A PROPOSED REDISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCIAL ELECTORAL

DISTRICTS ON THE BASIS OF NODAL REGIONS

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B.A., University of British Columbia, 1961

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Geography

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1966

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ABSTRACT

Provincial electoral districts were first created in British Columbia in 1869. At that time the criteria used to determine the ridings on the mainland were the existing mining division boundaries and on Vancouver Island the land district boundaries.

Since 1869 many different sets of constituency boundaries have been used in the province. At all times the government has attempted to give the more settled areas the greatest number of electoral seats and yet provide each region of the province with legislative representation. Since electoral ridings were initiated, however, there has not been a stated policy by which the legislature has determined new constituency boundaries. In certain instances areal size has been the determining factor in deliniation, whereas in other cases electoral numbers were used.

In 1965 the ratio of voting numbers between the largest constituency and the smallest was in excess of twenty-five votes to one. It was therefore believed that a major revision of British Columbia's electoral boundaries was due.

There are three major methods by which new political boundaries may be determined; these being representation by population, by area, and by community of interest. Each method has certain qualities and liabilities. Representation by population is considered the best method of boundary deliniation because the votes of all persons are then of equal weight. Since British Columbia contains such an uneven population distribution many constituencies created by employing this principle would be too large in area to be served effectively by one representative. As well, many urban constituencies would be extremely small. Therefore the thesis concluded that this method of boundary determination was not suitable for British Columbia.

Representation by area was not considered to be practical for many ridings would contain only a few hundred voters while others over one hundred thousand. Therefore, representation by community of interest appeared to be the best method of determining legislative constituency boundaries. In this system the under-populated areas of the province would have few electoral representatives. Using this method of deliniation each riding would contain persons affected by similar problems and sharing common interests.

Community of interest regions were determined by isolating all territory which is primarily dependent upon a central settlement. Throughout British Columbia large settlements exist which serve the economic and social needs of the surrounding urban and rural population. The thesis recommended that such regions would make good provincial constituencies since the rural and urban areas would have equal interest in both local affairs and development.

To determine the sphere of influence surrounding each large settlement an examination of services provided by various sized communities was undertaken in order to determine which services were offered only by the larger nucleations. As this method of analysis was not applicable in the Lower Mainland area a study of shopping patterns and community activities was used as a basis for boundary determination. Each of these areas of common interest became the basis for the recommended urban constituencies.

As a potential political instrument the value of a new set of electoral boundaries lies in the result which its employment would achieve. Using the 1963 provincial election statistics in the proposed constituencies, the results would have changed the political party representation in the legislature very little. Therefore more equable districts could be adopted without a shift in political party strength.

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PREFACE

In the preparation of this thesis many persons gave both valuable assistance and suggestions. Although all aid was appreciated greatly it would be impossible to mention by name each person who did give assistance. I do wish, however, to formally acknowledge and thank Dr. W. G. Hardwick, Dr. A. L. Farley and Dr. J. L. Robinson of the Department of Geography who, throughout the preparation of the work, were always willing to offer both encouragement and advice when problems arose.

All of the research and much of the writing of this thesis was done prior to the creation and report of the Angus Commission on provincial redistribution. Although the Commission has recommended new electoral boundaries for British Columbia and these have, in the main, been accepted and used by the legislature, (as of September 12, 1966) the thesis does not deal with them except in the appendix.

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CHAPTER I

CONSTITUENCY BOUNDARIES: REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION OR BY REGIONAL COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST

The delimitation of electoral district boundaries is a problem which has created continuing interest in those parts of the world where democratic governments function. Debate on the question was intensified recently by a ruling of the United States' Supreme Court which stated that legislative representation in state assemblies must be on the basis of representation by population. Because of this continued concern found within democratic areas, electoral districts must be devised and revised from time to time as population within administrative units expands and contracts at different rates from place to place.

The government of Canada recently undertook a redistribution of federal constituency boundaries, presenting to parliament a new series of electoral districts based on the data received in the 1961 census. A commission on redistricting, including members of the judiciary and lay appointments had been instructed to determine the new constituencies using as their criterion representation by population.

In 1965 the province of British Columbia also established a Royal Commission for the purpose of constructing a new set of electoral boundaries for provincial representation. The boundaries recommended by this Commission were presented to the legislature in January 1966. New provincial ridings, incorporating many Commission recommendations were adopted in 1966.

No body of theory has been developed to determine or evaluate constituency boundaries in Canada. In this study, therefore, the development of a new series of constituency boundaries for the British Columbia legislature has been studied both to discover factors contributing to boundary decisions and also to suggest how a geographer, familiar with spatial theories and methods of areal analysis, could assist in answering the recurring question of how best to redistribute electoral districts.

British Columbia, like most other provinces in Canada, has an extremely uneven population distribution, with over seventy percent of the population living in the two metropolitan areas of Vancouver and Victoria. The remainder are spread primarily through the valleys of the southern and central interior and along the southeast coast of Vancouver Island. If representation by population were adopted for legislative representation in British Columbia seventy percent of the provincial constituencies would have to be located within these two urban areas. This would mean that approximately ninety percent of the provincial area would be represented by only thirty percent of the legislative representatives. Thus the area of many constituencies would be great. On the other hand, boundaries in effect before 1966 seriously under-represented the urban areas. Two issues are therefore raised by the problem of unequal population distribution, "Should representation by population be a public policy in British Columbia?" and "What will the constituency boundaries be?"

Views on Representation in Government

Three differing opinions are advanced in answer to the first question. One states that representation by population is the ideal in a democratic_society_and_must_be_strictly_adhered_to_as_each_person's_vote_

must be of equal weight to all others. This is the view of the United States Supreme Court and many prominent scientists including Gordon E. Baker and Paul T. David.¹ Other political scientists, in contrast, suggest that in areas of rapid population and economic change modification of this principle is necessary so that these areas receive a clear voice in the legislature before it has theoretically been earned.

Still other political scientists, among them Alfred De Grazia,² suggest that where the population of a country or province is distributed so unevenly that many constituencies would be very large in size we either abandon the representation by population concept or in effect tell the groups of people living in the less populated areas that we are not interested in their viewpoint. The many lesser populated regions of the province which would be incorporated into few electoral ridings if representation by population were used are viewed by scholars such as Dr. De Grazia as important enough to be given increased political representation although they are not as heavily populated as some urban constituencies. These rural regions might be described as "Communities of Interest."

Boundary Determination in British Columbia

There is no stated policy in British Columbia concerning the method of deliniation which should be employed in determining the boundaries of new ridings so as to insure that in all cases ridings will have meaningful boundaries. If the same method were employed as has been used recently by the federal electoral commission constituency boundaries might well be drawn arbitrarily wherever the correct population size had been accounted for, even

¹A. Lewis, "One Man - One Vote," <u>The Twentieth Century Fund</u>, New York: 1962.

21bid., 17-18.

if the new constituency were to divide a settlement in half. In terms of numbers of voters, equable districts would be demarcated but at the expense of a regional political voice.

Throughout the province regions do exist in which the electorate view themselves as distinct and believe they have particular ideas on local and provincial problems. If it is desirable, in certain areas of the province, to use less populated constituencies than would appear if representation by population were strictly adhered to, then these should be carefully selected so that the views of those persons living within these constituencies can be adequately voiced.

In many instances the issue of local economic development and not provincial affairs is paramount in the mind of the electorate. When representatives of a series of regionally-oriented constituencies are drawn together in the legislature these problems can be more adequately discussed.

Northeastern British Columbia could serve as an example of what might be experienced if representation by population were strictly employed provincially. In 1965 this area was over-represented in the legislature, electing two representatives although the total electoral population is small. Were a constituency for this area devised solely on a representation by population basis, the periphery of Prince George would be included with the Peace River region and the Alaska Highway. The economy of the Peace River region is based mainly on agriculture (chiefly grains) and petroleum resources. In contrast, the economy of the Prince George area is oriented toward forest products. The Peace River region focuses on Dawson Creek, the central interior on Prince George.

