Growth Management and Regional Planning
in British Columbia:
Five Years After, A Comparative Analysis

by

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B.A (Honours, First Class)
Simon Fraser University, 1990

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS (PLANNING)

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
School of Community and Regional Planning

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

December 2001

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ABSTRACT

Many regions in the US and Canada have experienced significant growth and development in recent decades. Much of this has taken the form of unrelieved urban and suburban sprawl that has used enormous amounts of land, compromised environmentally sensitive areas, provided few lasting cultural and social benefits, and delivered questionable long-term economic benefits. In response, several senior and regional governments have undertaken growth management programs. The general objective of growth management is to control and direct growth and development to avoid, reduce and mitigate negative impacts arising from large scale growth and development in urban areas, and promote the creation of more attractive, efficient and sustainable cities and regions.

The thesis argues that the stronger the degree of senior government control – Federal, Provincial or State – over decisions by regional governments the more likely a comprehensive growth management program exists that: includes clearly defined goals; possesses institutional mechanisms to institute growth management; and, utilizes the powers of senior government to help direct and manage growth. The thesis pursues the argument through a literature review and a comparative analysis of selected growth management programs. Analysis of selected cases in British Columbia finds that the Provincial government’s growth management legislation and program have been applied in its large, highly urbanized and/or rapidly growing regional districts. However, it is found that the legislation has limited or no applicability to regions experiencing slow growth or decline.

A new Provincial planning model, flexible enough to address the needs of all regional districts in British Columbia, is recommended. Based on the concept of a growth and development continuum, an incremental and graduated planning model would give them the opportunity to choose appropriate planning tools, thereby providing the large, highly urbanized and/or rapidly growing regional districts and their local governments with the tools they need to manage growth and change, and slow growing regions and those in decline with the regulatory tools, financial and political support needed to encourage new growth and development. The thesis findings provide guidance to senior and regional governments in British Columbia, Canada and the US to enable them to improve their respective growth management legislation and programs.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The few words here can never fully express the gratitude I feel to a great many people on the completion of my graduate student odyssey at UBC. The experience from beginning to end has been very challenging, but it has also been very worthwhile. It has certainly broadened my thinking about community and regional planning, and has helped me to better appreciate the question “planning for who?”

I wish to profusely thank Professor Tony Dorcey for agreeing to take on the responsibility of supervisor, especially given the demanding duties placed on him as Director of the School of Community and Regional Planning at UBC in recent years. My experience with Professor Dorcey as thesis supervisor has been superlative. I have learned first hand why he is the recipient of the University of British Columbia Faculty of Graduate Studies Teaching Prize. I hope to have the opportunity to work with Professor Dorcey again.

I also wish to thank the other members of my thesis committee Professors Peter Boothroyd and Harry Harker for taking the time to scrutinize the ‘magnum opus’. Your probing questions proved instructive and constructive. Thanks are also due to Professor Brahm Wiesman (Emeritus) for reviewing Section 4.1, and suggesting valuable sources.

It is important too, to acknowledge the thesis interviewees. I am very grateful to the people who participated in the research effort; without their active participation this thesis would not have been possible. Sadly, because of the need to protect the anonymity of the interviewees, none of their humorous anecdotes and colourful explications are reiterated in the thesis. The interviewees may be anonymous to the readers, but I know who they are. Thanks to all of them.

In addition to the people mentioned above, I wish to thank two friends, and outstanding graduate students, Helen Cain and Tim Walls, who as part of the ‘thesis writers’ cabal’ were always available to discuss ideas. Carpe Diem.

I also wish to express my gratitude to my employer, the City of Abbotsford, and my work colleagues for enabling me to structure my time so that I could attend classes, conduct research and complete my graduate studies. Thank You.

And finally, I have been encouraged and patiently supported throughout my studies and thesis writing by Marleen, my love and nearest and dearest, without whom I know I would be a very unsatisfied planner, and who from the very beginning helped me to learn that “It is only with the heart that one can see rightly; What is essential is invisible to the eye”¹. With Love, I dedicate this thesis to you. SB.

Andrew Young

¹ “Voici mon secret. Il est tres simple: on ne voit bien qu'avec le coeur. L'essentiel est invisible pour les yeux.” from The Little Prince by Antoine-Marie-Roger de Saint-Exupery (1943)
1. INTRODUCTION

Regional planning, in its various forms, can be seen as an attempt to guide the development of a region. The concept of development as applied to society is a complex one. Development is not the same as societal change. The latter includes changes in society which may be detrimental as well as beneficial, whereas development tends to be equated with the beneficial side only, with progress or improvement -- for example, improvements in living standards, the adoption of new technologies, the establishment of new institutions. Development as such involves implicit and explicit value judgements about the direction and speed of change. However, it should be noted that the distributional impact of development may not be even and development for one person may not be development for another . . . The generation of a consensus on the future development of a particular region may thus encounter many conflicting views. Further, even if a consensus on ends can be achieved, there may still be conflict on the means, the policy tools, to achieve those ends (Glasson, 1978, pp.31-32).

In the decades following the Second World War many of North America’s metropolitan areas experienced rapid growth which was often accompanied by the rapid conversion of farmland and open space into housing subdivisions, shopping centres, and office parks. At the same time this pattern of growth has been matched by the decline and abandonment of many urban core areas and older suburbs. These patterns have come to be increasingly recognized as fiscally, socially and environmentally damaging and unsustainable by many citizens, public interest groups and elected officials in Canada and the United States. Consequently, calls for change have resulted in the adoption of growth management legislation and measures to direct development and growth in many parts of North America (Brookings Institute, 1998; Greer, 1962, pp.46-54; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, p. xi; Robinson, 1998; Stein, 1993, p. viii).
In 1995 the Province of British Columbia enacted legislation that was aimed at institutionalizing growth management principles and practices through the development of growth management strategies in the Province’s regional districts and through the adoption of similar and related principles and practices by the municipalities in these same regions (BC Legislature, 1995a). The impetus to institutionalize growth management in British Columbia arose, in part, because of significant concerns about the impacts of growth and the need to control the development and growth of metropolitan areas, in order to help ensure they are economically, socially and environmentally sustainable. A second impetus was the growth management work undertaken in recent decades in the United States (Ames, 1997; Scott, 1975).

While British Columbia’s growth management program is only six years old it has nonetheless been confronted by significant political challenges and perhaps as a consequence is being implemented slowly. At the same time, it is also widely recognized that unless sufficient controls are in place, growth pressures in urban and rural areas may quickly result in harmful changes to human and natural environments (Ames, 1997; Downs, 1998; Nelson & Duncan, 1995; Walth, 1994; Zovanyi, 1998). These factors suggest that improvements to the growth management program and strategies in BC may be desirable (Berke & French, 1994; Innes, 1992). An analysis of the Province’s growth management program and the growth management strategies and regional planning initiatives undertaken by some of its regional governments is helpful in identifying patterns of program development and in determining how British Columbia’s growth management program and strategies might be improved.
1.1 Thesis Goals Statement

The goals of this thesis are to analyse:

1. the development and implementation of growth management in British Columbia;
2. the implementation of selected regional growth management strategies; and
3. potential improvements to the Province's growth management legislation and program.

The thesis argues that the stronger the degree of senior government control – Federal, Provincial or State – over decisions by regional governments the more likely a comprehensive growth management program exists that: includes clearly defined goals; possesses institutional mechanisms to institute growth management; and, utilizes the powers of senior government to help direct and manage growth. What follows is a detailed consideration of this argument through a comparative analysis of selected growth management and regional planning cases in British Columbia. Ultimately the thesis is intended to provide guidance to senior and regional governments to enable them to enhance and expand their respective growth management programs and strategies.

1.2 Research Questions

To examine the application of growth management and regional planning, the background surrounding the institution of growth management and regional planning must be explored to

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2 Senior government control mechanisms can vary widely from State imposed legislative and regulatory requirements to intergovernmental contracts that are arrived at through consultative and collaborative planning approaches.
understand why it has developed. Different growth management programs must also be explored to identify the characteristics that have made them successful. In order to enhance growth management in British Columbia, consideration must also be given to identifying the ideal characteristics for the program. Accordingly, there are three main questions that will be explored in the thesis:

1. Why has growth management been instituted?
2. What are the characteristics of a successful growth management program?
3. For British Columbia, what would be the ideal characteristics of a comprehensive growth management program and legislation?

1.3 Description of Thesis Structure and Content

1.3.1 Approach

Many regions in the United States and Canada have experienced significant growth and development in recent decades. Much of the growth and development has taken the form of unrelieved urban and suburban sprawl that has used enormous amounts of land, provided few lasting cultural and social benefits, and delivered questionable long-term economic benefits (Kunstler, 1993). Furthermore, it has also been found in many regions that unless there are good mechanisms in place to promote coordinated planning among neighbouring local governments, trans-boundary development issues more often than not worsen (DeGrove & Metzger, 1993, pp.4-8). In some cases this development has also compromised environmentally sensitive areas. In order to help reduce some of the negative impacts associated with unrestricted growth and
development some governments in the United States and Canada have instituted growth management programs (Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.1-18 & p.35). In general these growth management programs are aimed at: protecting forest, agricultural, culturally significant and environmentally sensitive lands from development; encouraging compact development patterns; promoting economic development and housing affordability; and, establishing good transportation and public facilities to promote urbanization. They are also intended to enable communities to comprehensively plan for their future development. Where growth management programs have been implemented they have often been found to reduce the negative impacts of growth and encourage the creation of more attractive, economic, efficient and sustainable cities, towns and regions (Howe, 1993; Kuntsler, 1993; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, p.35; Oregon, 2000b).

In spite of the potential benefits, regional districts in the Province have been slow to undertake the development of regional growth management strategies, despite the fact that British Columbia’s population has grown by nearly 24% in the last ten years. In fact, only six of British Columbia’s twenty-eight regional districts have adopted a regional growth management strategy or are currently engaged in the process\(^3\). Furthermore, of these six regional districts only three voluntarily chose to develop a regional growth management strategy while the remaining three were required, or would have been required, by the Province to do so. Yet, over the same ten-year period (1990-2000) twelve of British Columbia’s regional districts recorded percentage increases in population

\(^3\) For reference, Map 1 illustrating British Columbia’s twenty-eight regional districts in 1996 appears on page 234 of the thesis.
that either exceeded or matched that of the Province as a whole\(^4\) (BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c). The majority of these regional districts have chosen not to develop a regional growth management strategy even though they incorporate some of British Columbia’s fastest growing areas and are faced by a number of challenging planning issues. Certainly, the participation, required or voluntary, of British Columbia’s regional districts in the Province’s growth management program is low (BC Municipal, 1996-2000). In contrast, there are many growth management programs that have been undertaken by senior governments in the United States that have realized higher participation and possess greater scope and breadth than British Columbia’s program. Furthermore, where these programs have been coupled with strong senior government leadership they also appear to be more effective (DeGrove & Metzger, 1993; Howe, 1993). These findings suggest that if the Province of British Columbia wants to implement effective growth management changes to its legislation and program may be required.

It should be noted that although British Columbia’s growth management legislation and program is only five years old; regional planning has been conducted in British Columbia in one form or another for many decades (Christopherson, 2000, pp.57-69; Corke, 1984, pp.96-117). The ability of British Columbia’s regional districts to develop and adopt comprehensive plans continues to depend entirely on continuing political support by the Province for regional planning and growth management legislation, programs and funding. Regional planning and growth management in

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\(^4\) Between 1990 and 2000 the population of British Columbia increased by 23.47%. Accordingly the average annual increase in the Province’s population for that period was approximately 2.35%. For reference, Table # 11 includes population data for all Regional Districts in British Columbia for the years 1990 and 2000 (Appendix C).
British Columbia has not, however, always enjoyed Provincial government support (Christopherson, 2000, p.66; Vancouver Sun, 1983b). Present political circumstances in British Columbia suggest that radical changes in regional governance structures are not likely to occur in the short term. Nevertheless, some modifications to British Columbia’s growth management and regional planning legislation and program may be considered by the Provincial government in the next few years (Christie, 1998, p.10; Gawronski, 1999, pp.4-5; Hobson, 1997, pp.iii-xii; Tindal & Tindal, 1990).

Bearing these points in mind, the general purpose and approach of the policy analysis applied in the thesis is to identify potential improvements to the Province’s growth management legislation and program that are politically viable and implementable. To accomplish this, the thesis addresses qualitative and broad conceptual aspects of growth management and planning for regional governments in British Columbia. It does so by reviewing literature relevant to growth management and regional planning, considering case studies of growth management programs in the United States and Canada, and interviewing people who possess in-depth knowledge of British Columbia’s growth management legislation, program and regional planning issues. The thesis also examines the statutory instruments that relate to the structure of British Columbia’s growth management and regional planning program and strategies. The general applicability of the Province’s growth management legislation and program to the political, social, economic and environmental requirements of different regional districts in British Columbia is also considered. The British Columbia regional districts considered in the thesis were selected to represent a broad
range of population size, political, social and economic importance, geography and environmental characteristics, and growth management and regional planning activities.

1.3.2 Methodology and the Nature of Qualitative Inquiry

The research methods used in this thesis build a qualitative analysis that focuses on how growth management has been implemented by senior and regional governments giving special attention to the growth management program and strategies of British Columbia and the potential for improving the growth management legislation and program in the province. The research consists of: an extensive review of literature in the area of growth management, focusing on the consideration of selected case studies in North America; and interviews focused on selected local governments (i.e. regional districts) in British Columbia. Consideration is also given to the intent, goals and objectives of the government of British Columbia’s growth management and regional planning programs including the statutory instruments and legal means through which these are pursued.

A preliminary literature review undertaken from May to August 2000 framed the context of a growth management conceptual framework that was drawn upon for the thesis. A formal research proposal for the thesis was developed in September 2000. Since research interviews were required for the thesis, a request for an ethical review for the research project was prepared and submitted to the University of British Columbia - Behavioural Research Ethics Board in the Fall of 2000; which was approved in March 2001. The preliminary research review and the formulation of the
research proposal for the thesis framed the research problem, provided direction for the establishment of research questions and provided background information for Chapters 1-3. The remaining thesis chapters are based on additional research and on the results of interviews.

A preliminary assessment of the potential case studies, including research and review of provincial and regional district policies and programs was undertaken between November 2000 and March 2001. Growth management and regional planning documents from selected regional district governments were reviewed and analysed at that time. Personal and telephone interviews of key people within British Columbia’s Ministry of Municipal Affairs and selected regional district governments were conducted during the months of May to August 2001. The information gathered from these interviews was critical to identifying and understanding the characteristics of the Province’s program as well as the growth management and planning strategies of the regional districts. Interviewees were asked a series of questions about their growth management and regional planning programs and were invited to comment freely on the strengths and weaknesses of the Province’s program as well as the strategies employed by the selected regions.

**The Nature of Qualitative Inquiry**

Qualitative research is a field of inquiry that aims to locate the observer in the world. There are a number of different methods and approaches that possess detailed literatures which comprise part of the category of qualitative research; for instance, case studies, interviews, observations and interpretive analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, pp.1-3; Eyles, 1988, pp.4-11). Ultimately,
qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive and material practices that help observers and researchers make the world visible and portray and communicate it to others. In doing so researchers transform the world into a series of representations; for example interviews, transcripts, conversations, photographs, films, recordings, diaries and personal and field notes. Qualitative researchers try to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings that people bring or give to them. It should, however, be understood that the researcher can never capture an objective reality of the subject under study (Buttimer, 1979; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, pp.5-6; Eco, 1990, pp.281-282; Lem, 1987; Pickles, 1985, pp.3-4, & 170; Stake, 2000, p.447). The subject can only be known through the representations captured or portrayed in the research representations and “the combination of multiple methodological practices, empirical materials, perspectives, and observers in a single study is best understood, then, as a strategy that adds rigour, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry” (Stake, 2000, pp.448-449; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.5). At the same time it should be noted that qualitative research is coloured by numerous influences such as: the relationship between the researcher and what and who is studied; the situational constraints that shape the inquiry – such as politics, history, perception and knowledge; the socially constructed nature of reality and research; ethics and the beliefs of the researcher; the experience of the researcher; how the researcher interprets data; and, the paradigmatic view taken by the researcher (Christians, 2000, pp.133-134 & p.149; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.8; Evans; 1991; Eyles, 1988, pp.11-14; Fontana & Frey, 2000, pp.645-646; Stake, 2000, p.438-439). The term ‘qualitative research’ also implies an emphasis on: the qualities of entities and experiences, and socially constructed meanings and processes. It seeks to understand the richness and socially
determined value of common and complex experiences. In contrast, quantitative research emphasizes measurement and the analysis of relationships between variables; its proponents claim that quantitative studies are conducted from within a value-free framework. The assertion that any research is value-free is certainly subject to wide and rigorous debate (Buttimer, 1976; Buttimer, 1979; Christians, 2000, pp.141-142; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, pp.6-8; Pickles, 1985, pp.1-11). Grounded as it is on the principles of qualitative research this thesis makes no such assertion.

**Background of the Researcher**

At the same time that researchers employ qualitative research methods and techniques to observe, interpret and represent events and phenomena it is important to recognize their individual limitations to portray an objective reality of the subject under study. In the case of this thesis, the researcher has been employed as a professional planner in British Columbia for over ten years. During that time the researcher has had the opportunity to observe and participate directly in many local government planning processes including the detailed review and formulation of several official community plans and substantive amendments, as well as numerous regional plans and regional growth management strategy documents. Prior to 1990 the researcher was an undergraduate student of geography and economics, two disciplines which attempt to impose their own senses of order on the world. No doubt these experiences have impacted the manner in which the researcher looks at and makes sense of events and phenomena, especially those related to local and regional planning in British Columbia. In pursuing this thesis the researcher has drawn upon these experiences and training, five years of study in the School of Community and Regional
Planning at the University of British Columbia as a part-time graduate student while working full-time as a professional planner, and the principles and theory of qualitative research, to develop the three main thesis research questions and appropriate means to answer them.

*Research Interviews: Approach, Experience, Data Collection and Analysis*

Prospective interviewees were identified on the basis of the individual’s background and their knowledge of the growth management or regional planning initiatives and programs that had been undertaken by their respective government. They were contacted initially through a letter that described the nature of the thesis research, and then contacted by telephone call and invited to participate in the research as an interviewee. Before their research interview commenced, each interviewee was presented with an informed consent form that described; the research study, the interview format, the preparation and circulation of transcripts, the confidentiality of information resulting from the research study, and the destruction of interview records following the thesis defence. The interviewees were asked to return a copy of the consent form bearing their signature and that of a witness. Interviewees were also told that a copy of the final thesis will be sent to them by the researcher.

The research interviews began with a series of introductory questions aimed at learning about the interviewee, including their background experience and qualifications. Aside from seeking to ensure that the person being interviewed possessed relevant knowledge of regional planning and growth management issues and legislation, especially as it related to their organization, these
questions were used to make the interviewee comfortable before being engaged in the principal research interview questions.

As for the principal research interview questions ⁵, five of them (Nos. 1-5) are nearly identical to the questions developed in the analytical framework of the thesis literature review (see section 2.3). These questions are intended to be flexible enough to be used to consider not just the regional growth management strategies of selected regional districts, but also the regional planning approach employed where a regional district has not undertaken the development of a growth management strategy. These questions were purposefully worded in order to learn why some regional districts in British Columbia have not undertaken the development of a growth management strategy. Using interview questions similar to those used in the previous literature review also facilitates comparisons between the research findings. The sixth thesis interview question was developed specifically to encourage interviewees to comment frankly about British Columbia’s growth management legislation and program and to learn about any barriers, obstacles, incentives and opportunities for growth management and regional planning which the Provincial Government could consider. Taken together the interview questions are intended to answer the goal statements and research objectives of the thesis.

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⁵ For reference, the Interview Schedule and Questions are included in Appendix A of the thesis.
It should be noted that it was at times necessary to ask the interviewees further questions in order to clarify points and to probe more deeply. Accordingly follow up questions were asked whenever it was felt that responses did not answer the principal research question or if the interviewees digressed from the main subject. Such questions were inserted into the conversation strategically so that the interviewee remained comfortable with the direction and format of the interview.

Material from the research interviews was used in one of three ways: as a direct quotation; as paraphrase; or as a point made without the use of a direct quotation or paraphrase. The research interviews were assigned to one of the following categories depending on whether the interview was related to:

1. A regional district that was required, or would have been required, to develop a regional growth management strategy by the Province of British Columbia. In this case the symbol “R”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee;

2. A regional district that volunteered to develop a regional growth management strategy. In this case the symbol “V”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee;

3. A regional district that chose not to develop a regional growth management strategy. In this case the symbol “CN”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee; or

4. An interview of a past or present official of the Government of British Columbia.
In this case the symbol “G”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee.

Details regarding the identity of the research interviewees were removed from the thesis in accordance with the University of British Columbia’s ethical research policies, as administered by the Office of Research Service – Behavioural Research Ethics Board. The researcher retains the key to identify the interviewees.

*Experience*

For the researcher, the overall experience of conducting the research interviews was very rewarding. In each case, once an interview began and the interviewee became comfortable with the researcher’s approach and questions, the interviewee typically provided very detailed answers. Frequently these were accompanied by humourous anecdotes and colourful explications. Sadly, none of them are reiterated in the thesis.

In total, ten people representing seven regional districts and the Province of British Columbia were interviewed by the researcher. Seven of the interviews were conducted through lengthy telephone calls, while the other three were conducted in person with the interviewee. Most of the interviewees gave more than an hour of their time for the interview. Regardless of the interview length, the researcher is very grateful to all of the interviewees who participated in the research effort; without their participation this thesis would not have been possible.
Data Collection and Analysis

By far one of the most time consuming and daunting tasks for the researcher was the production of interview transcripts. Since each interview was recorded on audio-tape, with the consent of the interviewee, it was possible to generate an accurate textual record. A copy of the draft transcript was forwarded to the respective interviewee to review, verify its accuracy and otherwise suggest changes to the record. After this was done, the interview transcripts, and a number of other research materials relevant to the respective regional district cases, were then carefully examined by the researcher and used to generate a set of tables to compare the research findings and facilitate the researcher’s analysis. Ultimately the research interviews and transcripts are the foundation on which this research study is based.

1.3.3 Outline

The thesis considers the development and implementation of growth management in British Columbia. It does so by considering, through comparative analysis, how regional growth strategies have been implemented. It also considers potential improvements to the Province’s growth management legislation and program. Chapter one has provided an introduction to the topic, laid out the problem statement and research questions, and outlined the approach and methodology for the study. Chapter two presents a conceptual framework for growth management and an analytical framework for the thesis. Chapter three presents the results of a literature review that examined selected growth management programs in the United States, Canada and internationally. Chapter four considers British Columbia’s growth management program in detail by examining the
Province's growth management and regional planning intent, goals and objectives. A comparative analysis of growth management and regional planning strategies of selected regional districts is then conducted which uses the thesis analytical framework. Chapter five, presents a series of recommendations from the research interviewees to enhance growth management and regional planning in British Columbia. Chapter six, the conclusion, presents a final statement on the findings of the research effort, the researcher's recommendations and suggestions for future research. As stated, the conceptual and analytical frameworks for the study are presented in the next chapter of the thesis.
2. FOUNDATIONS AND FRAMEWORKS

2.1 Growth Management: A Conceptual Framework

Understanding the evolution of growth management as a concept is integral to the development of a comprehensive definition of growth management and a growth management conceptual framework. Over twenty-five years ago, Russell Train, Administrator of the United States Environmental Protection Agency stated “that for a long period of time, the idea of growth and expanding opportunity ‘was as unquestioned as gravity itself’”. But it now appears that “our society is at a juncture where traditional assumptions are being tested by new aspirations, new priorities, and new values”. The debate centres on the question: “is more [growth] necessarily better?” (Train, 1975, p.37; & pp.42-48). These remarks appear in the first volume of the Urban Land Institute’s seminal work on the subject of growth management entitled ‘Management and Control of Growth’ which was published in 1975. These volumes appear to have identified many of the issues that still underlie the debate on whether and how to engage in growth management, for instance:

1. concerns about the impacts of development on quality of life;
2. the need to protect the natural and the man-made environments from degradation;
3. concerns about the fiscal impacts of development on existing and future land users and tax payers;
4. the need to limit or restrict poorly guided or unplanned consumption of land; and
5. the ideology and ethics of growth for its own sake (Scott, 1975, pp.2-23).
Essentially, the central theme of many of the articles contained in these texts is that in order to have “intelligent, effective decisions about the patterns and problems of growth ... then we are going to have to develop ... effective democratic governmental institutions on the state and regional level to direct and regulate growth” and that a failure to do so will thwart the growth management efforts of communities throughout North America (Train, 1975, p.48). In the introduction to the first volume in the series, the subject of “managed growth” is described as the “utilization by government of a variety of traditional and evolving techniques, tools, plans and activities to purposefully guide local patterns of land use, including the manner, location, rate, and nature of development” and that it “consists of a well-integrated, efficient, and affirmative system where choices or decisions are made explicitly and with full knowledge of the variables and tradeoffs involved, and where the programs are coordinated in furtherance of clear community growth and land use objectives” (Scott, 1975, p.4).

In the mid-1980s, the term ‘growth management’ was defined in one of the lexicons of planning, the ‘Encyclopedia of Community Planning and Environmental Management’ as the, implementation of government regulations that control the type, location, quality, scale, rate, sequence or timing of development. The prohibitions contained in a traditional zoning ordinance are a form of growth management, but the term implies a much greater involvement of local government in development decisions. Sophisticated growth management systems are closely tied to comprehensive land use plans and specific development policies (Schultz & Kassen, 1984, p.175).

Interestingly, in contrast to the earlier work of Train and others in the early 1970s, the foregoing definition includes no direct reference to environmental or social matters and issues arising from
development or growth. Further, the definition says nothing about the underlying needs or desires to control growth, or the ideological and ethical issues associated with development and growth (Schultz & Kassen, 1984).

By the early 1990s, and following the publication of ‘Our Common Future’ by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987, the importance of environmental and social matters and the ideas of sustainable development had come to be widely talked about and debated by citizens, planners, politicians and governments (Brundtland et al, 1987, p.44). The often cited definition of sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland et al, 1987, p.43) had attracted a sufficient number of supporters for it to be suggested in 1991 that “sustainable development was poised to become the development paradigm of the 1990s” (Lele’, 1991). Accordingly, the meaning of the term and concept of ‘growth management’ evolved to incorporate some of the ideas and ideals of sustainable development so that, by the early 1990s – according to John DeGrove and Patricia Metzger – “properly understood, growth management is a comprehensive concept, concerned not only with the physical [and environmental] impacts of growth but with the economic and social impacts as well” (DeGrove & Metzger, 1993, pp.3-5) and that the concept now recognizes the importance of the distribution of resources, equitable access to them, and the fact that many groups of people have been marginalized by development which was ill-considered (DeGrove & Metzger, 1993, p.5; Brundtland et al, 1987, p.44). The terminology and meaning of the concept of growth management
has clearly changed over the last three decades as understanding of the importance of developmental issues has improved.

