Mr. Roberts, according to Graham Stallard (planner with the City of Victoria in the late 1960's) practiced the art of planning through consensus. Cognizant of the problems created for regional planning in the 1950's, Mr. Roberts moved to create a positive atmosphere towards regional planning through discussion, education and patience. This would change abruptly in 1972 with the firing of Mr. Roberts (who went on to work with the Islands Trust) and the introduction of his replacement, Peter Hammer. Mr. Hammer was vocal in his views of planning and dismissive of those who could not share his viewpoint or vision. J. Masterton, who worked under Hammer for several years at the Capital Regional District described him as arrogant with respect to the issue of planning and reluctant to permit opposing viewpoints of planning. This change of Directors led to a less than positive atmosphere for planning because of the antagonism created by Hammer in dealing with other planners and politicians in the region.

This is corroborated by G. Stallard who served on the Technical Planning Committee and helped critique the draft View Royal Official Settlement Plan. When Stallard and others did not agree with the contents, Hammer publicly denounced the interference from faceless bureaucrats. This lead to an
alienation of the Capital Regional District by the City of Victoria and some staff of the Ministry of Highways.

The next major step for the Capital Regional District was to produce a new Regional Plan and have it adopted as the official regional plan. According to former regional planner, Charlie Wakelin (with the Capital Regional District from 1970 until the demise of regional planning in 1983), the planning staff felt the Capital Region Plan of 1959 to be a failure because it had not been officially adopted and contained, in their eyes, some serious planning flaws (Wakelin, 1991) particularly from the transportation viewpoint and the distribution of growth. However, the plan was followed to a degree because it was the only regional guide available to the municipalities.

The Capital Regional District proceeded to produce a major regional park plan in 1972 followed by the production of the Official Regional Plan in 1974. Despite the sense of optimism resulting from the move to an Official Regional Plan, Victoria Mayor Peter Pollen sounded a somber note by suggesting that the death of the Capital Regional District would not come about suddenly, but rather slowly as the result of obsolescence and total ineffectiveness. (Pollen, "Dictatorial measures ..., Vancouver Sun, 1974) It is interesting to note that Pollen, the most vocal political proponent of regional planning (though there is some question in the minds of the planners of the time as to whether Pollen actually believed in regional planning or merely chose it as a political avenue to follow), was already predicting its' demise just a few years after the creation of the Capital Regional District.
The creation of the Official Regional Plan took fully two years due to the need to fully catalogue the physical environment. This was to be much more extensive and scientific than the simple resource inventory of the 1959 Plan. Utilizing the Ministry of the Environment's Resource Analysis Unit, the Capital Regional District was able to catalogue and map all of the physical, biological, climatic, wildlife and geological resources of the region. The 1959 Plan merely stated physical attributes of areas and did not go into geomorphology and environment detail. This laid the foundation at last for the Capital Regional District to become a vital information resource base for the region. In 1972 however, came a change in provincial governments.

The new government, formed by the New Democratic Party created the Agricultural Land Reserve program and required each Regional District to map out all agricultural lands within their domain. Due to the lack of planning departments within Greater Victoria, there were no base maps of any municipality to use as guides except for Saanich; thus, the Capital Regional District had to analyze all available land and produce the first base maps of the region. Only then could the Capital Regional District map out the agricultural lands.

These two efforts -- the ALR maps and the resource inventory of the Capital Regional District -- provided an excellent base upon which to produce a regional plan. However, it also led to a continuance of the technocratic style of planning practiced by the Capital Region Planning Board in the 1950's and again to a lesser degree in the 1970's, and according to Wakelin, led to the Capital Regional District planning staff to develop a lack of respect for the idea that cooperation with municipal professional staff was required for any regional
initiatives to succeed. Vancouver, conversely, had to work with existing municipal staff which would serve to reduce the potential for autocratic planning. In Victoria this meant that the Capital Regional District was further removed from the municipalities and continued on the same planning path as had the Capital Region Planning Board which led inevitably to the alienation of the municipalities in the Capital Region.

According to G. Greenhalgh, there was little actual contact with the Capital Regional District as a matter of course and little contact during the creation of the plan. As noted, the Capital Regional District simply picked up the planning already done for Saanich and Victoria for use in the regional plan. The creation of the rest of the plan was through monthly meetings between the municipalities, the Ministry of Highways, and the Capital Regional District as the Technical Planning Committee. As already noted, the change of Capital Regional District Planning Directors from Roberts to Hammer already created a difficult atmosphere within the Committee because of the attitude of Hammer. The change of mayors in Saanich from Curtis to Mel Couvelier also meant that the working relationship between the Capital Regional District, Victoria, and Saanich deteriorated because Couvelier was interested in Saanich first and the region a distant second. Naturally, this was the opposite opinion to that held by Hammer. Without the positive atmosphere between the municipalities and the Regional District, the working relations for the plan were not as fully developed as they had been in the late 1960's.

The Official Regional Plan, adopted November 27, 1974, was based upon a projected population of 370,000 by the year 2000 (CRD, Official Region Plan, 1974, p.1) and was intended to lay a foundation for regional planning in the
Victoria metropolitan area. The Official Regional Plan was not intended to be a static document, as many local municipalities feared (particularly Oak Bay), but rather a stage in a continuous process of planning for the area. (CRD; 1974, p.2)

The Plan was based upon the following goals and principles: (CRD, 1974, p.3)

1) To conserve the Region's non-renewable resources, including land with enduring value for agriculture, forestry or recreation,

2) To preserve the varied and interrelated biological systems of the area, including plant, animal, fish and bird life,

3) To maintain the natural beauty of the region in all its diversity,

4) To provide for a variety of residential opportunities, differing in character, location, and density of population so that people have an effective choice of environments for living,

5) To ensure that people have basic services including water supply, means of waste disposal and transportation facilities, at the lowest possible cost,

6) To provide residents with a variety of employment opportunities which were consistent with the other goals,

7) To reduce dependence on private automobiles by establishing an effective system of public transportation,

8) To base decisions relating to land use on objective studies of the land's capability for different purposes,

9) To leave opportunity for decisions to be taken on land use questions which cannot be anticipated today,
10) To locate and distribute employment opportunities in proximity to residential neighbourhoods.

It is important to note that the plan did not discuss the creation of a public consultation process or an implementation strategy that would allow these ten goals to be put into practice. This plan was very much in the environmental style advocated by Simmonds and McHarg and encountered little of the resistance seen in the 1959 Plan. The most controversial decisions were those to dedicate growth to specific municipalities and to regulate the construction of regional town centres. Saanich and the Western Communities would grow, based on the Plan, to hold 55% of the total population for the region while the peninsula communities were to virtually stop any future growth as a result of the Agricultural Land Reserve protection of lands. The notion of urban containment areas was to be used in the peninsula and Western Communities (indeed, the District of Saanich has used this strategy since the 1960's with some degree of success at containing development), with these areas linked by a comprehensive transportation system. The City of Victoria central business district was to remain the business centre of the region with no regional town centres to exist outside of the four core municipalities.

The transportation component was the most flawed portion of this new plan, according to Wakelin, because the Capital Regional District had no transportation planner on staff. Most of this planning was attempted via the Committee with the Department of Highways, Victoria and Saanich and the result would seem to be less than perfect. Another factor at the time was the new provincial crown corporation, the Bureau of Transit, which zealously
guarded the public transit function, transferred to it by BC Hydro which did not cooperate actively with the Capital Regional District.

The implementation of this Official Regional Plan was to be undertaken at the municipal level by means of Official Community Plans which were to be amended so that they were consistent with the Official Regional Plan by 1976. The Oak Bay Suggested Community Plan of 1976 states that the physical changes required to meet the growth allocation (from the Official Regional Plan) were not considered desirable by the municipality and therefore proposed an alternate policy whereby the Official Regional Plan should be amended to coincide with Oak Bay's Official Community Plan. This shows that the Capital Regional District had not been completely successful in its sale of the Official Regional Plan. However, because there were no other conflicts found between any other local Official Community Plan's and the Official Regional Plan, only the Oak Bay plan and the Western Community Official Settlement Plan, which was under the mandate of the Capital Regional District, required alteration. The unincorporated areas were still under the local planning jurisdiction of the Capital Regional District, thus any conflicts could easily be dealt with. The reason for the lack of conflicts was that the Capital Regional District merely picked up the Official Community Plans of Victoria and Saanich as the basis for the core recommendations of the plan because the municipal planning departments were further along in their planning process than was the Regional District (Greenhalgh, 1994).

After the adoption of the Official Regional Plan, the next phase for the Capital Regional District was a continuation of the background work needed to establish a comprehensive regional base of information regarding the land and the
resources. In addition, according to M. Bennett (a member of the planning staff for the past 25 years), the Capital Regional District wanted to establish a transportation capability within the department. This capability would allow the Capital Regional District to improve upon the transportation results of the previous draft Official Regional Plan (though cooperation with the provincial transit bureau was limited and antagonistic according to former employees of the Metro Transit Authority until the removal of the transit planning function from the Capital Regional.)