The problems and interests of the electorate within these two

areas may well be quite different; it would seem more satisfactory to allow a representative of the Prince George area to voice opinion on regional and provincial problems from the local viewpoint exclusively rather than to have his opinions influenced by the viewpoints of the Peace River region. This would be true even if the electoral numbers found within the two constituencies were somewhat different. The necessity of taking into consideration the importance of regional views can be found throughout the province, and is not restricted solely to the regions cited above.

When British Columbia entered confederation in 1871, a set of electoral boundaries was created for provincial elections. These were not determined by using the representation by population criterion, although the philosophy was well known at the time, nor by considering "Communities of Interest." Constituencies were created by using the existing mining district boundaries. Since that time major revisions have used provincial areas, such as the Okanagan, the Kootenays and the Cariboo as a guide to the allocation of legislative representation.

It would seem, therefore, through tradition and current political opinion³ that the solution to the problem of constructing a new set of electoral districts for the province lies not in representation by population nor in the use of mining district boundaries but rather by a careful and systematic analysis of the regions of community interest. Through such analysis electoral districts could be devised in which most of the electorate would be given the opportunity to elect persons who could vote on issues and

⁵Based on discussions with Mr. H. Vogel, Social Credit Member for Delta, Mr. H. Bruch, Social Credit Member for Esquimalt, and Hon. R. R. Loffmark, Social Credit Member for Vancouver-Point Grey and correspondence with Mr. L. Nimsick, New Democratic Party Member for Cranbrook, and Mr. R. Perrault, the provincial Liberal leader.

problems common to their region. Elected representatives could then speak as a voice for all persons involved in these matters.

A study of community of interest at the scale necessary in this study probably could not have been undertaken a decade ago. Regional interest would have been difficult to identify as many people lived in considerable isolation. Through marked improvement in the provincial highway system, the development of regional television stations, and the increasing vertical integration of industry and trade have drawn these previously isolated hamlets into observable regional systems. Consequently regional capitals have also developed rapidly over the past ten years.

Previous Work by Geographers on Political Regionalism.

For many years geographers have spent considerable time in the description and analysis of various types of regions. A search of the literature gives considerable evidence to validate this statement and suggests some operational hypotheses for study. In 1910 Vidal de la Blache produced a scheme for the division of France into seventeen administrative divisions or regions.⁴ These were formed by grouping administrative departments around central towns. These towns he called <u>Noeuds</u> - the nodes of economic concentration. He could identify the influence which these towns had over the country surrounding them and also the dependence which the urban centre had on its hinterland. This interdependence might better be termed mutual relationship. Since that time many geographers including Gilbert,⁵

⁴P. Vidal de la Blache, "Regions Francaises," <u>Revue de Paris</u>, XVII, 1910.

⁵E. W. Gilbert, "The Boundaries of Local Government Areas," Geographical Journal, III:172-206, 1948.

Smailes,⁶ and Dickinson,⁷ working in the United Kingdom, have attempted to improve on the method of distinguishing these areas of mutual relationship and have attempted to create regions of common interest from them. All these regions, focused on a central commercial core, are regions of interdependence because the urban area relies on the surrounding rural area in the same way as the hinterland relies on the city.

Vallaux^O claimed that regional peculiarities in the mode of life of an area inevitably disappear owing to the improvement in communications and a rising standard of living. He felt that regional peculiarities of thought, on the other hand, should not be allowed to disappear. He believed regional thought must be protected above all. We might agree with Vallaux and argue that constituencies based on community of interest would best protect these regional peculiarities.

Comments concerning this problem have also been made in the literature of political geography. Expression of interest in the examination and interpretation of geographic influences in political elections specifically⁹ and of geographic interpretations of political party strength in urban

⁸C. Vallaux, "Les Aspirations Regionalistes et la Geographie," Mercure de France, VIII, 1928.

9E. Krebheil, "Geographic Influences in British Elections," Geographical Review, 2:189-97, 1916.

J. K. Wright, "Voting Habits in the United States," Geographical Review, 22:666-72, 1932.

Jean Billet, "L'Expression Politique en Gresivaudan et Son Interpretation Geographique," Revue de Geographie Alpine, 46:97-128, 1958.

⁶A. E. Smailes, "The Analysis and Delimitation of Urban Fields," Geography, XXXII:151-61, 1947.

⁷R. E. Dickinson, "The Regional Functions and Zones of Influence of Leeds and Bradford," Geography, XV:540-57, 1930.

and rural areas can be noted. The analysis of current political boundaries and how they affect the economic and political policies of countries and provinces appears also to be well developed.¹⁰ It seems to the author; however, that the work of the regional geographer is more suitable to the question at hand.

Very little of the literature indicates a continuation of the work of Vidal de la Blache^{ll} and Gilbert.¹² The relationship between nodal regions and constituency boundaries and the development of methods to determine valid electoral boundaries seems to have been overlooked by those geographers currently interested in creating nodal systems.

A small number of geographic studies have contributed to the methodology in which spheres of influence of urban areas are identified. The studies of Smailes¹³ and of Odell¹⁴ are of particular importance as both list valid functions by which regions of primary influence surrounding urban centres were identified. The determination of nodal boundaries were based, in both cases, on an examination of urban functions offered to the surrounding countryside by the settlement under examination and by other centres of

¹⁰J. V. Minghi, "Boundary Studies in Political Geography; A Review Article," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 53:407-48, 1963.
¹¹Vidal de la Blache, <u>Op. cit</u>.
¹²Gilbert, <u>Op. cit</u>.
¹³Smailes, <u>Op. cit</u>.
¹⁴P. R. Odell, "The Hinterlands of Melton Mowbray and Coalville," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 1957, pp. 175-90.

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similar size located around it.

Nodal Regions as Applied to British Columbia

In the province of British Columbia a study of mutual relationship between population centres and their hinterlands had not previously been undertaken. As the population is so sparce throughout many areas of the province, the zones of influence identified are much larger than those described by either Smailes or Odell in Britain, or by Berry and Garrison in the United States.¹⁵ Because of the topography and population patterns it was also evident that strict application of the Central Place¹⁶ theory of hexagonal nodal regions was not possible. It was believed by the author that the major population centres of the province did exert measurable economic and cultural influence over their hinterlands. To determine the extent of each hinterland the method of functional analysis used by both Smailes and Odell, by which regions of common interest could be identified, was adopted for this study.

As observed in the above mentioned studies, the functions ultimately used in the delimitation of the nodal regions were validated by determining that the functions chosen for examination did in fact measure dependence on a node. Subsequently an investigation of provincial settlements was undertaken to determine the size of population resident within each of these regions of primary influence. From these findings the regions of interdependence between the central urban core and its hinterland were constructed.

¹⁵B. J. L. Berry and W. L. Garrison, "The Functional Bases of the Central Place Hierarchy," <u>Economic Geography</u>, 34:145-54, 1958.

¹⁶W. Christaller, "Die Landische Siedlungsweise im Deutschen Reich," W. Kohlhammer, Berlin: 1937.

Plan of the Thesis

The basic structure of provincial constituencies prior to 1965 had emerged without any consistent policy framework. In Chapter II the changing pattern of constituencies are described and the underlying criteria for their establishment discussed and criticized. In Chapter III the concept of nodal regions is advanced and a new constituency plan developed based upon new policies. In the following Chapter the voting results based upon the 1963 provincial election are compared between a new plan and the pattern that existed in January 1966. Finally in a postscript the results of the 1966 Redistribution Act are summarized.

CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUENCY BOUNDARIES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Primary Periods of Population Growth in British Columbia

Electoral districts in British Columbia have undergone considerable change as the population of the province has grown and its distribution shifted. These boundary changes can be chronicled through an account of those legislative Acts brought into law concerning redistribution of provincial constituencies. Through this we can account for the emergence of the pattern of constituencies as of January 1966 and uncover some of the criteria used as a basis for redistribution. Six periods can be recognized in which significant changes in population numbers and distribution required major revisions of electoral Acts. These periods include the Pioneer Period (1871 - 1884), the Period of Urban Emergence (1884 - 1894), the Period of Economic Expansion (1894 - 1902), the Pre-War and First World War Period (1902 - 1918), the Inter-War and Second World War Period (1918 - 1946), and the Post War Period (1946 - 1966). The expansion and change in electoral districts will be discussed in terms of these above mentioned periods.

The Pioneer Period: (1871 - 1884)

The legislative assembly shall consist of twenty-five members to be elected as hereinfore provided, and for the purpose of returning such members the Colony shall be divided into twelve electoral districts, the boundaries whereof shall, for the purpose of this Act, be those set forth in the schedule hereto annexed marked A, each of which districts shall return the number of members assigned in the said schedule.17

Thus stated the <u>Statutes of the Province of British Columbia</u> for 1869, making provision for the first set of electoral boundaries for British Columbia as a province of Canada, which she joined on July 20, 1871.

In the initial constituency distribution there were thirteen legislative representatives from the mainland of the province and twelve members from Vancouver Island, although at this time Vancouver Island had over one-half of the provincial electoral population. (Table I) Concessions were being made even at this early date to the large tracts of sparselypopulated land situated on the mainland and on northern Vancouver Island. Kootenay and Comox ridings had extremely small populations but were granted equal representation with more populated areas. Of the twenty-five constituencies created, those on the mainland, Cariboo, Lillocet, Yale, Kootenay, and New Westminster and Coast District, (all of the mainland except New Westminster City District) had similar boundaries to the mining district boundaries as described by the Honourable Joseph W. Trutch in the "Mineral Ordinance Act, 1869."18 The boundaries selected for Vancouver Island were determined according to previously settled land district boundaries. In most cases these early ridings were multi-member ridings with each elector voting for more than one candidate.

17Province of British Columbia, Statutes of the Province of British Columbia, Section 147, Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1869.

¹⁸Province of British Columbia, British Columbia Gazette, Victoria: Queen's Printer, December 15, 1869.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS PER CONSTITUENCY

IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: 1876 & 1884

		<u>_1</u>	876	18	84
	Cariboo	446 voters	3 members	528 voters	3 members
	Cassiar	-	-	41	l
	Comox	59	1	119	l
	Cowichan	180	2	254	l
	Esquimalt	127	2	241	2
	Kootenay	45	2	41	l
	Lillocet	157	2	203	2
	Nanaimo	338	1	690	2
	New Westminster City	118	l	381	l
	New Westminster & Coast District	410	2	971	2
1	Victoria	203	2	309	2
	Victoria City	854	4	1,303	4
	Yale	441	3	846	3
		3,378	25	6,047	25

Revisions to the above mentioned constituency boundaries took place as new regions of the province were opened to settlement and more populated areas increased their numbers. In the minor boundary revision of 1878 Kootenay and Cowichan districts were each reduced to one member while Nanaimo ditrict received an additional representative, reflecting a growing population dictated by the expansion of the mining of coal at Nanaimo and Wellington. A new district, Cassiar, was formed in recognition of the newly initiated mining activity in the northwestern corner of the province. (Table I)

During the pioneer period the number of voters in the province almost doubled. This growth was predominantly in the urban areas of Victoria, Nanaimo and New Westminster. Reflecting this growth, New Westminster and Coast District constituency was increased, in 1884, from two members to three. The expansion of agricultural and forest activity allowed Cowichan District to regain its second legislative member. At this time the province was not attempting to create constituencies of equal electoral size for the urban areas of the lower mainland were greatly under-represented. The government concentrated on insuring each region of the province a voice in legislative affairs.

The Period of Urban Emergence: (1884 - 1894)

During this ten year period the population increase continued to be primarily urban in nature, particularly following the incorporation of the City of Vancouver, the coastal railway terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Two Acts of the legislature, bringing about alterations in both the constituency boundaries and the total number of legislators, reflected this population growth. The Consolidation Act of 1888¹⁹ set forth clearly the

¹⁹Province of British Columbia, Statutes of the Province of British Columbia, Chapter 22, Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1888.

boundaries of new constituencies and in the Constitution Act of 1890²⁰ six new members were added to the legislative assembly, bringing the total to thirty-three.

Two cities, Nanaimo and Vancouver, were given independent representation, this placing them on an equal footing with New Westminster and Victoria, although the populations of the four cities were far from equal with Nanaimo running a poor fourth. Reflecting the beginning of the mining boom and subsequent population increase in the Kootenays, the area was divided into two districts, East Kootenay and West Kootenay. In addition resource development on the coast led to the establishment of two new districts, Alberni riding being created because of the forest operation at the head of the Alberni Canal and the Islands constituency (comprising the Gulf Islands) formed when agricultural activity became important, particularly on Saltspring Island in the Fulford Harbour and Beaver Point areas. (Table II)

The Period of Economic Expansion: (1894 - 1902)

The first complete revision of the original provincial constituencies was undertaken in 1894 through the passage of the "Legislative Electorates and Elections Act."²¹ Although the total number of representatives remained at thirty-three, the Act provided for new constituencies and the splitting of many multi-member ridings into separate seats. Those ridings found in urban centres continued to be multi-member and were not decentralized. (Map a)

> ²⁰Ibid., Chapter 7, 1890. ²¹Ibid., 1894.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS PER CONSTITUENCY

IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: 1890

Alberni	411 voters	2 members
Cariboo	374	3
Cassiar	68	l
Comox	218	· 1
Cowichan	387	2
East Kootenay	314	l
Esquimalt	411	2
The Islands	166	l
Lilloœt	242	2
Nanaimo	490	2
Nanaimo City	712	1
New Westminster City	1,36 7	l
Vancouver City	3,032	2
Victoria	416	2
Victoria City	3,668	4
West Kootenay	206	1
Westminster and Coast District	1,928	3
Yale	1,494	3
	15,560	33

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There is evidence of gross inequality of voting power in the voters lists of 1890 and 1894. (Tables II and III) The original constituencies of 1876 gave concessions to several of the more remote constituencies but by 1890 ridings such as Esquimalt, North Victoria and South Nanaimo, quite urban in character, were over-represented for no apparent reason. No redistricting of these seats took place.

In 1898 five new seats were created. (Table III) Vancouver City received one new member in recognition of the rapid population growth experienced in that community, West Kootenay District was increased from two members to four, and East Kootenay was divided into North and South ridings. (Map b) At this time the population of the Kootenay area was growing very rapidly due to an expansion in silver mining activity in the Slocan-Sandon and Rossland-Ymir areas.

The Pre-War and First World War Period: (1902 - 1918)

In 1902 the use of certain large constituencies in which many members were elected to represent separate ridings within them (eg. West Kootenay Constituency which contained four separate ridings) was discontinued and thirty-four separate electoral districts created. (Table IV) Only three constituencies, Vancouver City, Victoria City, and Cariboo elected more than one member.²² (Map c) Thus a definite effort was made to curtail the use of the multi-member riding so that each member could be responsible for a smaller area of the province and stop the overlapping of territorial responsibility.

²²Ibid., Chapter 58, 1902 Redistribution Act.

	IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: 1894 & 1898			
	1894		1898	
Cariboo	456 voters	2 members	712 voters	2 members
Cassiar -Stikine -Skeena	206	1	18 358	1 1
Comox	522	1.	719	l
Cowichan - Alberni -Alberni -Cowichan	516	2	227 503	1 1
East Kootenay -North -South	625	1	622 436	1 1
Esquimalt	451	2	714	2
Lillooet-East -West	190 129	1 1	342 286	1 1 .
Nanaimo City	974	l	1,365	l
New Westminster City	1,409	l	1,805	l
North Nanaimo	702	l	768	. 1
North Victoria	330	l	417	L
South Nanaimo	294	l	321	l
South Victoria	597	l	793	l
Vancouver City	3,790	3	5 , 954	4
Victoria City	4,833	4	5,557	4
West Kootenay-North -South -Nelson -Revelstoke -Rossland -Slocan	550 925	1 1	941 1,212 1,399 1,505	1 1 1 1

TABLE III

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NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOIERS PER CONSTITUENCY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: 1894 & 1898 TABLE III (continued)

• • •

	1894		18	1898	
Westminster-Chilliwack	801 voters	l member	823 voters	l member	
-Delta	1,130	1	1,247	1	
-Dewdney	795	1	911	1	
-Richmond	951	1	1,143	1	
Yale-East	1,022	1	1,404	1	
-North	693	1	1,314	1	
-West	500	1	620	1	
	23,091	33	34,436	38	



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TABLE IV

BRITISH COLUMBIA ELECTORAL DISTRICTS: 1902 & 1915

	1902	1915
Alberni	l member	l member
Atlin	1	1
Cariboo	2	1
Chilliwack	1	ī
Columbia	1	ī
Comox	1	ī
Cowichan	1	ī
Cranbrook	1	1
Delta	1	ī
Dewdney	1	ī
Esquimalt	l	ī
Fernie	1	ī
Fort George	-	1
Grand Forks	1	1
Greenwood	1	1
The Islands	1	1
Kamloops	1	1
Kaslo	1	1
Lillocet	1	1
Nanaimo City	1	1
Nelson City	1	1
Newcastle	1	l
New Westminster City	1	1
North Okanagan	-	1
North Vancouver	-	1
Okanagan	1	-
Omineca	-	1
Prince Rupert	-	1
Revelstoke	1	1
Richmond	1	1
Rossland City	1	1
Saenich	1	1
Similkameen	1	1
Skeena	Ŧ	-
Slocan		Ţ
South Ukanagan	-	1
South Vancouver	**	1
TTELL Nencourren Citzr	-	1
Vancouver offy) h	0 h
ATCOOLTS OTON		-+ 7.
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	42	47



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It was from this series of boundaries that the skeleton of the present-day ridings has come. Almost all constituency boundary changes occuring since that time have been minor or have resulted from the division of a large constituency into two or more smaller ridings.

In 1915 another five seats were added, thus making a total of forty-seven legislative members.²³ (Table IV) These changes included the division of Okanagan district into North and South Okanagan, giving added representation to this newly important orchard area, a redefinition of Cariboo riding and the division of Skeena and one of the two former Cariboo seats into three new northern districts, Omineca, Fort George and Prince Rupert.

With the exhaustion of mineral ore deposits in sections of the Kootenays and the subsequent population decline, Ymir and Rossland City ridings were deleted and two new seats, Rossland District and Trail, where smelter operations were carried out, were created.

The Greater Vancouver area, which continued to experience a population growth unparalleled in any other section of the province, was given three additional seats, South Vancouver, North Vancouver, and an added seat in Vancouver City District. (Map d) It was then the leading city in British Columbia.

The Inter-War Period and Second World War Period: (1918 - 1946)

In 1923 the electoral districts were again given minor revision with new seats being added through the division of larger constituencies

²³Ibid., Chapter 44, 1915 Constitution Act.



into more managable ones, and from the consolidation of existing districts (primarily in the Kootenays) where population growth continued to lag. (map e)

By dividing up larger ridings, seats were given to Burnaby, Mackenzie, Salmon Arm, Creston and Skeena. Because the population of many parts of the province remained static, the ridings of Cowichan and Newcastle, Grand Forks and Greenwood, Rossland and Trail and Kaslo and Slocan were each combined, making four ridings rather than the previous eight. As mentioned above, the combining of seats in the Kootenays, where the largest number of consolidations occured, was the result of the heavy population loss occuring with the collapse of the local mining economy. (Table V)

In 1932 consolidation again occurred, chiefly in the Kootenays.²⁴ At this time the Peace River area received a member, finally being separated from the Fort George riding.

In 1929 the City of Vancouver extended its boundaries through amalgamation with peripheral municipalities to the south. In 1932 the constituencies of Vancouver City, South Vancouver and Richmond-Point Grey were redrawn to reflect this amalgamation, becoming the ridings of Vancouver-Centre, Vancouver-East, Vancouver-Burrard, and Vancouver-Point Grey. These constituency boundaries have not been altered since this time. (Table VI and Map f) In 1934 Columbia-Revelstoke was divided into two ridings, Columbia and Revelstoke because of the east-west transportation difficulties encountered in the riding.²⁵

²⁴Ibid., Constitution Act, Chapter 8, 1932.

²⁵Ibid., Constitution Act, Chapter 15, 1934.



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TABLE	V

D

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS PER CONSTITUENCY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: 1928

Alberni		3,144	voters
Atlin		1,815	
Burnaby		8,176	
Cariboo		1,949	
Chilliwack		6,321	
Columbia		1,500	
Comox		4,846	
Cowichan-Newcastle		5,577	
Cranbrook		4,560	
Creston		2,816	
Delta		6,078	
Dewdney		5,954	
Esquimalt		3,858	
Fernie		3,406	
Fort George		3و996ز 3	
Grand Forks-Greenwood		1 , 845	
The Islands		2,142	
Kamloops		4,146	
Kaslo-Slocan		2,915	
Lillooet		2,891	
Mackenzie		3,891	
Nanaimo	4	4,595	
Nelson		2,964	
New Westminster		7,162	
North Okanagan		4,971	
North Vancouver		7,603	
Omineca		1,794	
Prince Rupert		3,663	
Revelstoke		2,426	
Richmond-Point Grey		13,395	
Rossland-Trail		4,212	
Saanich		5,811	
Salmon Arm		3,236	
Similkameen		4,537	
Skeena		2,125	
South Okanagan		4,826	
South Vancouver		0,030	
Vancouver City (b elected)		54, 744	
victoria city (4 elected)		23,0(2	
тате		3,04(

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245,240

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS PER CONSTITUENCY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: 1933

· · · · · · · · ·	
Alberni-Nanaimo	8.754 voters
Atlin	1.829
Burnaby	16,195
Cariboo	2,601
Chilliwack	7,017
Columbia-Revelstoke	3,525
Comox	6,140
Cowichan-Newcastle	4,928
Cranbrook	5,117
Delta	9,716
Dewdney	5,787
Esquimalt	4,942
Fernie	3,600
Fort George	3,419
Grand Forks-Greenwood	2,084
The Islands	2,403
Kamloops	5,340
Kaslo-Slocan	3,298
Lillocet	3,319
Mackenzie	7,352
Nelson-Creston	6,979
New Westminster	7,836
North Okanagan	6,200
North Vancouver	8,596
Omineca	2,400
Peace River	3,415
Prince Rupert	3,833
Rossland-Trail	5,715
Saanich	7,509
Salmon Arm	3,686
Similkameen	5;319
Skeena	2,019
South Okanagan	5,593
Vancouver-Burrard (2 members)	30,720
Vancouver-Centre (2 members)	25,316
Vancouver-East (2 members)	29,776
Vancouver-Point Grey (3 members)	34,692
Victoria City (4 members)	24,060
Yale	2,509

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323,540



Because population growth was extensive only in certain areas of the province, there were but four boundary changes adopted in 1938. (Table VII) Alberni-Nanaimo was returned to two ridings. Population growth in the Gulf Islands, rapid for many years, reached a standstill when the fruit industry was undermined by the dominance of the orchards of the Okanagan Valley. Subsequently the Islands riding was deleted and its area added to the new Nanaimo riding, changing the name to Nanaimo and the Islands. Oak Bay constituency, containing the municipality of Oak Bay, located on the eastern boundary of Victoria, was also created.²⁶

The Post World War II Period: (1946 - 1966)

Since 1938 only four new constituencies have been created although the provincial population has almost tripled in size. The bulk of this increase has occured in the Greater Vancouver area. (Table VIII) In each case these new legislative ridings evolved either from splitting a constituency into two ridings (Peace River ridings being divided into North Peace River and South Peace River) or from constituencies previously electing a single member becoming a multi-member riding. These ridings are Delta, Burnaby and North Vancouver. These minor changes occured in 1955 and increased the number of elected representatives to fifty-two²⁷

The Need for Constituency Reform

1. Inequalities in Representation: Since 1871 the number of constituencies in British Columbia has more than doubled, rising from the

> ²⁶Ibid., Constitution Act, Chapter 8, 1938. ²⁷Ibid., Constitution Act, Chapter 11, 1955.