Utilizing the foregoing conceptual ideas and definitions a more comprehensive definition and conceptualization of growth management can be developed. Accordingly, the following new definition is presented: **growth management planning involves utilizing the powers of government in a comprehensive, rational and coordinated manner in order to meet public objectives for protecting and preserving natural and manmade environments with balanced economic and social development and growth. It requires a philosophical commitment by government and citizens to create and strengthen institutional mechanisms which are intended to facilitate control over the type, location, quality, scale, rate, sequence and timing of development, and a willingness to exercise taxation, spending and regulatory powers to systematically influence the spatial distribution of activities in rural, urban and metropolitan areas. It enables people and government to pro-actively define and shape the environmental, social and economic quality of communities for existing and future generations** (Brundtland et al, 1987; DeGrove & Metzger, 1993; Godschalk, 1977, p.8; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp. xi-xii; Schultz & Kassen, 1984, p.175; Stein, 1993, pp. vii-viii; Zovanyi, 1998, pp.145-146). The new definition forms the conceptual framework on which the analytical framework applied to the selected cases is based. Some of the impetuses to adopt growth management programs in the United States and Canada are considered in the next section, as these are important in appreciating the willingness of some governments to institute growth management and provides a context for
2.2 Impetuses for Growth Management

Prior to the 1970s, planning and land use control powers in North America had either been granted by state or provincial governments to local governments, or in some instances in the United States those powers had been assumed by local governments through the provisions of State constitutions (Godschalk, 1977; Hodge, 1991, pp.291-297). In many regions undergoing rapid growth or urbanization, growing public concerns were expressed during the late 1960s and 1970s about the ability of local government to manage the timing, pace and form of urban development and the need to protect environmental and natural resources (DeGrove & Metzger, 1993, p.5; Nelson & Moore, 1996, p.241). In response, state and provincial mandated growth management systems began to emerge in the 1970s and 1980s through the implementation of measures intended to address environmental degradation arising from urbanization and sprawl (Dekel, 1997; Hodge, 1991, p.283; Innes, 1992; Kunstler, 1993, pp.9-11). Many of these initial measures, however, were insufficient to address the environmental, transportation, land use and social problems that arose during the late 1970s and the 1980s due to accelerating development in many regions and metropolitan areas (Bourne, 1992; Zovanyi, 1998, pp.142-145).

The continued conversion of farms and rural lands into suburban developments during the 1970s and 1980s quickly broadened environmental concerns to include the protection of “farm and forest lands, natural areas such as unique upland habitat, wetlands, water recharge areas, and the
separation of urban development and the rural countryside" (DeGrove & Metzger, 1993, p.5).

Rapid suburbanization – characterized by the movement of millions of affluent and middle-class North Americans out of urban areas in the 1970s and 1980s to outlying sprawling communities of single family homes, occasionally interrupted by shopping centres and office parks – resulted in:

(a) worsening traffic congestion and commuting problems as millions more motorists travelled the highways between their suburban homes and their places of work (DeGrove & Metzger, 1993, p.5; Hodge, 1991, p.375);

(b) concerns about providing an adequate supply of affordable housing and economic development policies that would promote growth where [it is] needed (DeGrove & Metzger, 1993, p.5; Hodge, 1991, p.375);

(c) disinvestment from inner city areas with a consequential loss of market activity and employment (especially in the United States) and economic polarization of many urban and suburban areas which has led to the concentration of poverty and increased crime in urban areas, and accelerated disinvestment (Bourne, 1992, p.510; Orfield, 1997a, b; Sancton, 1994, pp.22-25); and

(d) concerns about the high financial costs associated with suburban development since more taxes are required to pay for its dispersed infrastructure ranging from policing and fire fighting services to roads, water and sewage systems (Hodge, 1991, p. 283; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.4-5; Orfield, 1997a; Sancton, 1994, p.25).
In summary, the impacts on existing urban areas and the resultant settlement patterns of unmanaged and poorly managed growth in North America have been described as the "most wasteful ... in the history of the world" (Clay, 1998, pp.66-68). In response, in the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s a number of senior governments in the United States and Canada began to implement comprehensive growth management strategies aimed at controlling future growth and remedying some of the consequences of earlier unmanaged or poorly managed growth (Gertler, 1998; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.1-2; Rees, 1999; Thompson, 1998).

2.3 Analytical Framework

In order to advance the thesis argument, an analytical framework is presented which is based on the conceptual framework and on the impetuses for growth management presented earlier. The analytical framework was formulated by turning the conceptual ideas and the impetuses for growth management into questions useful to the consideration and analysis of selected cases. Accordingly, the following questions form the analytical framework that will be applied to the selected cases.

1. How did the growth management or regional planning program emerge?

2. Does the growth management or regional planning program or strategy have clearly defined goals?

3. What institutional mechanisms have been used to institutionalize growth management or regional planning?

4. How have the powers of senior and regional government been employed to manage growth?
5. How has growth management or regional planning been monitored?

6. What improvements to the Province's growth management legislation and program are suggested?

The questions utilized in the analytical framework appear discrete from one another, however, it is important to realize they cannot be considered independently. Each of the foregoing questions can provide information that is useful in providing insights into the others; for example, the manner in which a growth management program emerged in a given jurisdiction may provide insights into the formation of goals and institutional mechanisms to affect growth management. Furthermore, the manner in which monitoring of growth management is undertaken may be influenced by senior government.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has explored some of the conceptual and historical planning foundations of growth management in the United States and Canada, including some of the impetuses for the implementation of growth management programs. This work facilitated the development of a comprehensive definition and conceptualization of growth management and is the foundation on which the thesis's analytical framework is based. Before using this work in chapter 4 to look at British Columbia's growth management and regional planning program and strategies in detail, it will be beneficial to apply it first to selected state and provincial growth management and regional planning programs in order to develop a better understanding of their characteristics. Accordingly, the literature review presented in the next chapter applies those parts of the analytical framework
appropriate to the consideration of a variety of senior government growth management and regional planning programs in North America. The applicability of the analytical framework to national and international growth management cases is also briefly considered.
3. REVIEW OF SELECTED U.S. AND CANADIAN GROWTH MANAGEMENT PROGRAMS

In order to develop support for the principal argument of the thesis, a selected literature review related to growth management in the United States and Canada was conducted. This thesis chapter:

1. provides a brief rationale for the selection of the cases;
2. examines and analyses the selected North American growth management cases; and
3. briefly considers growth management nationally and internationally.

3.1 Rationale for the Selection of the Cases

Even a cursory review of planning journals and literature reveals there are numerous growth management programs throughout the United States and Canada and the scope and goals of these programs differ (Downs, 1998; Rusk, 1998; Sancton, 1994). Making sense of these differing programs is challenging and it is therefore useful to have a means of categorizing them. The typology of growth management programs presented by Arthur Nelson and James Duncan (1995) is employed here in order to provide a simple and useful rationale for the selection and categorization of the cases. Their typology is based on the categorization of growth management programs into one of four basic approaches. The first approach is that of growth management programs imposed by senior government. The second approach is that of mandatory growth management by regional or local governments with a strong senior government role. The third approach is that of mandatory growth management by regional or local governments with a weak senior government role. The fourth approach involves the direct implementation of growth
management through planning functions at the regional and local government levels. The typology is flexible as each of these approaches may be further refined based on the growth management roles undertaken by or assigned to different levels of government. The cases which are presented in the following section illustrate the four growth management approaches in Nelson and Duncan’s typology (Gale, 1992; Innes, 1992; Nelson & Duncan, 1995; Stein, 1993).

3.2 Analysis of Growth Management Approaches

This section begins by providing an overview of each of the selected cases. The general context for each case is presented along with a description of the overall growth management approach and program. Some of this information will serve to answer some of the questions posed in the research analytical framework. Afterwards a more systematic analysis is presented in tabular form which applies the analytical framework presented earlier in the thesis. In conducting this analysis various written materials have been drawn upon including some found through the use of Internet searches.

The first approach is that of state-imposed planning such as that which exists in the State of Hawaii. The second approach is that of mandatory planning with a strong State role such as that which exists in the States of Oregon and Florida. The third approach is that of mandatory planning with a weak State role such as that which exists in California. The fourth growth management and planning approach involves the implementation of regional planning functions such as those established in the State of Minnesota and in British Columbia.
As implied above, state-imposed planning is planning imposed on county, regional and local governments by a senior government. In the United States and Canada only the State of Hawaii imposes top-down planning upon its junior governments (Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.20-22). In brief, the State of Hawaii alone holds and exercises the authority for planning and growth management. It has undertaken a direct regulatory and permitting role respecting development issues. Furthermore, county and local governments in Hawaii are required to comply with State mandated planning and growth management policies, and abide by the land use planning decisions made by the State’s land use commission (Callies, 1992).

Almost from its inception as a State, Hawaii has led and controlled the development and implementation of planning laws and a State plan. Hawaii is a small State and historically has had weak local governments; consequently the State has imposed top-down planning upon its local governments (Callies, 1992). The original planning laws adopted in Hawaii were intended to stop the common practice whereby developers purchased large amounts of land and subdivided it for low density small lot development, a practice deemed responsible for accelerating the reduction in the State’s inventory of farmland (Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.20-22). The original land-use legislation adopted by the State of Hawaii in 1961, resulted in the classification of all lands in the State into one of four categories: “urban, agriculture, low-density rural, and conservation” (Nelson & Duncan, 1995, p.20). Only the first three of these categories permit development (DeGrove, 1984; Gale, 1992, p.437).
The use and development of land in Hawaii is managed by a land use commission (mentioned above) – which is appointed by the State governor – and its staff, the Department of Planning and Economic Development. The conservation lands, noted earlier, may not be developed and are managed by Hawaii’s Board of Land and Natural Resources. Although a number of land-use studies were conducted after 1961, a state-wide formal land-use plan was not adopted in Hawaii until 1978. Furthermore, until 1978 clear administrative procedures and decision making criteria had not been established to guide the work of Hawaii’s Land Use Commission (HLUC) (Callies, 1992; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.20-22). However, since the adoption of Hawaii’s official State plan procedures have been established and requests to change land use designation now require the formal approval of the HLUC. It should be noted that State counties comprising individual islands are not entitled to develop their own local plans but are required to administer the plan adopted by the State (Hawaii, 1961; Hawaii, 1978; Hawaii, 2000). By the 1990s, about 95 percent of the lands which had been classified as rural in the early 1960s remained so. It should be noted, however, that some public dissatisfaction has emerged over the inability of local governments to influence plan-making and the lack of responsiveness from State agencies to development interests (Callies, 1992; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.20-22).

Oregon and Florida

The second approach taken toward growth management is that of mandatory planning with a strong State role. Among the States that have utilized this approach are Oregon and Florida. In brief, in these States local plans are reviewed to ensure they are consistent with the planning policies
established by the State government. If it is determined that local plans do not comply with State mandated policies they are not approved or are prevented from being implemented. This approach effectively assigns authority for planning and growth management matters to the State, however, it is re-delegated in part to local governments to implement local plans when it has been determined they comply with State goals and objectives (Nelson & Duncan, 1995, p.22).

*Oregon*’s State planning program is one of the oldest in the United States and was initiated in 1973 with the adoption of the Land Conservation and Development Act (LCDA) (Oregon, 2000a). That Act established the Oregon Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC) to oversee the implementation of the State’s planning program and the development of a set of state-wide planning goals. Under the provisions of the LCDA, Oregon’s cities, counties and State agencies are required to adopt comprehensive growth management plans which are coordinated with one another and comply with the State’s mandated planning goals (Howe, 1993; Oregon, 2000b). These goals include:

1. the preservation of agricultural and forest lands;
2. the preservation of sensitive lands and areas of scientific, historical and cultural significance;
3. the encouragement of compact development patterns and urban growth boundaries;
4. promotion of housing affordability;
5. economic development; and
6. the establishment of transportation and public facilities to promote urbanization (Howe, 1993, p.64; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, p.22; Oregon, 2000b).

The main objectives of Oregon’s growth management initiative are to contain urban sprawl and to preserve forests and farmland. In order to limit urban sprawl and promote the goal of
urbanization, Oregon’s cities are required to define urban growth boundaries beyond which urban services such as water and sewer systems will not be extended. In order to meet the latter objective, preserving forests and farmland, the designation of exclusive resource and farm use zones was mandated by the State; prohibiting incompatible uses and serving to reduce speculation and property taxes (Howe, 1993, pp.61-68; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.22-23). The LCDC has been responsible for reviewing the plans of local governments to ensure they comply with the State’s mandated goals. To facilitate this process, the LCDC was authorized to distribute State funds to local governments to help them prepare their plans. The initial deadline for completion was January 1976; however, due to underfunding and understaffing of the LCDC itself, along with the technical and political difficulties of defining urban growth boundaries and complying with other State goals, progress on plan approvals was slow and the LCDC found it necessary to grant extensions to local governments (DeGrove, 1984, p. 264; Howe, 1993, pp.61-68). At first the LCDC found it necessary to reject many of the local plans first submitted since they did not comply with State mandated growth management goals. As a result the approval process actually took the LCDC ten years longer than originally stipulated. In spite of these difficulties and challenges Oregon’s growth management program is now looked upon as the most effective and comprehensive in the United States (Nelson & Moore, 1996). Oregon’s program, which enjoys broad public support within the State, has been successful in checking urban sprawl and protecting resource lands from development (Howe, 1993, pp.74-75). Despite this, some parties have recently asked that the existing urban growth boundaries around Portland be extended to facilitate the construction of low density housing (Bollens, 1992, p.461; Economist, 1997a; Nelson & Duncan,
Florida, like Oregon has mandated growth management planning with a strong State role. The State’s original planning legislation, the Local Government Comprehensive Planning Act (1975), required local governments to implement comprehensive plans but State approval of those plans was not required (DeGrove, 1984, p.162). The State of Florida, however, began to establish a far more rigorous and detailed planning framework by enacting the State and Regional Planning Act in 1984, the Growth Management Act in 1985, and the Local Government Comprehensive Planning and Land Development Regulation Act in 1987. In support of the legislation and to ensure broad compliance with their provisions, Florida’s legislature adopted a comprehensive plan for the entire State in 1985 including goals and policies to address a number of critical growth management and planning issues facing the State (Innes, 1992; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, p.21 & p.24). As part of the initiative, Florida’s State agencies adopted functional plans to help implement the State’s comprehensive plan. Florida’s regional councils were also required to adopt policy plans that were consistent with the State plan by 1987 (Florida, 1975; 1984; 1985a; 1985b; 1987; Stuart, 1994).

Under the provisions of the 1985 Growth Management Act, Florida’s local governments were required to submit plans to the State’s Department of Community Affairs (DCA) for review and approval based on their consistency with State and regional plans and goals by the summer of 1991 (Florida, 1985a; 1985b). All local governments in the State complied with this requirement,
although some may have done so under threat of losing State funds for local projects and programs (Innes, 1992; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, p.24). In accordance with the legislation, cities and counties in Florida were required to adopt and implement plans, land use regulations and zoning provisions, as well as land-use maps consistent with the State’s comprehensive plan. Florida’s growth management legislation also required that local plans stipulate measurable goals, objectives and policies for nine mandated plan elements including: “land use, conservation, housing, capital improvements, infrastructure, coastal management, traffic circulation, recreation, and intergovernmental coordination” (Florida, 1985 a; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, p.24). In accordance with Florida’s statutes, major amendments to local plans may only be made a few times per year and must comply with the State’s comprehensive plan (Gale, 1992, pp.428-429). It should be noted that despite its success in implementing more comprehensive planning Florida’s growth management planning programs have been controversial, have frequently been challenged, and calls have been made to repeal them (Economist, 1998c; Gale, 1992, pp.435-436; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, p.24).

California

The third approach taken toward growth management in the United States is that of mandatory planning with a weak State role. This is the approach utilized in California and a few other States, for example Vermont and Georgia (Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.26-28). In brief, local and in some instances regional governments are required under this approach to develop plans which are then reviewed by State agencies to ensure they are consistent with the planning criteria established by
their respective State governments. However, under this approach, in contrast to the preceding ones, the State has little authority to prevent local plans from being implemented even if it has been determined that they are inconsistent with the State's planning policies (Gale, 1992, p.425; Innes, 1992). Effectively this approach assigns considerable authority for planning and growth management matters to local governments (Fulton, 1993, p.122; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, p.26).

State mandated local planning has existed in California since the 1950s from which time local governments have been required to adopt 'general plans' that include land-use and transportation provisions. In 1971 the California legislature adopted the State's landmark planning legislation (California, 1971). Under this law city and county zoning and subdivision ordinances, as well as approvals for specific developments, must be consistent with the provisions of the applicable local 'general plan'. For the most part, however, the State of California does not require local governments to satisfy the State's planning policy goals except to implement a local 'general plan' (Fulton, 1993, p.114). The exception being the requirement that local governments include a housing element within their 'general plans' to advance the State's goal to provide housing opportunities for all income groups and community segments in California (Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.26-27).

Under California State law, the 'general plans' implemented by local governments are required to include provisions to address the issues of land use, housing, circulation (transportation), conservation, open space, safety and noise. Further, the State requires that each of these elements
is supported by certain types of information; for instance, text and maps documenting the land use element must include details concerning the future distribution of residential, commercial, industrial, conservation and open space areas. The State’s Department of Housing and Community Development is entitled to review and comment on the housing elements included in ‘general plans’, but local governments are not obligated to abide by its recommendations (Fulton, 1993, p.115; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.26-27). In addition, local governments enjoy the discretion to add elements to their local plans to address other issues for instance urban and community design, and historic preservation. At present, under California’s existing planning statutes there is no administrative mechanism to force local governments to comply with their ‘general plans’, nor with the State’s planning policies. Instead of instituting such a mechanism, the State relies on private citizens, agencies and California’s attorney general to file civil suits against local governments to ensure their compliance (Fulton, 1993, pp.114-115; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, p.27).

**Minnesota and British Columbia**

The fourth approach taken toward growth management involves the implementation of regional planning functions such as those established in the State of Minnesota and in British Columbia. In large metropolitan areas or those which contain numerous local governments, ensuring that local as well as State planning goals and objectives are addressed can be very complicated. In such instances, addressing growth management issues at the regional level can be more effective than leaving them to local governments to resolve.
Minnesota’s, Twin Cities Metropolitan Council (TCMC) in Minneapolis - St. Paul is perhaps the most successful and innovative experiment in regional government in the United States (Minnesota, 1976; 2000c; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.30-31; Orfield, 1997a). In 1967 the State of Minnesota established the TCMC in order to provide services not performed by local and county governments and to ensure that the interests of the area’s seven counties and more than one hundred municipalities were adequately addressed. Prior to the creation of the regional council the Twin Cities area had been ineffectively governed by a metropolitan planning commission comprised of local government representatives (Minnesota, 1976; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.30-31). In contrast the TCMC members are appointed by the State governor to ensure the region’s local governments do not directly control the council. Because its members are appointed, the TCMC is not constituted as a level of general government and its taxing authority is fixed by the Minnesota State legislature. The TCMC, however, is authorized to formulate the region’s growth management plan and to review major public and private development proposals and projects to ensure they are consistent with the plan as well as the State’s planning goals and objectives (Minnesota, 1976; 1996). If the council finds that major conflicts with these plans must be resolved, it has the ability to suspend further action on these projects for up to a year. Further, the TCMC may suspend long range plans for waste water and other regional systems if it believes they will result in conflicts with the Twin Cities comprehensive regional plan. It should be noted that although regional services such as water, sewer, transit, waste management, and the region’s airport are provided by other agencies, the TCMC is responsible for overseeing their coordination (Minnesota, 2000a; 2000b). In 1976, Minnesota’s State legislature adopted the Metropolitan Land
Planning Act which stipulates that local governments in the Twin Cities area must develop comprehensive plans that are consistent with the TCMC’s system plans for regional services. Under the statute the TCMC is charged with reviewing amendments to local government comprehensive plans, and must find them consistent with the TCMC’s adopted regional plans before approving them or permitting development to proceed (Katz & Bernstein, 1998a; Minnesota, 1976; 1996; 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.30-31; Orfield, 1997a).

*British Columbia*, as indicated, is another example of the fourth approach to growth management and planning. In 1995 following extensive consultations with local and regional governments throughout British Columbia, the Provincial government adopted the Growth Management Strategies Act, 1995 to help facilitate improved regional and local planning. The goals of the Act are “to promote human settlement that is socially, economically and environmentally healthy and that makes efficient use of public facilities and services, land and other resources” (BC Legislature, 1995a, s. 942.11). Among the important objectives in the legislation are the following provisions:

1. avoiding urban sprawl and ensuring that development takes place where adequate facilities exist or can be provided in a timely, economic and efficient manner;
2. the efficient movement of goods and people while making effective use of transportation and utility corridors;
3. protecting environmentally sensitive areas;
4. maintaining the integrity of a secure and productive resource base, including the agricultural and forest land reserves;
5. reducing and preventing air, land and water pollution; and
6. adequate, affordable and appropriate housing.

Extracts from the B.C. Growth Management Strategies Act, 1995 – an abridged selection from objectives (a) to (n), s.942.11 s.s.(2). (BC Legislature, 1995a)
In spite of the intent of the foregoing provisions, most regional and local governments in British Columbia (B.C.) are not obligated to develop or implement a growth management strategy. In fact only three of the twenty-eight regional governments in the Province (i.e. the Greater Vancouver, Capital and Fraser Valley Regional Districts) were required, or would have been required by the Provincial government to develop a regional growth management strategy and these are British Columbia's most populous or fastest growing regions. Only three of the remaining regional governments have volunteered to implement a regional growth management strategy. These are the Nanaimo, Central Okanagan and Thompson-Nicola Regional Districts (Gawronski, 1999, pp.16-17; BC Legislature, 2000b, Sections 850 & 871; BC Municipal, 2000a). Ensuring that local, regional and Provincial planning goals and objectives are addressed can be very complicated in such populous regions especially when they are large and contain numerous local governments. To date the most successful of the growth management plans developed in British Columbia is that of the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD, 1999a; Sancton, 1994, p.71). It should be pointed out, however, that many of the matters important to the effective implementation of a regional growth management strategy – with the notable exception of establishing urban growth boundaries and the responsibility for transportation and transit – have been the responsibility of the GVRD for many years. Nevertheless following the adoption of the Province’s legislation the

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6 At the time the Province of British Columbia was developing its regional growth management legislation it was anticipated that the Capital, Fraser Valley and Greater Vancouver Regional Districts would be required by the Province to institute a growth management strategy if they did not willing do so on their own. The legislation includes a provision whereby the Provincial Government, on the recommendation of the Minister of Municipal Affairs (now the Minister of Community, Aboriginal and Women’s Services), can direct a regional district to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy if it is deemed to be in the Provincial or public interest (BC Legislature, 1995a, s. 942.14).
GVRD undertook to formalize a regional growth management strategy, a process which required considerable consultations with its constituent local governments. This resulted in the creation of an agreement that was accepted by its members and the Province (GVRD, 1993 c, d; GVRD, 1996a). In spite of its success to date the GVRD’s regional growth management strategy has been controversial, and has at times been challenged by some of its member municipalities (Munro, 1997 a, b, c, d, e; Vancouver Sun, 1997 a, b, c, d).

It is important to mention that much of the responsibility for the operationalization of regional growth management strategies and plans in British Columbia falls on regional government boards, which are comprised of individuals elected to local government. The board members are authorized to review major public and private development proposals and projects and amendments to the official community plans of local governments to ensure they are consist with the regional growth management strategy. If they conflict with the region’s plans the regional board may reject them, require amendments, negotiate changes and may even refer them to mediation or arbitration for resolution (BC Municipal, 1998d; BC Municipal, 1999e; BC Legislature, 2000b, Sections 856-857 & 860-861).

It should be noted that under British Columbia’s growth management legislative framework, where a regional district is directed or volunteers to develop a regional growth management strategy, the Ministry of Municipal Affairs reviews the strategy to ensure it complies with the minimum requirements stipulated in the Province’s legislation and with any specific goals which the Ministry
may require. Accordingly the Provincial government may reject a region's growth management strategy if it fails to comply with these requirements, and may require substantive changes to the strategy before it is accepted. Where a regional district has a growth management strategy in place it is required to monitor its implementation and report its monitoring results to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs. Effectively, wherever a regional growth management strategy is undertaken or exists, the Provincial government indirectly oversees the development of these strategies as well as monitoring of their implementation (BC Municipal, 1996-2000; BC Municipal, 1998d, Part 2; BC Legislature, 2000b, sections 849, 850 & 852).

Now that the selected cases have been reviewed, part of the analytical framework is applied to them in order to learn more about the growth management approaches they have taken. As previously indicated the series of questions used in the analytical framework are intended to advance the principal argument of the thesis. The result of the analysis is presented, in part, in the series of four analytical tables which begin on the following page.

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7 Analytical Tables 1 to 4 form part of the body of the thesis. While the tables are well labeled they do not include page numbers. For the reader's information there are five sets of tables in the series and each consists of two pages. For reference purposes they are described here:

Table 1: How did the growth management program emerge?
Table 2: Does the growth management program have clearly defined goals?
Table 3 (part 1): What institutional mechanisms have been used to institutionalize growth management?
Table 3 (Part 2): What institutional mechanisms have been used to institutionalize growth management?
Table 4: How have the powers of senior government been employed to manage growth? and How has growth management been monitored?
Representative Typology of Growth Management Programs

Analytical Table 1: How did the growth management program emerge?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Growth Management Program</th>
<th>Hawaii</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>How did the growth management program emerge?</strong></td>
<td>State-imposed planning</td>
<td>mandatory planning with a strong State role</td>
<td>mandatory planning with a strong State role</td>
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<td>Almost from its inception as a State, Hawaii has led and controlled the development and implementation of planning laws and a State plan. Hawaii’s government adopted its first state-wide planning law in 1961 in response to concerns about the effects of unchecked and largely unregulated subdivision and development of pristine, undeveloped lands and agricultural properties. The State's 1961 planning statute served to prevent (or slow) the subdivision and gradual urbanization of these lands. This statute was supplemented by the passage of Hawaii's State Plan in 1978 and by subsequent legislative amendments which have served to strengthen the State's control over growth management.</td>
<td>The State of Oregon's growth management program is one of the oldest in North America and was formally initiated in 1973 with the adoption by the State legislature of the Oregon Land Conservation and Development Act (LCDA). The act and program were developed in response to growing public concerns about the impact of development on Oregon's natural and human environments and on the State's ecology. The general aim of the LCDA was to prohibit unrestricted and/or poorly planned development in Oregon (which had been common before the passage of the LCDA) and to regulate development in and near Oregon's urban areas, and to restrict development in rural and undeveloped areas.</td>
<td>The State of Florida's growth management program was initiated in 1975 with the adoption of the Local Government Comprehensive Planning Act which required local governments to prepare and adopt comprehensive plans even though these plans did not require State approval. Later statutes adopted by the State including the State and Regional Planning Act (1984), the Growth Management Act (1985) and the Local Government Comprehensive Planning and Land Development Regulation Act (1987) were aimed at establishing and maintaining a more vigorous and detailed state planning framework. These later acts and the passage of a State comprehensive plan in 1985 strengthened the State's role and were developed in response to growing land use disputes over development and environmental concerns, as well as the need to carefully plan for the provision of significant public infrastructure.</td>
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## Analytical Table 1: How did the growth management program emerge?

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</table>
|                                  | The State of California has had a long history of planning for growth. In the late 1940s the State began requiring all county and local governments to develop general (comprehensive) plans to help regulate California's very rapid growth and development. Since then the State's general plan requirements have been specified, often in response to emerging public concerns about an issue such as housing affordability, transportation or environmental impacts. In 1971 the State of California enacted its landmark planning legislation which requires that the zoning and development regulations and approvals given by county and local governments must be consistent with their general plans. The State does not require the general plans adopted by county and local governments to adhere with the State's planning objectives, except to address the issue of providing housing opportunities for all community and income groups.  