The Capital Regional District spent much of the next 6 years increasing the resource inventory to include the Langford Highlands, most of region's coastline, and the Gulf Islands. One major enterprise was to study the cost of servicing all communities within the region (this eventually lead to the Cost of Growth study in 1982 and the Official Regional Plan update in 1983). Another pursuit was the study of affordable housing in the region which would ultimately lead to the creation of the Capital Regional Housing Corporation in 1983.

By 1977, the Capital Regional District was at its height in terms of the varied amount of planning work being produced, and the size of the staff. The Capital Regional District had also produce Official Community Plans for all the Gulf Islands, as well as new zoning by-laws (the planning function for the Gulf Islands was transferred to the Islands Trust in 1978). The removal of Peter Hammer from the position of Director of Planning saw planning divided into Regional Planning under Wakelin and Development Services under Masterton. In addition, under the Regional Planning department, the Capital Regional District was undertaking major plans in transportation, economic development and regional planning. The Regional District was also acting as a planning
consultant for many of the municipalities, producing the North Saanich OCP, tourism studies and helping to produce the important Douglas/Blanshard Corridor Study with Victoria and Saanich.

However, the years 1978 - 1983 would witness the slow demise of the Capital Regional District as a regional planning organization and the municipal support of the Capital Regional District would diminish to virtually nil. Internal politics within the Capital Regional District regarding how much support for regional versus parochial planning, acrimonious challenges to the Official Regional Plan (from Saanich over the regional town centre limitations), and a lack of political support from core area municipalities all played a part in the slow decline of popularity for the regional planning component of the Capital Regional District. The aggressive nature of Hammer and the generally low profile of the planning staff also played a role in the demise of any support for regional planning.

The Social Credit Government voted on a resolution favouring the abolition of Regional Districts at the Party’s annual meeting in 1978 (the resolution failed). In addition, the provincial government set up a commission headed by Dan Campbell, a former Socred Minister, to examine all aspects of Regional Districts. It was felt by planners at the time that the Province, through the commission, was merely seeking reasons to justify the dissolution of Regional Districts (J. Masterton, 1991). The stress of the potential dissolution impacted upon the staff and, to a degree, undermined activities of the Capital Regional District at the time.

In 1978, the seven Gulf Islands were removed from the jurisdiction of the Capital Regional District and all planning powers for these areas were turned over to the
Islands Trust (an organization which was without any powers previously) - thus beginning the reduction of areas under the Capital Regional District local planning jurisdiction. Though planning in the remainder of the region continued with a focus revising of the 1974 Official Regional Plan, the level of local municipal cooperation with the Capital Regional District was starting to dwindle. A confrontation over the regional town centre policy of the Official Regional Plan between the Capital Regional District and the District of Saanich (over the floor space area of the Tillicum Shopping Centre) would spell the end of planning cooperation between these two particular organizations until the early 1990's. The mayors of Victoria following Peter Pollen - Tindall, Young, Brewin and Turner - were all non-committal regarding regional policy (in contrast to Mr. Pollen who was an outspoken proponent of regional planning and the Capital Regional District); Oak Bay was belligerently opposed as were Central and North Saanich; and Esquimalt was silent.

The regional town centre policy of the Official Regional Plan was developed in order to protect the Central Business District from direct competition within specific physical parameters. The business centres of Oak Bay and Esquimalt were sufficiently disparate not to provide any commercial threat to the City of Victoria Downtown. Saanich, however, was lacking a cohesive core around which to focus public identity for the municipality. Therefore, Saanich chose to encourage the development of the Tillicum Drive-In site as a possible town centre.
The Official Regional Plan specifically limited the size of commercial developments within a certain distance from the identified Central Business District (the Tillicum site was within this distance limitation). Note from figure 4.2 that within the same distance from Downtown to Tillicum Mall, there were already two existing malls serving the area. The rationale behind the limitation was to ensure the vibrancy of business in the downtown core. The Tillicum site was of sufficient size that it was felt to be a threat to Downtown businesses. The resulting dispute ended with both parties in court arguing definitions of shopping
malls and department stores. Ultimately, the Tillicum Mall was built -- despite the opposition from the Capital Regional District and the City of Victoria planners -- owing to a political compromise after Saanich lost the court case. This dealt a serious blow to the credibility of the Capital Regional District and the regional plan and the desire of the Capital Regional District to establish a town centre in the Western Communities (Greenhalgh, 1994). Ironically, the creation of the Eaton Centre in downtown Victoria some ten years later would be opposed by Saanich on the same grounds as the Capital Regional District had opposed the Tillicum shopping centre.

1982 heralded the first serious provincial attack on the regional planning powers of Regional Districts (albeit an abortive measure). Bill 9 was put forward to Cabinet by the Minister of Municipal Affairs, Bill Vander Zalm and was a proposed Planning Act limiting the powers of Regional Districts. Though it was withdrawn due to a lack of support from the Cabinet, Bill 9 created stress upon professional planning staff of the Capital Regional District who (as noted in conversations with former planners of the Capital Regional District and those still employed by the Capital Regional District) saw local cooperation evaporating and provincial support temporary at best.

The Cost of Growth Study, carried out by the Capital Regional District between 1980 and 1982, identified growth options for the region with respect to fiscal, social, and environmental costs and recommended a course of action for the revised Official Regional Plan. This approach was requested by Saanich as municipalities in the region began to look at restricting growth in individual attempts to deflect growth away from themselves. This plan recommended that the Western Communities be serviced by sewerage by 1996 at the latest.
Ultimately, growth was merely pushed from the peripheral suburbs to District of Saanich which itself had a growth restriction program (the Urban Containment policy).

The Cost of Growth Study suffered from criticism that it was an exercise in computer programming that produced very little for the money (Stallard, 1994). Ironically, a regional transportation plan that took three years to produce and relied upon computer modeling would be under the same attack in 1994 as being a waste of money and not having produced anything new. The Cost of Growth study simplified the complex issues of restricted growth by merely reviewing the areas best able to take growth based on existing services and available developable lots. Unfortunately, the plan was not so much a guide for the region as a brief answer to the two questions posed by Saanich -- what growth can portions of the region handle and what if there is no growth?

1983 was a year of change for the Capital Regional District. The Capital Region Plan was produced as an update of the Official Regional Plan which followed up on the Cost of Growth study. This new Plan was 20 years in vision and called for updates every 5 years. The Plan extended the region outwards to include all of the Sooke Electoral Area and was particularly concerned with the restrictive growth programs of some municipalities as well as the issue of regional transportation. This transportation focus was the first time any regional plan for the Capital Region had been created with it as a prime objective (Wakelin, 1990) and with transportation professionals on staff; however, the restriction on growth emerged as the major point of contention in the plan.
As noted in the Capital Region Plan (CRD, 1983, p.3.)

Such a [restrictive growth] policy for a single municipality can perhaps succeed in a narrow sense, but in many cases, from a broader regional perspective, these programs are often less successful because the growth and burden is not eliminated but only shifted to adjoining areas which have not instituted a restrictive policy.

The 1983 plan was made in order to update the previous Official Regional Plan and to introduce a transportation component as a prime objective. Furthermore, the Cost of Growth study, along with sewerage and water studies, led to a much greater detailed background examination of the region and an estimate of which areas could potentially accommodate growth. It is noted within the plan that the Capital Regional District was not advocating growth, merely anticipating where growth could occur and the cost of accepting this growth without major environmental problems occurring. The major physical accomplishment arising from this plan was the servicing of the Peninsula communities with water. The success of this version of the Official Regional Plan was that growth pressures were starting to cause problems in the core municipalities and that the Capital Regional District had a clear set of objectives for the study and did not dictate solutions but rather sought them through consultation and an open process.

4.4 1983 to Present - A Time of Change

The first hints of change from the reasonably successful regional cooperative atmosphere of the previous five years was the removal of the transit planning function by the Province and the transferal of this function to BC Transit in March
of 1983. The result was a reduction in staff within the Capital Regional District along with some lingering effect on the confidence of the remaining staff.

At the same time the province accelerated change by pushing forth an incorporation vote for a combined Colwood and Langford (earlier incorporation votes for Langford, Colwood, and Metchosin had all been rejected in public votes during 1979) -- despite the protestations of local politicians who did not wish such a combined vote. (Wakelin, 1991) The vote failed but, subsequently, the successful incorporation votes between 1984 and 1993 in View Royal, Colwood, Langford, and the Highlands, effectively reduced the area of effective local planning responsibility of the Capital Regional District to the remaining electoral area of Sooke and the small unicorporated portion of Langford, thereby reducing the direct sphere of influence of the Capital Regional District.

The major blow to the Capital Regional District, and all other Regional Districts in British Columbia, came on November 18, 1983 when a revised Bill 9 was proclaimed repealing sections 807, 808, 812, 813, and 815 of the Municipal Act. It stated, "all Regional Plans prepared or designated before sections 807 and 808 were repealed are canceled and have no effect." Thus in one stroke all Regional Districts had their regional planning function dissolved by the Province.