TABLE VII

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS PER CONSTITUENCY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: 1938

Alberni-Nanaimo	10,726 voters
Atlin	1,618
Burnaby	20,000
Cariboo	3,508
Chilliwack	8,722
Columbia	2,077
Comox	6,962
Cowichan-Newcastle	5,952
Cranbrook	5,048
Delta	13,584
Dewdney	6,018
Esquimalt	5,679
Fernie	3,552
Fort George	3,503
Grand Forks-Greenwood	2,218
The Islands	2,528
Kamloops	5,896
Kaslo-Slocan	3,117
Lillooet	3,958
Mackenzie	7,680
Nelson-Creston	7,447
New Westminster	10,706
North Okanagan	6,495
North Vancouver	11,536
Omineca	2,221
Peace River	3,490
Prince Rupert	3,672
Revelstoke	2,276
Rossland-Trail	5,276
Saanich	8,587
Salmon Arm	4,009
Similkameen	6,575
Skeena	2,086
South Okanagan	6,571
Vancouver-Burrard (2 members)	34,547
Vancouver-Centre (2 members)	32,418
Vancouver-East (2 members)	33,875
Vancouver-Point Grey (3 members)	40,977
Victoria City (4 members)	25,610
Yale	2,061

372,781

TABLE VIII

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NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS PER CONSTITUENCY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: 1945, 1952 & 1963

· · ·	1945	1952	1963
Alberni	6.314	12,404	12.765
Atlin	1.109	1.701	1.574
Burnaby	19,380	41.337	54.662 (2)
Cariboo	3,508	8.000	11.154
Chilliwack	9,122	20,898	24.697
Columbia	1.745	3,031	4.712
Comox	10.733	20.395	24.477
Cowichan-Newcastle	9,200	14.820	14.761
Granbrook	5,687	9,050	8,335
Delta	18.348	45,805	76,122 (2)
Devidney	13,117	27.416	38,638
Escuimalt	6.477	11,965	16.089
Fernie	3,868	4,884	3,505
Fort George	1,000 h 176	9.296	14:066
Grand Forke Greenwood	1 Oh1	2:016	3:287
Komloong	6:088	10:007	15:167
Kealo Slocen	2.815	h hoo	3.550
Tilloost	2,017	5:033	6:319
Mackongio	8 661	77755 17 011	15〜452
Noncimo end the Talenda	7 706	14:605	13.778
Nelson Creston	8:081	12:236	12:125
Net Hestminster	12:202	20 857	20:20/
New Webcillinster	7.600	12 087	13 240
North Vancouver	16:213	33,013	50:107 (2)
Nor Day	7.525	10:303	13:036
Omine ce	2:528	5.514	5,426
Bosco Birror	5.006	7 hOh)) + L 0
-North),000	{ } ~~~	5:450
-South			7:810
Prince Runert	5. July 7	0:077	9,07L
Powel stoke	2:872	3 540	3.704
Rogaland_Trail	10,160	15:077	13,024
Seentch	13.084	23.061	20,710
Salmon Arm	3.461	5.851	6.361
Similkomeen	8.042	15:043	13.656
Similia and	2 050	5, hij	8.637
South Okenagen	8,159	16,586	1 7.7 14
Vencouver_Burrard	18 0m (2)	60,006 (2)	49,768 (2)
Vancouver_Centre	21,156(2)	47,633 (2)	36,132 (2)
Vancouver_East	43,840 (2)	74,352 (2)	68,402 (2)
Vancouver_Point Grov	55.647 (2)	87,774 (2)	85,510 (2)
Victoria City	25,914 (2)	35,632 (3)	32,780 (3)
Yale	2.619	3,984	6.134
	457,018	793,073	873,140
() Denotes number of members elected in riding.			

original twenty-five to fifty-two. In 1871 approximately one-half of the electorate lived in what may be termed the urban and suburban sections of the province -- in the Victoria, Nanaimo and New Westminster City areas. These urban areas elected forty percent of the legislative body. As can be noted from Table I certain areas of the province were greatly over-represented because a conscious effort was made to insure that all sections of the province had a voice in formulating government policy. The highest ratio or differential of voting numbers in 1876, five years after the original constituencies had been established, was between Nanaimo and Kootenay, this being fifteen votes to one.

By 1890 this ratio had risen to twenty votes to one. Four years later, through revision, it was lowered to approximately ten votes to one. This would suggest that although the legislature agreed that it was desirable that there should be a difference in voting numbers between some rural ridings and the cities, a ratio of twenty votes to one was too high.

Between 1871 and 1938 there were frequent examinations of the voting numbers in each constituency. Although there were seldom complete revisions with totally new sets of boundaries created, areas which experienced a decline in population, or were growing at a rate in excess of other provincial areas were dealt with accordingly. Since 1938, however, this has not been the case. The years of World War II (1939 - 1945) were not considered to be an opportune time for redistribution and so action by a redistribution committee could not have been expected until 1946. Since 1946 the idea of re-examination of constituency boundaries and voting numbers, when necessary, known to the province since its birth, has been discontinued and little or no effort was made to keep some balance of constituency voting numbers within the province.

There were, in 1965, fifteen constituencies in the province which have an electoral population of under 10,000. In contrast there were ten which had an electorate of over 25,000. As illustrated in Table VIII the problem was not one of having a few ridings out of balance but rather that most ridings did not represent the relative electoral number for which they were first created.

It must be accepted that all ridings in the set of constituencies used in 1965 will not have a similar number of voters because the population was extremely unevenly distributed throughout the province. The amount of area to be represented and community of interest are also important today, just as they were in 1871. However, by any yardstick, the ratio between Dewdney riding (38,638 voters) and Atlin riding (1,574 voters) was undesirable. The ratio of voters of twenty-five to one, found in 1965, was higher than any vote ratio had been before in the history of the province.

2. Movement of the Electorate Toward Urban Areas: As noted in the introduction, the movement of population into urban areas is a major trend throughout North America. This trend has created an urgency for changing the constituency boundaries in British Columbia. Since 1938 the population in sections of Vancouver City has doubled while growth in neighbouring municipalities has been more dramatic. In contrast population in some other parts of the province has remained relatively stable or has declined. Because of urbanization the boundaries existing in 1965 did not meet the needs of the province.

3. Changes in Regional Interest: Regional interest changes have also taken place since 1938. New transportation networks have been created and many groups of people were consequently forced to vote in constituencies

which did not reflect the realities of contemporary communities of interest. The Gulf Islands were a case in point. In 1938 the Gulf Islands lost its representative in the legislature and was placed within the newly created Nanaimo and the Islands constituency. The connection with Nanaimo during the 1960's was very slight, if existent at all. The Islands are, however, connected with both Saanich and Cowichan-Newcastle ridings by frequent ferry trips each day. Because of this connection the residents of the Islands identify themselves more closely with the problems and desires of people living within these two ridings than with Nanaimo.