(Sources: California, 1971; California, 2000c; California, 2000a; Fulton in Stein, 1993; Nelson, 1995, pp.26-27) |
| Minnesota                        | mandatory regional growth management       |
|                                  | In 1967, the State of Minnesota enacted legislation which established the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council (TCMC) to take positive action to administer, manage and plan for the development and future growth of the Twin Cities of Minneapolis-St.Paul. This initiative was taken in response to public and senior government concerns about the need to plan more effectively for the region's future and to reduce negative environmental impacts arising from growth and development. The creation of the TCMC was also undertaken to replace an ineffective council of governments metropolitan planning commission. Minnesota's original Twin Cities Planning Statute was later strengthened by the adoption of the Metropolitan Land Planning Act in 1976 which requires local governments in the Twin Cities Area (TCA) to prepare comprehensive plans that are consistent with the TCMC's regional plans, goals and objectives.  

(Sources: Minnesota, 2000a; Nelson, 1995, pp.30-31) |
| British Columbia                 | voluntary or mandatory regional growth management |
|                                  | In 1995 the Province of British Columbia (B.C.) enacted the Growth Strategies Amendment Act which enabled Regional Districts throughout the Province to develop plans to manage growth within regions and to require the compliance with those plans by the constituent local governments within them. British Columbia's growth management legislation and program were developed in response to concerns about negative impacts of development on natural and human environments in the Province, and to the increasing need to plan more effectively for future growth and development. Overall the general aim of the Province's legislation is to promote settlement that is socially, economically, and environmentally healthy which also makes efficient use of land, resources, public facilities and services. This Act was also intended to provide the Province's regional districts with a number of powers to improve planning by regional and local governments, and to restrict development in many rural and undeveloped areas within their jurisdictions. However, since 1995 only 6 of the 28 regional districts in B.C. have undertaken the development of regional growth management strategies. Three of these six regions were directed by the Provincial Minister of Municipal Affairs to develop a growth management strategy within a specified time frame because they constitute the most populous or fastest growing regions in British Columbia; and only the three remaining regional districts volunteered to undertake the development of a growth management strategy.  

(Sources: BC Legislature, 1995a; BC Legislature, 2000c; BC Municipal, 1999a; BC Legislature, 2000b, s.849-850) |
## Analytical Table 2: Does the growth management program have clearly defined goals?

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<td>Does the growth management program have clearly defined goals?</td>
<td>Yes, Hawaii's State Plan incorporates a series of simple and clearly defined goals which are aimed at achieving and preserving for the well-being of present and future generations: a strong, viable economy; desirable physical environment characterized by beauty and stable natural systems; and, physical, social and economic well-being that nourishes a sense of shared community responsibility. Emphasis is given through the State plan to the preservation of rural and conservation lands. (Sources: Hawaii, 1978, s. 3 &amp; 4; Hawaii, 1961, s. 2)</td>
<td>Yes, Oregon's Growth Management Program incorporates a series of 19 well defined planning goals which express the State's policies on land use and related topics, such as citizen involvement, environmental protection, housing, natural resources, economic development and public infrastructure. These goals are accompanied by guidelines which suggest how each of the 19 goals may be implemented. Overall the State's program emphasizes coordination, that is, keeping the plans and programs of counties, local governments and State agencies consistent with each other and with the State's mandated goals and approved local plans. (Sources: Oregon, 2000a &amp; 2000b)</td>
<td>Yes, Florida's State Comprehensive Plan incorporates 26 well-defined goals and policies aimed at protecting the quality of life of the State's present and future citizens and residents. Some of these goals are to protect or improve the State's natural resources and environment, economy, public health and welfare, public facilities and infrastructure, and the use of development is directed to areas of the State which have, or have agreements to provide, land and water resources, fiscal abilities and service capacity to accommodate growth in an environmentally acceptable manner. (Sources: Florida, 1985b, s. 187.101; Nelson, 1995, pp.23-24)</td>
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**Decision making and administrative criteria for Hawaii's State Plan**

- Decision making and administrative criteria for Hawaii's State Plan are simple and clear, emphasizing due consideration and conformance with the State's planning goals, policies, and priorities. (Sources: Hawaii, 1978, s. 51, 52 & 53; Hawaii, 1961, s. 17)

**Decision making and administrative criteria for Oregon's Growth Management Program**

- The State of Oregon and the Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC) decision making and administrative criteria in respect of the state-wide planning program, goals and objectives are thorough. In response to the public's demand for clarity and to applications the criteria address a wide variety of conditions and circumstances. These criteria, however, emphasize compliance with the State's mandate and planning goals. (Sources: Oregon, 2000 a, b, c, e)

**Decision making and administrative criteria for Florida's State Comprehensive Plan**

- Decision making and administrative criteria for the State of Florida's growth management and State planning programs are relatively simple and consist of the goals and policies set out in the State Comprehensive Plan, and in the plan consistency requirements in Florida's State and Regional Planning Act. (Sources: Florida, 1984, 1985b, 1987)
Analytical Table 2: Does the growth management program have clearly defined goals?

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<td>California mandatory planning with a weak State role</td>
<td>Minnesota mandatory regional growth management</td>
<td>British Columbia voluntary or mandatory regional growth management</td>
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<td>No. While the State of California has a set of planning laws that appear to be strong and identify a number of &quot;issues&quot;, which have been noted as state-wide concerns, the State does not have clearly defined planning objectives or goals. Furthermore, counties and local governments are not required to take action to address the 'issues' identified by the State with the exception being the requirement that they provide housing opportunities for all population segments of communities and all income groups. The general comprehensive plans of counties and local governments in the State do recognize the existence of state-wide planning &quot;issues&quot; and the potential benefits of planning comprehensively for future growth and development to better address land use, transportation, housing, conservation, and open space concerns; however, in reality very little coordinated planning is performed, and the State's planning law is largely ignored and ineffectual. Ironically, the State of California's requirements for the creation of county and local government general comprehensive plans are so voluminous they are accompanied by a 300-400 page set of guidelines prepared by the State Governor's Office of Planning and Research (OPR). (Sources: California, 2000c; Fulton in Stein, 1993; Nelson, 1995, pp.26-27)</td>
<td>Yes, the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council has well developed and clearly defined regional and growth management planning goals which are aimed at ensuring the Minneapolis - St. Paul region remains attractive physically and environmentally; maintains a viable regional economy; plans for the wise provision of significant public infrastructure; and, protects rural and agricultural lands from inappropriate urban development and sprawl. (Sources: Minnesota, 2000a; 2000c; Minnesota, 1996; and Nelson, 1995, pp.30-31)</td>
<td>Yes, British Columbia's regional growth management legislation includes a series of 14 well-defined goals that are intended to ensure that where a growth management strategy is developed by a regional district, the plan will have to address a number of significant issues. Generally the goals identified in the legislation are intended to: protect environmentally sensitive areas; avoid urban sprawl and ensure timely, economic and efficient development; and, seek to improve or maintain public welfare and the natural environment. (Sources: BC Legislature, 1995a, preamble; BC Legislature, 2000b, s. 849 &amp; 850; and BC Municipal, 1998d, part 2)</td>
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<td>The decision making and administrative criteria are relatively simple and clear, emphasizing proper consideration and compliance with the Region's Plan, and its growth management strategy, goals and policies. (Sources: Minnesota, 2000a; 2000c; Minnesota, 1996; Minnesota, 2000b; and Nelson, 1995, pp.30-31)</td>
<td>The TCMC's decision making and administrative criteria are relatively simple and clear, emphasizing proper consideration and compliance with the Region's Plan, and its growth management strategy, goals and policies. (Sources: Minnesota, 2000a; 2000c; Minnesota, 1996; Minnesota, 2000b; and Nelson, 1995, pp.30-31)</td>
<td>The decision making and administrative criteria for regional districts implementing a growth management strategy are clear and consistency with British Columbia's goals for the management of regional growth is suggested. However, these criteria and goals are advisory and non-binding except where the Province deems them to be important to the particular region preparing a regional growth strategy. The criteria and Provincial goals may therefore be applied unequally in British Columbia. It should be noted that only three of the twenty-eight regional districts in British Columbia have volunteered to undertake the development of a growth management strategy and three others were expressly directed by the Province to do so. (Sources: BC Legislature, 2000b, s. 849-850; BC Municipal, 1998d, Part 2; BC Municipal, 1996-2000)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Although State level decision making and administrative criteria are extensive and rigorous they have little meaning as county and local governments are not bound to adhere to them other than to the procedural and organizational planning requirements prescribed by Statutes. (Sources: California, 2000c; Fulton in Stein, 1993; Nelson, 1995, pp.26-27)</td>
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### Analytical Table 3 (Part 1): What institutional mechanisms have been used to institutionalize growth management?

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<td><strong>State-imposed planning</strong></td>
<td>Under State of Hawaii statute a nine member Hawaii Land Use Commission (HLUC) appointed by Hawaii’s Governor, and accountable to the Governor, is responsible for regulating the use and development of urban, agricultural and low-density rural lands throughout the State. The HLUC reviews and makes decisions on requests for changes in land use designation. In the event a county, or local government is unwilling to comply with Hawaii's planning requirements, numerous remedies may be imposed by the State including the suspension of public and private projects, suspension of capital and operating grants, and even court ordered remedies. (Sources: Hawaii, 1961, s. 1, 2, 4; Nelson, 1995, pp.20-22)</td>
<td>Under State of Oregon statute a seven member Land Conservation &amp; Development Commission (LCDC) appointed by Oregon's Governor, and accountable to the Governor, is responsible for developing a set of state-wide planning goals and guidelines and overseeing the implementation of Oregon’s planning program. The LCDC reviews and makes decisions and recommendations on the comprehensive plans developed by Cities, counties, local governments and by State agencies, as required under Oregon's State planning program and laws. These comprehensive plans are examined to ensure compliance with the State's overall planning goals, objectives and plan. In the event a county or local government is unwilling to comply with the comprehensive plan requirements stipulated by Oregon and the LCDC, numerous remedies may be pursued by the State including mediation, arbitration, suspension of capital and operating grants to the non-complying party, and even court ordered remedies. (Sources: Oregon, 2000 a, s. 197.005, 197.010, 197.030; Oregon, 2000c, c; and Nelson, 1995, pp.22-23)</td>
<td>Under State of Florida statute the State Governor is appointed the Chief Planning of the State and is charged with maintaining consistency and uniformity between the State's plan and goals and the subsidiary plans developed by regional and local governments and by State agencies. The Governor is assisted in this process by professional staff (see below) who make recommendations on planning matters following the review and analysis of the same. Local plans are reviewed by regional planning councils which are comprised of elected representatives of county and local governments and State appointees. These officials are charged with maintaining consistency between sub-regional county and local plans as well as with the State's plan and goals. In the event a county or local government is unwilling to comply with Florida's comprehensive planning requirements numerous remedies may be pursued by the State including mediation, arbitration, suspension of public and private projects, suspension of capital and operating grants to the non-complying party, and even court ordered remedies. (Sources: Florida, 1984, s. 186.006, 186.007, 186.505)</td>
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<tr>
<td>mandatory planning with a weak State role</td>
<td>Under State of California statutes, control over planning and growth management remains largely with California's counties, cities and local governments. Effectively there are few institutional mechanisms in place or operating that oblige junior governments to plan for growth or to act on the 'issues' identified by the State. The general plans of counties, cities and other local governments may be reviewed by the Governor's Office of Planning and Research but the system provides limited oversight since the State does not require deficiencies or inconsistencies with the State's objectives to be addressed. There are few, if any, penalties for non-compliance with the provisions of California's planning legislation; with the notable exception being for violations of the State's environmental protection laws, for which numerous financial and court ordered penalties exist. (Sources: California, 2000a, CPRC 65025-65050; Fulton in Stein, 1993; Nelson, 1995, pp.26-27)</td>
<td>The seventeen member Twin Cities Metropolitan Council is appointed by Minnesota's Governor and is responsible for developing long-range plans for the development of vital regional services and a comprehensive plan for the TCA development and growth. The Metropolitan Council is also responsible for reviewing and ensuring that county and local government plans and decisions are consistent with the TCMC regional plan. The Council members are appointed to help ensure they advance a regional view rather than a local or parochial one. The TCMC has the authority to suspend public and private projects if they are found to be in conflict with the TCA plan and growth management strategy. In the event a county or local government is unwilling to comply with the region's comprehensive plan, the TCMC, as a State agency, may also pursue a series of other remedies including mediation, arbitration, suspension of capital and operating grants to the non-complying party, and even court ordered remedies. (Sources: Minnesota, 2000a; and Nelson, 1995, pp.30-31)</td>
<td>Under the Province's legislative framework, control over decisions respecting planning and growth largely rest with British Columbia's regional districts, cities and local governments. Furthermore, unless the Provincial Government has mandated that a regional district must undertake the development of a growth management strategy, there are few, if any, institutional mechanisms in place that oblige regional or local governments to either plan for growth or adhere to British Columbia’s (B.C.) growth management goals. Where a regional district is directed or volunteers to develop a growth management strategy the Ministry of Municipal Affairs Growth Management Branch reviews the strategy to ensure that it complies with the minimum requirements stipulated in the Province's legislation and with any specific goals - identified in the legislation - which the Ministry may require. Following the review of a region's growth management strategy by Ministry staff a recommendation to accept or reject it is made to the Minister of Municipal Affairs who is responsible for deciding whether it is acceptable. In the event a regional district or local government is unwilling to comply with B.C.'s planning and growth management legislation a series of remedies may be pursued by the Province including mediation, arbitration, suspension of public and private projects, suspension of monetary transfers and grants, Ministerial orders, and even court ordered remedies. (Sources: BC Legislature, 1995a; BC Municipal, 1996-2000)</td>
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### Analytical Table 3 (Part 2): What institutional mechanisms have been used to institutionalize growth management?

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<td>State-imposed planning</td>
<td>The HLUC is supported in its duties by its staff and by the staff of Hawaii’s Department of Planning and Economic Development. (Sources: Hawaii, 1961, s. 1; and Nelson, 1995, p.20)</td>
<td>The Oregon LCDC receives technical and policy support from the Department of Land Conservation and Development and other State Agencies as may be required. (Sources: Oregon, 2000a, s. 197.040; Oregon, 2000e; and Nelson, 1995, pp.22-23)</td>
<td>Florida’s Governor and Florida’s Regional Planning Councils receive technical and policy support from Florida’s Department of Community Affairs (DCA). Florida’s Regional Planning Councils also receive support from their own regional staff. (Sources: Florida, 1984, s. 186.006, 186.007, 186.505)</td>
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<td>Lands designated for Conservation are managed by the State of Hawaii Board of Land and Natural Resources and its staff. The Board is comprised of individuals nominated by the State Senate who may then be appointed by Hawaii’s Governor. (Sources: Hawaii, 1961, s. 2; and Hawaii, 2000)</td>
<td>The State of Oregon has authorized the LCDC to designate exclusive resource and farm use zones in order to help protect Oregon’s forests and farmlands, and thereby help it prevent development and urbanization of rural lands. The LCDC is also responsible for managing Oregon’s Coastal Zone Program the aim of which is to preserve the State’s coastal areas and beaches. (Sources: Oregon, 2000a, b, d, c; and Nelson, 1995, pp.22-23)</td>
<td>The State of Florida has authorized the State Governor and the DCA to: identify areas of State or regional environmental significance and to establish strategies to protect them; set forth and integrate State policy as it relates to land development, environmental quality, transportation and public infrastructure; and, provide guidelines for determining where growth is appropriate and inappropriate. (Sources: Florida, 1984, s. 186.009; Starnes in Stein, 1993)</td>
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<td>mandatory planning with a weak State role</td>
<td>California's Governor and State Executive receive technical and policy support from the Office of Planning and Research which forms part of the State's Executive Branch. The OPR also provides technical advice to local governments for the preparation of their general plans. The OPR also writes guidelines for the preparation of general comprehensive plans. (Sources: California, 2000c; Fulton in Stein, 1993; Nelson, 1995, pp.26-27)</td>
<td>The TCMC receives support for its duties from its own staff and from a number of Minnesota State Departments and Agencies as may be required. (Sources: Minnesota, 2000c; Nelson, 1995, pp.30-31)</td>
<td>voluntary or mandatory regional growth management</td>
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<tr>
<td>mandatory regional growth management</td>
<td>In addition to having the authority to review, approve and require revision of all county and local government comprehensive plans within the Twin Cities region, the TCMC has the authority and responsibility for administering numerous regional services and may suspend public and private projects for the provision of services if they are found to conflict with the region's comprehensive plan. The TCMC may therefore ensure that development and growth occurs in an orderly planned manner, prevent urban sprawl and protect rural areas. (Sources: Minnesota, 2000a; Nelson, 1995, pp.30-31)</td>
<td>Regional Districts in British Columbia that undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy may do so independently but may also seek and receive support from staff with the Provincial Ministry of Municipal Affairs Growth Management Branch (GMB). The Ministry and its GMB also prepare guidelines for the preparation of growth strategies, and provide technical advice and guidance to regional districts which have or are creating such strategies, and may provide advice or assistance to their constituent local governments if required. (Sources: BC Legislature, 1995a; BC Legislature, 2000b, s. 849 &amp; 850; BC Municipal, 1996-2000; BC Municipal, 1998d, Part 2; BC Municipal, 1999a)</td>
<td>Although British Columbia's growth management legislation has limited effect in most of its regional districts, the Province has enacted other legislation (some of which is quite old) to protect agricultural and forest resource lands from development and urbanization. For several years these land reserves have served to control the growth of many urban areas. (Sources: BC Legislation, 2000a; BC Municipal, 1998d)</td>
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## Analytical Table 4: How have the powers of senior government been employed to manage growth? How has growth management been monitored?

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<td>Growth management in Hawaii consists principally of top-down planning imposed by the State Government and Governor on county and local governments which are obligated to comply with State planning goals and policies.</td>
<td>Growth management in Oregon is based on mandatory and ongoing planning by its Cities, counties, local governments and State agencies which are required to comply with the planning goals, objectives and plans enacted by the State legislature or those developed by Oregon's LCDC.</td>
<td>Growth management in Florida is based on mandatory and ongoing planning by the State of Florida, and by its counties, local governments and State agencies which are required to comply with Florida's State Plan and with the State's planning goals and policies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How has growth management been monitored?</td>
<td>The Hawaii Land Use Commission, its staff and Hawaii's Department of Planning and Economic Development directly monitor adherence with the State's land use plan and statutes. Severe sanctions for non-compliance may be applied but given the State's island status and constrained land base such instances have been infrequent.</td>
<td>The Oregon Land Conservation and Development Commission and its staff are responsible for monitoring adherence with the State's land use statutes, and the goals, objectives and plan of its growth management program. Significant sanctions are applied by the State for non-compliance with the State of Oregon's statutes and state planning program.</td>
<td>Florida's Governor is charged with the responsibility of monitoring adherence with the State's planning statutes and the goals and policies of its growth management program. The Governor is supported in this role by the Department of Community Affairs (DCA) which monitors compliance with the foregoing. The DCA may recommend financial and court sanctions upon parties for non-compliance with the State planning program.</td>
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Representative Typology of Growth Management Programs

Analytical Table 4: How have the powers of senior government been employed to manage growth? How has growth management been monitored?

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<td>To date the State of California has not enacted wide-ranging state growth management legislation (such as exists in other jurisdictions) that would require junior governments to address planning 'issues' identified by the State. At best growth management in California can be described as sporadic and occurs largely at the whim of enlightened counties and local governments. (Sources: California, 2000a; Fulton in Stein, 1993; Nelson, 1995, pp.26-27)</td>
<td>Growth management and planning in the Minnesota's Twin Cities region consists of mandatory and ongoing planning by a coordinating body the TCMC. The program, sanctioned by the State of Minnesota and the State Governor's Office, involves the delegation of significant authority and discretion to the TCMC members. It also obligates the Twin Cities counties and local governments to comply with regional plans and policies. (Sources: Minnesota, 2000a; Nelson, 1995, pp.30-31)</td>
<td>Growth management in British Columbia (B.C.) is based on mandatory and ongoing planning by a small number of the Province's regional districts, and some voluntary and ongoing growth management planning by a few other regional districts. Most of the regional districts in B.C, however, have made no commitment to undertake the development of a growth management strategy and in many instances their constituent local governments do not appear to be eager to encourage the development of such strategies. Where a growth management strategy is undertaken by a regional government, it is required to comply with the Province's growth management goals and policies, and the region's local governments are required to ensure that their local plans are consistent with the provisions of the regional growth management strategy. (Sources: BC Legislature, 1995a, BC Legislature, 2000b, s. 849, 850 &amp; 852; BC Municipal, 1996-2000; BC Municipal, 1999d, Part 2; BC Municipal, 1999a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How has growth management been monitored?</td>
<td>Monitoring and enforcement are generally &amp; frequently exercised by local citizens and citizen groups who file suits and bring litigation against local governments and local planning agencies. Penalties for non-compliance with State or local laws are restricted to Court Orders and decisions which have generally favoured local governments over the State. Planning laws are generally not enforced by the State or its agencies except in unusual circumstances. (Sources: Fulton in Stein, 1993; Nelson, 1995, pp.26-27)</td>
<td>The TCMC and its staff are responsible for monitoring adherence with the region's plans for development, growth management, and the TCMC's goals and policies. Strong sanctions may be applied by the TCMC and the State for non-compliance with the Region's planning programs and policies. (Sources: Minnesota, 2000a; Nelson, 1995, pp.30-31)</td>
<td>Regional districts in British Columbia that have a growth management strategy in place are required to monitor its implementation and the progress made towards achieving its objectives and actions, and report the monitoring results to their respective regional district boards, local governments and to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs GMB. Furthermore, at least once every five years these regional districts must consider whether their respective growth management strategies need to be reviewed for possible amendment, and if so will require review by GMB staff and the Minister. (Sources: BC Legislature, 1995a; 2000b, s. 849, 850, 852 &amp; 869; BC Municipal, 1996-2000; 1998d, Part 2; 1999a)</td>
</tr>
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In summary, based on the results presented in the foregoing analytical tables, and on the preceding overview of each of the selected cases, support was found for the argument that the stronger the degree of State or regional government control over decisions by local governments the more likely a comprehensive growth management program exists that: includes clearly defined goals; possesses institutional mechanisms to institute growth management; and, utilizes the powers of senior government to help direct and manage growth.

In all of the cases considered in the analytical framework, excepting California, it was found that a growth management planning program has emerged or been strengthened since the 1960s in response to growing public and State concerns about the impacts of development on the quality and sustainability of human and natural environments, and about the need to plan carefully for the provision of future infrastructure and public works (see Analytical Table No.1). In the case of California it was found that while the State has a long history of planning for growth and has identified a number of state-wide planning 'issues' such as planning comprehensively for future land use, transportation, housing, conservation, and open space, the State's ability to regulate and manage growth is impeded because California's county and local governments are not required to take action to address these planning 'issues' (the exception being the requirement to address the issue of providing housing opportunities) and relatively few county and local governments have elected to do more than observe the procedural planning requirements mandated by the State of California. Similarly it was found in the case of British Columbia that where the decision to undertake the development of a growth management strategy is left to regional governments
relatively few of them have volunteered to do so. This limits the effectiveness and the viability of the senior government’s growth management legislation and goals (see Analytical Tables No. 1 & 2).

The analytical tables reveal that of the six cases considered only one, the State of California, did not have clearly defined planning goals (see Analytical Table No.2). As previously noted, California’s ability to affect growth management is impeded because junior governments are not required to address important planning ‘issues’ identified by the State. It is, however, contended that the absence of clearly defined planning objectives and goals reflects the State government’s unwillingness to squarely face the ‘issues’ it has identified, and that California’s inability to better manage growth was a predictable result (Fulton, 1993, pp.122-125; Porter, 1997, pp.220-222). In contrast, all of the other cases that were considered possess well defined planning goals that are aimed at achieving the overall objective of better managing growth and development (see Analytical Tables No. 1 & 2).

The next part of the analysis of the six growth management approaches considered the institutional mechanisms that have been used to institutionalize growth management (see Analytical Table No. 3, Parts 1 & 2). It was found that in the States of Hawaii, Oregon and Florida the responsibility for overseeing growth management matters has been delegated through legislative statute to the State Governor, and subsequently in two of the cases to a commission appointed by, and accountable to, the Governor (i.e. Hawaii and Oregon). A very similar arrangement exists in
Minnesota where the State legislature has authorized the Governor to appoint the members of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council to administer, manage and plan for the development and future growth of the ‘Twin Cities’ of Minneapolis - St. Paul. In all four of these cases the appointed individual/s are responsible for ensuring that the plans developed by counties and local governments, and in some cases State agencies, comply with the overall planning goals, objectives and/or plan enacted by the State or developed by the duly appointed growth management commission or council. In the event that a county or local government or State agency is unwilling to comply with the State’s or the appointee’s planning requirements or decisions respecting growth management and planning matters then numerous remedies may be pursued by the State or by the appointee to ensure compliance ranging from mediation and arbitration to suspension of capital and operating grants to the non-complying party/ies and even court ordered remedies (see Analytical Table No. 4).

In contrast, in the State of California control over planning and growth management matters rests principally with its counties, cities and local governments, and there are few institutional mechanisms in place that oblige junior governments to effectively plan for growth or to act on the planning ‘issues’ identified by the State. There are also few, if any, penalties for non-compliance with the provisions of California’s planning legislation; with the notable exception being violations of the State’s environmental protection laws which generally do not address planning or growth management matters and for these numerous penalties exist (see Analytical Tables No. 3 & 4).
As for the case of British Columbia, much of the control over planning and growth management matters was assigned through legislative statute to its regional districts and local governments. However, there are few, if any, institutional mechanisms in British Columbia that obligate junior governments to undertake a regional growth management strategy or adhere to the Province’s growth management goals; except where a regional government volunteers to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy or where it is directed to do so by the Provincial government. It should be noted that where a regional district or a local government is unwilling to comply with the provisions of British Columbia’s growth management legislation a number of remedies may be pursued by the Province including mediation, arbitration, suspension of public and private projects, suspension of transfers of monies and grants to the non-complying party, ministerial orders, and court ordered remedies (see Analytical Table No. 3, Parts 1 & 2; and Analytical Table No. 4).

Further, in all six cases it was found that a cadre of professionals exist at the state or provincial level to provide support to decision makers and to regional and local governments as required (see Analytical Table No. 3, Parts 1 & 2; and Analytical Table No. 4). Overall it was found that the institutional mechanisms used to institutionalize growth management in Hawaii, Oregon, Florida and Minnesota are more robust and require a high level of compliance by junior governments with state-wide or region-wide planning goals and objectives; which contrasts markedly with the cases of California and British Columbia (see Analytical Table No. 3, Parts 1 & 2; and Analytical Table No. 2).
The analysis of the selected cases also considered 'how the powers of senior government have been employed to manage growth' and 'how growth management has been monitored'. Again, it was found that in the States of Hawaii, Oregon, Florida and in the Twin Cities region of Minnesota, growth management and planning is either imposed on junior governments by the State as it is in Hawaii, or it consists of mandatory and ongoing planning by junior governments which are directed by their respective senior governments to comply with the growth management planning goals, objectives and/or plans enacted by the State and/or those developed by its appointee/s. In the case of British Columbia the powers of senior government have been applied selectively so that only a small number of the regional governments in the Province have been directed, or strongly encouraged, to participate in its growth management program and adhere to its planning goals and objectives; and only a few regional districts have volunteered to participate in the program. As for the State of California it has chosen not to enact any form of wide-ranging State growth management legislation and in its absence the management of growth in California has been sporadic and occurs only at the pleasure of counties and local governments (see Analytical Table No.4). The analysis of the selected cases reveals that compliance with the growth management goals, objectives and/or plans of senior governments is usually monitored by a State or a regional commission or department which may recommend sanctions for non-compliance with the growth management program, as exists in Hawaii, Oregon, Florida and in Minnesota’s Twin Cities region. In contrast, in British Columbia, where a growth management strategy exists, regional districts are required to monitor their own compliance, and the compliance of their constituent local governments. These regions are also responsible for reporting their monitoring results to the
Provincial government which may require them to take action to improve compliance with their regional growth management strategy and the Province’s goals or face the prospect of remedies imposed or sought by senior government. In California, monitoring of compliance with State or local planning laws by county or local governments, including those provisions which might affect the management of growth, is often left to local citizens and citizen groups who may file suits and bring litigation against county and local governments. In the absence of clearly defined State planning goals or state-wide growth management legislation the State of California has chosen not to attempt to enforce its limited planning statutes except in unusual circumstances and in those instances where it has attempted to enforce them county and local governments have generally been favoured in legal decisions (see Analytical Table No. 4).