The Capital Regional District concentrated on the regional information base and the provision of regional services confined to parks, health services, sewage disposal and recycling. However, the Board of the Capital Regional District chose not to follow the approach of the Greater Vancouver Regional District which continued producing regional growth strategies and policies as well as suggesting growth guidelines. As a result, the Greater Vancouver Regional
District managed to gain some influence among politicians and the general public as a body concerned about the growth of the region and offering solutions to regional problems. The Capital Regional District's preoccupation with statutory regional plans only meant that there would naturally be a void once the statutory basis for regional planning was removed. The Capital Regional District, in contrast, put all regional planning files either into storage or destroyed them -- only the resource inventory remains available. Half the professional planning staff positions were terminated leaving only the local planning staff. (Masterton, 1991) Thus, the Capital Regional District Board of Directors chose to absolve themselves and the organization of any responsibility for the planning of the region. Overnight, the Capital Regional District was reduced in 1984 to a local planning agency for the lightly inhabited unincorporated areas of Langford, Sooke, Colwood, Metchosin and View Royal, and even this responsibility subsequently shrank dramatically with incorporations.

The rationale and reasons for the very different approaches to the 1983 repeal in Victoria and Vancouver are straightforward. First and foremost was the lack of trained professional planners on municipal staffs throughout the Capital Region in the preceding thirty years. In 1983, apart from the Capital Regional District, only Victoria and Saanich had professional planning staffs with most other municipalities relying either upon consultants or their own engineering staff. The Capital Regional District had a large planning staff for regional planning and the Electoral Area services, however, they functioned in the same environment. Once various areas incorporated and did not hire planners then the planning 'atmosphere' of the region was further diluted and the ability of bring municipalities together in a planning environment was made more difficult. This lack of planners on staff may be the direct result of the small size of the
municipalities which makes the hiring of professional planning staff fiscally
difficult to justify. Esquimalt and Oak Bay have traditionally preferred to use
engineering staff to provide the planning function.

Therefore, there has been no established history of planners working together
along with engineers and other professional staff to eliminate problems between
municipalities - as was the case in Vancouver, Toronto, and Portland. The result
has been that the municipalities have not developed a solid professional working
relationship over the past forty years with the Capital Region Planning Board or
its successor, the Capital Regional District.

Moreover, the Capital Regional District was viewed in a harsh light (judging by
newspaper accounts and editorials) by the smaller municipalities because all
voting on regional issues, due to the weighting of votes (one vote per 5,000
population), could be carried by Victoria and Saanich even if all other
municipalities objected. The Greater Vancouver Regional District, though some
municipalities would occasionally be against specific policies, could weather
criticism because they constantly strove for regional consensus and political
enlightenment once the regulatory ability to enforce regional planning was
removed. When the opportunity came during the recession of the early 1980's to
reduce the operating cost of the Capital Regional District and to make a political
statement, regional planning was easily swept aside by the Regional Board.
Moreover, the first twenty years of planning had not created either a solid
process for resolving planning differences, nor had it created an atmosphere of
trust of the Capital Regional District.
Yet, continuing through the 1983 repeal of regional planning powers was the Regional Information Service which was to continue the process of adding to the regional database collected over the preceding twenty years. Unfortunately, without the planning staff to utilize this database, little has been done with the information to date. The data base could be utilized to defend the cause of regional planning by tracking and identifying growth issues (or transportation, social and economic issues) if used properly by a regional board that was proactively campaigning for municipalities to get into the regional process. However, even the Capital Regional District itself has refused to allow its own planning staff the ability to use and expand upon this regional base.

Included within the 1983 provincial revocation of regional planning powers was the ability of unincorporated areas to opt out of Regional District plans. Metchosin incorporated in 1984, Colwood in 1985, View Royal in 1987, Langford in 1992, and the Highlands in 1993. Also in 1987, the Langford E.A. chose to ignore long-standing Capital Regional District growth policies and removed the Highlands area from future development in its 1987 update of its Official Community Plan. This area had been projected and planned fully for a new town of 35,000 and 50,000 people since 1959. Subsequently, Langford has incorporated and in 1993 the Highlands incorporated (mainly to prevent growth in the area). The issue of growth for other municipalities has since become the number one regional priority around the Capital Region.

In 1987 there were but four professional land use planners on staff for the local planning of the electoral areas with the main regional functions limited to the Regional Information Service, recycling, coordinating low cost housing, sewer, and health services. Each of these is planned for by a separate department with
no coordinating regional guidelines or plan. Out of a total budget of $47 million for the Capital Regional District in 1987, some $600,000 went to community planning (or 12.8% of the budget) and a mere $450 on regional planning (CRD, 1988 Budget, 1988). The majority of spending was for waste disposal, sewage, community health, regional parks and recreation services. By 1988, the moneys spent on regional planning totalled $0 and the function was no longer listed as a service provided by the Capital Regional District (CRD, Corporate Structure, 1988.).

Ironically, while the Capital Regional District had completely absolved itself of any regional planning by 1988, an upswing in the local economy began with the resultant building boom continuing through to the present day. Thus, just when regional planning was most needed, there was no strong planning agency to guide and coordinate the municipalities in dealing with growth.

Saanich had withdrawn its support of regional planning in 1981 after the Tillicum shopping centre issue, yet it has borne the brunt of development. This is even more evident after the closure of the Langford Highlands to development and the adoption of no growth policies by the peninsula communities. The resulting pressure on Saanich's ability to provide services brought calls from the Municipality for a resurgence -- in some limited form -- of regional planning (particularly from Saanich Alderman and Capital Regional District Chairman Frank Leonard). Saanich seems recently to have realized the need to plan for growth strategically at the regional level in order to reduce the negative impacts of growth. Saanich is now the largest municipality in the Capital Region with over 90,000 residents including a new town centre at Royal Oak/Broadmead, and the new regional swimming complex.
Calls for a renewal of regional planning in some form began appearing in local newspaper articles in 1989 and the issue dominated local political debates during the 1991 Civic elections. A forum was held in February 1989 called the Visions Victoria Symposium. It was sponsored by the City of Victoria in order to discuss topics concerning the City and the Capital Region. (CitySpaces Consulting, 1990) However, the opportunity presented by such an event was negated as the principle sponsor, the City of Victoria, concentrated on the City and did not invite the Capital Regional District or other core municipalities to help in producing the event. The published results of the symposium showed that only 6 of the 218 issues identified could be classified as not regional in nature. It was noted in the summary that many attendees felt that their questions were not being directed to the proper jurisdiction - the Capital Regional District. The lack of concrete results coming out of the Visions Victoria Symposium is indicative of the casual attitude taken to regional planning in Victoria. Political support is there in the initial stages, however, there is no capitalization of this support into affirmative action.

As noted by Jim Masterton, then Manager of Municipal Services for the Capital Regional District (Hume, 1989), "while the region is becoming more complex and the population ... continues to grow, the mechanisms for co-ordination have disappeared." Some of that mechanism has returned due to the District of Saanich Councilor Frank Leonard who also serves as the chairman of the Capital Regional District (1991 to present). Thus the largest municipality had a larger say in bringing regional issues to public debate -- at least those issues that concerned Saanich.
The *Regional Growth Review* was a substantial document published in April 1990 as a review of possible growth scenarios for the 20 year period between 1989 and 2011. The study was initiated by the District of Saanich (rather than the Capital Regional District) to create household and population projections for all areas of the Capital Regional District and, based on these projections, to identify the shortfall of houses (Allueva, Interview) likely over the study period. The work was coordinated by the Capital Regional District Regional Information Services Department rather than the Capital Regional District planning department. Regional Information Services was chosen as the vehicle for the study because its' staff were paid for on a regional basis. If planning department staff had been used (and they were paid 100% for by the Electoral Areas) there would have been objections from local politicians who thought the exercise was a waste of time (Masterton, 1994).

The Capital Regional District Board subsequently decided to proceed with a follow up study to examine the potential for implementing some form of growth strategy. This Capital Regional District study was possible as a result of an amendment to the Municipal Act in 1989 that, though vaguely worded, allowed Regional Districts to once again offer regional development services if asked to do so by participant municipalities. Thus, the regional planning was now driven by individual municipalities rather than by the regional body.

The subcommittee for the *Regional Growth Review* consisted of one official planner from each of the Greater Victoria municipalities plus the Capital Regional District planning department representing the Langford and Sooke Electoral Areas. The *Review* noted that in order to accommodate the projected 52,000 new residents by 2001 (CRD, April 1990) in Greater Victoria, sewerage of
Colwood and Central Saanich must occur and there must be a 100% build out of available land within the Capital Region. Figure 4.3 shows that between 1986 and 1991, some 35,000 new residents had already arrived in the Capital Region. Saanich is not expected to grow beyond its current Urban Containment Boundaries while most other Western Community and Peninsula municipalities have 'no growth' policies. The concluded results is a projected single family dwelling shortfall in Saanich, Langford, North Saanich, Sooke, Victoria, and Metchosin by 2001. (CRD, April, 1990) This projection was based upon a total growth rate for the region of 1.4% per annum.