4. The Lack of Consistent Policy: It is clear from the account of constituency change that no consistent policies have been established. In early years mining districts seemed appropriate for electoral districts. In later years population shifts appear important. However, relative growth in population seems to have been more important than absolute growth.

To create new, meaningful ridings, therefore, a completely new set of constituencies needed to be adopted, based on both the latest electoral population statistics and on the areas of interest of this voting population. The solution could not come by adding seats to the present out-moded group of constituencies.

CHAPTER III

CONSTITUENCY REDISTRIBUTION - THE CASE FOR NODAL REGIONS BASED UPON COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST

Redistribution Was Overdue

Since major constituency redistribution had not been undertaken since 1938 and, as the ratio of voting numbers between the largest and smallest ridings exceeded twenty-five to one, it was evident that redistribution was indeed overdue. The question to be discussed in this Chapter is not simply "Does the province need a total constituency redistribution, yes or no?" but rather the associated question, "How can this redistribution best be achieved?" This Chapter assesses some possible methods of constituency redistribution and then applies that which the author considers to be the most acceptable method to the British Columbia situation.

Methods Possible for Redistribution

There are three well known methods by which British Columbia could redistrict, each having certain merits and some liabilities: 1) redistribution on a population basis, 2) an areal basis, or 3) on a community of interest (regional) basis. These will be assessed separately as to their possible use in British Columbia.

A. Representation by Population: "Representation by Population" has been a rallying call in democratic countries for several centuries. In the United States, as mentioned previously, the Supreme Court recently required state redistricting so as to force the adoption of the representation by population concept. Population as the sole criterion for constituency boundary delimitation is held by many to be the only fair measure of representation. It is argued that all votes must carry equal weight with all other votes cast in any election.²⁸ Probably the statement outlines a firm long term policy goal. However, in areas where population is sparse, and the total area to be served by an elected representative is large, problems of effective legislative representation will be encountered.

A conference of the Twentieth Century Fund held in New York City in 1962 stated that "It was the agreed concensus of the conferees that in the light of democratic principles, of history and of contemporary political theory, the only legitimate basis of representation in the state legislature is people. One man's vote must be worth the same as another."²⁹

The conference bulletin continued, "There is talk, for example, of Area Representation. But areas do not vote; nor do trees. When a sparsely settled area is given as many representatives as one much more populous, it simply means that the people in the sparse area have more representation. No matter how stated, it is the people who choose the representatives."³⁰

The conference bulletin stated that rural areas should not be given equal representation with the more populous urban areas. The question of

²⁸Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, "Representation by Population," <u>The Listening Post</u>, Vol. 22 Nos. 7 & 10, July and October, 1962.

29A. Lewis, "One Man - One Vote," The Twentieth Century Fund, New York: 1962, p. 3.

30Ibid., p. 5.

adequate representation is, however, not mentioned in the report. This omission is unfortunate for when applied to British Columbia it causes the other findings and recommendations to be challenged in total. In their deliberations the conference apparently did not consider representation in such a large administrative area as British Columbia. If their findings were applied to this province one man would be asked to represent an area as large as the states of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maryland and Pennsylvania combined. This would be an extremely difficult job. The population of the area may not be large but sound economic development of the area must be assisted by representatives with first hand knowledge of their local area. If more seats are given to Greater Vancouver areas at the expense of the rural areas, these rural sections of the province will have little say in the development of their areas and resources.

Another case that can be put forward against representation by population centres around representation of groups of people with common interests. In the United States there is a Senate and in the U.S.S.R. a House of Nationalities, created to offer representation to regions and minority groups as such. It could be argued that the Canadian Senate had the same function. Where just one legislature exists, some attempt should be made to permit regional and minority representation as a protection to them.

Because of the large area each rural riding in British Columbia would necessarily have by using representation by population, and also in view of the concept developed over time in British Columbia that all areas of the province must be given a strong voice in government regardless of population, one Vancouver newspaperman was led to state that "any attempt to enlarge

the area of northern ridings would ensure that their sparse voters got no representation at all."³¹

The problem apparent in having one person represent a vast area containing a small population is a serious one and it has been considered by other interested persons in relation to other administrative units. Chief Justice Earl Warren of the United States' Supreme Court stated that "many California counties are far more important in the life of the state than their population bears to the entire population of the state. It is for this reason that I have never been in favour of redistricting their representation in the (state) senate to a strictly population basis."³²

In a province changing as rapidly as British Columbia it may also be necessary for residents of peripheral regions to have adequate representation so that they can forestall concentration of economic activity in the southwest corner of the province. The majority view could be a selfish view and not in the interest of good long term provincial growth.

The criticism then centres around representation. To achieve managable constituencies which could be satisfactorily represented the theory of representation by population must be modified. In keeping with historically developed concepts regarding provincial representation the idea of representation by population in its strict sense must be rejected because British Columbia has never allowed an area of the province to be denied an adequate voice in Victoria.

31Paddy Sherman, Victoria Comment, Vancouver Province, June 30, 1964.

³²As quoted in The Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 8, 1964, p. 18.

B. Representation by Area: Using the criterion of representation by area rather than by electoral population constituency boundaries would be created so that each member of the legislature represented an equal quantity of provincial area, regardless of the number of voters living within that area.

Due to the uneven population distribution in the province, a series of districts based upon the equal area criterion would insure that less than thirty percent of the provincial electorate would elect in excess of ninety percent of the provincial legislature. Were this method put into effect, many constituencies in northern and southeastern sections of the province would contain less than five thousand persons whereas a Vancouver riding could well have an electorate in excess of one hundred thousand voters. Clearly, due to the wide divergence found in the present provincial population distribution, redistribution on a strict areal basis must be rejected.

<u>C. Representation by Nodal Regions</u>: (Based upon Community of Interest) If the loyalties and ideas of the communities found within an electoral district of large areas are not similar then the elected legislative member must also have conflicting loyalties and therefore cannot be a spokesman for the whole constituency but only for a section of it. In British Columbia as in North America as a whole, the revolution in transportation and communications has broken the isolation of the past for many communities. Smaller communities have become economically and socially connected to the larger population centres of the province and regional interdependence between these communities has been increased. Groups of villages and towns which focus upon regional cities can provide a useful unit for representation in the legislature.

This concept of communities of common interest (Nodal regions) was not foreign to the above mentioned Twentieth Century Fund conference on electoral representation. Dr. Alfred De Grazia, in a desenting voice, told the conference that "The Federalist papers, the United States Constitution, and indeed the prevailing doctrines and practices throughout history and around the world, incorporate and defend principles such as the representation of communities <u>per se</u>, the representation of interests of functional groups . . ., the interests of minorities and the interest of efficient administrations."³³ Thus history and practicality side equally well with the idea of representation of communities of common interest as with the strict adherence to representation solely by electoral numbers.

If the weighting process were simply one of ratio of urban voting numbers to rural voting numbers (such as that employed by the redistribution committee in the Province of Manitoba where the legislature prescribed that a specific number of rural votes would equal a certain number of urban votes) the constituencies would not necessarily have common ties or meaning. By using a regional approach based on population nodes to construct constituency boundaries, in which areas of common interest and interdependence are determined, a singular voice may be raised by the electorate in each of these new constituencies.

Community of interest in a large metropolitan area is another problem which must be treated separately. It is highly important because marked aconomic and social divisions exist in the urban areas. Offered as a solution to the problem of redistribution in British Columbia, identification

33Lewis, Op. cit., p. 19.

of regions of community of interest is undertaken in the following pages, dealing first with the province as a whole excluding the lower Fraser Valley and southern Vancouver Island regions.

Identification of Regions of Community of Interest.