Based on the earlier overview of the selected cases and the preceding analysis, it is concluded that of the six growth management programs considered here, the most comprehensive are Hawaii and Oregon as they possess: well defined and clear growth management and planning goals; institutional mechanisms which support the growth management and planning goals; and, a demonstrated long-term commitment to use senior government powers to actively direct and manage growth. The growth management program in Hawaii, however, is considered to be the more successful of the two as almost all of the land originally classified as rural or for conservation purposes when its program began in 1961 remains so, whereas part of Oregon’s rural and reserve lands have been converted to urban use since its program began in 1973 (Nelson & Duncan, 1995, pp.21-23). The State of Florida’s growth management program is also very comprehensive since
it possesses many of the same characteristics as the more established and older program in Oregon. The growth management program undertaken and administered by the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council (TCMC) for the twin cities of Minneapolis - St. Paul is also comprehensive; however, notwithstanding the existence of clear goals, institutional mechanisms to support growth management and planning, and the demonstrated willingness of the TCMC to direct and manage growth, this program is more limited in scope than the broader programs mentioned above, and its success is therefore qualified. The least comprehensive of the growth management programs considered here is the State of California's which: does not possess clearly defined growth management and planning objectives or goals; has no, or very few, institutional mechanisms to control or manage the decisions made by local governments and the growth of its counties and cities; and, demonstrates little commitment to the use of power to control or manage growth. As for British Columbia, the growth management program in that Province is only a few years old and relatively few of its regional governments have undertaken the development of a regional growth management strategy. This program possesses clearly defined goals, and it also enjoys institutional support from the Provincial government; however, because participation in the program is not mandatory throughout British Columbia numerous regional and local governments are likely to make poorer decisions respecting development and growth than they would if they possessed a growth management strategy which they were required to abide by. For this reason, British Columbia's program is considered to be less comprehensive than the mandatory regional growth management program administered in Minnesota by the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council. British Columbia's growth management program would be more comprehensive, and likely more
successful in managing and controlling development and growth, if the Provincial government required all regional governments to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy.

3.3 Growth Management: Nationally and Internationally

The analytical framework utilized in this chapter of the thesis can be applied to other cases nationally and internationally. A review of planning documents and legislation for the remaining provinces and territories in Canada reveals that there are no growth management programs controlled or directed by senior government, with the possible exceptions of Manitoba and Ontario. In Manitoba the Provincial government and the Capital Region of Winnipeg entered into a sustainable development strategy in May 1996 to improve the integration of municipal land use planning, economic cooperation and development, and the delivery of public services. In July 1998 the Province of Manitoba enacted the ‘Sustainable Development Act’, which requires senior and junior governments to consider the principles of sustainable development in all planning and decision making, in order to strengthen the planning and management requirements for future growth and development throughout Manitoba, including the Capital Region of Winnipeg (Alberta, 2000; Manitoba, 2000 a, b, c; New Brunswick, 2000; Newfoundland & Labrador, 2000; Northwest Territories 2000; Nova Scotia, 2000; Nunavut, 2000 a, b; Ontario, 2000 a, b; Prince Edward Island, 2000; Quebec, 2000; Sancton, 1994, pp.22-28; Saskatchewan, 2000).

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8 Planning documents and legislation for the Province of Quebec were not reviewed as the majority of this information is only available in French (Quebec, 2000).
As for Ontario, the Provincial government, through the activities of the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB), has for many years overseen the land use and development decisions made by local governments. Although the OMB focuses primarily on administrative reviews of these decisions, this activity has nonetheless helped ensure that planning and management for future growth in Ontario's regions and municipalities has been thoughtful and more comprehensive than it would otherwise have been. In recent years Ontario's Provincial government has enacted legislation that has changed the scope of the OMB's mandate and given greater autonomy to local governments to encourage economic development; thereby reducing the comprehensiveness of planning and growth management in Ontario (Ontario, 2000 a, b; Sancton, 1994, pp.76-82).

Internationally, numerous examples can be found of strong or weak State or regional government control over planning and growth management. The State of Singapore demonstrates the significant degree of control that can be exercised over all aspects of planning and growth management by a senior government; however, its comprehensiveness and significant economic benefits have only been achieved through high social and political costs (Gillis, 1987, p.173; Economist, 2001b). The urban centres of Europe have remained compact, in contrast to suburban development in the United States and Canada – in part because European centres are old but more significantly, because wide-ranging public policies and stringent national land use laws have made it necessary for cities and local governments to plan comprehensively and manage growth (Nivola, 1998; 1999). In sharp contrast to the previous examples, the shanty-towns of cities and urban areas in less developed countries such as Mexico and Colombia, exemplify the limited ability of senior
and regional governments in many developing nations to plan comprehensively for, or manage, growth and that has also resulted in significant social and political costs (Gugler, 1986, pp.203-206; Kaplan, 1997; Todaro, 1984, p.8; Unikel, 1982, p.264; Economist, 2000a; 2001a, c).

3.4 Concluding Remarks

The foregoing literature review has considered four different approaches to growth management through the presentation of selected cases studies. It has been found that the selected cases reviewed in this chapter support the argument “that the stronger the degree of senior government control over decisions by local government, the more likely a comprehensive growth management program exists that: includes, clearly defined goals; possesses institutional mechanisms to institute growth management; and, utilizes the powers of senior government to help direct and manage growth”. However, as only a relatively small number of cases have been considered and analysed in this review these findings may be inconclusive. In order to find additional evidence in support of this argument a broader survey of growth management programs and a more detailed analysis of growth management cases is recommended. In-depth research and analysis of national and international growth management programs may also reveal opportunities to improve growth management practices and outcomes. The next chapter of the thesis will undertake part of this work through a detailed analysis of British Columbia’s growth management and regional planning programs.
4. GROWTH MANAGEMENT AND REGIONAL PLANNING IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

4.1 History of Growth Management and Regional Planning in British Columbia

British Columbia’s Provincial government, as previously stated, adopted the Growth Management Strategies Act, 1995 to help facilitate improved regional and local planning. The history of regional planning and planning for growth in British Columbia, however, can be traced back much earlier. British Columbia’s first Municipal Act, adopted in 1872, provided for the creation and governance of municipalities in the Province as well as the collection of taxes and fees, borrowing of monies, holding of elections, provision of municipal services, and the adoption of bylaws; however, municipalities were not empowered to regulate private land use or enforce building regulations (Christopherson, 2000, p.57; Corke, 1984, p.50). This state of affairs remained largely unchanged in British Columbia until 1925 when the Provincial government adopted the Town Planning Act which bestowed on “municipalities the authority to prepare and adopt an ‘official town plan,’ to enact a zoning bylaw and to establish a ‘town planning commission’” (Christopherson, 2000, p.59; BC Legislature, 1925). The general purpose of the legislation was to provide for planned and rational development of towns, to wisely use land, check market speculation, and reduce investor uncertainty and risk. Important support for the development and adoption of the Town Planning Act (1925) came from the Town Planning Institute (Vancouver Branch), the Vancouver Board of Trade, Associated Boards of Trade of British Columbia, Vancouver Real Estate Exchange and the Vancouver Fire Insurance Agents’ Association (Christopherson, 2000, p.59; BC Legislature, 1925; Corke, 1984, pp.50-52). Although the Town
Planning Act (1925) conferred some land use powers on BC’s municipalities, it included no provisions to support inter-municipal planning and cooperation. At the same time the provincial government retained the sole authority for administering all the lands outside the municipalities and this further reduced the likelihood of cooperation (Christopherson, 2000, p.57; Corke, 1984, pp.52-53).

Two notable examples of joint action by BC municipalities and the Provincial government should be mentioned. In 1914, the efforts of four Lower Mainland municipalities led the Provincial government to the adoption of an Act to create the Vancouver and District Sewerage and Drainage District to jointly provide services in Vancouver, Point Grey, South Vancouver and Burnaby. Ten years later, the Province adopted legislation to incorporate the Greater Vancouver Water District pursuant to a proposal by Greater Vancouver municipalities to jointly provide water services. The latter initiative also led to the creation of the Greater Vancouver Water District in 1926 (Christopherson, 2000, pp.57-59; Corke, 1984, 50-51). These early regional infrastructure and planning initiatives emerged in response to development pressures in the urban and urbanizing municipalities of the Lower Mainland between 1900 and 1930 and the expectation of future development. By 1936 it was recognized that planning for the entire Lower Mainland region should be pursued and in 1938 “the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Association was established, with planning representatives from Vancouver, Coquitlam, Port Moody, West Vancouver, along with commissioners of North Vancouver and Burnaby. Its main purpose was to discuss land use and other matters, which were recognized as metropolitan and regional in
nature. The association ceased to meet with the onset of war” (Christopherson, 2000, p.59; Corke, 1984, p.97).

Following WWII, regional planning in British Columbia was officially recognized by the Province. In 1948 the Town Planning Act was amended to permit the establishment of regional planning boards and regional planning areas and provided the authority to prepare plans to address their physical, social, and economic development (Christopherson, 2000, p.60; Corke, 1984, p.98; BC Legislature, 1948a; BC Legislature, 1948b). Within a few years municipal councils in different parts of British Columbia, had come together to establish planning areas

on the conviction that each community and each individual through his Council has a stake in the growth and development of the Region as a whole. While there are many development problems that are best solved locally by each municipality, there are others – involving the process of urban development, major highways and transportation linkages, regional recreation facilities, pollution, broad land development policies, future industrial and agricultural land needs, and major utilities – that demand a co-ordinated regional approach if they are to be resolved effectively. (Lower Mainland, 1966, p. ii)

In 1949 the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board (LMRPB), comprising 25 municipalities, was the first of these organizations to be established in British Columbia. Created by Ministerial proclamation in June 1949 the Lower Mainland Planning Area included all of metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland municipalities. The members of the LMRPB were to ‘prepare a plan for the future physical development and systematic and orderly improvement of the area’ (Christopherson, 2000, p.61). A few years later in 1952 the Capital Region Planning Board was created to serve the Greater Victoria area (the Capital Region), and in 1956 the Greater Nanaimo
Region Planning Board was formed. Planning boards and areas were later established in the South and Central Okanagan (1963) and in the Thompson Valley (1964) (Christopherson, 2000, pp.61-62; Corke, 1984, p.98). It should be noted, however, that these early planning boards could only provide regional planning advice, and municipalities were not bound by the board’s proposals. Furthermore, financial support for, and participation in the affairs of, the planning board by its member municipalities was voluntary and these factors also presented difficulties for regional planning in BC (Christopherson, 2000, pp.61-62; Corke, 1984, pp.98-99).

A few years later the Province recognized the growing need to better coordinate economic and community development at the municipal level so as to provide for more systematic development (BC Legislature, 1948a, p.1; BC Legislature, 1960a, p.3236; Wilson, 1989). In order to make this possible, the Provincial government repealed the Town Planning Act and amended the Municipal Act in 1957 to permit municipalities to develop and adopt their own community plans and policies (BC Legislature, 1960a, pp.3236-3237; Christopherson, 2000, p.62). The provisions for land use regulation as well as for regional planning boards and planning areas were continued in the new legislation. However, the amendments to the Municipal Act also strengthened the planning boards by requiring that municipal delegates to the board be elected officials and that, following a two-thirds affirmative vote by the board, a budget or an official regional plan would become binding on the region’s member municipalities (Corke, 1984, pp.98-99).
By the early 1960s it had also become clear that similar legislation should be adopted for those areas of British Columbia that were considered to be ‘unorganized territories’ (Lane, 1981, p.1).

Prior to 1965,

some 250,000 people in British Columbia lived in ‘unorganized territory’, that is, either in isolation or in communities which had not been incorporated as self governing municipalities. These were scattered across a province more extensive in area than the States of Washington, Oregon and California combined.

Such local governance as then existed struggled along pursuant to the Local Services Act. Under that statute more than two dozen small Community Planning Areas were created and administered directly from Victoria by the Ministry (then Department) of Municipal Affairs. The Minister by virtue of Section 3 of that Act could exercise the powers of a municipal council under Part 21 of the Municipal Act. This included the preparation of community plans, zoning and subdivision controls and the promulgation of building regulations. (Lane, 1981, pp.1-2)

Although a small degree of localized control was conferred on the people and communities in the Province’s unorganized and unincorporated areas under different statutes – such as the Local Services Act (BC Legislature, 1957a) and the Water Act (BC Legislature, 1948c) – the people living in these areas were essentially unable to make decisions regarding the communities in which they lived. This situation, which existed for many years, had created frustration for many people in British Columbia (Lane, 1981, pp.1-2; Wilson, 1989). It was not favoured either by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, nor by the Minister of the day Dan Campbell, who complained of having to “push a button in Victoria in order to make things happen in some remote community in northern British Columbia” (Campbell in Lane, 1981, p.2).
In order to alleviate some of these frustrations the Provincial government amended the Municipal Act in 1965 to facilitate the creation of regional districts. These amendments also conferred many of the same powers on regional districts as had been granted to municipalities in 1957 (Lane, 1981, p.3; BC Legislature, 1960a, pp.3236-3237; BC Legislature, 1979a, pp.220-243; Wilson, 1989). Shortly after these amendments were adopted the Province was organized into 28 regional districts (Lane, 1981, p.2). It was the Provincial government’s hope that the 1957 and 1965 amendments to the Municipal Act would enable British Columbia’s municipalities and regional districts to develop in accordance with the needs and wishes of their citizens (Lane, 1981, pp.1-2; Wilson, 1989). Further amendments to the Municipal Act were adopted by the Province between 1965 and 1982 in order to enable regional governments to better meet the planning and development needs of their citizens, communities and local governments (Vancouver Sun, 1979a). However, these legislative changes did not seriously affect the regional or community planning provisions of the Act.

In 1983, however, many of the planning powers and functions that had previously been granted by the Province to regional districts were rescinded or radically amended by the Municipal Amendment Act (BC Legislature, 1983a). At that time, British Columbia was experiencing one of the most serious economic downturns in its history and these legislative amendments, and other Provincial initiatives, were undertaken “to support the government's objectives for economic recovery by applying deregulation principles to the planning and development approval system in British Columbia” (Ritchie in Hansard, 1983b, p.473). The fact that the amendments were based
on previous proposed amendments to the Municipal Act that had been repeatedly rejected by the Union of British Columbia Municipalities (UBCM), the Province’s regional districts and by local governments during extensive consultations between 1979 and 1982, was completely discounted by the Minister and the Provincial government of the day (Ritchie in Hansard, 1983b, p.473; Ritchie, 1983, 1984a and 1984b; BC Legislature, 1983b, p.6; Allen, 1986).

Among its many measures, the Municipal Amendment Act of 1983 was aimed specifically at rescinding the power of regional districts to enact and enforce official regional plans (Lane, 1983, p.4; BC Legislature, 1983a, p.2; BC Legislature, 1988a, p.216-222). It was the government’s view that “these plans have become an unnecessary level of land use control, particularly in view of the number of comprehensive municipal plans now in place” (Ritchie in Hansard, 1983b, p.473). Accordingly, the Act provided for the cancellation of “all regional plans and official regional plans” (BC Legislature, 1983a, p.2). In addition, the legislation provided for the elimination of all regional district technical planning committees as a “streamlining measure” (Ritchie in Hansard, 1983b, p.473; Horwood, 1983; Vancouver Sun, 1983b; BC Legislature, 1983a, p.2).

Numerous objections to this legislation were raised by both the government’s opposition in the legislature and by the UBCM. The opposition party criticized the Act in the Provincial legislature as a “fundamental violation of local democracy and local civic government” (Blencoe in Hansard, 1983b, p.474). It also stated that it was opposed to the legislation because “the whole area of regional planning can be lost completely and forever from the planning processes of British
Columbia" (Dailly in Hansard, 1983e, p.2391). As for the UBCM it stated that it was opposed to any attempt by the Ministry to centralize decision making power in Victoria as it felt that would not be in the best interests of the Province's communities. The UBCM also indicated that the Act would erode the authority and independence of local governments in the Province (Howard in Hansard, 1983d, p.2256; Pynn, 1983a; Pynn, 1983b; Vancouver Sun, 1983b).

The Municipal Amendment Act of 1983, however, received no modifications before it became law in October 1983 (BC Legislature, 1983a, pp.1-2). While British Columbia's regional districts lost the ability to develop regional plans, they did retain the ability to develop official community plans. These plans, however, were limited in size and scope, especially when compared with the regional plans that existed prior to 1983. Such plans could cover only relatively small areas, normally did not overlap, and could not address regional planning issues related to transportation, infrastructure, water quality, environmental quality or increased population density. Consequently, many regional planning problems that arose after 1983 between neighbouring regions and local governments remained unresolved and became worse through neglect (Barcham, 1989; Cameron, 1989; Hardwick, 1989). The Municipal Amendment Act of 1983 also imposed restrictions on the ability of regional districts to adopt and amend even limited community plans; by requiring approval from the Ministry of Municipal Affairs before they could be officially adopted if an area of an adjoining municipality or regional district might be affected (Karlsen, 1989; BC Legislature, 1988a, pp.289-290). Effectively, the ability of British Columbia's regional districts to make even limited plans was subject to centralized control by the Province (Vancouver Sun, 1981a). It would be many
years before the Province’s regional districts would again be able to undertake the development or administration of comprehensive regional plans.

Following the adoption of the Municipal Amendment Act (1983) many regional districts provided local planning services for unincorporated areas and well as some contract work for municipalities; however, without the authority to develop and adopt large scale comprehensive regional plans regional districts in British Columbia dismissed most of their planning staff (Barcham, 1989; Cameron, 1989; Hardwick, 1989; Wiesman, 2001; Wilson, 1989). Some official community plans were produced by a few regional districts; however, being limited in size and scope these plans could not serve as unifying planning mechanisms to coordinate the plans and activities of regional districts and local governments (Barcham, 1989; Cameron, 1989; Hardwick, 1989). Within a few years the regional planning perspective that had existed in British Columbia before 1983 had been lost throughout most of the Province (Barcham, 1989). Some planners attempted to coordinate plans between regional districts and municipalities; however, in almost all cases this was done informally and was ad hoc at best (Barcham, 1989; Hardwick, 1989). Only in the Greater Vancouver and the Capital (Greater Victoria) Regional Districts did a measure of regional planning continue (Hardwick, 1989; Wilson, 1989). After 1983 the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) provided municipalities with planning services on a contractual basis; such services included demographic analysis, transportation system modelling, promotion of regional economic development and the coordination of inter-municipal policies (Cameron, 1989; Christopherson, 2000, pp.66-67). This was carried out under the auspices of the Municipal Act which still
permitted a regional district to “undertake any work or service for a member municipality . . . on mutually agreed terms, if the work or service is within the powers of the municipality and the entire cost of the work or service is borne by the municipality” (BC Legislature, 1988a, pp.225-226). While the GVRD no longer had any regulatory powers to enforce compliance with any plan, the benefits of a cooperative approach to development and planning was still recognized by the municipalities in the GVRD. Almost all of that region’s local governments continued to abide by the provisions of the GVRD’s former regional plan – the Livable Region Plan. Consequently the provisions of that document continued to guide regional and municipal decision making even though it had no statutory effect (Cameron, 1989; GVRD, 1976a; GVRD, 1980a). The Capital Regional District (CRD) also managed to maintain some of its regional planning functions but not with the same level of success as the GVRD (Cameron, 1989; Hardwick, 1989; Wilson, 1989). Elsewhere in British Columbia regional planning had essentially vanished.

During the balance of the 1980s there was much public discussion about developing a comprehensive Provincial plan and a land use act that would provide a stronger and more central role for Provincial government planning for the regions. These proposals, however, were not supported by British Columbia’s local governments, which again expressed concerns about attempts by the Province to increase and centralize its control over local and regional affairs; as a consequence they were not acted upon by the Province (BC Municipal, 1999b). Some amendments to the Province’s Municipal Act were adopted in the late 1980s that “solidified and streamlined the servicing role of regional districts and allowed [them] more autonomy and flexibility”; however,
these measures did not impact regional planning (BC Municipal, 1999b).

Although the amendments to the Province's Municipal Act in the early 1980s were intended to support economic recovery in British Columbia and encourage development through the application of deregulation principles, it became clear by the early 1990s that these changes had also seriously impaired the ability of regional and local governments to coordinate activities, services and plans (Ritchie in Hansard, 1983b, p.473; Ritchie in Harkness, 1983; BC Municipal, 1998e). Furthermore, during the late 1980s and early 1990s the 'ecological limits to growth' had come to be recognized as a critical concern for nations, governments and communities around the world. This focused attention on the need to support sustainable development and to comprehensively plan not only for the current environmental, social and economic needs of nations, regions and urban areas, but also for the needs of future generations (Brundtland et al, 1987, p.44; Zovanyi, 1998). In British Columbia these issues began to come into focus following the defeat of the incumbent provincial Social Credit government by the New Democratic Party in the Fall of 1991 (Marzari in Hansard, 1995 b, pp.13735-13736).

Following the election of the new Provincial government the Ministry of Municipal Affairs initiated a Province wide review in 1992 of British Columbia's planning system with a view to updating it. The Ministry's review found that

the planning system in BC works well at the local level. Individually, communities have been planning for growth and change within their own boundaries. What has been lacking are ways to promote coordination among municipalities and regional
districts on issues that cross municipal boundaries, and clear, reliable links with the provincial ministries and agencies whose resources are needed to carry out projects and programs. Without mechanisms for cooperation and coordination at the regional level, our local government planning system cannot support integrated planning between regional districts, or even within regional districts (BC Municipal, 1998e).


**Summary**

British Columbia’s growth management legislation and program is relatively new, having been adopted by the Provincial government in 1995; however, regional planning has been conducted in
British Columbia in one form or another for several decades. The ability of the Province’s regional districts to formulate plans for their own development and their constituent municipalities depends greatly on the political support given by the Provincial government to regional planning legislation, programs and funding. During the 1980s, one Provincial government even went so far as to eliminate all regional plans and regional planning functions in British Columbia, and it took several years for regional districts to begin to regain even limited abilities to plan comprehensively. The adoption of British Columbia’s growth management legislation in 1995 was seen by the Province and by regional districts and local governments as significant since it restored many of the regional planning functions that had been eliminated in the 1980s. The intent, goals and objectives for the legislation are addressed in the next section.

4.2 B.C. Government’s Intent, Goals and Objectives for Growth Management and Regional Planning

British Columbia’s Growth Strategies Statutes Amendment Act (1995) was presented in the Provincial legislature on April 19, 1995 by the Honourable Darlene Marzari, the then Minister of Municipal Affairs. In introducing the legislation the Minister made the following statement:

Rapid growth is the single most powerful force propelling economic and social change in our province. Communities throughout British Columbia, particularly in the fastest-growing regions, are struggling with urban sprawl, air pollution, loss of green areas and agricultural land, traffic congestion and lack of affordable housing. They’re struggling because these problems transcend the local boundaries of municipalities, and British Columbia’s local government planning system does not support integrated planning at the regional level (Marzari in Hansard, 1995a, p.13459).
The Minister then declared that the intent of the legislation is to “provide the foundation for a better, more practical relationship between the province and local governments, so that we can pool our resources and coordinate our efforts to capture the positive benefits of growth” (Marzari in Hansard, 1995a, p.13459). It was also noted that the legislation was the product of close cooperation and consultation with local governments, and based on the “explicit recognition of the vital role that local governments play in developing long-term solutions to the growth-related challenges we all face” (Marzari in Hansard, 1995a, p.13459). During subsequent discussion of the legislation, it was observed by the Minister that local governments and the Province had found it exceedingly difficult to formulate strategic plans and coordinate activities following the dissolution of regional planning functions in 1983. In order to remedy this situation, the government’s aim was to restore regional planning in British Columbia. This would be accomplished through amendments to the Municipal Act, the Vancouver Charter and other associated legislation that would address “two major deficiencies in the existing local government planning system: the lack of coordination among municipalities and regional districts on strategic issues that transcend and cross local boundaries, and the lack of clear, reliable links with the provincial ministries and agencies whose resources are needed to implement the[se] plans” (Marzari in Hansard, 1995b, p.13735). British Columbia’s growth management legislation is also unique in North America in that it is based on a strong commitment to the integrity of local government structures; and encourages a consultative and coordinative approach that is intended to provide a solid framework for growth management issues and regional planning for the next fifty years (Marzari in Hansard, 1995b, p.13737; BC Municipal, 1998e).
Drawing directly from the legislation, the goals of British Columbia's Growth Strategies Statutes Amendment Act (1995) are, as previously mentioned, "to promote human settlement that is socially, economically and environmentally healthy and that makes efficient use of public facilities and services, land and other resources" (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.11). The planning objectives of that Act are:

1. avoiding urban sprawl and ensuring that development takes place where adequate facilities exist or can be provided in a timely, economic and efficient manner;
2. settlement patterns that minimize the use of automobiles and encourage walking, bicycling and the efficient use of public transit;
3. the efficient movement of goods and people while making effective use of transportation and utility corridors;
4. protecting environmentally sensitive areas;
5. maintaining the integrity of a secure and productive resource base, including the agricultural and forest land reserves;
6. economic development that supports the unique character of communities;
7. reducing and preventing air, land and water pollution;
8. adequate, affordable and appropriate housing;
9. adequate inventories of suitable land and resources for future settlement;
10. protecting the quality and quantity of ground water and surface water;
11. settlement patterns that minimize the risks associated with natural hazards;
12. preserving, creating and linking urban and rural open space including parks and recreation areas;
13. planning for energy supply and promoting efficient use, conservation and alternative forms of energy; and
14. good stewardship of land, sites and structures with cultural heritage value.

(BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.11 s.s.(2))

The growth management goals and objectives described above are clearly intended to help guide the planning and development of municipalities and regions in British Columbia. They are also consistent with the progressive conceptualization and definition of growth management planning presented earlier in the thesis (see section 2.1 in chapter 2).
4.3 B.C. Government’s Processes for Growth Management and Regional Planning

The Growth Strategies Amendment Act (commonly referred to as the Growth Strategies Act), which became law on June 8, 1995, has been integrated into the provisions of the Local Government Act, formerly the Municipal Act (BC Legislature, 1995a; BC Legislature, 2000c; BC Legislature, 2000 d). The Act also included parallel amendments to the Vancouver Charter and consequential amendments to the Agricultural Land Commission Act and the Islands Trust Act (BC Legislature, 1995 a; BC Municipal, 1995a). In addition to the intent, goals and objectives outlined above, the legislation sets out procedures for initiating, preparing and adopting a regional growth management strategy. Normally the decision to undertake a regional growth management strategy is left to each regional district; however, the legislation does include provisions whereby a regional district may be compelled to undertake the development of one if it is deemed necessary by the Province (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.12 & s.942.14). Normally a regional growth management strategy applies to an entire regional district; however, where permitted by the Province, the strategy may apply only to part of it. The Province may also permit two or more regional districts to develop a regional growth management strategy that applies to all or part of those regional districts (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.13; BC Municipal, 1995a). If a regional district decides, or is compelled, to undertake a regional growth management strategy then it ...