**FIGURE 4.4 GROWTH RATES IN THE CAPITAL REGION 1986-1991**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population 1986</th>
<th>Population 1991</th>
<th>Percent Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Langford</td>
<td>264,614</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sooke</td>
<td>299,550</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>7,882</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colwood</td>
<td>11,475</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esquimalt</td>
<td>11,432</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metchosin</td>
<td>15,072</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>3,676</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak</td>
<td>7,247</td>
<td>33.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saanich Bay</td>
<td>17,066</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saanich</td>
<td>82,840</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney</td>
<td>8,982</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria Royal</td>
<td>86,303</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,963</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the growth rates for the Capital Regional District as a whole, as shown in Figure 4.3, far exceed the 1.4% growth rate predicted in the *Regional Growth Review* with an average growth rate per annum of 2.64%. These figures are based on Canada Census information. With the total growth rate at 13.2% for the census period and remaining steady through 1994, the Capital Region will likely be experiencing a shortage of housing stock long before 2001. This means that every available piece of land suitable for housing will be developed before 2001, leaving only densification as an option for housing a growing population within the current boundaries of the Capital Region.

Resulting from the *Regional Growth Review*, was the creation of a Development Strategy Task Force at the Capital Regional District, which was designed to create a regional growth strategy. It is interesting to note that this is not being
undertaken by the planning department of the Capital Regional District but rather by the Resource Inventory section. Separate from the Regional Growth Review was the creation of a regional transportation plan which was begun at the request of Saanich and BC Transit. Once again this did not involve the Capital Regional District Planning Department other than as a local capacity representing the Langford and Sooke Electoral Areas. These two recent developments show the extent to which the Capital Regional District limits its planning resources, and would seem to indicate a desire on the part of municipalities to stay away from comprehensive regional planning and involvement of the Capital Regional District as a planning force -- or even as a regional coordinator for the plans.

In October 1990 at the same time as the Regional Growth Review was prepared, the local chapter of the Urban Development Institute, a body created by members of the business community to study development and growth in the area and the effects on business, produced a study entitled Growing Pains. This study reviewed the growth issue in the Capital Region from the perspective of the business community. The Urban Development Institute report states that the rise of the "no growth" scenario in the region's municipal goals is a direct result of the inability of planners and politicians both in the Capital Regional District and in each municipality, to better manage the past and current growth. (UDI, p.2)

Interestingly, given the Urban Development Institutes focus on the rights of developers to pursue higher densities, the Urban Development Institute questions the assumption of the Review for 100% build out (this refers to the complete use of all available and zoned developable land). Further, the Urban Development Institute examines the problems currently taking place due to the
lack of municipal coordination on planning and servicing throughout the region. Situations cited include the widening of Cook Street in Victoria by the City of Victoria to an arterial along with the continued refusal of Saanich to upgrade the two main connecting streets to a similar status; the opposite situation occurring along Shelbourne Street. Regional planning could have helped alleviate this situation through a regional transportation plan which would show the roads likely to be termed regional arterials or connectors. In the existing situation, each municipality considers its local traffic patterns only and not the regional traffic issues. Highway alterations have been planned without input from the Capital Regional District or BC Transit, in some instances, the local municipality. The cost of sewerage was found to be beyond the ability of either Colwood or Langford residents to afford locally, requiring some sort of regional cost sharing to be acceptable.

The Urban Development Institute also resurrected the issue of amalgamation into three large municipalities (the core, peninsula, and western communities) in order to reduce the bureaucracy currently in place. Though the Urban Development Institute does represent a business rather than planning viewpoint, many of the observations regarding the lack of regional coordination and planning are accurate and reflect the level of disintegration that has occurred in the Capital Regional District regarding regional planning since 1983.

The Capital Regional District is, through the Regional Development Committee -- the Regional Growth Review Subcommittee was renamed after the Regional Growth Review was made public in 1990 -- pursuing a three phase plan to study future growth, model options to control growth and examine the needed
infrastructure for this growth. In essence, it is a skeletal regional plan. The three phases consist of: (CRD, March 1990)

1) Urban Capacity Inventory - to be based on Official Community Plans, the identification of protected environments, the Official Regional Plan's of 1974 and 1983, the 1982 Cost of Growth study, and all relevant plans by BC Transit and the Ministry of Transportation and Highways,

2) modeling growth options - included within this is a review of the implications of adopting a no-growth policy in the Victoria Metropolitan Area,

3) evaluation of development strategies, including the necessary infrastructure requirements.

The first of these phases was scheduled for completion by a consultant by December 1991, with $40,000 of the total dedicated sum of $50,000 for phase 1 to come from a grant from the Ministry of Municipal Affairs. The report, as of January 1992, was presented by Westland Resources to the Capital Regional District for consideration though it is doubtful that the funds dedicated to the project can produce quality work in the scope desired or needed by the Capital Regional District. Phases 2 and 3 were to be finished by 1992 and 1993 respectively though no funding had been set aside.

4.5 Summary

The Capital District stretches from Sooke to the Outer Gulf Islands. The urban areas range from the provincial capital to pocket communities like Saanichton and Ganges. The rural land ranges from the Highlands of Langford to the farm fields of Central
Saanich or Metchosin to the forests near Sooke...Each of these has attracted a particular segment of our population. Each enriches the whole. Because all need to be respected and protected, collectively they present a planning challenge rife with different and sometimes conflicting priorities (Times-Colonist, October 29, 1991).

Regional planning in Victoria in 1994 is nonexistent while the control of development and growth by municipalities is done without the benefit of any coordinating regional vision. There seems to have been little public knowledge, input, or education regarding the Capital Regional District and the need for or process of regional planning. The public must be as involved in the process as are the politicians if any regional planning forays are to succeed.

The Capital Regional District has diminished as a regional planning organization since 1983. There has been little in the past decade from the Capital Regional District in terms of educating both the public and politicians as to the comprehensive scale required for regional planning or even of the necessity for regional planning.

One cannot plan merely parks or sewerage or health services without also looking at such issues as economics, commerce, development, work and residential location, location of industry, transportation and recreational facilities et cetera. There is no single regional issue which is not compromised by changes to other regional issues. Yet, the Capital Regional District has done little to promote regional planning since the removal of the function in 1983.

John Ranns, Mayor of Metchosin (1993), states clearly the misconceptions that exist with regards to the definition of regional planning: "we already have effective regional planning. Parks, transit, hospitals, libraries, the recent
adoption of 911, are all examples of cooperative efforts between municipalities." (Ranns, 1991) However, these activities are being carried out by other agencies and by the Capital Regional District and are not being done with a master regional plan to refer to. Furthermore, these activities are not regional planning. Clearly there is an educational gap between the planners and the politicians regarding what regional planning consists of. Moreover, the Capital Regional District has no regional planners on staff, no transit planners on staff, and, as of January 1994, no Hospital planners on staff.

The regional plans of 1959, 1974, and 1983 have been shelved in favour of inaction and an approach to regional planning that is driven by a no-growth scenario. Regional planning seems, at the moment, to be municipally-driven. It is clear that there are large public and political misconceptions regarding both the Capital Regional District as an organization and about the need for regional planning - even within the Capital Regional District.

Without the presence of a strong regional advocate, there can be little positive action with regard to regional issues in Greater Victoria. Unlike the Greater Vancouver Regional District, the Capital Regional District simply does not have the capability nor does it have the municipal support to accomplish regional planning or even the suggestion of regional policies and goals without legislated authority.

Greater Victoria had the potential to have an effective voluntary regional planning function similar to Vancouver, yet the Capital Regional District did not establish a satisfactory regional planning process and as a result has been unable to continue in a regional planning capacity since the 1983 repeal of
legislated authority. Rather than continue using its research section as a political convenience to put forth a platform of regional planning as is the case in Vancouver, the Capital Regional District has voluntarily abdicated major responsibility in this area. There is, however, hope for the future as Victoria appears to be reaching the necessary growth threshold required to create conditions that force municipalities within a region to cooperate.
5.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

"Men come together in order to live: they remain together in order to live the good life (Aristotle)."

Planning should be intimately related to political-decision-making structures, and planning policies should provide a coherent direction to the development of the municipality but retain sufficient flexibility to permit adapting to changing circumstances. Moreover, the planning process must ensure an adequate degree of planning co-ordination within governments and among the various levels of government, as well as the appropriate means of resolving conflicts between governments on planning matters. Finally, the process must be open, clear and easy for citizens to understand, and it must operate with sufficient speed and finality to ensure that neither the public interest nor the rights of the interested parties are unduly reduced by lengthy delays (Report of the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto, V.2., p.215.).

5.1 Summary

This thesis focused upon the application of regional planning to the Capital Region. Regional Planning has existed in the Capital Region since the 1950's, however, in 1994, the Capital Regional District is not currently involved in the pursuit of regional planning. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis was to examine the history of planning in the Capital Regional and determine what occurred over forty plus years to allow regional planning to cease to exist as an active function of the Capital Regional District.