The concept of nodal regions based on community of interest, isolating all territory primarily dependent on one settlement, is a simple concept. However the identification of the regions is a difficult problem. Regions can be recognized by using common methods of geographic analysis. In the research methodology of this thesis the first step was the identification of the hierarchy of central communities in the province by means of graphing the population totals for the largest cities in the province. These central places act as the focus for rural and non-rural dispersed populations. By the use of Central Place Theory smaller centres are identified around larger cities. Vancouver is clearly the primate centre of the province. (Table IX) Victoria, the second largest city, has a governmental function which serves the province as a whole. Victoria, along with sixteen other cities, acts as a focus of considerable importance but does not rival Vancouver. (In Table IX each large population centre has been grouped with other centres of relatively similar size.)

Assuming that the larger centres were nodes of regions in which community of interest was present it was necessary to delimit accurately the boundaries of the region which focused on the nodal centre; that is, to identify the region where the primary sphere of influence occured. (That area where the influence of the centre was greater than the influence of any other centre of similar population size located in close proximity to it.)

TABLE IX

HIERARCHY OF POPULATION CENTRES FOUND WITHIN BRITISH COLUMBIA: 1966

Group One: (over 100,000 persons)

Group Two: (9,000 to 55,000 persons)

Group Three: (2,600 to 8,500 persons) Vancouver

Victoria New Westminster North Vancouver White Rock Chilliwack Kamloops-North Kamloops Penticton Kelowna Vernon Rossland-Trail Nelson Prince George Dawson Creek Prince Rupert Powell River Nanaimo Alberni-Port Alberni

Port Moody Port Coquitlam Ladner Cloverdale Mission City Summerland-West Summerland Cranbrook Kimberley-Marysville Fernie Revelstoke Quesnel Ocean Falls Duncan Campbell River Courtenay-Comox

How Valid Functions Are Determined

The dependence of the smaller provincial communities on the larger regional centres was measured by a variety of means. The various functions offered by each of the large population centres were identified and tabulated using the "Yellow Pages" of the telephone directory for each centre.34 It was recognized, following Central Place Theory, that certain services would be offered only in the large communities and would not be obtained in the less populated nucleations. By means of functional analysis it was then possible to isolate those services which appeared only in centres of large population. Those functions found only in the large regional centres depended upon the attraction of customers from a large surrounding area. Such functions were useful criterion for delimiting the primary region of influence of each of the large centres because rural persons had to travel there to avail themselves of the function.

Those functions and services which, through analysis, proved significant only in the larger population centres included:

- 1) Radio Stations
- 2) Hospitals
- 3) Funeral Homes
- 4) Bowling Alleys
- Optometrists
- 5) 6) Theatres
- 7) Commercial Photographers
- 8) Department Stores
- 9) Daily Newspapers
- 10) Dentists

Functions which had a lower population threshold (the function might beafound in a less populated centre when serving a smaller, more isolated population) but were still highly selective in their location

34 Telephone directories were supplied through the courtesy of British Columbia Telephone Company, Okanagan Telephone Company and Prince Rupert City Telephones.

included:

- 1) Banks
- 2) Liquor Stores
- 3) Medical Doctors
- 4) Weekly Newspapers

Methods of Analysis in Identifying Nodal Regions

The Questionnaire. After the significant functions and occupations had been isolated, a mail questionnaire was designed to inquire of persons living in rural areas of the province where they shopped to satisfy many of these above listed needs or services and which regional information media they used on a regular basis. A pilot questionnaire was developed and tested in the East Kootenay area to determine which significant services were most frequently utilized. These initial returns showed that although all of the ten functions listed above were exclusive to large centres, many were not used often by the persons answering the questionnaire. Therefore the questions regarding bowling alleys, optometrists, dentists, commercial photographers, and department stores were deleted. In their place the four supplementary functions listed above, which had a somewhat lower population threshold, were added. With this correction, in almost all cases questionnaire returns were completed in full. These functions were then incorporated into a questionnaire for general distribution to determine the population centre upon which persons in selected smaller communities throughout the province were dependent. (Appendix 1)

The questionnaire was sent to postmasters in two hundred selected provincial communities, chiefly small nucleations which were located at a distance from the larger central nodes of population. Postmasters were used in the final questionnaire circulation because in the pilot survey it was found that their percentage return was considerably higher than the percentage response from persons randomly chosen from local telephone directories.

Those smaller settlements located within close proximity to a large centre were assumed to be dependent upon that node. To insure maximum reliability of the sample, the questionnaire was sent to many more post offices than deemed necessary to insure that all population centres of doubtful dependency would submit at least two replies. The proportion of questionnaires returned on the final questionnaire was in excess of seventy percent. The percentage of returns are not equally high throughout the province but even in those areas of relatively low response, information was considered sufficient to allow nodal boundary determination. The record of questionnaire replies is noted in Appendix 2. With the information supplied by postmasters it was then possible to draw the boundaries of primary influence around each of the large centres of the province, excluding Greater Vancouver and Greater Victoria. Map g illustrates the method of determining the northern nodal boundaries of the province.

Outside of the Vancouver and Victoria areas sixteen obvious nodal regions were identified. The electoral population within each of these regions was then calculated using the Statement of Votes from the 1963 provincial election.³⁵ These proposed constituencies were drawn on Map 1 and the populations noted in Table X, the ratio between the largest and smallest tributary area being two votes to one, well within the permissible range suggested in Chapter II. Certain areas of the province, however, were still unallocated.

35Province of British Columbia, Statement of Votes, Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1964.





TABLE X

PROVINCIAL NODAL CENTRES, ELECTORAL POPULATIONS, AND PROPOSED CONSTITUENCY NAMES

Nodal Centre	Electoral Population	Proposed Name
Chilliwack	20,455	East Fraser Valley
Prince George	19,316	Nechako
Kamloops-North Kamloops	18,722	Thompson
Prince Rupert	18,535	Skeena
Mission City	17,747	Harrison-Stave
Rossland-Trail	16,754	Pend d'Oreille
Nelson	15,589	Kootenay
Penticton	15,455	South Okanagan
Nanaimo	15,426	Malaspina
Duncan	14,765	Cowichan
Kelowna	14,741	Central Okanagan
Alberni-Port Alberni	14,625	Island Central
Campbell River-Courtenay	14,596	Strathcona
Dawson Creek-Fort St. John	14,048	Peace River-Stikine
Vernon	13,501	North Okanagan
Quesnel-Williams Lake	10,861	Cariboo

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Exceptional Areas of the Province. In several parts of the province communities were found to be tributary to smaller centres than are within the permissible range for constituency organization. Rather than one city dominating a region, two or three smaller centres sometimes shared services for the tributary population. Two areas of the province fell within this category, these being Salmon Arm-Revelstoke, and Kimberley-Cranbrook-Fernie. (Table XI) Boundaries were drawn around each area and the electoral population calculated. When the interdependent regions of each of these above mentioned groups of centres were combined they also created electoral populations sufficiently large to form provincial constituencies.

Unallocated Areas of the Province. The northern section of Vancouver Island, the central mainland coast and areas of the Coast and Cascade mountains were unallocated. These areas were found to be distinctive in that no nodal centre existed for the whole. Due to poorly developed transportation facilities and the occurrence of primary resource industries the tributary areas of towns were small or the communities focused on the City of Vancouver. For these reasons a compromise had to be made and three constituencies were identified and listed in Table XI.

Community of Interest in Metropolitan Areas

Problems in the Lower Mainland Area. The larger population centres of the lower Mainland area, (those over 2,000 population) did not lend themselves to an investigation such as that carried on throughout the rest of the province. Other methods had to be devised to determine urban and suburban boundaries.