“must cover a period of at least 20 years from the time of its initiation and must include the following:

- a comprehensive statement on the future of the region, including the social, economic and environmental objectives of the board in relation to the regional district;
- population and employment projections for the period covered by the regional
growth strategy; [and]

- to the extent that these are regional matters, actions proposed for the regional district to provide for the needs of the projected population in relation to housing, transportation, regional district services, parks and natural areas, and economic development. (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.12)

In addition to these requirements, a regional growth management strategy may deal with other topics deemed to be of regional interest. Once the regional growth management strategy process is initiated, the regional district must give written notice to all affected local governments, adjacent regional districts and the Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women’s Services (formerly the Ministry of Municipal Affairs) that a strategy is being developed (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.17; BC Legislature, 2001a; BC Municipal, 2001b). As part of the regional growth management strategy process, a consultation plan must be adopted by the regional district board that provides opportunities for “early and ongoing consultation with, at a minimum, its citizens, affected local governments, First Nations, school boards, greater boards and improvements district boards, and the Provincial and Federal governments and their agencies” (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.17). An intergovernmental advisory committee (IAC) must also be established by the regional district to provide advice on the development of the regional growth management strategy and help coordinate the involvement of local governments, and the Provincial and Federal governments and their agencies. The IAC will be comprised of senior staff from these organizations, as well as other authorities and organizations that the regional district invites to participate. Ultimately the process of preparing a growth strategy is up to the regional district that has initiated the program (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.29). Provision exists in the growth management legislation for the
appointment of facilitator/s by the Province to monitor development of the strategy and, if necessary, to assist in negotiations and recommend processes to resolve differences between the parties involved in the development of the regional growth management strategy. If necessary, facilitators are also responsible for “facilitating the involvement of the Provincial and Federal governments and their agencies, First Nations, school district boards, greater boards and improvement district boards, and to assist local governments in entering into implementation agreements” (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.18).

Once the regional growth management strategy is complete, it must be referred for acceptance to the local governments that are affected by it, including adjacent regional districts. The affected local governments and then have up to 120 days to review the regional growth management strategy in the context of any community plans and regional growth strategies that are in their jurisdiction and indicate whether they accept or reject the proposed strategy (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.19). If they refuse to accept the regional growth management strategy they are required to state each provision they object to and the reasons for their objections, as well as their willingness to accept the regional growth management strategy if the provisions in question will not apply to their jurisdiction (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.19). If required, a facilitator may be asked to help the parties resolve outstanding issues, and may extend the time frame of the referral if it is necessary to secure agreement (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.21). The growth management legislation also includes dispute resolution provisions if differences between parties prove intractable. Since the growth management legislation and program are designed to promote
participation and agreement, the Province anticipates that most differences will be resolved amicably and the dispute resolution mechanisms will be rarely used (BC Municipal, 1995a). Nevertheless, if it is necessary to employ the dispute resolution mechanisms, then provision is made in the legislation for settlement of issues by either a peer review panel, non-binding or binding arbitration (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.22). Although it is expected that the choice of dispute resolution mechanisms used will be determined by the participants, the Minister responsible reserves the right to select the process that must be followed. Once a decision is made by a panel or arbitrator, the participants in the dispute have sixty days to negotiate a different resolution, before the panel or arbitrator’s decision becomes binding. After the parties differences, if any, are settled the regional district may adopt the regional growth management strategy (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.22). Finally, the Provincial government may specify a time frame for the adoption of the growth strategy in the event the regional district board delays adopting it (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.26).

Once the regional growth management strategy is adopted, regional districts can enter into implementation agreements with the Province and other governments and agencies, including First Nations, school districts and other authorities. These agreements spell out how certain aspects of a regional growth management strategy will be carried out and by which parties. An implementation agreement may, for example, relate to the provision of funding, construction and maintenance of highways, water and sewage systems, or regional parks (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.3; BC Municipal, 1995a). The regional district’s constituent local governments are also
required to develop and adopt regional context statements in their official community plans that identify the relationship between their plans and the content of the regional growth management strategy, and how and when those plans will be made consistent with the regional growth management strategy (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.27 & s.942.28). Finally, the regional district is required to establish a program to monitor the implementation of the regional growth management strategy and the progress made towards achieving its objectives and actions (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.31).

Separate from a regional growth management strategy, a regional district board may adopt one or more community plans for areas within the jurisdiction of the board, whether or not a regional district board chooses to initiate a regional growth management strategy. “A community plan is a general statement of the broad objectives and policies of the local government [in this case meaning a regional district] respecting the form and character of existing and proposed land use and servicing requirements in the area covered by the plan” (BC Legislature, 2000 b, s.876). A community or regional plan of a regional district, must include provisions including map designations for the plan area that address:

1. the approximate location, amount, type and density of residential development required to meet anticipated housing needs over a period of at least 5 years;
2. the approximate location, amount and type of present and proposed commercial, industrial, institutional, agricultural, recreational and public utility land uses;
3. the approximate location and area of sand and gravel deposits that are suitable for future sand and gravel extraction;
4. restrictions on the use of land that is subject to hazardous conditions or that is environmentally sensitive to development;
5. the approximate location and phasing of any major road, sewer and water systems;
6. the approximate location and type of present and proposed public facilities, including schools, parks and waste treatment and disposal sites;
7. other matters that may, in respect of any plan, be required or authorized by the minister. (BC Legislature, 2000 b, s.877)

The community plan must also include housing policies respecting the provision of affordable housing, rental housing and special needs housing by the regional district, or other local government (BC Legislature, 2000 b, s.877). Finally, the community or regional plan may include:

1. policies ... relating to social needs, social well-being and social development;
2. [in the case of a local government] a regional context statement, consistent with the rest of the ... plan, of how matters ... dealt with in the ... plan, apply in a regional context;
3. policies ... respecting the maintenance and enhancement of farming on land in a farming area or in an area designated for agricultural use in the ... plan; and
4. policies ... relating to the preservation, protection, restoration and enhancement of the natural environment, its ecosystems and biological diversity.

(BC Legislature, 2000 b, s.878)

There are a number of similarities between the requirements of a regional growth management strategy and a regional plan, such as providing for the future population needs in relation to housing, transportation, services, parks and economic development (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.12; BC Legislature, 2000 b, s.877 & 878). However, a regional growth management strategy must cover a period of at least twenty years from the time of its initiation, whereas a community or regional plan may cover a period as short as five years. A second significant difference between the two forms of plans is underscored in the Province’s legislation in the ‘purpose of regional growth strategy’ which is “to promote human settlement that is socially, economically and
environmentally healthy and ... makes efficient use of public facilities and services, land and other resources” (BC Legislature, 1995 a, s.942.11). The legislative provisions for community and regional plans, in contrast, are more prescriptive and impose a more limited set of requirements than the broader and more visionary objectives for a regional growth management strategy (BC Legislature, 2000 b, s.877 & s.878; BC Legislature, 2000b & 2000d, s.849 and s.850). But the most significant difference between the two forms of plans is in the requirements for consultation and dialogue between the participants in a regional growth management strategy process, and the explicit provision of facilitation and dispute resolution processes in the regional growth management strategy process which are aimed at helping the participants reach agreement on matters related to the growth management strategy, including the review of regional and local community plans. Under B.C.’s current local government act, the dispute resolution tools and mechanisms for a regional growth management strategy are not explicitly available to regional districts that only have community or regional plans.

4.4 Rationale for the Selection of the Regional District Cases

It was previously noted that only six of British Columbia’s twenty-eight regional districts have undertaken the development of a regional growth management strategy. Three of these regional governments – the Greater Vancouver Regional District, the Capital Regional District and the Fraser Valley Regional District – were required, or would have been required, to develop a regional growth management strategy by the Provincial government. The other three – the Regional District of Nanaimo, the Regional District of Central Okanagan and the Thompson-Nicola Regional
District – volunteered to implement a regional growth management strategy (Gawronski, 1999, pp.16-17; BC Legislature, 2000b, Sections 850 & 871; BC Municipal, 2000a). In order to better understand how regional growth management strategies in British Columbia have been developed and implemented, and identify potential improvements to the Province’s growth management legislation and program, the thesis analytical framework will be applied to selected regional district cases.

Each regional district in British Columbia falls into one of three categories:

1. those that were required, or would have been required, to develop a regional growth management strategy by the Province of British Columbia;
2. those that volunteered to develop a regional growth management strategy; and
3. those that have not developed a regional growth management strategy.

The thesis will examine the growth management or regional planning strategy of seven regional districts; two in each of the first two categories and three in the last category ⁹. From the first category, those that were required, or would have been required, to develop a regional growth management strategy, the thesis will examine the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) and the Capital Regional District (CRD). From the second category, those that volunteered to develop a regional growth management strategy, the Nanaimo Regional District (NRD) and the

⁹ For reference, Map 2 illustrating the seven British Columbia regional districts that are examined appears on page 235 of the thesis.
Thompson-Nicola Regional District (TNRD) will be studied. From the third category, those that have not developed a regional growth management strategy, the Fraser-Fort George Regional District (FFGRD), the North Okanagan Regional District (NORD) and the Peace River Regional District (PRRD) will be examined. The FFGRD and the NORD were selected as they respectively represent urban and rural circumstances that may be compared with the preceding cases. As for the PRRD, it is principally a rural region, and was selected in order to compare its regional planning approach for rural areas with the approach taken by the other selected cases.

4.5 Analysis of Growth Management and Regional Planning Strategies

This section begins by providing an overview of each of the selected regional district cases. The general context for each case is presented along with a description of the regional growth management strategy or regional planning approach they have employed. Some of this information will serve to partially answer the questions posed in the thesis analytical framework. A systematic analysis which applies the analytical framework presented earlier in the thesis literature review is then presented that draws on written materials produced by the respective regional districts, and on the results of structured research interviews of key people with the selected regional districts and the Provincial government. As mentioned, structured research interviews were conducted in order to gather some of the information necessary to identify and better understand the characteristics of the regional districts' growth management strategy or regional planning approach,
as well as that of the Province\textsuperscript{10}. For convenience, the questions that form the thesis analytical framework appear below. It should be noted that the findings respecting the sixth question in the analytical framework are presented in Chapter 5 which is entitled ‘Potential Improvements: Recommendations from the Research Interviewees’.

Analytical Framework:
1. How did the growth management or regional planning program emerge?
2. Does the growth management or regional planning program or strategy have clearly defined goals?
3. What institutional mechanisms have been used to institutionalize growth management or regional planning?
4. How have the powers of senior and regional government been employed to manage growth?
5. How has growth management or regional planning been monitored?
6. What improvements to the Province’s growth management legislation and program are suggested?

As discussed, each regional district in British Columbia falls into one of three categories: those that were required, or would have been required, to develop a regional growth management strategy by the Province of British Columbia (Category 1); those that volunteered to develop a regional growth management strategy (Category 2); and those that have not developed a regional growth management strategy (RGS) (Category 3).

\textit{Category 1: Regional Districts required, or would have been required, to develop an RGS}

\textit{Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD)}

The GVRD is one of three regional districts in British Columbia that would have been required by

\textsuperscript{10} Additional details related to the research findings appear in Tables 5 to 10 (Appendix B).
the Province to develop a regional growth management strategy if it had not volunteered to do so (G1, G2, R1, 2001 \(^{11}\)). This region is located in the southwest corner of British Columbia’s mainland and part of it adjoins the Canada-USA border. The GVRD is comprised of a number of cities and local governments\(^{12}\), and a few of them, those with large populations, including the cities of Vancouver, Surrey, Burnaby and Richmond enjoy considerable influence both within the GVRD and British Columbia. The most populous regional district in BC the GVRD is also the most economically important. Between 1990 and 2000, the GVRD’s population increased by nearly 25% from 1,612,004 to 2,011,035 persons (a gain of 399,031). Although the latter figure is not much greater than the percentage increase for the entire province (23.5%) it is nonetheless significant given the scale of the actual increase in population in the region for the period (BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c). Furthermore, between 1991 and 1996 the size of the experienced labour force in the GVRD increased by nearly 9.2% or roughly 81,000 persons, compared with a 10.62% increase for the Province as a whole. The GVRD adopted its regional growth management strategy in January, 1996 less than a year after the Province adopted the Growth Strategies Statutes

\(^{11}\) As previously stated, material from the research interviews is used in one of three ways: as a direct quotation; as paraphrase; or as a point made without the use of a direct quotation or paraphrase. The research interviews are assigned to one of the following categories depending on whether the interview was related to:

1. A regional district that was required, or would have been required, to develop a regional growth management strategy by the Province of British Columbia. In this case the symbol “R”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee.
2. A regional district that volunteered to develop a regional growth management strategy. In this case the symbol “V”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee.
3. A regional district that chose not to develop a regional growth management strategy. In this case the symbol “CN”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee; or
4. An interview of a past or present official of the Government of British Columbia. In this case the symbol “G”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee.

\(^{12}\) In 2001 the GVRD was comprised of 11 cities, 10 municipalities, and 1 electoral area. (Source: GVRD website: www.gvrd.bc.ca/about/municipalities/index.html)
Amendment Act, 1995.

Prior to the dissolution of regional planning functions by the Provincial government in 1983 the GVRD had a long history of regional planning, dating as far back as 1949 under the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board (Christopherson, 2000, p.61; LMRPB, 1966). Following the official creation of the Regional District of Fraser-Burrard (later renamed the Greater Vancouver Regional District) in 1967 further refinement of plans for the region were made culminating with the adoption of the Livable Region Plan in 1976. After the adoption of the Province’s legislative amendments in 1983 that plan had no legal effect; however, the GVRD Board continued to draw upon its principles as it undertook the creation of strategic plans to help coordinate growth and development among its constituent local governments. As a result of these efforts the GVRD was able to maintain a number of strategic planning functions after 1983. Following the emergence of new and rapid development in the region during the balance of the 1980s, the GVRD Board and staff became interested in developing ideas to better manage growth in the future, and held a number of strategic planning events with the public to help identify choices for the region’s future.

Following the election of a new Provincial Government in 1991, staff at the GVRD and the Ministry of Municipal Affairs collaborated on the development of legislation to re-institute regional planning and to create the official framework for regional growth management in British Columbia. Because of its involvement in these processes, the GVRD was able to ensure the strategy it was developing would meet the Province’s nascent growth management goals and objectives.
Completing and formalizing a regional growth management strategy required considerable consultations and negotiations between the GVRD and its constituent local governments (GVRD, 1993c; 1993d; GVRD, 1996a). In fact, before the GVRD Board adopted the draft strategy it was challenged by some of the GVRD’s members, particularly those that were unhappy about the population growth projections in the document and the conservative allocation of growth to some of municipalities by the regional district. Those difficulties were only resolved after the Minister of Municipal Affairs acted informally as mediator between the parties to resolve the issue and after the GVRD Board modified some of the projected population growth allocations in the document (Christopherson, 2000; G1, G2, R1, 2001; GVRD, 2000a; Marzari, 1995; Munro, 1997 a, b, c, d, e; Vancouver Sun, 1997 a, b, c, d).

**Capital Regional District (CRD)**

The CRD is also one of three regional districts in British Columbia that would have been required by the Province to develop a regional growth management strategy if it had not volunteered to do so. The CRD is comprised of a number of cities, local governments and electoral areas\(^3\); however, most of them have relatively small populations with the notable exceptions being the cities of Victoria and Saanich. Due to the vagaries of British Columbia’s colonial history, the Provincial Capital is located in the CRD which has resulted in the creation of a significant government administration centre and employment base in the region making it the second most important

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\(^3\) In 2001 the CRD was comprised of 2 cities, 11 municipalities, and 3 electoral areas. (Source: CRD website: [www.crd.bc.ca/govlink.htm](http://www.crd.bc.ca/govlink.htm)).
region in the Province. The CRD has only about one-fifth the population of the GVRD and is growing much more slowly than either the GVRD or the Province as a whole. Between 1990 and 2000, the CRD’s population increased by only 11% from 301,186 to 334,940 persons (a gain of 33,754 persons) (BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c). Furthermore, between 1991 and 1996 the size of the experienced labour force in the CRD increased by a mere 6.3% (a gain of 9,730 persons) compared to the GVRD’s 9.2% and the Province’s 10.62% increases. In recent years a considerable amount of work has been done by the CRD to develop a regional growth management strategy. While the CRD’s regional growth management strategy has not been adopted, it is conjectured this will take place either in late 2001 or sometime in 2002 (R2, 2001).

Prior to the dissolution of all regional planning functions in BC in 1983, the CRD, like the GVRD, had also had a long history of regional planning, dating back to the late 1940s and early 1950s when the proposals to establish a Capital Regional Planning Board culminated with its creation in 1951 (Christopherson, 2000, p.61; R2, 2001). A regional plan for the CRD was later developed under the direction of Brahm Wiesman, and adopted in 1959. That plan, although it had no legal effect after 1983, has often been referenced by the CRD and its member municipalities, since it provided a simple clearly articulated vision for the region that people could understand (R2, 2001). However, in contrast, to the GVRD, the CRD was unable to sustain any meaningful strategic planning functions after 1983. In the ensuing years without meaningful oversight there has been little or no management and coordination of growth and development between the CRD’s local governments. Interestingly, in the late 1980s the CRD began to consider options for developing
a new regional plan or a growth management strategy; but without a clear legislative framework to follow the CRD’s local governments were unable to agree on a course of action. After the re-institution of regional planning and the establishment of regional growth management by the Province in 1995, the CRD Board began to consider the value of developing a growth management strategy for the region. The decision to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy was made by the CRD Board and its members because it was understood the Province would direct the region to develop a regional growth management strategy if it did not volunteer to do so; an understanding that the Province took no action to dispel (G1, G2, R2, 2001). After the CRD Board decided to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy, some preparatory work took place in 1995; however, serious work on the CRD’s strategy only really began in the spring of 1996 (R2, 2001). Completing and formalizing a regional growth management strategy for the CRD has required considerable consultations between the CRD and its constituent local governments (CRD, 1998, p.3 & pp.31-32; CRD, 2001a, p.7). The draft strategy has been challenged by some of the CRD’s members, particularly those that are unhappy about the allocation of growth to some areas and not to others, the region’s population growth projections, and even the nature of the regional growth management strategy process itself (R2, 2001).

Category 2: Regional Districts that volunteered to develop an RGS

Nanaimo Regional District (NRD)

As stated earlier, the NRD is one of three regional districts in British Columbia that volunteered
to develop a regional growth management strategy following the adoption of the Province’s growth management legislation in 1995. In contrast to the GVRD and the CRD, the NRD is comprised of a small number of cities or municipalities that are generally separated from one another by unincorporated electoral areas that are administered directly by the regional district\textsuperscript{14}. This region, like the CRD, is located on Vancouver Island. In contrast, however, between 1990 and 2000 it has grown significantly; the NRD’s population increased by more than 37% from 98,278 to 134,929 persons (a gain of 36,651 persons). The reported percentage increase in population for the NRD is one of the highest recorded among BC’s regional districts between 1990 and 2000 (BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c). Furthermore, between 1991 and 1996 the size of the experienced labour force in the NRD increased by nearly 19% (a gain of 9,085 persons). The latter percentage increase is one of the most dramatic increases in labour force size reported for BC’s regional districts for the period. The NRD adopted its regional growth management strategy in January 1997 about a year and a half after the Province adopted its regional growth management legislation (NRD, 2001b).

The rapid growth experienced by the NRD during the late 1980s and the 1990s and the impacts of that growth on the region and its constituent local governments encouraged the NRD board to look toward developing a future vision and a strategic plan for the region. The NRD was also encouraged by the City of Nanaimo which had completed the “Imagine Nanaimo” official community planning program in 1993. Drawing on these sources of inspiration, the NRD

\textsuperscript{14} In 2001 the NRD was comprised of 1 principal city, 2 municipalities, and 8 electoral areas. (Source: NRD website: www.rdn.bc.ca/service_directory/service.asp)
developed terms of reference for regional planning work in 1993-94 and presented that material to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs for approval. Subsequently, staff with the Ministry of Municipal Affairs organized a regional planning seminar for the benefit of the NRD Board. Based on understandings established between the regional district and the Ministry, the NRD began working on the development of a 'growth management plan' before the Provincial government established the legislative criteria for regional growth management in 1995.

Because it had established contacts within the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, the NRD was able to ensure that its programs and plans would meet the Province’s anticipated growth management goals and objectives. Shortly after the Provincial government adopted its growth management legislation, the NRD formally approached the Ministry of Municipal Affairs to volunteer to develop a regional growth management strategy. In spite of its preparatory 'growth management' planning work, completing and formalizing a regional growth management strategy still required considerable consultations between the NRD, its constituent local governments and the general public (NRD, 1996b; 1997; 2001i; V1, 2001). The Nanaimo Regional District is now undertaking a review of its regional growth management strategy and is considering amendments to address new developments and trends. It is believed to be the first regional district in BC to undertake such a review (NRD, 1996a; 1996b; 1997; 2001a, b, c, d, e, f; V1, 2001).
Thompson-Nicola Regional District (TNRD)

The TNRD is also one of three regional districts in British Columbia that volunteered to develop a regional growth management strategy following the adoption of the Province's growth management legislation in 1995. The TNRD is located in the south-central area of British Columbia and is dominated by the City of Kamloops. The regional district is comprised of one principal urban centre, and a small number of municipalities that are separated from one another by unincorporated electoral areas which are administered directly by the TNRD\textsuperscript{15}. Between 1990 and 2000, the TNRD's population increased by about 23.5\% from 105,429 to 130,192 persons (a gain of 24,763 persons). The population of Kamloops, the region's principal population, administrative and economic centre, increased by 22\% during the same period. Furthermore, between 1991 and 1996 the size of the experienced labour force in the TNRD increased by about 12\% (a gain of 6,545 persons). Although the TNRD includes an important mid-sized city (i.e. Kamloops) and is relatively easy to access via road and rail, it is not experiencing the same development pressures seen in other regions in BC over the last ten years (BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c). The regional district adopted a regional growth management strategy in May 2000 five years after the Province adopted its regional growth management legislation (G2, V2, 2001; TNRD, 1997b; 2000).

It should be noted that during the early and mid-1990s the TNRD was experiencing a very healthy

\textsuperscript{15} In 2001 the TNRD was comprised of 1 principal city, 7 municipalities, and 5 electoral areas. 
(Source: BC Stats website: www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/dd/facsheet/rd_mun.htm
www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/pop/maps/RegDist/RD33.pdf)
rate of growth and development. The TNRD Board was then well aware of some of the
development experiences that had occurred elsewhere in the Province in the recent past and it
wished to ensure that future growth and development in the region was properly managed and
occurred sensibly. In order to achieve this, the TNRD Board determined that it needed to create
a future vision for the region that could be used to guide its development. Consequently, the
TNRD approached the Ministry of Municipal Affairs soon after the Provincial government adopted
its legislation to volunteer to develop a regional growth management strategy (G2, V2, 2001;
TNRD, 1997b; 2000). Initially the Ministry of Municipal Affairs was reluctant to support the
TNRD’s proposal since there were other regions in 1995 that were deemed have a greater need for
a regional growth management strategy. However, the TNRD Board and its local governments
reiterated that the project was important to them and that it would proceed with or without the
Province’s help. In the end the Ministry of Municipal Affairs re-examined its priorities and
funding and agreed to provide support for the TNRD’s regional growth management project (BC
Legislature, 2000d; BC Municipal, 1995b; 1998d; G1, G2, V2, 2001; Marzari, 1995; TNRD,
1996a; 1997b; 2000).

Although the development of the TNRD’s regional growth management strategy was supported
by the region’s local governments, it was nonetheless felt by the regional district board that careful
consultation work with the general public and other stakeholders was necessary to ensure the
strategy was widely accepted. Accordingly, an important feature in the development of the
TNRD’s regional growth management strategy was the incorporation of a consultation plan that
was used to help ensure the positions and the views of the TNRD’s governments, the general public, First Nations, the Province and other stakeholders were heard and understood. The TNRD also provided support to citizens groups throughout the region that wished to participate in the development of the regional growth management strategy (BC Legislature, 2000d; BC Municipal, 1995b; 1998d; G1, G2, V2, 2001; Marzari, 1995; TNRD, 1996a; 1997b; 2000).

Category 3: Regional Districts that have not developed an RGS

Fraser-Fort George Regional District (FFGRD)

The FFGRD is one of the many regional districts in British Columbia that has elected not to develop a regional growth management strategy. The FFGRD is located in the central interior of British Columbia and is dominated by the City of Prince George, the principal population, administrative and economic centre in the region. Like many of the other regional districts outside the principal urban areas of BC, the FFGRD is comprised of one principal urban centre, and a small number of municipalities that are separated from one another by unincorporated electoral areas that are administered directly by the regional district\(^\text{16}\). Even though the region includes an important mid-sized city and is relatively easy to access via road, rail and air, it has not experienced any of the rapid and sustained development pressures that have occurred in some of BC’s other regional districts over the last ten years. Between 1990 and 2000, the FFGRD’s population increased by about 15.5% from 92,607 to 106,933 persons (a gain of 14,326 persons). This is a much lower

\(^{16}\) In 2001 the FFGRD was comprised of 1 principal city, 3 municipalities and 7 electoral areas.  
(Source: FFGRD website: www.rdffg.bc.ca/board/Brd0000.html  
BC Stats website: www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/pop/maps/RegDist/RD53.pdf)
increase in population than that reported for the Province, which increased by about 23.5% during the same period. It is also significantly lower than that of any other regional district in British Columbia, other than the CRD, that includes a major urban centre. At the same time, Prince George, the region’s principal population, administrative and economic centre, grew even more slowly than the rest of the FFGRD achieving an increase in population of 14.8% (BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c). As for the FFGRD’s experienced labour force, it increased by nearly 10% (a gain of 4,955 persons) between 1991 and 1996. While this percent increase is lower than that found in many other regional districts in British Columbia, it is only a little less than that reported for the Province as a whole (10.62%).

As indicated, the FFGRD has not undertaken the development of a regional growth management strategy. Instead regional planning in the FFGRD is based on the general regional planning provisions in the Local Government Act and a series of official community plans (or sub-regional plans) which are used to administer growth and development in different parts of the region. These plans evolved from a set of settlement plans that were developed by the regional district in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The FFGRD also has a series of rural land use bylaws that are used to regulate land use and development. To date the FFGRD has found it unnecessary to develop a regional growth management strategy in part because many of the regional planning issues it faces are addressed through existing community planning processes and also because the member governments of the FFGRD see themselves as full and relatively equal participants in all regional planning functions (CN1, 2001; FFGRD, 1988; 1996; 1997; 2000).
North Okanagan Regional District (NORD)

The NORD is another one of the regional districts in British Columbia that has elected not to develop a regional growth management strategy. The NORD is located in the northern section of the Okanagan Valley, an area of BC that has experienced significant growth and development in recent decades. The NORD is comprised of one principal urban centre, and a series of small and medium sized self-governing settlements that are separated from one another by unincorporated electoral areas that are administered directly by the regional district.\(^\text{17}\) Between 1990 and 2000, the NORD’s population increased by about 27% from 61,128 to 77,691 persons (a gain of 16,563 persons). In contrast, however, during this period, the population of Vernon, the region’s dominant urban, administrative and economic centre increased by almost 50%, and its growth has presented challenges for the NORD as a whole (BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c; NORD, 1994, pp. 5-6 & p.11). The NORD’s experienced labour force increased by nearly 16% (a gain of 4,610 persons) between 1991 and 1996. Although the actual size of this increase is relatively small, especially when compared with some of the increases reported in British Columbia’s more populous regional districts, it is still much higher than that seen in many other regional districts as well as that reported for the Province as a whole (10.62%).