The notion of comprehensive land use planning has expanded considerably since the utopian ideas of the late 1800's -- led by Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes along with later planners like Mumford and Odum -- first developed the idea of planning for a region. Regional planning was, and remains, a response to explosive growth in an urban centred region. The late eighteenth century bore
witness to the destructive elements arising from the Industrial Revolution and the population boom that accompanied it. Theorists Fournier and Owen put forth the social theory that urban life could be transformed by building new planned industrial towns - mixing urban and rural pursuits in self sufficient regions.

This theory was expanded upon by Patrick Le Play who also related sociology to the geographical environment and tried to understand how it related to human occupation. Geddes felt that to start the process of planning, it was first necessary to acquire an in depth knowledge of the city and the region surrounding it. Howard Odum and the 'Southern Regionalists' of the 1930's, focused on the region as the primary building block of human culture and social life. John Friedmann and the Chicago School of Planning of the 1950's, helped move this block of planning history into the realm of the soft sciences by incorporating spatial location theories and urban economics to the field of regional planning. By understanding the theory of regional planning one can better comprehend the issue in the Capital Region and why the Capital Region Planning Board and the Capital Regional District practiced planning in certain ways as the theory changed from the scientific planning of the 1950's to the contemporary environmental style that reflects the earlier views of the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries.

Regional planning as understood within this thesis implies planning the overall courses for land use, water use, sewerage, transportation, recreation, and economics for a region. Regional planning is not simply the provision of separate regional services -- it is the process involved in finding the best use of resources for a given region. Moreover, it is a continual process, not static; and it includes the municipalities of the region as part of a whole.
The region to which the planning is applied is, as noted earlier in Chapter 2, a real historical place that has shared a common history, social institutions and human/environmental relationships (Weaver, p.60). The region is a contiguous area within which there is a higher degree of interaction and connectivity than with other regions (Blumenfeld, p.87). The region is also a politically bounded zone over which population and economic activities are scattered but which concentrate in and around a specific focus of activity (H. Richardson, p.4). The boundaries of the region correspond to the boundaries of the planning area of the current Capital Regional District which excludes the Gulf Islands and much of the Sooke Electoral Area. It could include the southern portion of the Cowichan Valley, north of Goldstream Park and south of Duncan, given the number of commuters (1100 per hour during the peak periods in a single direction -- BC Transit 1994), however, that is a future consideration and is not of concern in examining the history of planning in the Capital Region.

If a regional planning authority exists solely through the graces of the municipalities within the urban centred region, the likelihood is that the authority will be able to do little other than offer advice. If, on the other hand, the regional body has the legislative backing to actually implement policies when stalemates occur, then it will be successful (though the policies will likely be fought at the local level if the procedure for settling disputes is not perceived as neutral and fair). The best option is a mix of the two scenarios which can eliminate the hierarchical stigma attached to higher tier government, but leave an open, easily understood process for developing regional policies that could be seen to benefit the region as a whole even if it requires some municipal sacrifice.
As noted in Chapter 2, the forms of regional planning institutions are varied and depend upon the role required for the institution and the political mandate it is given. G. Lim noted the six most common types used in the Western World (Lim, p. 9):

(1) Consolidation of City and County Governments.

(2) More planning authority conferred upon Counties along with new taxing capabilities to finance regional projects (e.g. sewerage, Parks, water).

(3) Two tier governments like those in Toronto and Miami.

(4) The creation of a regional government such as was the case in Portland (Ore.), and Minneapolis-St. Paul.


(6) Special purpose districts like the Port Authority in New York City, or the Bay Area Rapid Transit Authority in San Francisco.

The achilles heel of these regional authorities, according to Lim (p. 11) lies in their multi-jurisdictional nature and the political divergence of their constituencies. Many authorities or agencies make the error of trying to conduct comprehensive planning by issuing instructions in a hierarchical or dictatorial manner (Self, p. 15). Yet, because regional planning is an organic, rather than mechanical process, it entails teamwork between organizations. As Self notes (p. 15) the effectiveness of a planning process still turns upon mutual dialogue and the harmonization of objectives.
Typically, without a highly effective process, the success of an authority in
guiding a region is directly proportional to the amount of legislated control the
authority is given (i.e. the legal authority to enforce regional policies and override
municipal policies). However, even Metro governments, which have the greatest
ability to enforce regional policies, rely upon planning processes and dialogue to
achieve the best results and maintain some semblance of unanimity in pursuing
regional goals.

The Metro systems of London, Stockholm, and Toronto, arose as a result of
massive population spurts and the need to provide water and sewerage and
infrastructure to large populations of residents. This form of regional authority is
usually created by the state to oversee large urban centres which have been
unable to keep municipal services in pace with population increases. The region
is normally given priority over the municipalities or boroughs though the mandate
of the Metro government is normally associated specifically with regional matters
and not local planning or zoning. A good planning process does ensure a
smoother application of planning to the region despite a strong mandate and
curtails any friction.

The American Council of Governments is somewhat similar to British Columbia's
regional districts with two key exceptions. Joining the Council of Governments is
voluntary in nature and there is little authority given to the Council of
Governments to implement plans. Therefore, the Council of Governments must
rely on a smooth planning process and extensive public and political participation
if it wishes to have its regional advice followed.
The Regional Districts of British Columbia are structured in a similar manner as the Council of Governments, however, there is a great deal more ability to put regional goals into practice. All municipalities must join the regional district and the district has the legal authority to ensure conformity to a variety of regional policies such as parks, hospitals, sewerage and water. However, one key area where there is no authority is regional planning. In this area, the regional district relies on process and participation to convince municipalities of the benefits of a regional plan. However, following a regional plan is voluntary in nature, therefore, the regional district can only act in an advisory capacity in the planning realm. This was not the case prior to 1983 in British Columbia. However, harmonious relations with the municipalities within a region prior to the repeal of planning authority for regional districts was critical to the success of planning afterwards.

By creating a process which includes the municipalities and the people of a region, regardless of the legal mandate the authority has to enforce conformity to a regional plan, it is possible to foster a positive atmosphere regarding regional planning. To create this positive atmosphere, the regional authority must be clear and consistent in its goals and establish a well-understood planning process that includes the municipalities and the residents of the region.

The Greater Vancouver Regional District policy of creating consensus through public and political participation rests on three simple principles (GVRD, The Regional Role, p.4).

1) Knowledge is a powerful tool. The Greater Vancouver Regional District states that a regional information base is critical. This is
consistent with the planning theory of the social theorists and planners from the Eighteenth Century to the present which bases all planning on an extensive knowledge of the physical, environmental, and sociological attributes of a region.

2) **Good ideas, consistently and coherently presented, will triumph over bad ideas.**

3) **Maximizing cooperation will produce the regional interest.** Again this is the issue of creating a good planning process.

N.H. Richardson's five planning goals (as noted in Chapter 2) follow a similar tack to that of the Greater Vancouver Regional District. In essence, a planning program must be clear and consistent with objectives that are explicit and attainable. Furthermore, the process should have broad participation and should be aimed at securing an effective planning process rather than grand designs or concepts. Finally, planning must be allowed to proceed without interference from other agencies or departments within an authority.

Based on the preceding theory regarding planning within a region, the following six points [which are also echoed by P. Self (p.136) and the A.P.A. (pp.166-184)] are used as the model against which the history of planning in the Capital Region can be assessed.
FIGURE 5.1-- PRINCIPLES FOR PLANNING WITHIN A REGION

1. A regional planning authority should be concerned with general community objectives;
2. The Authority's operating functions would be limited and related clearly to its goals. These goals must be explicit and attainable not grandiose concepts. However, the authority would retain the ability to review all physical plans within the region;
3. It would have the financial powers to approve and coordinate all major investments in its area and have an independent source of taxation. This is similar to powers given to the Metro government in Stockholm;
4. It would have the power to provide financial and technical assistance to the municipalities or other bodies in the region;
5. It would require an effective political base that is regionally accountable with the full support of a higher level of government (such as the Province);
6. It would prepare a regional plan and have special powers to facilitate the realization of the plan. The base of this plan would be a regional survey of the environment, geography, and the people;
7. Finally, it would secure an effective planning process -- with broad participation -- that is consistent with its goals and is understood by all.

Stockholm has managed to follow all seven steps and is highly successful in guiding the Greater Stockholm region. The London County Council is successful, though the boroughs still retain a great deal of power. Metro Toronto has also had a great deal of success with the exception of completing and realizing a regional plan. The Council of Governments, as already noted, do follow a few of these principles, however, the mandate given them is so limited as to render them an advisory body only. Regional Districts have been given the ability, at times, to follow most of these principles, though the current mandate in Greater Vancouver and Greater Victoria is more limited than in previous times (pre-1983). The Greater Vancouver Regional District has had a degree of success because it actively pursued the final principle -- securing an effective
planning process -- believing that it could overcome shortfalls in its regional planning mandate.

The Capital Region has had two regional planning authorities since 1950. The second organization created an excellent regional health and hospital network, furthered water and sewerage services for residents of the region, and established a good regional parks program. Both authorities' success in the area of urban planning has been mixed over the past forty years.

The creation of the Capital Region Planning Board in 1951, began the process of regional planning in the Capital Region. The original mandate of the Planning Board was quite strong and followed virtually all seven principles for planning within a region. Though it had neither a fully elected political base nor full authority over all major investments in the region, the Planning Board had similar powers to a Metro government. The Planning Board began the process of creating a regional plan by examining the region and determining the extent of development over the previous twenty-five years and identifying the environmental and geographical attributes need protection in the future.

The Capital Region Planning Board did not, however, create an effective process for regional planning, nor did it manage to make its objectives easily understood or accepted by politicians in the region. In defense of the Capital Region Planning Board, the board planners had few other planners with which to deal with, no history of cooperation among the municipalities and no background regional information upon which to base their plans.
Therefore, during the 1950's, the Capital Region Planning Board acted in a
dictatorial manner - imposing a grandiose set of concepts upon the region in the
guise of the 1959 Draft Regional Plan. Though there was a lot of effort place in
attempting to convince the municipalities of the worth of the plan, the avoidance
of a proper planning process during the first six years of planning existence was
difficult to overcome. Most municipalities, with the exception of Esquimalt, were
against the plan and rejected it. Victoria, Saanich, Oak Bay, and Central
Saanich were against many aspects of the Board itself.

As a result of the failure of the Regional Plan, the Board proceeded to tackle
regional issues such as parks, health care, and water and sewerage in a manner
which should have been followed for planning. An effective process was
established for each issue, with specific and attainable objectives set, and broad
participation from the constituent municipalities. Moreover, the Capital Region Planning Board used its strong mandate to provide financial and technical
planning assistance to the municipalities. Through the 1960's, the Board
managed to create a positive atmosphere regarding regional issues and the
ability of the Capital Region Planning Board to create regional solutions that
incorporated the concerns of the municipalities.

In 1970, the Capital Region Planning Board was incorporated into the Capital
Regional District. The Capital Regional District planning staff felt that the
District's first goal should be to revise the 1959 Draft Regional Plan. A
cataloguing of the physical environment and a mapping of the Agriculture Land
Reserves in the region were the first steps taken in revising the 1959 Plan.
However, because there were only two planning departments -- Victoria and
Saanich -- the Capital Regional District had to conduct the analysis of the region and the mapping by itself.

Relations with the municipal planning departments were still cordial at best in 1970. The result was again an autocratic style of planning with little process behind it to validate the plan. However, the Capital Regional District had greater enforcement powers with regards to planning and could have the plan declared official as well as command conformity from the municipalities. Fortunately, there was little difference between the Official Regional Plan and the existing state of growth in the region. Therefore, there were few conflicts with Official Community Plans. The Capital Regional District spent the next few years after the 1974 plan, technically assisting the municipalities and again building upon the positive atmosphere created by the Capital Region Planning Board.

In 1978 planning responsibility for the Gulf Islands were transferred from the Capital Regional District to the Islands Trust. Incorporations would increase the original five municipalities to twelve and reduce the actual local planning jurisdiction of the Capital Regional District to only the Sooke Electoral Area and portions of the Langford Electoral Area. Also in 1978 the first major conflict with the Official Regional Plan occurred and the lack of an effective planning process would become most evident. The Tillicum mall site embroiled the Capital Regional District and the District of Saanich in a bitter court battle which resulted in Saanich withdrawing its support of the Capital Regional District as a regional planning authority for the next twelve years. Furthermore, the political outfall from the case made the Capital Regional Board very aware of the political nature of regional planning issues.
Growth rates began rising in the late 1970's and resulted in a Cost of Growth study by the Capital Regional District in 1982. The impetus of the study was a request by many of the municipalities who wanted growth options and a course of action recommended to reduce growth and the costs associated with an increase in population. Most suburban municipalities opted for minimum growth while Saanich assumed the majority of new development.

1983 was to be a cathartic year for the Capital Regional District. The 1974 Official Regional Plan was updated and the issue of growth was the major new principle contained within the 1983 update. The Capital Regional District utilized an open planning process with extensive consultation and presented a clear set of objectives. Solutions to growth were not dictated, rather growth was acknowledged and options suggested. The Capital Regional District followed the principles for the successful application of planning within a region and it successfully completed the update with little controversy. Its powers to ensure the realization of the plan were, however, to be quickly revoked by the Province.

The incorporations of Metchosin, View Royal, Colwood, Langford, the Highlands, Sidney, and North Saanich meant that there were now twelve municipalities to attempt to coordinate and include in a planning process. These smaller municipalities have argued against the format of the Capital Regional District and the weighting of votes (see article in Figure 5.2 next page) and are generally unwilling to put the region's needs ahead of those of the municipality. Therefore, the atmosphere surrounding the Capital Regional District's role in regional growth is one of mistrust.
Smaller cousins stall move to give big

By Bill Cleverley
Times-Colonist staff

Metchosin Mayor John Ranns led the fight Wednesday against a proposed change in Capital Regional District voting rules which he said would emasculate low-population municipalities.

"To have a weighted vote based on the raw population and excluding land mass turns areas like Metchosin into simply a resource for the urbanized areas," Ranns said.

"Metchosin has one of the smallest populations but it is one of the largest municipalities in terms of land mass," Ranns said. "The concept of regionalism, as I see it, is that all of us are here as equal partners. We certainly have a diversity but we each contribute something unique.

Under the Municipal Act each municipality or electoral area sends one representative to the CRD board for every 25,000 population or portion thereof. That has Saanich with four representatives on the board, Victoria three and the rest one each.

For certain matters, such as money issues, weighted votes are held. That means an area gets one vote for every 5,000 people or portion thereof. These weighted votes mean directors from more-populated areas wield more power than those representing smaller places.

A proposal before the new CRD board Wednesday suggested the region apply to the province to change regulations to make every voted a weighted vote.

CRD chairman Frank Leonard has argued it is needed because as more smaller areas incorporate, larger areas like Saanich and Victoria — which pay

municipalities more CRD power

the bulk of the CRD bills — are losing influence.

For example newly incorporated Highlands, which has 0.3 per cent of the population, has five per cent of the votes at the CRD. Victoria pays 28 per cent of the CRD bills, and Saanich pays 29 per cent.

Prior to Langford's incorporation, the area of roughly 16,000 people had one representative at the CRD. Now in the same area, incorporated Langford has one director. Highlands, with a population of 1,400 and formerly part of the Langford electoral area, has one director.

Happy Valley, Willis Point and a small part of the Malahat which were not included in either the Highlands or Langford's incorporation also have a director.

Ranns argued that with the proposed weighted vote, Saanich and Victoria could out-vote the rest of the region on all issues.

"I really don't think that's what regionalism is all about," Ranns said.

Directors decided to table the issue for a couple of months to give the new board a chance to feel out board procedures.

The transit function of the Capital Regional District was transferred to BC Transit in 1983 and none of the transit and transportation planning staff was retained by either agency. In November, 1983, the Provincial Government repealed legislation that gave regional planning powers to Regional Districts. Thereafter, the regional districts could only function in an advisory capacity with respect to regional planning. Whereas the Greater Vancouver Regional District simply continued with its existing planning process and convinced its constituent municipalities that planning for the region was beneficial, the Capital Regional District quickly absolved itself of the function. The regional planning process was abandoned and all regional planning staff had their employment terminated.

The Board of the Capital Regional District chose to follow the repeal to the letter
by refusing to act in even an advisory capacity on regional planning issues. Local planning staff has steadily declined parallel to the reduction of unincorporated areas to the extent that there are two planners left on staff in 1994.

Growth between 1986 and 1991 totaled 13.2% for the Capital Regional District. The region, in 1994, has more than 300,000 residents and all municipalities are experiencing a strain on services. The District of Saanich has been the most affected, growing by over 13,000 residents in the five year period.

The Regional Growth Review was published by the Capital Regional District in 1990 reviewing growth patterns and expectations of growth to 2011. The work was initiated by the District of Saanich and conducted by the Regional Information Services Section of the Capital Regional District. A shortfall of single family dwellings was forecast by 2001 based on an annual growth rate of 1.4%. Growth since 1986 has more than exceeded this average. Further growth reports are due to continue the process of analyzing growth. It would appear that the Capital Region has reached a critical size where the need for regional planning is high. Ironically, it is matched by the least amount of regional planning advice from the Capital Regional District since 1951.

There is some positive movement from the CRD with a limited study on residents' values for the region entitled CRD: Tomorrow (similar to the GVRD's Goals for Vancouver though on a much more limited scale with a budget of $100,000 and due out in February 1993). In addition, there is the regional transportation study, Healthy Atmospheres 2000 study, Liquid Waste Management Plan, solid-waste management proposals, Regional Development
Incorporation of Highlands invites chaos — politicians

By BILL CLEVERLEY/Times-Colonist staff

"If there are enough people in the Highlands to incorporate, the province should let Willis Point and Happy Valley residents do the same," says Dave Dalby, the CRD's Langford electoral area director.

"I'm going to make everyone aware of the people there that they make application to the government to form their own municipalities," said Dalby, who opposed Highlands incorporation.