Regional planning in the NORD is based on the general planning provisions in the Local Government Act and a series of official community plans (or sub-regional plans) developed by the

\(^\text{17}\) In 2001 the NORD was comprised of 1 principal city, 5 municipalities and 7 electoral areas. (Source: Union of B.C. Municipalities website: www.civicnet.gov.bc.ca/members/municipalities/index.shtml BC Stats website: www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/dd/facsheet/rd_mun.htm)
regional district as well as the plans created by its constituent local governments, for instance the City of Vernon. Some of these official community plans evolved from earlier settlement plans that were developed by the regional district in the late 1960s and early 1970s. To date the regional district and its local governments have been able to regulate development and growth in different parts of the region with official community plans and zoning bylaws. A few years ago the NORD considered the potential benefits of developing a regional growth management strategy and determined there was no need for it to undertake one. Nevertheless, the NORD Board recognizes that its circumstances may change and it has not dismissed the possibility that the NORD may need to develop a regional growth management strategy in the future (CN2, 2001; NORD, 1988; 1994, 1996).

**Peace River Regional District (PRRD)**

Like the FFGRD and the NORD, the PRRD has seen no need to pursue the development of a regional growth management strategy. The PRRD is located in northeast British Columbia, an area of the Province that is sparsely populated. The PRRD includes a series of small self-governing settlements that are separated from one another by unincorporated electoral areas that are administered directly by the regional district\(^\text{18}\). Between 1990 and 2000, the PRRD’s population increased by about 12% from 53,958 to 60,379 persons (an increase of 6,421 persons). This is a much lower increase in population growth than that reported for the Province (23.5%). Almost all

\(^{18}\) In 2001 the PRRD was comprised of 2 principal urban centres, 5 smaller municipalities, and 4 electoral areas. (Source: BC Stats website: www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/sdp/rd/Rd_55.pdf www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/pop/maps/RegDist/RD55.pdf)
of the population growth in the PRRD has occurred in the settlement of Fort St. John, which grew by 17.5% during this period, and that growth can be attributed to expanded oil and gas exploration and extraction activity in this part of British Columbia. In contrast the population of Dawson Creek, the other major economic and administrative centre in the region, grew by only 5.5% between 1990 and 2000 (BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c). As for the PRRD’s experienced labour force it increased by about 6.7% (a gain of 1,905 persons) between 1991 and 1996. The latter percent increase is lower than that found in the majority of regional districts in British Columbia, and is well below the figure reported for the Province as a whole (10.62%).

Regional planning in the PRRD is based on the general planning provisions in the Local Government Act and four official community plans (or sub-regional plans). The PRRD also has a series of rural area zoning bylaws that are used to regulate land use and development. Planning support services for the seven communities in the region, including Dawson Creek and Fort St. John, are also provided by the PRRD. As indicated, development and growth in the PRRD has generally not been very significant in recent years. Consequently controlling development and growth outside the region’s established communities has not been an important issue for the PRRD Board. Further, the PRRD has found that most of the planning issues it faces may be addressed through existing community planning processes. While the PRRD is not prepared to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy at this time, it is nonetheless moving forward with the development of a comprehensive strategic plan that is intended to consolidate its official community plans into one consistent document and create one zoning bylaw to cover all
of the areas administered by the regional district. It is interesting to note that the PRRD’s strategic planning work may draw on some of the growth management ideas and concepts used elsewhere in British Columbia. The PRRD Board has also not dismissed the possibility that it may need to develop a regional growth management strategy in the future; however, it does not expect such an initiative to be an important consideration for many years (CN3, 2001; Davis & Hutton, 1988; PRRD, 1986; 1987a; 1987b; 1993; 1994; 1996; 1998;).

Now that the selected cases have been reviewed, the research analytical framework presented earlier (see section 2.3 in chapter 2) is used in order to learn more about their respective growth management and regional planning approaches. The results of this analysis are now presented in the balance of the section.

How did the growth management or regional planning program emerge?

It was found that in three of the four regional districts examined that developed, or are developing, a regional growth management strategy (i.e. the GVRD, NRD and the TNRD), they did so principally in response to significant growth and development pressures and to create a regional vision to help them plan for future growth and development. As for the CRD, the remaining regional district in this category, it undertook the development of a regional growth management strategy principally because it believed the Province was prepared to direct it to do so.

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19 As previously noted, Tables 5 to 10 include a more detailed presentation of the research findings (Appendix B).
Nevertheless, it too had been considering the development of a regional planning framework to help regulate and direct growth since the late 1980s even though it was growing much more slowly than the other urban and urbanizing areas of the Province. It is also interesting to note that the GVRD and the NRD began to develop their regional growth management plans on the basis of consultations with the Provincial government and in anticipation of the adoption of the Growth Strategies Statutes Amendment Act in 1995. Based on their good relations with the Ministry of Municipal Affairs the GVRD and the NRD were able to provide ideas and suggestions for the formulation of the legislation. As for the TNRD, while the prime motivator was rapid growth, it also volunteered to develop a regional growth management strategy in order to be eligible for any monies the Province could provide to support the effort. It should be noted that while no regional district in BC has been explicitly directed by the Province to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy, the Ministry of Municipal Affairs was nonetheless prepared to direct some of them to develop a regional growth management strategy if they had not undertaken one voluntarily\(^2\) \((\text{BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.14 & s.942.33; G1, G2, 2001})\).

The other regional districts (i.e. the FFGRD, NORD and the PRRD) that were examined use official community plans, community plans, land use bylaws and zoning bylaws to direct and regulate future development. None have found it necessary to seriously consider the development

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\(^2\) Based on comments made by two of the research interviewees it was suggested that, in addition to the Capital and Greater Vancouver Regional Districts, the Fraser Valley Regional District and possibly the Central Okanagan Regional District would likely have been required to undertake the development of regional growth management strategies if they had not volunteered to do so.
of a regional growth management strategy since most of the planning issues they face can be effectively addressed through established planning processes and documents. There does, however, appear to be movement toward a more comprehensive approach to planning in some of these regions. In the interests of improving the consistency and flexibility of its plans and bylaws the FFGRD is looking to develop new official community plans. Similarly, the PRRD is considering the development of a comprehensive strategic plan that would consolidate the region’s official community plans into one consistent document and develop one zoning bylaw to cover all of the areas administered by that regional district. Despite the fact that the NORD has experienced some significant growth pressures over the last ten years, no plans are in place to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy. Most of the development pressures in the region have focused on the City of Vernon. Consequently it has been the City of Vernon’s planning and engineering departments that have had to address many of the most serious growth and development planning issues in the NORD. It should be mentioned too that none of these three regional districts wished to initiate a complex planning program that would require significant Provincial involvement and ultimately approval.

Although it appears that leaving the decision to undertake a regional growth management strategy may limit the effectiveness and viability of British Columbia’s growth management legislation and goals it should be borne in mind that a strategy is either in place or under development for most of the urbanized and urbanizing regions in the Province. In fact, after the CRD and the Fraser Valley Regional District (FVRD) complete and adopt their growth management strategies almost
75% of the people living in British Columbia will reside in regional districts that make use of such strategies and plans (BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c).

*Does the growth management or regional planning program or strategy have clearly defined goals?*

It was found that all four of the regional districts examined that have developed, or are developing, a regional growth management strategy (i.e. the GVRD, CRD, NRD and the TNRD), possess clearly defined growth management goals. For instance, the GVRD’s goals are to: protect the green zone; build complete communities; achieve a compact metropolitan region; and increase transportation choice. Regional policies that are intended to support the achievement of each of these goals also form part of the GVRD’s regional growth management strategy. The other regional districts in this category possess some similar goals and objectives as well as policies that are unique to their particular circumstances. Among the four cases, the weakest set of goals are those of the CRD, which do not commit the regional district to take any action to manage growth and development other than to coordinate major capital investments and the management of regional resources such as infrastructure and green space. Admittedly the goals in the CRD document have not been adopted and are still subject to change following review and discussion by its Board and member governments. The regional growth management goals of the GVRD, NRD and the TNRD have all been adopted, and it appears that they are meeting, or starting to meet the goals and objectives contained in their respective regional growth management strategies. It should be noted, however, that none of the regional growth management strategies adopted in
British Columbia is more than five years old and progress toward achieving goals has been limited and requires more time to show substantive results. It is not anticipated at this stage in the development of growth management in British Columbia that there would be dramatic positive results. However, what is important to look for at this time are indications that the broad directions of the Province’s growth management legislation have been incorporated into existing and proposed regional growth management strategies and in turn are embedded into the planning systems of the respective regional districts and their municipalities. In all four of these regional districts, the regional growth management strategies developed are grounded in the goals and objectives outlined in the Province’s growth management legislation, due in part to the considerable amount of Provincial advice and oversight that was given to them by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs (BC Municipal, 1996-2001; G2, G3, 2001).

In the GVRD, all of the member municipalities have adopted regional context statements into their respective official community plans including provisions outlining how they will work toward achieving the goals and objectives contained in the region’s growth management strategy. For instance, the GVRD’s goal of building more complete communities has been incorporated into the plans of member municipalities to promote the creation of communities “where people ... [may] live, work and play without having to travel great distances to do so” (GVRD, 1999b, p.11). However, building such communities requires continued political support at the local level as well as significant investment in construction and infrastructure in order for meaningful results to occur. Similarly, the GVRD’s progress toward the goal of increasing transportation choice has also
occurred slowly because of the need to secure and maintain political support for undertaking significant improvements to the region’s transportation infrastructure and also because of the public’s resistance to change modes of transportation.

Similarly, the NRD has ensured that all of its member municipalities have adopted regional context statements into their respective official community plans including provisions outlining how they will work toward achieving the goals and objectives contained in the region’s growth management strategy. The NRD’s regional growth management goal of containing urban areas to limit sprawl, which is strongly supported by the general public, has been used by the region and its municipalities to direct development away from rural areas towards assigned urban areas. Although much more can be achieved, some good progress in the NRD toward the goal of reducing dependence on automobile transportation has been achieved through the use and promotion of transit services. As for the TNRD, its regional growth management strategy was adopted in May 2000. Since then it has undertaken the review of regional and municipal official community plans in order to ensure they are consistent with the provisions of the regional growth management strategy, and include regional context statements outlining how each plan will work toward achieving the goals and objectives contained in the strategy. At the same time the regional district has been able to actively pursue some of the goals in its regional growth management strategy, such as promoting regional collaboration with others by becoming involved in the Provincial government’s land and resource management plan for public lands in the TNRD. Likewise the TNRD has pursued the goal of promoting and encouraging economic development by working
closely with the City of Kamloops to this end. As for other TNRD goals such as establishing and maintaining equity among urban and rural centres, these will require continued commitment and monitoring by the regional district to help ensure that the different interests of its urban and rural communities are recognized and protected.

The remaining regional districts examined (i.e. the FFGRD, NORD and the PRRD), those that have not developed a regional growth management strategy, have not incorporated the Province’s growth management goals and objectives into their regional planning systems. It was found, however, that some of their respective community plans and official community plans contain planning goals that are clearly defined and reflect their own regional priorities. Some of these plans include goals that are aimed at; achieving consistency in decisions relating to land use matters, directing the location, amount and type of development in the region, and managing development and reducing potential land use conflicts. In the FFGRD the main goals and objectives in its community plans are consistent from plan to plan, reflecting themes that are important to the regional district’s board and communities even though they deal with separate land bases. The FFGRD has also worked closely with the City of Prince George to refine the region’s plan for the area around the city. In general the goals and objectives in the FFGRD’s plans are being met, and where difficulties arise the Board has sought to negotiate satisfactory agreements for all parties.

In contrast, a great many of the goals, objectives and policies contained in the NORD’s official
community plans are different from plan to plan. Furthermore, inconsistencies between the land use and development policies of the regional district and its municipalities has created some confusion regarding the direction of future development. The regional district board treats the NORD’s official community plans more like regulatory documents rather than strategic planning documents and amends them regularly. Given that the goals, objectives and policies of these plans seem to carry so little weight with the NORD, it is not surprising that little attention is given to whether it is achieving any of them.

The PRRD’s various official community plans contain some goals and objectives that are similar, or share similar intent, however, there is a general inconsistency in their provisions that has created confusion for the public and difficulties for staff. The lack of consistency between the goals and provisions of its plans is well recognized by the PRRD and, as previously stated, it intends to develop a comprehensive strategic plan and create a single official community plan and zoning bylaw to address growth and to regulate development throughout the region. In general the goals and objectives in the PRRD’s various plans appear to be met, however, the lack of consistency between them makes this difficult to ascertain.

What institutional mechanisms have been used to institutionalize growth management or regional planning?

The next part of the analysis considers the institutional mechanisms that have been used by the regional districts to institutionalize growth management and regional planning. Here it was found
that all four of the regional districts examined that have developed, or are developing, a regional
growth management strategy established and supported an intergovernmental advisory committee
(IAC) to help provide guidance for their project and to help coordinate the related activities of the
various governments, agencies and stakeholders involved in the development of their respective
strategies. While it is true that under the Province's legislation regional districts embarking on the
development of a regional growth management strategy are required to establish such a committee,
it is important to note that in each of these cases the IAC proved to be important to the technical
development of the region's strategies. Typically each of the IACs was composed of staff
representing the regional district, various provincial and federal ministries and agencies, local
governments, neighbouring regional districts as well as representatives of stakeholder groups that
are appointed by the regional district board. The IACs served as a forum through which technical
decisions, ideas and proposals for the development of the regional growth management strategies
could be discussed and vetted before substantive materials were put before their respective regional
districts boards and the public.

In addition to the IACs, three of these regional districts established programs to communicate
proposals for their growth management strategies to the public and to consult with residents and
stakeholders. During the development of the GVRD's regional growth management strategy, it
organized a number of public forums in order to identify the growth and development concerns of
regional residents and stakeholders and to advance the ideas of growth management. Similarly,
the TNRD developed a consultation plan which was used throughout the development of its
regional growth management strategy. The TNRD even provided direct support to citizens groups that wished to participate in the development of the strategy. In the NRD numerous forums were held throughout the region during the development of its strategy in order to communicate information to the public and to obtain feedback about growth management ideas and proposals. The NRD even published information about the region’s growth management program in local newspapers and delivered a regional newsletter to every household and business address in the region inviting feedback. In contrast, while the CRD established a Public Advisory Committee (PAC) comprised of 15 residents, appointed by the regional district board, to provide advice on ways to ensure that there is fair and effective consultation with the region’s residents during the development of its regional growth management strategy, it has not held any regional planning conferences, workshops or community visioning exercises with the general public.

All of these regional districts applied for and received planning grants from the Provincial government to help support the development of their growth management strategies. It is doubtful whether the CRD, NRD and the TNRD would have been able to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy without this institutional support. The GVRD also received planning grants from the Province for its growth management work, however, they were insignificant when compared to the actual costs incurred by the regional district to develop the strategy. The monies received from the Province by the GVRD were welcome, however, the regional district has sufficient financial strength to support its growth management project. The technical assistance provided by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs through its Growth Management
Office (GMO) was also important to the development of the growth management strategies of the CRD, NRD and the TNRD. In particular the GMO staff helped secure access for regional officials to people, data and resources in other Provincial ministries and agencies, such as Transportation and Highways, important to the formulation of their strategies. In contrast, while the Ministry provided some technical advice to the GVRD to support the development of its regional growth management strategy, this assistance was much less significant for the GVRD than it was for the other regional districts. In general the GVRD relied principally on its large staff of professional planners, engineers and administrators to: liaise with senior governments and their agencies, local governments, other regional districts, and special interest and stakeholder groups; and develop and evaluate proposals for its strategy.

With respect to other mechanisms that are being used to institutionalize regional growth management, all four of these regional districts have secured, or are looking to develop, implementation agreements with Provincial and Federal ministries and agencies, and local governments on matters important to their regional growth management strategies. For instance, following the adoption of its regional growth management strategy, the GVRD secured an implementation agreement with the Province on matters germane to regional transportation planning, infrastructure and transit services21. The NRD and the TNRD are also working to secure implementation agreements with various Provincial ministries to: protect urban fringe areas from

21 The agreement established the Greater Vancouver Transportation Authority (GVTA); however, a subsequent Provincial government undermined the agreement, and the authority, politically and financially in order to serve its own short-term electoral ambitions (Beatry, 2001; Palmer, 2001; Strelioff, 2001).
development, preserve agricultural and forest lands, and secure monies and support for transportation and infrastructure that serves the interests of the Province and their region. As for the CRD, although it has not adopted a regional growth management strategy it would nonetheless like to secure implementation agreements with the Province regarding the provision of transportation infrastructure and the protection of lands for green space.

It should be noted that none of these four regional districts has found it necessary to draw upon the formal facilitation, mediation, or arbitration provisions which the Province included in its growth management legislation to help conclude negotiations and resolve disagreements. However, each of them engaged in structured discussions and dialogue with their local governments, residents, and stakeholders as well as various senior government ministries and agencies to create and develop support for their respective regional growth management strategies. In the case of the GVRD it required, as previously mentioned, informal mediation by the then Minister of Municipal Affairs between the regional district and some of its municipalities to secure their support for the regional district's proposed growth management strategy. Since the adoption of the GVRD's strategy in 1996, a few of its municipalities have openly declared their unhappiness with the region's growth management strategy, the spending priorities of the GVTA and even the governance structure of the GVRD itself. It is suggested here that before the GVRD will be able to complete its five year review and up-date of its strategy, as required in the Province's legislation, the region and its municipalities may very well need to draw upon the dispute resolution tools included in the legislative framework. Similarly, disagreements in the CRD over population growth projections
and allocations and the regional growth management strategy process may necessitate the use of mediation before the region can adopt its strategy.

The remaining regional districts examined (i.e. the FFGRD, NORD and the PRRD), those that have not developed a regional growth management strategy, use a variety of mechanisms to institutionalize planning in their jurisdictions. Here it was found that the FFGRD and the NORD have both been careful in varying degrees to consult with their citizens and communities on important initiatives. The PRRD has not had a strong tradition of consulting with its citizens and communities on important initiatives and issues; however, it now recognizes the value of increased public participation in its decision making processes and it seeks to ensure the public is welcome and involved in the development of the region’s comprehensive strategic plan. The PRRD is also looking to establish an Interagency Management Committee (IMC) to assist in the development of the comprehensive strategic plan. This committee would be modelled on the intergovernmental advisory committees that other regions use to support regional growth management strategies. The FFGRD is careful to consult on important planning and policy initiatives with its constituent local governments, Provincial and Federal ministries and agencies as well as local organizations in the region. In order to facilitate this process the FFGRD has established a referral system through which the described parties are invited to provide comments. In contrast, due in part to its limited staff and financial resources, the NORD has not established an intergovernmental committee or a referral system to promote communications and collaboration with other governments, agencies and stakeholders. It is suggested, however, that development of a referral system similar to that
employed in the FFGRD could serve to improve the efficiency of the NORD’s planning processes and in time could improve its decision making capabilities. All three of these regional districts indicated that should a serious disagreement or dispute arise between the region and one or more of its local governments, or even a senior government, they would draw on the dispute resolution model provided in British Columbia’s growth management legislation to reach a negotiated agreement. To date none of them have had to formally do so; they have preferred instead to resolve differences by talking them out (CN1, CN2, CN3, 2001).

In respect of other mechanisms that are used to institutionalize planning in these regions, it was found that all three of these regional districts regularly apply for and receive planning grants from the Provincial government to help support their official community plans, zoning bylaws and planning programs. Funding support from the Provincial government, and occasionally non-government organizations, may also be provided to support specialized studies such as the FFGRD’s assessment of lands affected by natural hazards. As previously indicated, the FFGRD and the PRRD are both looking to replace some or all of their community plans, official community plans and zoning bylaws in order to have more flexible tools to administer and regulate land use and development, and to ensure the regions’ goals, objectives and policies are consistent and better reflect the desires of the public and the regional district board. The NORD has no intention at this time of undertaking significant changes to its official community plans and zoning bylaws.
Another institutional mechanism employed by the Province and regional districts that have not undertaken development of a regional growth management strategy, are agreements which delegate specific authority to the regional district. For example, the FFGRD has negotiated and secured two important agreements with the Province of British Columbia. The first agreement has given it the responsibility for all health unit functions in the region including the approval and oversight for on-site sewage systems. The FFGRD sought this authority in order that it might better protect surface and ground water systems from sewage contamination. The second agreement delegated some of the authority of the British Columbia Land Commission to the FFGRD to evaluate and make decisions respecting applications for subdivision and non-farm use of agricultural lands in the region. The significance of these individual agreements is that through them the FFGRD has secured a formal mandate from Provincial authorities that reinforce its ability to manage growth and development and direct it to areas which are consistent with the provisions of its community plans and appropriate to local circumstances. The NORD and the PRRD are aware that regional districts in British Columbia have secured some delegated authority from Provincial ministries and agencies that reinforce their ability to manage growth and development and may seek to secure similar authority themselves, however, they are reluctant to accept new responsibilities unless they are able to fully recover the costs associated with their administration, and are given enough legal discretion to make the delegation of authority worthwhile to the region.
How have the powers of senior and regional government been employed to manage growth?

All four of the regional districts examined that have developed, or are developing, a regional growth management strategy (again the GVRD, CRD, NRD and the TNRD) indicated that the process of creating their respective strategies helped them to develop a broader regional perspective on growth and development matters and a greater appreciation of the importance of planning for growth and change. Three of these regions, the GVRD, NRD and the TNRD, use regional growth management strategies and the powers associated with them, as well as sub-regional official community plans, zoning bylaws and development permits to manage growth and development. Local governments in these regions directly manage growth and development in their jurisdictions through the use of the latter three instruments. However, it should be noted that consistency between the provisions of the region’s growth management strategy and the plans and land use bylaws of its constituent local governments is required under the provisions of the Province’s growth management legislation. The CRD, which has not yet adopted a regional growth management strategy, is presently unable to assert any formal control over growth and development in the region, except for areas under its direct responsibility such as unincorporated areas. Nevertheless, due to the CRD’s work on the development of a regional growth management strategy, its Board is able to directly discuss growth management issues with the member municipalities of the region.

In addition, all four of these regional districts have sought to work cooperatively with their constituent local governments, Provincial ministries and agencies, and where appropriate Federal
ministries and agencies in the development of their regional growth management strategies. In order to do so the regional districts have worked with these other parties to identify potential problems and sources of conflict in the early developmental stages of their strategies. This enabled them to give additional attention to potentially troublesome issues and helped the participants to create opportunities to resolve or mitigate them. At the same time it should be recalled that local governments in the GVRD and the CRD have concerns about their respective growth management strategies. In some of these instances it has been necessary for the regional district and local governments to resolve disagreements by negotiating agreements that are satisfactory to all parties. There have been, however, some growth and development issues in these regions, such as the allocation of future population growth in some parts of the CRD and the provision of transportation and transit infrastructure in the GVRD, that have not been resolved which may require mediation and possibly even arbitration.

The Province has used its powers to provide financial, professional and technical support to all four of these regional districts to assist them to develop and implement their growth management strategies. Its active participation in facilitating and indirectly overseeing the development of the regional districts' growth management strategies has helped it to prioritize funding and grant applications for a wide variety of regional and local government projects, ranging from research studies to highway infrastructure. Ultimately, as a senior government, the Province can choose, through its ministries and agencies, to provide support for the implementation of the various regional growth management strategies that have been adopted to date in British Columbia.
Conversely, if it so chooses, it can force a regional district to comply with Provincial policy and spending priorities that may be very different than those of the regional district/s. Fortunately, since the first regional growth management strategy was adopted in British Columbia there has only been one such incident; the Province has otherwise given strong financial and political support to regional growth management initiatives. The exception was the Province’s lack of support for the motor vehicle levy proposed by the GVRD through its transportation agency the Greater Vancouver Transportation Authority, or Translink (Beatty, 2001; Palmer, 2001; Strelioff, 2001).

In the remaining regional districts examined (i.e. the FFGRD, NORD and the PRRD), those that have not developed a regional growth management strategy, it was found that they use sub-regional community plans, official community plans, rural land use bylaws and zoning bylaws to plan for and regulate future development and growth. The Provincial government has provided each of the regional districts with financial and technical support as required. Related support has come from the local governments in each of the regions. While their planning systems have worked satisfactorily in the past, two of these regions the FFGRD and the PRRD are looking, as previously mentioned, to replace some or all of their land use plans and bylaws with more robust and flexible documents in order to improve or maintain consistency in their respective policies and improve their ability to regulate development and growth. The boards of both of these regional districts are interested in encouraging development and enticing investment, however, they are also very interested in ensuring that land use conflicts and negative impacts arising from poor development are avoided. As part of these efforts, the FFGRD and the PRRD work closely with their member
municipalities to protect rural lands. As for the NORD, it too is interested in encouraging new development opportunities that will not result in future land use conflicts and negative impacts, especially as it already spends a considerable amount of time and resources resolving planning and development problems that emerge in various areas of the region. The NORD Board, however, has no plans to change or update any of its official community plans and zoning bylaws even though coordination between the region's various plans is inconsistent or poor and may be responsible in part for some of the problems the region experiences with planning and development. In terms of employing other powers to manage growth, all three of these regional districts are sensitive about the potential financial costs associated with accepting responsibility for functions that are currently provided by the Province, for instance subdivision control and approvals, and highways maintenance. The FFGRD, NORD and the PRRD are reluctant to take on new responsibilities and liabilities presently held by the Province unless they will be able to fully recover the costs associated with delivering and administering them.

As for the Provincial government it was found that even in the absence of a regional growth management strategy it can and does support regional planning initiatives. For example, it has supported the regional planning approach taken by the FFGRD. As previously indicated the Province and the FFGRD have entered into agreements whereby the regional district is responsible for administering a wide variety of health unit functions, including those related to approval of on-site sewage systems, as well as the authority to evaluate and make decisions respecting certain kinds of applications for the use and subdivision of lands in the BC Agricultural Land Reserve.
The Province is interested in giving additional support to the regional district when it begins the process of reviewing and replacing its various community plans and zoning bylaws. Similarly, the Province has expressed a strong interest in giving support to the PRRD to assist in the development of a regional comprehensive strategic plan. As for the NORD, the Province regularly contacts this regional district in order to provide it with information about the status and progress of regional growth management initiatives that have been undertaken in other parts of British Columbia. Finally, it should be recalled that, as senior government to the regional districts, the Province can direct them to comply with Provincial policy and spending priorities as necessary.