"If the NDP wants more municipalities, let's give them as many as we can give them," he said Monday. "Why not? It's just incredibly stupid to let the Highlands go on their own, so why not let Willis Point and Happy Valley go on their own and maybe the 40 people on top of the Malahat, too?" Highlands voted heavily in favor of incorporation Saturday. In a two-ballot vote, 479 voted in favor of a change to the structure of local government, while 225 were opposed.

On the second ballot, 335 voted to incorporate on their own while 132 preferred to align with Langford.

"The Highlands, Willis Point and Happy Valley and a small pocket of the Malahat were sliced away from the former Langford electoral area before that area incorporated last year. Highlands will elect their first council in November municipal elections. Willis Point, Happy Valley, and the Malahat area will continue to be represented by an electoral director until their status is determined by ratepayers. Dalby said he would seek re-election to represent the three areas at the Capital Regional District if no one else runs.

"I'm ecstatic," Karel Roessingh, vice-president of the Highlands District Community Association, said of the results. "I'm very happy about it."

Roessingh said the vote was about keeping the Highlands the Highlands, and blocking efforts to increase allowable housing densities.

"If you think when you ask people in the Highlands, 60 to 65 percent want change. They want it just like it is. We see that at meetings and zoning things. People turn out in droves to make sure they're not let down," CRD chairman Frank Leonard, who opposed the incorporation, was not surprised by the outcome.

He has argued an increasing number of the municipalities would be an impediment to regional planning.

"Four hundred people is a normal-sized petition against social housing and churches in Saanich, Vitaia and the majority of council has had to vote against those size petitions for the greater good," Leonard said.

"If this is the wave of the future, there are going to be 70 communities within Saanich the size of the Highlands. Are they going to form their own municipalities? Is this provincial government going to realize they are going to be creating chaos at the local government level with their policies?"

Leonard urged Municipal Affairs Minister Darlene Mantle to review the issue, including the Highlands vote.

"It's just incredibly stupid to let the Highlands go on their own and maybe the 40 people on top of the Malahat, too?"
Study (housing), and a review of the Regional Parks plan. Much of this movement towards the study of regional issues has been a result of the election of Frank Leonard to the position of Chairman in the CRD. Mr. Leonard doubles as an Alderman for the District of Saanich, thus the growth pressures on Saanich are effectively being studied through the CRD. Little initiative would likely result without this political leadership though there still is little regional consensus to date. Indeed, the degree of bickering seems to have intensified with the improvement of the regional profile of the CRD.

As noted in the previous article (Figure 5.3), the fragmentation of the Capital Region continues and the Board of the Capital Regional District does not appear to be willing to bring back regional planning as a function of the Regional District -- even at the advisory level.

5.2 Conclusions

The Capital Region is now a mosaic of small municipalities of which nine of the twelve contain fewer than 17,000 residents. Growth within the region has continued at such a pace over the past decade that the CRD is currently embarking upon a growth review based upon a zero growth option. The cost of servicing new neighbourhoods in Saanich and the Western Communities is prohibitively expensive without regional support. Transportation problems have arisen as a result of extreme growth in the suburbs without the corresponding decentralization of the work place away from the core municipalities. There are seven separate economic development commissions, twenty-four fire districts,
and six separate police departments for each municipality -- all for 300,000 people.

Currently, the Capital Regional District planning division, reduced to only two professional staff members (from five in 1993, eleven in 1989 and twenty-five in 1983) has become a local planning office for the Langford and Sooke Electoral Areas; rather than acting as a guiding regional force. This chapter has attempted to discover how the Capital Region Planning Board and the Capital Regional District started with so much promise but devolved to the current state where the Capital Regional District undertakes practically no regional planning.

The continued fragmentation of the Capital Region means that the planning influence of the CRD diminishes as it administers less and less actual area. If Sooke incorporates as is expected over the next few years, the Capital Regional Districts planning function will cease to exist. This spread of professional resources around the Capital region is far too little and too thin. Amalgamations would certainly allow a better use of existing resources and could likely reduce the cost of bringing services to neighbourhoods. Any reductions in the number of municipalities would allow the larger units to increase professional staff who would then be able to cooperate with each other and produce a less insular working atmosphere within the Capital Region.

The regional planning process must be open and better understood by both politicians and the public. It should act as a base for the coordination of the various independent regional studies being conducted. The process must also be a vessel for regional opinions and ideas from professionals, politicians, and the public (the current study, CRD: Tomorrow, is the perfect platform from which
to expand the philosophy of a region within which the various municipalities are located). Regional Planning cannot be viewed as being forced upon municipalities for they must be an integral part of the process as must be the regional public.

Better utilization of the land and monetary resources of the region through amalgamation and the reintroduction of effective regional planning can:

1. limit or direct growth;
2. potentially create coordinated and therefore cheaper services;
3. retain the environment quality so associated with the distinct areas of the Capital Region.

Without provincial support, however, the Capital Region may well become a chaotic, uncontrolled mix of sprawling residential high priced suburbs; with fewer and more expensive municipal services, worsening traffic problems, and a loss of local identity. This provincial support is needed if there is to be a successful and effective regional authority to plan and guide the region once again.

With respect to the final objective for this thesis -- what have we learned that will add to the existing base of knowledge -- there are two points. First, is the issue of what should occur within the Capital Region if regional planning is to begin again. The Capital Regional District clearly is not in a position to begin regional planning anytime soon. Moreover, the degree of contempt for the organization is a large stumbling block to overcome. Smaller municipalities no longer avail themselves of the planning services of the Capital Regional District, preferring
instead to contract consultants who do not have a sense of history or the needs of the region.

The Capital Region Planning Board once performed this valuable function and the Capital Regional District should begin to do so again. Though different from regional planning, it would serve to establish the credentials of the Capital Regional District as a planning agency and help foster a sense of trust and a working relationship with the municipalities of the region.

By bringing together the scattered knowledge of the history of the Capital Region Planning Board and the Capital Regional District, a base of knowledge is established. Future planning efforts of the Capital Regional District can benefit from first knowing the history of previous efforts and understanding where a focus is required. This particularly clear in the need to recreate a good regional planning process with public input and education.

It is also obvious that the process of regional planning and regional services are quite different. Regional planning is much more contentious politically and requires both a commitment of time and serious effort at inclusion and education of the public. Regional services are more mundane (with the exception of sewage disposal in Victoria) and readily accepted than the more esoteric ideas of regional planning. The Capital Regional District history illustrates this difference quite clearly with demise of regional planning in 1983 and the continuance of regional services without much criticism over the years.

It would also seem, from the examples and the history of the Capital Region, that a growth threshold is required before the issue of regional planning can even be
brought forth with any serious hope of implementation. Much of the history of the Capital Regional District is the struggle to convince the municipalities that in fact regional planning is even required. It is only in the past decade that growth has reached a point where regional issues such as growth management and transportation are seen as requiring serious study. It is in the near future that regional planning will be required in the Capital Region if the area is to remain as livable as it is today.

Without the mechanism for bringing municipalities together to discuss regional issues, it is clear from the Victoria situation that the municipalities will not get together on their own accord. An agency, acting for the region, is the only vehicle by which regional issues will properly be addressed.

5.3 Possible Solutions for the Capital Region

If regional planning is to exist again in the Capital Region, there must be some action in the following areas:

1. There should be a reduction in the number of municipalities through amalgamation. Regional consensus will not be found with small municipalities which are formed to stop growth with little regard for the regional consequences. The issue of fragmented land stewardship means that growth related problems will be more difficult to deal with when there are a multitude of small municipalities which are merely incorporated neighbourhoods.
2. A new Planning Board should be formed to allow for a new start if the Capital Region is unable or unwilling to resurrect regional planning. The Capital Regional District is tainted with the autocratic planning done in the 1950's and 1970's. A new board with the proper authority could act independently for the region and not be encumbered with history.

3. The Board or Regional Authority should have a mandated authority for regional planning from the Provincial Government and have the ability to ensure the realization of the plan. This Board or Authority could act as the coordinating agency for the region and ensure that its mandate covers only planning. Regional services should be provided with reference to a regional plan. The Board or Authority must also be able to include the activities of Provincial and Federal agencies within its power of supervision. If these external agencies can ignore the regional plan then the legitimacy of the plan can easily be compromised.

4. The Board or Authority would have to create an effective planning process that everyone could understand and participate in. This process must include political and public input as well as the education of the regional public on the issues and the impacts of choices. The process must have the time necessary dedicated to it to allow for proper consultation.
5. The Board or Authority must have either a directly elected political base or a regionally accountable political base. The Board or Authority must be responsible to the region first and the municipalities second. Direct elections are one method of achieving this.

6. The Board or Authority would be concerned with general community planning objectives which are explicit and attainable. Unreachable goals diminish the interest and enthusiasm for carrying out a regional plan.

7. The Board or Authority should provide technical and planning assistance to those municipalities unable to support their own planning staff. This creates a working relationship between the Board or Authority and the municipalities and can help further goals for the region.

Growth issues in the Capital Region have been pushed back into the recent spotlight by growth problems in Saanich. However, there is a realization that the various regional strategies important to harnessing growth -- health, transportation, transit, parks, sewerage, water services, et cetera -- are conducted fairly independent of each other without an overall coordinating strategy. The survey carried out for this thesis also confirms this finding. A new regional growth strategy conducted by an independent Planning Board may be the solution to establishing support for the re-emergence of regional planning as a strong regional coordinating force. Such a new Board does not carry the political burden of being a child of the Capital Region Planning Board or the
Capital Regional District and could harness the improved, positive atmosphere to allow regional planning to once again be an effective force for good in the Capital Region. "Quod erat demonstrandum."
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Appendix A

As a high profile member of the Greater Victoria Community, your opinion is of considerable value. I would like to take this opportunity to hear your thoughts and opinions regarding regional planning without the spectre of public access. My name is Graeme Masterton and I am a Master of Arts Candidate at the University of British Columbia, in the School of Community and Regional Planning. If the name seems vaguely familiar, it may be through my father, James Masterton who worked at the Capital Regional District for many years.

My thesis will attempt to examine the attitude towards regional planning in Greater Victoria by canvassing your opinion and those of many of your peers. The information from this questionnaire will be used merely to gain insight into the feelings of the various factions in Greater Victoria as they apply towards the regional planning issue. It will not be released to the public in any shape or form except as numbers in my thesis. Your help is needed and greatly appreciated.

Thank You

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October 24, 1990  
Dear  

This is a reminder to please fill out and return the questionnaire on regional planning I sent out several weeks ago. I realize that with the impending civic elections there is a natural reluctance to fill out such a document but let me reassure you once again that I will not be using the information for any other purpose other than academic. Your assistance is greatly appreciated.  

Yours Truly,  

Graeme Masterton  

P.S. If you have already mailed the questionnaire back thank you very much.
Regional planning. Greater Victoria had the beginnings of a regional outlook in the early 1950's, yet the Capital Regional District has all but faded from the local planning scene. Recent Growth trends in Victoria seem to suggest that there is a need for regional co-operation and co-ordination on many issues, from economic growth to transportation and housing. My graduate thesis aims to examine the attitudes towards regional planning among local MLA's, politicians, and members of the community who play an integral part in the daily functioning of municipalities. The following questionnaire will provide the base of my thesis. Your help in completing this questionnaire is greatly appreciated.

(1) Please name the boundaries of the region in which you live and work.

(2) The task of defining a region is often confusing due to the disparate number of factors involved. Factors used quite commonly, include climate, biphysical region, environment, economics, political identity/boundaries, and commuting patterns. If a visitor with no knowledge of British Columbia asked you to describe these boundaries and explain why they define the region, how would you respond?

(3) For statistical purposes, we wish to define a scale from 1 through 10 regarding regional planning. If regional concerns were all that mattered then you would rank it a 10. Conversely, if the region was unimportant, that is local matters invariably take precedence, you rank it a 1.

Q?1 Where on this scale would you place the current state of regional planning?

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Q?2 Where should regional planning be on this scale?

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

(4) What should be done in your region to promote greater intra-municipal planning policies?

(5) Are you aware of the Capital Region Planning Board and The Capital Region Plan of the early 1950’s - predating the 1973 Official Regional Plan by 20 years?

[ ] Yes  [ ] No

(6) Are you aware of the Visions Victoria Conference that took place in February 1989?

[ ] Yes  [ ] No

(7) Visions Victoria was a series of sessions intended to create an awareness of regional policy issues (similar to the recent - March 1990 - Liveable Region Strategy Forums held in Vancouver) that was highly participatory. This approach contrasts strongly with the 1973 Official Regional Plan which was created with little public input.

Q?1 What approach to Regional planning do you favour

Q?2 On the following map, indicate at what scale regional planning should be instituted.
(8) Using the following map as a guide, draw a line around the region as you perceive it.
(9) The City of Victoria must assume the responsibility of increasing population densities to slow down suburban sprawl.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(10) Sewage disposal is not the concern of any other municipality.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(11) Saanich must increase its' housing stock to remove pressures to build on penninsula farmland.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(12) The widening of the Pat Bay Highway will be a benefit to the region.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(13) Public services (water, sewage) should be provided to all residents of the Greater Victoria Region.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(14) Road network planning is purely a local matter.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree
(15) Regional Parks should be paid for by the municipality in which they are situated.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(16) Each municipality should have the authority to handle its’ own planning issues regardless of the fact that the issue crosses municipal boundaries.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(17) Traffic congestion caused by suburban commuters is getting worse but could be solved through comprehensive regional land use policies.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(18) Cross municipal issues should be dealt with by a regional mechanism.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(19) Are you aware of any mechanism that could handle issues as suggested by questions 10-19?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

(20) Should there be a mechanism to handle region-wide issues?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

(21) If a regional planning board, similar to that of 1954, was established by the province today, what would be your reaction?

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree
(22) Regional planning would help maintain Greater Victoria and the Penninsula as an attractive, liveable community.

[ ] Strongly Disagree  [ ] Disagree  [ ] Agree  [ ] Strongly Agree

(23) Regional planning is simply an intrusion upon local jurisdiction.

[ ] Strongly Disagree  [ ] Disagree  [ ] Agree  [ ] Strongly Agree

(24) A regional planning entity would facilitate greater co-ordination of regional strategies, such as the Commonwealth Games.

[ ] Strongly Disagree  [ ] Disagree  [ ] Agree  [ ] Strongly Agree

(25) The Commonwealth Games is an indicator showing the lack of planning and co-ordination between municipalities.

[ ] Strongly Disagree  [ ] Disagree  [ ] Agree  [ ] Strongly Agree

(26) The loss of agricultural land to urban development has been a concern since the 1950’s. A regional planning board could help concentrate growth in order to preserve these lands.

[ ] Strongly Disagree  [ ] Disagree  [ ] Agree  [ ] Strongly Agree
(27) Increasing ferry traffic and suburban commuting should be viewed as a regional problem.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(28) Economic development requires regionally co-ordinated action to improve the effectiveness of growth strategies.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(29) The Capital Regional District should take a more active role in regional planning issues, much like the GVRD does in Vancouver.

[ ] Strongly Disagree
[ ] Disagree
[ ] Agree
[ ] Strongly Agree

(30) For academic purposes of following up this questionnaire please print your name in the space provided. This will enable me merely to determine who the respondents are when conducting follow up calls. Answers to this questionnaire will be dealt with strictly as numbers. Confidentiality of the respondent is considered to be a premium.

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation.

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### Appendix B

**Response Numbers by Municipality**

| Numbers | Pro Regional Planning | | Anti-Regional Planning | | | | |
|---------|---------------------|---|---------------------|---|------------------------|---|
|         | Crd | Core | Penn. | W.C. | total | Crd | Core | Penn. | W.C. | total |
| S.D.    | 13  | 36  | 12    | 15   | 76    | 3   | 33  | 30    | 15   | 81    |
| D.      | 11  | 49  | 25    | 16   | 101   | 7   | 24  | 21    | 13   | 65    |
| A.      | 15  | 46  | 20    | 22   | 103   | 30  | 91  | 37    | 52   | 210   |
| S.A.    | 1   | 11  | 6     | 12   | 30    | 15  | 46  | 2     | 18   | 84    |
| total   | 40  | 142 | 63    | 65   |       | 55  | 197 | 90    | 98   |       |

| Percent for response | Pro Regional Planning | | Percent for response | Anti Regional Planning | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|---|----------------------|------------------------|---|---|
| Percent              | Crd       | Core | Penn. | W.C. | total | Crd | Core | Penn. | W.C. | total |
| S.D.                 | 17%       | 47%  | 16%   | 20%  | 100%  | 4%  | 41%  | 37%   | 19%  | 100%  |
| D.                   | 11%       | 49%  | 25%   | 16%  | 100%  | 11% | 37%  | 32%   | 20%  | 100%  |
| A.                   | 15%       | 45%  | 19%   | 21%  | 100%  | 14% | 43%  | 18%   | 25%  | 100%  |
| S.A.                 | 3%        | 37%  | 20%   | 40%  | 100%  | 18% | 58%  | 2%    | 21%  | 100%  |

| Percent for Area     | Pro Regional Planning | | Percent for Area | Anti Regional Planning | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|---|----------------------|------------------------|---|---|
| Percent              | Crd       | Core | Penn. | W.C. | | Crd | Core | Penn. | W.C. | | |
| S.D.                 | 33%       | 25%  | 19%   | 23%  | | 5%  | 17%  | 33%   | 15%  | | |
| D.                   | 28%       | 35%  | 40%   | 25%  | | 13% | 12%  | 23%   | 13%  | | |
| A.                   | 38%       | 32%  | 32%   | 34%  | | 55% | 46%  | 41%   | 53%  | | |
| S.A.                 | 3%        | 8%   | 10%   | 18%  | | 27% | 25%  | 2%    | 18%  | | |
| Total                | 100%      | 100% | 100%  | 100% | | 100%| 100% | 100%  | 100% | | |