*How has growth management or regional planning been monitored?*

Consideration was also given to how growth management or regional planning has been monitored in the seven regional districts that were examined for this study. It was found that of the four regional districts that have developed, or are developing, a regional growth management strategy, only two of them, the GVRD and the NRD, have set up formal systems to gather information to assess progress toward each of the goals contained in their respective strategies. In both of these regions sets of indicators have been adopted which are used to gather information useful to performing these assessments. In the GVRD thirty-eight indicators are used to annually monitor the region’s progress towards achieving its four growth management goals. The ability of the region to protect its green zone is assessed, for example, on the basis of the land area of the green zone, the size of protected conservation areas, and the value of farm-gate sales. Similarly the ability of the GVRD to achieve the goal of a compact metropolitan region is assess on the basis of
the number and proportion of ground-oriented housing units inside and outside assigned growth concentration areas, and the share of annual population growth in those areas and in the region as a whole. In the NRD thirty-two indicators are used to monitor progress towards achieving the region's growth management plan and goals. For instance, population density inside and outside the region's urban containment boundaries is used to assess the ability of the region to contain urban areas and limit urban sprawl. Similarly the region's ability to promote the creation of pedestrian friendly mixed use communities and development is assessed, in part, on the basis of the proportion of housing types in designated areas, and on the basis of housing tenure, affordability and the demographic groups served in designated areas. The NRD also uses a committee comprised of 16 citizens appointed by the regional district board to observe, collect information and annually report on regional growth management activities as part of its monitoring program.

The GVRD and the NRD have also taken steps to ensure that comments on growth management and planning proposals are sought from the general public. The NRD's approach seeks to actively engage the public in discussions on growth management and regional planning matters. The NRD Board recognizes that public engagement serves to build institutional support for the growth management strategy throughout the region and as a consequence the general public has become involved in monitoring the strategy. In contrast, public involvement and discussion of growth management and regional planning matters in the GVRD is generally limited to obtaining public comments on proposals. Perhaps as a consequence, the general public in the GVRD is less
informed about the strategy and less interested in the progress towards achieving it.

The CRD also recognizes the value of monitoring growth and development in the region, however this is done informally as the region has not yet adopted a regional growth management strategy. Nevertheless, the results of these efforts are regularly reviewed with the CRD Board and with local governments where warranted. The CRD has indicated that it will establish a formal monitoring program to assess progress towards achieving its growth management goals after the strategy is adopted by the regional district as required in the Province’s legislation. The TNRD, the other regional district in this category, has not established a system to monitor and report progress towards achieving the region’s growth management goals even though this is required by the Province. Nevertheless, it also recognizes the advantages of having such a system and it intends to begin developing one in the near future.

The Provincial government clearly considers monitoring the status and progress of the various regional growth management strategies to be important. The annual reports filed with the Province by the regional districts that have, or are developing, a growth management strategy are useful in determining whether monies and resources it has directed to support these initiatives are being properly used. Furthermore, the Province uses the monitoring reports to help coordinate the activities, plans and spending priorities of Provincial ministries and agencies. The Province also uses these documents to determine if a regional district’s growth management strategy, and its implementation, complies with the goals and objectives in the legislation, and ministerial policies
and priorities. Where the Province finds that a regional district’s growth management strategy does not comply, further information is sought. If the regional district refuses to comply, the Province may refuse to approve grants and other financial support for the region’s growth management strategy and initiatives, as well as other programs and services (G2, G3, 2001).

The remaining regional districts examined (i.e. the FFGRD, NORD and the PRRD), those that have not developed a regional growth management strategy, have not instituted any formal systems to monitor compliance with their respective plans. Monitoring reviews in these regions appear to be reactive in nature. For example, when significant economic changes occur in the FFGRD it re-examines its community plans to determine how well development is accommodated in the region’s urban, suburban and rural areas and whether refinements to these plans are warranted. The NORD evaluates events and reviews decisions generally only if serious problems arise as a result of development. It has not undertaken rigorous evaluations of its plans and policies. In the PRRD some progress is being made as it is looking toward establishing a set of baseline indicators around which it may gather data useful to the development of the region’s proposed comprehensive strategic plan. It is also giving consideration to the development of a system of indicators to monitor compliance with that plan following its adoption. It should be noted that under the Province’s legislation regional districts are not required to monitor and assess the performance of their plans unless they have adopted a regional growth management strategy.
Looking broadly at the preceding research results it is possible to hypothesize the existence of a pattern comprised of three factors that can help improve our understanding of what is occurring in the regional districts, and to assess the likelihood that a regional growth management strategy, regional plan/s, or a strategic plan will be developed and implemented. The three factors are demographic change, economic change, and political leadership. The first factor, demographic change encompasses such elements as population growth and changes in the size and composition of age groups, and may for example impact decisions related to the provision of different forms of housing, recreational opportunities, transportation and transit systems, infrastructure, hospitals and health care, and numerous other services for people (Davis & Hutton, 1988; Davis & Hutton, 1989; Ramlo, 2000, pp.104-110). The less prepared a regional district is, within its existing planning frameworks and systems, to cope with changes and impacts arising from population growth or decline and other elements related to demographic change the more likely it is the regional district will consider the need to develop a regional growth management strategy, regional plan/s, or a strategic plan. The second factor, economic change encompasses such elements as employment growth and business development, and may for example impact decisions related to financial and market pressures to accommodate new commercial, industrial and residential development, the creation of new employment opportunities and their impacts, the expansion of services and impacts

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22 In 1977, Christopher Alexander et al published ‘A Pattern Language’ to “lay the basis for an entirely new approach to architecture, building and planning, which will we hope replace existing ideas and practices entirely”. The title ‘A Pattern Language?’ is employed above by the thesis researcher to point out that, like the built environment, patterns in regions, municipalities and communities can also be discerned through careful observation and by looking to the inter-related contexts woven by demographic change, economic change, and political leadership.
on taxes, the location and cost of land for different forms of development, the financial implications of protecting sensitive and valuable areas from environmental changes, assessing the full financial impacts associated with development, and public acceptance of economic change and impacts (Davis & Hutton, 1988; Davis & Hutton, 1989; Ramlo, 2000, pp.104-110). The less prepared a regional district is, within its existing planning frameworks and systems, to cope with changes and impacts arising from the elements that are related to economic change the more likely it is the regional district will consider the need to develop a regional growth management strategy, regional plan/s, or a strategic plan. The third factor, political leadership (support) is important because it encompasses elements such as the ability to find and secure consensus, the ability to work collaboratively, and the ability to inspire and give direction (De Geus, 1988, pp.70-74; Kotter, 1995; Van der Heijden, 1996, pp.107-111). Depending on the issue/s and circumstance/s one or all of these elements may be required to affect desired decisions and to assign costs and benefits among participants and stakeholders. Being political also implies the need to recognize and give careful attention to existing balances of power, including the degree of political autonomy held among participants considered critical to creating and maintaining support and momentum for initiatives such as a regional growth management strategy, regional plan/s, or a strategic plan (Forester, 1989, pp.137-162). The better prepared a regional district is to cope with the shifting political demands made on it the more likely it is that political and public support will be given to develop a regional growth management strategy, regional plan/s, or a strategic plan when it is faced

23 John Forester in his 1989 master work Planning in the Face of Power emphatically stated the importance for planners "To Be Rational, Be Political", p.25 & pp.27-47.
by demographic and/or economic change.

Among the seven cases examined it was found that the GVRD and the NRD both experienced significant demographic changes and solid economic growth between 1990 and 2000, and both enjoyed strong regional political leadership which together led to the creation of their respective regional growth management strategies\(^\text{24}\). When all three of these factors are present it is clear there is a very strong likelihood that a regional growth management strategy will be developed and implemented. In both these cases, Provincial support for their regional growth management strategies was important, however, both of the regional districts had expressed a strong interest in undertaking some form of growth management planning before the Province developed its growth strategies legislation.

It was also found in the thesis research that the TNRD experienced modest demographic changes and good economic growth between 1990 and 2000, while it also enjoyed strong regional political leadership which led it to undertake the development and adoption of a regional growth management strategy. The research revealed too that while the FFGRD and the PRRD have experienced little demographic change and low economic growth between 1990 and 2000,

\(^\text{24}\) While the NRD's average annual change in population (at 3.73% per annum 1990 to 2000) was certainly greater than the GVRD's (at 2.48% per annum 1990 to 2000) the actual population increase in the two regional districts was 36,651 and 399,031 respectively during the period. Similarly, the NRD's average annual change in experienced labour force (at 3.79% per annum 1990 to 2000) was much greater than the GVRD's (at 1.83% per annum 1990 to 2000), however, the actual increase in the size of the experienced labour force in the two regional districts was 9,085 and 53,790 respectively. Clearly, the significance of the actual demographic changes and economic growth in the GVRD outclassed all other regional districts in British Columbia between 1990 and 2000 (Tables 11 to 15 in Appendix C).
excepting some localized population and economic growth, they nonetheless enjoy strong regional political leadership which is leading them to undertake the development of new regional and strategic planning documents in collaboration with their member municipalities and citizens. It is important to note that the focus of these plans is not growth management as defined, but the step toward collective regional action is nonetheless considered important. In contrast, the NORD has experienced significant population growth and economic growth during the same period, however, in the absence of strong regional political leadership it has not undertaken any significant regional or strategic planning initiatives. These observations lead to the hypothesis that political leadership (i.e. support or the lack thereof) is an important factor, and perhaps more important, than either demographic change, or economic growth or change in encouraging a regional district to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy, regional plan/s, or a strategic plan.

The research also found in the CRD that when low population growth and low economic growth are coupled with weak regional political leadership there is little likelihood that a regional growth management strategy, regional plan/s, or a strategic plan will be developed. In such cases, it is hypothesized that leadership must be provided by senior government if changes are to occur. In this case, the pattern suggests (again) that political leadership is an important factor in determining the likelihood that a regional district will undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy, regional plan/s, or a strategic plan.
4.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter began with a brief history of growth management and regional planning in British Columbia. It was found that the ability of the Province's regional districts to formulate plans for their own development depends greatly on the political support given by the Provincial government to regional planning legislation, programs and funding. An overview of the Provincial government's intent, goals and objectives pertaining to growth management and regional planning in British Columbia was then presented. It was found that the aim of the Province's Growth Strategies Statutes Amendment Act (1995) was to "restore regional planning" in British Columbia, improve "coordination among municipalities and regional districts on strategic issues that transcend and cross local boundaries" and develop "clear reliable links with the provincial ministries and agencies whose resources are needed to implement the plans" (Marzari in Hansard, 1995b, p.13735). A brief description of the growth management and regional planning processes in British Columbia was then presented. In general it was found that where a regional district undertakes the development of a regional growth management strategy it "must cover a period of at least twenty years from the time of its initiation" (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.12) and must include provisions respecting the future of the region including social, economic and environmental objectives, population and employment projections, and proposals to provide for future housing, transportation, services, parks, environmental and economic development requirements (BC Legislature, 1995a, s.942.12). Some similarities between the Province's legislative requirements for a regional growth management strategy and a regional plan were also noted; however, significant differences between the two instruments were found, for instance a regional growth
management strategy requires a much longer planning period, explicit development of a purpose, goals and objectives, and, consultation and dialogue between the participants in the regional growth management strategy processes, while other forms of regional planning are less comprehensive.

The chapter then considered the regional growth management strategy or regional plan of seven selected regional districts in British Columbia. The seven cases were sorted into one of three categories: regional districts that were required, or would have been required, to develop a regional growth management strategy; regional districts that volunteered to develop a regional growth management strategy; and, regional districts that have not developed a regional growth management strategy. An overview of the regional districts in each of the three categories was then provided followed by a description of the regional growth management strategy or regional planning approach that they employed. The thesis analytical framework presented in the literature review was used in a series of structured interviews to investigate the regional growth management or regional planning program in each of the cases. Using the analytical framework the interview results were presented and systematically analyzed in the thesis. The analysis of the cases revealed the possible existence of a pattern comprised of three factors, namely demographic change, economic change and political leadership, that can help improve our understanding of what is occurring in the regional districts and to assess the likelihood that a regional growth management strategy, regional plan or a strategic plan will be developed or implemented. In general it was found that the better prepared a regional district is to cope with shifting political demands the more likely it is that political and public support will be given to develop a regional growth management
strategy, regional plan, or a strategic plan when faced by demographic and economic change. It was also found that political leadership is perhaps the most important factor of the three in determining whether a regional district undertakes the development of a regional growth management strategy, regional plan or strategic plan. The next section presents a synthesis of the thesis research results.

4.7 Synthesis

This thesis has argued that the stronger the degree of senior government control — Federal, Provincial or State — over decisions by regional governments the more likely a comprehensive growth management program exists that: includes clearly defined goals; possesses institutional mechanisms to institute growth management; and, utilizes the powers of senior government to help direct and manage growth. In order to examine this statement the thesis initially investigated selected growth management programs in the United States as well as British Columbia through a review of literature. The thesis then examined a series of selected regional districts in British Columbia in order to determine whether the pattern found in the literature review also occurred within the Province.

It was found in the literature review that in the states of Hawaii, Oregon, Florida and Minnesota, where a stronger degree of senior government direction and involvement in growth management matters exists, there was a higher degree of comprehensiveness to their respective growth management programs in accordance with the definition and conceptualization of growth
management developed in the thesis. Similarly, it was found that the four selected regional districts in British Columbia that have or are developing a regional growth management strategy in accordance with the legislation set out by the Province, namely the Capital, Nanaimo, Thompson-Nicola and Greater Vancouver Regional Districts, possess a high degree of comprehensiveness according to the thesis definition of growth management.

The literature review also found that in California where there is a weak state role in growth management matters, there was also a low degree of comprehensiveness in growth management efforts in that state as defined in this thesis. Similarly in two of the three selected regional districts in British Columbia that were examined that have not developed a regional growth management strategy in accordance with the legislation set out by Province, namely the Fraser-Fort George and the Peace River Regional Districts, it was found that while they intend to develop a more regional and holistic approach to planning these proposals are unlikely to fulfil the definition of comprehensiveness for growth management described earlier. As for the remaining case in this category, the North Okanagan Regional District, it was found that it has no real intention of developing any substantive regional plans for the foreseeable future and its current approach to regional planning can not be considered to be comprehensive either.

Based on the regional district cases examined in the thesis, it is clear that in British Columbia the stronger the degree of senior government control over planning decisions by regional governments the more likely a comprehensive growth management program exists that: includes clearly defined
goals; possesses institutional mechanisms to institute growth management; and, utilizes the powers of senior government to help direct and manage growth. It is also clear that this finding is consistent with that found in the literature review. The next chapter of the thesis will review the recommendations of the research interviewees for growth management and regional planning practices in British Columbia.
5. POTENTIAL IMPROVEMENTS: RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE RESEARCH INTERVIEWEES

As part of the structured interview process each of the research interviewees was asked “what improvements to the Province’s growth management legislation and program would you suggest?” Overall it was found that all of the parties representing regional districts that have, or are developing, a regional growth management strategy clearly believe that growth management is necessary in each of their regions. For instance, “the GVRD is impacted by all sorts of growth and development decisions that are taken by local governments, developers and by the Provincial and Federal Governments and their agencies. The Livable Region Strategic Plan [the GVRD’s regional growth management strategy] was developed in order to help ensure Greater Vancouver would remain livable and be an attractive place for future generations to live, work and play in” (R1, 2001). It was also observed by some of these interviewees, as well as by representatives of the Provincial government, that it may be in the public interest to compel some regional districts in British Columbia to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy (G1, G2, R1, R2, 2001). One interviewee, for example, stated that “the Squamish Lilooet Regional District should be required to develop a comprehensive growth management strategy not only

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25 As stated, material from the research interviews is used in one of three ways: as a direct quotation; as paraphrase; or as a point made without the use of a direct quotation or paraphrase. The research interviews are assigned to one of the following categories depending on whether the interview was related to:

1. A regional district that was required, or would have been required, to develop a regional growth management strategy by the Province of British Columbia. In this case the symbol “R”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee.
2. A regional district that volunteered to develop a regional growth management strategy. In this case the symbol “V”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee.
3. A regional district that chose not to develop a regional growth management strategy. In this case the symbol “CN”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee; or
4. An interview of a past or present official of the Government of British Columbia. In this case the symbol “G”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee.
because it is a rapidly growing region but more importantly because poor development in that region may negatively impact British Columbia’s bid to host the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver and Whistler” (R1, 2001). Another interviewee stated that the rapid urbanization of the southern half of Vancouver Island over the last ten to 15 years underscores the “need to develop a comprehensive strategy to better coordinate planning and development between regional districts and municipalities on Vancouver Island and the Provincial government for the next fifty years” (R2, 2001).

All of the regional district interviewees in this category recognized that regional districts that are not experiencing significant growth and development pressures are unlikely to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy. They also observed that the Province’s Local Government Act includes planning provisions that may be sufficient to manage growth and regulate development in most of British Columbia’s regional districts. It was noted that if those legal instruments prove to be inadequate to address the regional district’s needs, then the regional growth management provisions of the Act may be utilized (R1, R2, V1, V2, 2001).

As for the remaining research interviewees, those representing regional districts that have not developed a regional growth management strategy, it was found that all of them believe that regional planning is very important to their regions, as well as for British Columbia as a whole. For instance, one of the interviewees stated “regional planning is important for coordinating development and land use decisions not only in areas administered directly by regional districts,
but also for the benefit of related urban centres and municipalities throughout British Columbia" (CN3, 2001). Further, these interviewees indicated that while their respective regional districts have no plans to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy (CN1, CN2, CN3, 2001), the Province's regional growth management legislation includes a number of tools that can help manage growth and regulate development which may be useful to British Columbia's large, highly urbanized and rapidly growing regional districts, their constituent municipalities, and where significant land use conflicts may arise between governments 26 (CN1, CN2, CN3, 2001).

It was also noted by these respondents that if there is strong support to manage growth and regulate development, sufficient scope exists in the Local Government Act to do so without necessitating the use of the growth strategy provisions of the Act (CN1, CN2, CN3, 2001). One of the regional district interviewees observed, however, that to do so effectively “will require a significant amount of dialogue and cooperation between the elected and un-elected officials representing the regional district and local governments” and would “require efforts similar to those involving the development of growth management strategies” (CN1, 2001).

In general the seven regional district interviewees indicated that they had no serious criticisms (CN1, CN2, CN3, R1, R2, V1, V2, 2001) to make about the intent, goals or objectives of British Columbia's growth management or regional planning legislation. Nevertheless, they did identify a number of issues and concerns related to regional growth management and regional planning

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26 In other words, while the interviewees stated that the Province's growth management legislation is good, and British Columbia's large urban and rapidly urbanizing regions should use it, they really have no intention of using the legislation in their own regional districts. The contradictory (oxymoronic) nature of these statements was not lost on the interviewees either.
practices in British Columbia and made a number of recommendations.

In one way or another all of the regional district interviewees stated that the Province's regional growth management legislation may be applied most usefully in British Columbia's highly urbanized and rapidly developing regions (CN1, CN2, CN3, R1, R2, V1, V2, 2001). It was also observed by many of the interviewees that almost all of the highly urbanized or rapidly growing regions in British Columbia have developed or have undertaken the development of a regional growth management strategy since the legislation was adopted (CN1, CN3, G1, G2, R1, R2, V1, V2, 2001). It was noted too by some of the respondents that the Province's regional growth management legislation may be too cumbersome and prescriptive for it to be readily accepted and used by other regional districts even though it contains some good tools (CN2, CN3, V2, 2001). In order to make the legislation more appealing to other regional districts in British Columbia, a number of the interviewees supported the introduction of a graduated growth management system whereby regional districts and municipalities could choose to implement a growth management strategy within their jurisdictions over time and as warranted by changing circumstances; for instance population growth, rate of land conversion, environmental impacts, land use conflicts, and demands for infrastructure and services (CN2, CN3, R1, V2, 2001). Some of the interviewees also noted, that the regional districts and local governments would need to receive assurances of continued financial support and technical assistance from the Province before they will commit themselves to undertake this work (V1, V2, 2001). In addition, a number of the interviewees stated that providing regional districts with financial assistance in the form of planning grants and
matching funds for planning studies and programs is the most effective incentive the Province possesses to promote and support regional growth management and regional planning (CN1, CN2, CN3, R1, R2, V2, 2001). Some of the interviewees, not surprisingly, also indicated that cutbacks in the Province’s financial support to regional districts significantly weakens their ability to undertaken the development of these initiatives and plans (CN1, CN2, CN3, R1, R2, V2, 2001). One potential means of providing financial support to regional districts, and local governments, that was suggested was for the Province to equitably share the benefits that are derived from the extraction and processing of natural resources (CN3, 2001).

Some of the interviewees noted that at the present time there are no guarantees that regional growth management strategies will be properly developed or executed (R1, R2, 2001). Accordingly, it was recommended by some of the interviewees that the Province should “require the inclusion of mandatory content in a regional growth management strategy if a region chooses to undertake one” (R2, 2001). Furthermore, in order to ensure that the Province’s growth management goals and objectives are fulfilled, growth and development criteria and planning thresholds could be established that would stipulate what growth management and planning measures are required and when (CN3, R1, 2001). The three interviewees representing regional districts that have not developed a regional growth management strategy stated that the decision to undertake the development of regional growth management strategy should rest with the regional districts and their respective local governments (CN1, CN2, CN3, 2001). Two of these interviewees also stated that regional districts that choose to develop a regional growth
management strategy should be free to work on any issues they identify as important; for instance, urban containment boundaries and transportation (CN1, CN2, 2001). It was, however, recognized by many of the interviewees that it may be desirable for the Province to compel a regional district to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy or a regional plan if it is deemed to be in the Provincial or public interest (CN3, G1, G2, R1, R2, V2, 2001); therefore the Province should retain the legislative ability to direct regional districts to do so (CN3, G1, G2, R1, R2, V2, 2001). That said, it was also noted that the Province should clearly define what issues are of Provincial interest in order to help assess the need for regions to undertake a regional growth management strategy or a regional plan (R1, R2, 2001).

A number of the interviewees noted that regional districts, local governments and the Province need to carefully consider the potential benefits and costs of greater public participation in planning and decision-making processes (CN1, CN2, V2, 2001). Recent amendments to British Columbia’s Local Government Act \(^{27}\) have recognized the need for greater public involvement and oversight of government functions at the regional district and municipal level. However, the legislation did not provide junior governments with additional resources or staff to either manage or fulfil those expectations (CN1, CN2, V2, 2001). At the same time it was noted by a number of the interviewees that in recent years the Provincial government has had a propensity to impose new legislation and regulatory regimes (including those contained in Bill 14) without consulting with

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\(^{27}\) Pursuant to Bill 14 – Local Government Statutes Amendment Act, 2000 which received Royal Assent on June 12, 2000.
regional districts and local governments about their impacts (CN1, CN2, V2, R1, 2001). Accordingly it was recommended by some of the regional district interviewees that the Provincial government should commit itself to consulting with its junior governments during the development of new legislation and regulatory initiatives’ not only ‘to help ensure that scarce resources are used effectively, but to also help manage public expectations of greater involvement and participation (CN1, CN2, R1, V2, 2001). It was recommended by some of the regional district interviewees that the Provincial government should provide regional districts and local governments with additional resources, such as direct financial support or broadened taxation authority, when they are required to undertake the delivery of the Province’s programs and initiatives (CN1, CN2, CN3, R1, V1, V2, 2001). It was recognized by all of the regional district interviewees that poor public involvement in the development of regional growth management strategies, regional planning and local government planning functions serves to undermine the general public’s faith in regional districts and local governments (CN1, CN2, CN3, R1, R2, V1, V2, 2001). Accordingly, it was recommended by some of the interviewees that regional districts, local governments and the Province should do more to promote meaningful public involvement in these functions (CN1, CN2, CN3, R1, R2, V1, V2, 2001) and “to reduce public misconceptions about the impacts of planning” (CN2, 2001).

All of the interviewees observed that greater consideration needs to be given to the importance of First Nations issues in all regional, local and Provincial government planning and administration in British Columbia (CN1, CN2, CN3, R1, R2, V1, V2, 2001). One of the regional district
interviewees stated that, “if First Nations groups develop community and land use plans like other governments then they should be invited to appoint representatives to regional district boards and participate in the development of regional district plans” (R2, 2001). Furthermore, “to help ensure that regional and local governments and First Nations equitably provide support for infrastructure and services, appropriate cost sharing agreements will need to be negotiated by these parties” (R2, 2001). It was suggested by some of the interviewees that the Provincial government could help support this activity by facilitating consultations between First Nations groups, regional districts and local governments on matters related to the development and coordination of community and land use plans including regional growth management strategies (G3, V2, 2001).

Some of the regional district interviewees indicated that while many Provincial ministries and agencies have willingly participated in the development of regional growth management strategies and regional plans, others have been reluctant to become involved in these initiatives. In order to strengthen these regional initiatives it was recommended by one of the interviewees that the Provincial government should “encourage its ministries and agencies to participate in their development” (V1, 2001). It was also suggested by some of the interviewees that the activities of the intergovernmental advisory committees involved in the development of regional growth management strategies and in some instances regional plan initiatives would be enhanced if more of the Province’s senior officials attended these committee meetings on a regular basis, (CN3, V1, 2001) and that “this would also help secure improved access to resources and support from the Province’s ministries and agencies” (V2, 2001). Furthermore, it was suggested by one of the
interviewees that "the Province should give greater consideration to improving inter-regional planning mechanisms in order to better coordinate growth management and regional planning efforts and to promote the discussion of settlement and development strategies between regional, local and senior governments and their agencies" (R2, 2001).

In addition to the foregoing, some of the regional district interviewees stated the Province should do more to promote growth management and regional planning. This could be achieved, in part, as previously stated, by seeking to reduce public misconceptions about the impacts of planning (CN2, CN3, 2001). It was suggested by some of the interviewees that more could be done, and that the Province should promote regional growth management and regional planning ideas with regional districts, local governments and the public (CN2, CN3, 2001). Some interviewees recommended that the Province should reinforce best planning practices for growth management and regional planning with regional districts and local governments by providing background reports and model bylaws on related issues such as urban containment boundaries (CN2, CN3, 2001). Background reports and briefs on other planning tools and programs relevant to regional districts and local governments could also be actively promoted by the Province (CN2, CN3, 2001).

Furthermore, some of the regional district interviewees indicated that significant impacts on public health and welfare can arise as a result of poor development and that more can and should be done to protect the public (CN1, CN3, V1, 2001). Accordingly, these interviewees recommended that
to better regulate and manage development, and to help protect the health of residents, the Province should consider granting regional districts greater control over site servicing, subdivision control and approval, and water quality monitoring and protection (CN1, CN3, V1, 2001). At the same time the interviewees remarked that it is important that sufficient resources are secured to permit the regional districts to properly discharge those responsibilities (CN1, CN3, V1, 2001).

Finally, some of the regional district and Provincial government interviewees emphasized that British Columbia’s lands and natural environment are ‘very fragile’ and if we want to ensure we leave a positive legacy for future generations, then we need to exercise good stewardship (G1, G2, R1, V2, 2001). Accordingly, it was recommended by these interviewees that more work can be done by the Province, and its regional and local governments to embrace the ideas and values of sustainability (G1, G2, R1, V2, 2001).

In summary the recommendations made by one or more of the interviewees are as follows:

The Province, and its regional districts and local governments should:
1. Embrace the ideas and values of sustainability in order to better protect British Columbia’s lands and natural environment for future generations; and
2. Promote meaningful public involvement in the development of regional growth management strategies, regional planning and local government planning activities.

The Province should:
3. Facilitate consultations between First Nations groups, regional districts and local governments on matters related to the development and coordination of community and land use plans including regional growth management strategies;
4. Introduce a graduated growth management system whereby regional districts and municipalities can choose to implement a growth management strategy within their jurisdictions over time and as warranted by changing circumstances;
5. Define the issues that are in the Provincial or public interest to help assess the need for regions to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy or a regional plan;
6. Retain the legislative ability to direct regional districts to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy or a regional plan if it is deemed to be in the Provincial or public interest;
7. Require the inclusion of mandatory content in a regional growth management strategy if a region chooses to undertake one;
8. Establish growth and development criteria and planning thresholds that stipulate what growth management and planning measures are required and when in order to ensure that growth management goals and objectives are fulfilled;
9. Encourage its ministries and agencies to participate in regional growth management strategies and regional planning initiatives;
10. Promote the use of inter-regional planning mechanisms to coordinate growth management and regional planning;
11. Provide secure financial and technical support to regional districts and local governments when they undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy or a regional plan;
12. Commit additional resources to regional districts and local governments when they are required to undertake the delivery of the Province’s programs and initiatives;
13. Commit itself to consulting with its junior governments during the development of new legislation and regulatory initiatives;
14. Promote best planning practices for growth management, regional planning, and other planning tools and programs, with regional districts and local governments through the distribution of background reports, briefs and model bylaws; and
15. Consider granting regional districts greater control over site servicing, subdivision control and approval, and water quality monitoring and protection to better regulate and manage development, and to help protect the health and welfare of residents.

Regional Districts should be free to:
16. Decide with their respective local governments when to undertake the development of growth management strategy; and
17. Work on any regional growth management strategy issues they identify as important.

First Nations:
18. Groups should be invited to participate in regional district boards and participate in the development of regional district plans;
19. And regional and local governments should provide equitable support for infrastructure and services, through appropriate cost sharing agreements; and
20. Issues should be given greater consideration in Provincial, regional and local government planning and administration in British Columbia.
Based on the issues, concerns and recommendations raised by the interviewees it is clear that a number of improvements to British Columbia's growth management and regional planning practices could be pursued. The recommendations from the interviewees are consistent with the analytical findings which support the need for a strong role for the Provincial government in growth management. The next and final chapter of the thesis presents the researcher's recommendations and concluding remarks.
6. A NEW ERA: RESHAPING APPROACHES TO GROWTH MANAGEMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

6.1 Summary of Conclusions

Throughout the development of this thesis three research questions have been explored: Why has growth management been instituted? What are the characteristics of a successful growth management program? For British Columbia, what would be the ideal characteristics of a comprehensive growth management program and legislation? It was found that growth management in Canada and the United States has been instituted in response to concerns about negative impacts arising from large scale growth and development in cities and urban areas. This was done by examining selected regional growth management programs in the United States and Canada and also through a comparative analysis of regional growth management strategies and regional planning initiatives of selected regional districts in British Columbia. Some of the specific issues addressed by growth management programs include: urban and suburban sprawl; conversion of farm, agricultural and environmentally sensitive lands for urban uses; reductions in regional air, water and environmental quality; the need to promote compact development patterns and economic development, and the need to expand and improve transportation and public infrastructure systems. In general the objective of growth management has been to control and direct growth and development in order to avoid, reduce and mitigate negative impacts associated with large scale development and to promote the creation of more attractive, economic, efficient and sustainable cities, towns and regions.
The characteristics of a successful growth management program were also explored through the analysis of the selected cases, and through the thesis literature review. Four key characteristics were identified:

1. a high degree of senior government control and oversight over the direction and scale of growth and development decisions of regional and local governments;
2. clearly articulated planning and development goals;
3. the powers and authority of senior and regional governments were employed to achieve the planning and development goals\textsuperscript{28}; and
4. political leadership and commitment at the Provincial, regional and local government level.

The ideal characteristics of a comprehensive growth management program and legislation for British Columbia were also explored by considering the history of growth management and regional planning in British Columbia and the Provincial government's intent, goals and objectives for the same. It was found that the Provincial government sought in 1995 to restore regional planning in British Columbia and improve relations between the Province, the regional districts and municipalities. It was also found that the Provincial government wished to improve coordination between regional districts and municipalities on strategic issues, and to create more reliable links between the regional districts and municipalities with Provincial ministries and

\textsuperscript{28} Here powers and authority refers to the institutional mechanisms to facilitate control over the type, location, quality, scale, rate, sequence and timing of development, a willingness to exercise taxation, spending and regulatory powers to systematically influence the spatial distribution of activities in rural, urban and metropolitan areas, and a willingness to use financial grants and professional assistance.
agencies. The thesis research revealed that almost all of British Columbia’s highly urbanized and rapidly growing regional districts have developed or are developing a regional growth management strategy, and are meeting the ideal characteristics identified by the Province in its growth management goals and objectives. Nevertheless, it was also found that British Columbia’s growth management program and legislation could be improved in a number of ways if some of the interviewees recommendations were implemented, for instance: the Province commits to providing financial and technical support to regional districts and local governments as they undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy or a regional plan; the Province establishes growth and development criteria and planning thresholds that stipulate what growth management and planning measures are required and when, to ensure that growth management goals and objectives are fulfilled; the Province commits to consulting with its junior governments during the development of new legislation and regulatory initiatives that may affect them; and, invite First Nations groups to participate in regional district boards and participate in the development of regional growth management strategies and regional plans. If these and other recommendations were implemented, they would help make British Columbia’s growth management program and legislation more comprehensive and ideal for this Province.

6.2 A New Era: Setting the Stage

The most important aspect of growth management and regional planning involves the thoughtful comprehension of the implications of development, growth and change, and the intelligent formulation and absorption of alternatives and ideas by the regional population to enable the creation of a plan suitable for translation into action through appropriate political and economic agencies.

(Andrew Young, 2001 after Lewis Mumford, 1938b)
Following the May 2001 Provincial election, the new Provincial government announced that it would move forward with the creation of a community charter for British Columbia’s municipalities (BC Liberals, 2001). In doing so, the government’s intent is “to give communities the powers and resources to make local decisions locally and to get the Province out of municipal governance” (Lidstone, 2001). Further, through the charter the Provincial government seeks to “strike an unprecedented partnership between municipalities and the Province where municipal councils will look after community governance and the Province will address the public interest of British Columbia as a whole” (Lidstone, 2001).

In August 2001 the Province adopted the Community Charter Council Act (CCCA) to provide direction for the development of the charter and create a council to consult with stakeholders and oversee its development (BC Legislature, 2001b). Accordingly, the Province committed itself...

...to recognize in law, municipalities for what they are in fact: an order of government in British Columbia. The Charter will give municipalities greater powers and new freedom to take action and make decisions. In some instances without seeking provincial approval or new legislation.

The Charter will be based on the principle of respect and recognition for communities and their local governments. It will enable municipalities to become more self-reliant by providing them with greater autonomy, independence, new powers and better financial and other tools for governing communities and delivering services.

It will also create a new accountability framework for citizens to make sure government is accessible and accountable in every municipality. Its vision is to extend

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29 The creation of a Community Charter for British Columbia’s municipalities was one of the initiatives that the BC Liberal Party and its leader Gordon Campbell committed to undertake following the 2001 Provincial election. The need to develop the Community Charter is described in the BC Liberals platform, ‘A New Era for British Columbia: A Vision for Hope & Prosperity for the next decade and beyond’.
the province’s goal of open, accountable and financially responsible government to municipalities (BC Community, 2001a).

In October 2001, at the Annual Conference of the Union of British Columbia Municipalities, the Province provided further details regarding its plans for the development of the Community Charter. At that time the Provincial government made it clear that while “the Community Charter will initially focus on municipalities” (BC Community, 2001a), the government also intends to consult on “regional district specific issues, regional growth strategies and land use planning within the next two years” (BC Community, 2001a). Based on the Province’s declared agenda, there will be opportunities to recommend modifications and improvements to the legislation pertaining to regional growth management strategies and regional planning in the near future.

The thesis research indicates that in British Columbia the stronger the degree of Provincial government control over planning decisions by regional governments the more likely a comprehensive growth management program exists that: includes clearly defined goals; possesses institutional mechanisms to institute growth management; and, utilizes the powers of senior government to help direct and manage growth. However, it is also clear that not all of the regional districts in British Columbia need or want to undertake the development of a regional growth management strategy. This finding is supported by the fact that while almost all of the large, highly urbanized and/or rapidly growing regional districts in the province have adopted or are developing a regional growth management strategy the remaining regional districts in British Columbia have to date not done so.
6.3 Recommendations

Since British Columbia’s growth management legislation was intended to help manage growth and development in the Province’s large, highly urbanized and rapidly growing regional districts it is fair to conclude, on the basis that most of them have undertaken a regional growth management strategy, that the legislative initiative has met that goal, and to the degree that it has been implemented it has been successful. The legislation, however, appears to be irrelevant for the many regional districts and municipalities in British Columbia that have not been experiencing large scale growth and development pressures, and in such circumstances it is unlikely to be utilized by more than a few regional districts in the future. In contrast to the regional districts that have large populations, strong economies and solid development, many regional districts and municipalities in British Columbia have for years experienced relatively low rates of growth and development, and in some cases have experienced serious economic decline, increased structural unemployment, concomitant negative social impacts and even population decreases. In these cases the very idea of “growth management” is considered irrelevant by community leaders and decision makers who are more interested in encouraging and securing new growth and development to improve the prospects of the people and businesses in their regional district and municipalities and build new economic and social strength. In order to meet the broadly different requirements of the regional districts and municipalities in British Columbia, it is recommended that the growth strategies and regional planning provisions in the Local Government Act be reviewed and amended to make them more dynamic, effective and relevant to the present and future needs of their citizens and communities.
This could be done by adopting a new approach and system to planning, whereby regional districts and municipalities would have the opportunity to employ a more flexible approach to growth replacing the conventional and limited regional district planning model that presently exists in British Columbia. The general idea is simple; provide British Columbia’s regional districts with an incremental and graduated planning model that gives them the opportunity to choose the tools appropriate to manage their physical, economic and social growth, development and change. The model begins by introducing the concept of a “Growth and Development Continuum” (see illustration in Figure A, this section), which recognizes that while some regions require assistance in controlling growth, others require assistance to encourage growth. A number of characteristics may be used to position a region on the continuum including, for example: long term decreases and increases in population size, rapid urbanization, urban sprawl and conversion of farm and wilderness areas for urban use, increases or decreases in structural unemployment, erosion or expansion of tax base, escalating infrastructure and servicing costs, economic and fiscal expansion or decline, air and water quality, and degradation of the region’s natural environment; additional characteristics appear in Figure B (in this section). It should be noted that the characteristics presented here, and in the figure, are only meant to serve as examples. These lists are by no means exhaustive. It should also be noted that the list of characteristics may be freely intermingled in order that the regional district and its local governments may determine the type of tools they need that are appropriate to help address their changing growth and developmental requirements.
**Figure A: Growth and Development Continuum:**
for Regional Districts and Local Governments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Large Changes</th>
<th>Medium Changes</th>
<th>Small Changes</th>
<th>Medium Changes</th>
<th>Large Changes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>Decline</td>
<td>Growth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure B: Growth and Development Continuum:**
Sample Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decline:</th>
<th>Growth:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>low rates of growth &amp; development</td>
<td>rapid urbanization or high rates of growth &amp; development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sustained decrease in population size</td>
<td>sustained increase in population size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic and fiscal decline</td>
<td>economic development and creation of new business opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>increased business bankruptcies</td>
<td>creation of new employment opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reduced employment opportunities</td>
<td>expansion of tax base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>increased structural unemployment</td>
<td>increased urban sprawl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erosion of tax base</td>
<td>increased traffic congestion and increased demands for transportation system changes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>increased proportion of population receiving social assistance</td>
<td>escalating infrastructure and servicing costs to accommodate new growth and development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>decreased air and water quality, and environmental degradation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conversion of farm and wilderness areas for urban use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>negative impacts on quality of life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The continuum concept described here would provide the highly urbanized and/or rapidly growing regional districts and their local governments with the tools they need to improve their ability to manage growth and change, and provide the slow growing regions and those in decline with the regulatory tools and financial and political support they need to encourage new growth and development. Regional districts and local governments must adapt their developmental, planning and regulatory tools, as well as financial and political support from the Province, to meet their changing circumstances and requirements. The choice and selection of tools will vary depending on regional and local circumstances. The continuum concept allows regional districts and local governments to introduce growth and development controls and management programs in an incremental and graduated fashion. This would result in small changes introduced over a longer period of time, rather than large changes introduced dramatically over a short period. The advantage of smaller changes is that they are usually less difficult and costly to implement and, in contrast to the large changes, are less likely to result in significant unintended negative consequences. In the long term the use of this planning model would lend itself to the identification and implementation of more sustainable forms of growth and development.

As part of the continuum concept, the Province would present each of the regional districts with a set of well-defined economic, social and environmental mandates which they would be expected to fulfil. The way in which the mandates would be fulfilled would be determined through discussions and consultations between the Province and each regional district. The Province would commit itself to providing continued financial, legislative and ministerial support for the regional
districts' new and ongoing regional initiatives and programs. Over time as the needs of the regional districts evolve, each of them would be free to seek changes in their authority and responsibilities as their circumstances change. From the outset, the regional districts would be responsible for monitoring their compliance with their agreed to plans. The Province, however, would be responsible for auditing and verifying that the regional districts fulfil their contractual obligations. In this manner, the important role of the Provincial government in determining and protecting the public interest is maintained. Because the system is dynamic, and because the plans of the regional districts will be negotiated and monitored, it is expected that greater attention will be given by them and the Province to their performance, especially when assessing the need, and support, for new tools, responsibilities and Provincial resources. It should be noted that the Province would also retain the ability to assign, re-assign or suspend, regional district authorities and responsibilities where it is determined that it is in the Provincial and public interest to do so.

6.4 Final Remarks

Regional growth management and regional planning involve utilizing the powers of government in a comprehensive, rational and coordinated manner to meet public objectives for protecting and preserving natural and manmade environments and balanced economic growth. These activities require sustained commitment by people, communities and governments to create and strengthen institutional mechanisms which are intended to facilitate control over the “type, location, quality, 

30 The process described here is one of the wide variety of control mechanisms that the senior government may choose to employ.
scale, rate, sequence and timing of development”, and a willingness to exercise taxation, spending and regulatory powers to systematically influence the spatial distribution of activities in urban and metropolitan areas. The goals of growth management and regional planning in general are to proactively define and shape the quality of our communities, municipalities, regions and the Province for the benefit of current and future generations.

Ultimately, regional growth management and regional planning must be responsive to the demands made by local communities and citizens, but it must also be resilient enough to ensure that broader societal goals and objectives, and the interests and needs of larger communities are also properly addressed. No doubt legislative action by the Province of British Columbia will be required to make the changes necessary to enable the recommendation made here. In order to learn if there is broad support for adopting the continuum to growth and development approach to planning in British Columbia’s regional districts, substantive consultations with the regional districts, municipal governments and the general public is suggested. Further in-depth research and analysis may reveal additional opportunities to change regional growth management and regional planning in British Columbia.

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V1 or V2 (2001)
Signifies an interviewee representing a regional district that volunteered to develop a regional growth management strategy. In this case the symbol “V”, followed by a number, is used to refer to the category and a specific unidentified interviewee. Pursuant to the University of British Columbia's ethical research policies, as administered by the Office of Research Service – Behavioural Research Ethics Board, details regarding the identity of the research interviewees were removed from the thesis. The confidential research interview was conducted by the thesis researcher sometime between May and August 2001.

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is a blow to regional planning principles
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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE AND QUESTIONS

The following interview questions (or variations of them) relate directly to the thesis analytical framework developed by the researcher and were used in the interviews. The researcher also asked supplementary questions of the interviewees in order to clarify statements and to learn more about the specific nature of the research cases.

Preamble: Based on your knowledge of your agency's, or your jurisdiction's, growth management or regional planning program:

1. How did the growth management or regional planning program emerge?
   1.a. Why did you choose this approach? (Expected answers appear below. Subsequent followup questions are included)
   1.b. We were required to develop a growth management program / strategy. Why were you required to do so?
   1.b. We volunteered to develop a growth management program / strategy. Why did you volunteer to do so?
   1.b. We chose not to develop a growth management program / strategy. Why did you choose not to do so?
   1.c. What are you doing instead?

2. Does the growth management or regional planning program or strategy have clearly defined goals?
   2.a. Please describe the goals and objectives of your growth management or regional planning program or strategy?
   2.b. Are these goals clearly defined and have they been officially adopted?
   2.c. Is the growth management or regional planning approach taken by your agency, or jurisdiction, meeting the goals and objectives that were set for it?
   2.d.1 What have been the results of this approach and process to date?
   2.a.2 If the region does not have a growth management strategy describe how it approaches the management of growth?
   2.d.2 What have been the results of this approach and process to date?
   2.e. What have been the results (on the ground) of undertaking a growth management strategy or regional planning?

3. What institutional mechanisms have been used to institutionalize growth management or regional planning?
   3.a. What institutional mechanisms have been used to institutionalize the management of growth (i.e. financial aid, technical advice and assistance, policy development support, mediation)?
3.b. Are there specific Provincial mechanisms that should be brought to bear to institutionalize growth management?

3.c. Are there Regional mechanisms that are not currently being used that could be used to institutionalize growth management?

4. How have the powers of senior and regional government been employed to manage growth?
   4.a. How has your organization (Provincial agency or the Region) used its powers or authority to manage growth?
   4.b. Was your approach encouraged or discouraged by the Province, the Region, or by Local Governments? Why, Why not?
   4.c. Are there powers that are not currently being used that could be employed by the Province or the region to manage growth or plan for regional development and change?

5. How has growth management or regional planning been monitored?
   5.a. What specifically has your organization done to monitor its growth management program or strategy?
   5.b. How involved should the Province or the region be in monitoring compliance with the growth management program and strategy?

6. What improvements to the Province's growth management legislation and program would you suggest?
   6.a. Do you think British Columbia's growth management program or regional planning is useful for regulating the growth and development of its regions and communities?
   6.b. Should involvement and compliance with the Province's growth management program be graduated?
   6.c. Would a graduated participation scheme based on certain thresholds, targets or trigger criteria be useful?
   6.d. If so, what types of thresholds, targets or trigger criteria do you think would be useful? (i.e. population size, density, potential environmental impacts, servicing requirements and finances).
   6.e. Would it be beneficial to offer incentives to regions for undertaking a growth management strategy?
   6.f. If so, what types of incentives do you think would be useful? (i.e. financial aid and grants, further delegation of decision-making authority).
   6.g. Should there be increased authority delegated on specific issues to regions that undertake a growth management strategy?
   6.h. Is growth management or regional planning necessary?
   6.i. If so, what form and function should growth management or regional planning take?

7. Is there anything else you would like to add, any personal reflections?
applicable TPE, EOC the growth measurement of financial position or equity after direct control.
and regional growth."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional District</th>
<th>Population as of July 1, 1990</th>
<th>Population as July 1, 2000</th>
<th>Actual Change</th>
<th>Percent Change</th>
<th>Average Annual Percent Change</th>
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<td>10,831</td>
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<td>1.73</td>
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<td>653</td>
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<td>1.77</td>
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<td>East Kootenay</td>
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<td>Fraser Valley (Fraser-Cheam)</td>
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<td>Greater Vancouver</td>
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<td>2,011,035</td>
<td>399,031</td>
<td>24.75</td>
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<td>Nanaimo</td>
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<td>134,929</td>
<td>36,651</td>
<td>37.29</td>
<td>3.73</td>
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<td>North Okanagan</td>
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<td>77,691</td>
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<td>Northern Rockies (Ft. Nelson-Liard)</td>
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<td>Stikine</td>
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<td>772,381</td>
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Notes:
1. The Fort Nelson-Liard Regional District was renamed the Northern Rockies Regional District.
2. The Fraser-Cheam Regional District was renamed the Fraser Valley Regional District after its amalgamation with the Central Fraser Valley and a portion of the Dewdney-Alouette Regional Districts.
3. As of December 12/95, the Central Fraser Valley and Dewdney-Alouette Regional Districts were eliminated.

The populations of the Districts of Abbotsford and Matsqui were apportioned to the Fraser Valley Regional District.
The populations of the District of Mission was apportioned to the Fraser Valley Regional District.
The populations of the Districts of Maple Ridge and Pitt Meadows were apportioned to the Greater Vancouver Regional District.

Sources: BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c
### Table 12: Population Estimates (1990 to 2000) for Selected British Columbia Regional Districts and Municipalities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional District and Municipalities</th>
<th>Population as of July 1, 1990</th>
<th>Population as of July 1, 2000</th>
<th>Actual Change</th>
<th>Percent Change</th>
<th>Average Annual Percent Change</th>
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<td>Saanich</td>
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<td>106,814</td>
<td>10,809</td>
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<td>74,996</td>
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<td>Others</td>
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<td>19,900</td>
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<td><strong>Fraser-Fort George</strong></td>
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<td>Nanaimo</td>
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<td>134,929</td>
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<td>5,048</td>
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<td>1.33</td>
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<td><strong>Peace River</strong></td>
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<td>22.12</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>37,602</td>
<td>47,360</td>
<td>9,758</td>
<td>25.95</td>
<td>2.60</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Province of British Columbia</strong></td>
<td>3,291,379</td>
<td>4,063,760</td>
<td>772,381</td>
<td>23.47</td>
<td>2.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c
Table 13: Experienced Labour Force Estimates (1991 to 1996) for British Columbia Regional Districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alberni-Clayoquot</td>
<td>15,250</td>
<td>14,980</td>
<td>(270)</td>
<td>-1.77</td>
<td>-0.35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bulkley-Nechako</td>
<td>19,285</td>
<td>21,520</td>
<td>2,235</td>
<td>11.59</td>
<td>2.32</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital</td>
<td>154,295</td>
<td>164,025</td>
<td>9,730</td>
<td>6.31</td>
<td>1.26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cariboo</td>
<td>30,935</td>
<td>33,965</td>
<td>3,030</td>
<td>9.79</td>
<td>1.96</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Coast</td>
<td>1,670</td>
<td>2,015</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>20.66</td>
<td>4.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Kootenay</td>
<td>23,795</td>
<td>27,785</td>
<td>4,090</td>
<td>16.77</td>
<td>3.35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Okanagan</td>
<td>54,330</td>
<td>67,290</td>
<td>12,960</td>
<td>23.85</td>
<td>4.77</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbia-Shuswap</td>
<td>20,395</td>
<td>23,455</td>
<td>3,060</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Comox-Strathcona</td>
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<td>48,850</td>
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<td>16.27</td>
<td>3.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cowichan Valley</td>
<td>28,255</td>
<td>32,565</td>
<td>4,310</td>
<td>15.25</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Kootenay</td>
<td>26,945</td>
<td>29,030</td>
<td>2,085</td>
<td>7.74</td>
<td>1.55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fraser Valley (Fraser-Cheam)</td>
<td>89,150</td>
<td>104,700</td>
<td>15,550</td>
<td>17.44</td>
<td>3.49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fraser-Fort George</td>
<td>49,650</td>
<td>54,605</td>
<td>4,955</td>
<td>9.98</td>
<td>2.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greater Vancouver</td>
<td>883,115</td>
<td>963,905</td>
<td>80,790</td>
<td>9.15</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kitimat-Stikine</td>
<td>21,375</td>
<td>21,930</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>0.52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kootenay-Boundary</td>
<td>14,885</td>
<td>15,120</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Waddington</td>
<td>7,610</td>
<td>8,225</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>8.08</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo</td>
<td>48,005</td>
<td>57,090</td>
<td>9,085</td>
<td>18.93</td>
<td>3.79</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Okanagan</td>
<td>29,020</td>
<td>33,630</td>
<td>4,610</td>
<td>15.89</td>
<td>3.18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Rockies (Ft.Nelson-Liard)</td>
<td>2,810</td>
<td>3,320</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>18.15</td>
<td>3.63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Okanagan-Similkameen</td>
<td>30,195</td>
<td>33,465</td>
<td>3,270</td>
<td>10.83</td>
<td>2.17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peace River</td>
<td>28,480</td>
<td>30,385</td>
<td>1,905</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>1.34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Powell River</td>
<td>8,820</td>
<td>9,335</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>5.84</td>
<td>1.17</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skeena-Queen Charlotte</td>
<td>13,355</td>
<td>13,160</td>
<td>(195)</td>
<td>-1.46</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squamish-Lillooet</td>
<td>13,430</td>
<td>17,730</td>
<td>4,300</td>
<td>32.02</td>
<td>6.40</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stikine</td>
<td>1,195</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>(430)</td>
<td>-35.98</td>
<td>-7.20</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunshine Coast</td>
<td>9,945</td>
<td>11,615</td>
<td>1,670</td>
<td>16.79</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson-Nicola</td>
<td>53,500</td>
<td>60,045</td>
<td>6,545</td>
<td>12.23</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province of British Columbia</td>
<td>1,721,710</td>
<td>1,904,505</td>
<td>182,795</td>
<td>10.62</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
1. Labour Force is defined to include those who were either employed or unemployed (but looking for work) during the week prior to enumeration.
2. The Experienced labour force excludes labour force participants who have never worked or have been unemployed since January 1, 1990 or January 1, 1995 (about 2 percent of the total labour force).

Sources:
BC Finance, 2001 a & b
Table 14: Average Annual Change in Population and Experienced Labour Force (in percent) for Selected British Columbia Regional Districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fraser-Fort George</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>2.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greater Vancouver</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>3.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Okanagan</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>3.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace River</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson-Nicola</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province of British Columbia</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>2.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
1. Labour Force is defined to include those who were either employed or unemployed (but looking for work) during the week prior to enumeration.
2. The Experienced labour force excludes labour force participants who have never worked or have been unemployed since January 1, 1990 or January 1, 1995 (about 2 percent of the total labour force).

Sources: BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c
BC Finance, 2001 a & b
Table 15: Main Economic Activities for Selected British Columbia Regional Districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional Districts</th>
<th>Main Economic Activities</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital</td>
<td>Educational Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health &amp; Social Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retail Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism &amp; Hospitality Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraser-Fort George</td>
<td>Educational Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health &amp; Social Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Resource Industries (forestry, agriculture &amp; mining)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transportation &amp; Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Vancouver</td>
<td>Communications &amp; Utilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corporate, Business &amp; Producer Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Educational Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health &amp; Social Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retail &amp; Wholesale Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism &amp; Hospitality Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transportation &amp; Storage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo</td>
<td>Construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health &amp; Social Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Resource Industries (forestry, agriculture &amp; fishing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retail Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism &amp; Hospitality Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Okanagan</td>
<td>Construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health &amp; Social Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Resource Industries (agriculture &amp; forestry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retail Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism &amp; Hospitality Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace River</td>
<td>Construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturing (strand board)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Resource Industries (forestry, oil &amp; gas exploration coal mining &amp; agriculture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retail Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transportation &amp; Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson-Nicola</td>
<td>Construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health &amp; Social Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Resource Industries (forestry, mining &amp; agriculture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism &amp; Hospitality Services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: BC Finance, 2000 a, b, c; BC Finance, 2001b; Booth, 2000; Davis, 1989; Davis & Hutton, 1998
MAP 1: BRITISH COLUMBIA REGIONAL DISTRICTS - 1996 BOUNDARIES

(source: BC Finance, 1998)
SELECTED REGIONAL DISTRICTS:

15. Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD)
17. Capital Regional District (CRD)
21. Nanaimo Regional District (NRD)
33. Thompson-Nicola Regional District (TNRD)
37. North Okanagan Regional District (NORD)
53. Fraser-Fort George Regional District (FFGRD)
55. Peace River Regional District (PRRD)

MAP 2: THE SEVEN SELECTED REGIONAL DISTRICTS

(source: BC Finance, 1998)