TABLE XI

COMBINED NODAL CENTRES, ELECTORAL POPULATIONS

AND CONSTITUENCY NAMES

Nodal Centre	Electoral Population	Proposed Constituency Name
	·	
Salmon Arm-Revelstoke	10,743	Columbia
Kimberley-Cranbrook-Fernie	13,810	Crowsnest
Lillooet-Hope-Merritt-Prince	ton 10,348	Fraser
Powell River-Gibsons-Squamis	h 14,529	Sunshine Coast
Central Coast-Northern Vancouver Island	9,452	Mackenzie

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Surrounding the City of Vancouver various incorporated municipalities provide local government and individually or in groups have previously elected representatives to the provincial legislature. The creation of new urban constituencies would require continued recognition of municipal interests because municipal limits are boundaries of common interest to those persons living within the district.

Within the City of Vancouver itself, various distinct neighbourhoods have developed based upon shopping and community services, or sometimes upon economic and social groupings. In constructing ridings in Vancouver and the surrounding municipalities, neighbourhood interests were taken into account when administrative boundaries had to be subdivided for constituency purposes.

The Greater Vancouver Ridings. In 1965 the municipality of Burnaby had two legislative representatives in one multi-member riding, each Burnaby elector voting for two candidates. The electoral population living within the municipality was sufficient to allow an additional legislative representative, increasing the total to three. Multi-member ridings have been rejected because they create a duplication of representation and also frequently subjugate the political wishes of a portion of the riding. Independent ridings have therefore been recommended. (Map 2)

Burnaby is a district municipality, a fact which indicates its rural origins. Three incipient communities emerged, communities which still have meaning. The proposed North Burnaby constituency centres upon an old community on Hastings street immediately east of Vancouver. The improvement of Hastings street-Barnet: highway, the Lougheed highway and associated north-south arteries have focused residents of the area on the North Burnaby



commercial area, not only for shopping but also for secondary school and community events. The proposed East Burnaby riding centres on the old Edmonds community and the original Municipal Hall located at Edmonds street and Kingsway. The new West Burnaby riding represents a residential extension of southeastern Vancouver. The proposed constituencies are:

East Burnaby	18,542 e	lectors
North Burnaby	19,240 e	lectors
West Burnaby	16,877 e	lectors

New Westminster riding, based on the present city boundary, is the only riding which would be identical in both boundaries and electoral size to the present constituency. The electoral population would remain at the present figure of 20,294. (1963)

The former constituency of North Vancouver consisted of the District Municipality of North Vancouver, the City of North Vancouver, and the Municipality of West Vancouver. This constituency elected two legislative members, each elector voting for two candidates. This area would also be increased to three independent ridings, these being:

North Va	ncouver	City-Capilano	16,576	electors
North Va	ncouver	District	17,830	electors
West Van	couver		15,697	electors

The West Vancouver riding would follow the present municipal boundary, giving the municipality an independent representative for the first time. The North Vancouver District riding would include all of the municipality with the exception of the Marine Driver commercial ribbon which is functionally integrated with the commercial focus of North Vancouver City. North Vancouver City-Capilano would include the whole of the City of North Vancouver and the Marine Drive ribbon development. The Coquitlam area is located in the present Dewdney riding. Due to the rapid increase in suburban population in the Municipality of Coquitlam, located at the western end of the riding, subdivision of Dewdney is necessary. Two new ridings have been proposed, Coquitlam riding, containing essentially the suburban population of the old Dewdney riding, and Harrison-Stave, located at the eastern end of Dewdney and containing a more rural population. The electoral population of each riding would be:

Coquitlam20,891 electorsHarrison-Stave17,747 electors

The constituency formerly known as Delta which elected two representatives would be enlarged to four single member ridings, the boundaries of which are based on many factors. The proposed Richmond riding was determined by placing together the islands found at the mouth of the Fraser River. Richmond riding is now largely suburban, each year more farm land being relinquished to housing development. Many persons commute to Vancouver daily.

Whalley riding would also be a suburban constituency, its boundaries again attempting to separate the highly populated suburban area just south of New Westminster from the surrounding area containing less population. The proposed Delta and Fort Langley constituencies are primarily rural in character and contain the rest of the former Delta riding as well as a small portion of the former Chilliwack riding to the east. The boundary between Delta and Fort Langley was determined on the basis of freeway patterns, and the orientation of customers to the commercial centres of Ladner, White Rock, Cloverdale and Langley. Although primarily rural, like the coast and mountain regions, some dissimilar areas had to be grouped together to provide ridings of acceptable size. The new Delta riding would

be:

Delta Fort Langley	21,471 17,204	electors electors
Richmond	20,547	electors
Whalley	18,508	electors

<u>Vancouver City</u>. The City of Vancouver has, because of incorporation as a single unit by special act of the legislature, been divided into constituencies based primarily on neighbourhood, social and economic conditions, population numbers and growth potential. Well defined transportation lines also assisted in the drawing of the boundaries. Previously Vancouver elected nine legislative members from four multi-member ridings. It is proposed to increase this number to thirteen single member ridings, thirteen being used as a division of the electoral population of the city by this number provides constituency electoral totals comparable to those found throughout the rest of the lower mainland area. (Map 3) These constituencies would be:

> Vancouver-Centre Vancouver-Fraser View Vancouver-Granville Vancouver-Hastings Vancouver-Kitsilano Vancouver-Langara Vancouver-Main Vancouver-Marine Vancouver-Musqueam Vancouver-Renfrew Vancouver-Shaughnessy Vancouver-South Slope Vancouver-Stanley

17,341 electors 17,203 electors 18,209 electors 17,866 electors 19,019 electors 19,120 electors 19,385 electors 18,941 electors 20,281 electors 17,605 electors 16,391 electors 19,322 electors 18,792 electors

Vancouver is divided economically and socially into two distinct sections, the dividing line running north-south at approximately Ontario street. West of this line family incomes are normally higher than \$6,000 per year. Those employed in the labour force are inclined to be in managerial and professional positions, and the number of years of formal education



received is normally high, being junior matriculation or better. East of Ontario street incomes are usually below \$6,000 per year, wage earners are frequently craftsmen, labourers or white collar workers, and the number of years of formal education received is lower.³⁶ The economic and social conditions mentioned above have created a difference in attitude between the eastern and western sections of the city and this was recognized prior to redistribution. Subsequently areas of the city were dealt with in depth, the factors separating sub-regions of eastern and western Vancouver being enumerated below.

Vancouver-Centre was determined by using as its core the historic business centre of the city. The riding is largely industrial in nature and has within it a community of persons who fall primarily into three categories, being either Chinese and living within the city's "Chinatown" area, transient, or over 65 years of age. The number of one person households in the riding is very high and incomes are among the lowest in the city. Being the centre of commerce and possessing a unique population grouping have contributed to making Centre a distinct political unit.

Vancouver-Fraser View, located in the southeastern corner of the city differs from the rest of eastern Vancouver in that incomes within the riding are above the city average. The area is commercially focused on east Kingsway and on Killarney Park. The riding contains a higher percentage of young families than surrounding sections of the city and at present is the scene of a major housing development.

³⁶L. I. Bell, "Metropolitan Vancouver . . . An Overview for Social Planners," Community Chest and Councils of the Greater Vancouver Area, 1965. A.cartographic portrayal of Dominion Bureau of Statistics data gathered in the 1961 census.

Vancouver-Granville contains a southern extension of the industrialization found in Vancouver-Centre. It differs from the constituencies located around it because much of the residential area is run down or is deteriorating. The population is largely transient and composed of a large number of older persons. Incomes in the area are generally low.

Vancouver-Hastings is focused on the Hastings street business district located between Nanaimo and Renfrew streets. Incomes in this riding are below average for the city with the work force highly concentrated in crafts and general labour. The constituency is unique in that it contains the Vancouver Italian community.

Vancouver-Kitsilano riding contains one of the older residential districts in the city and is centred on two commercial sites, west Broadway and 4th avenue, between Balsam and Arbutus streets. Incomes within this riding are normally lower than those found elsewhere in the western half of the city. The houses are generally older but sections of the riding located near the seashore have given way to apartment blocks. The large, older houses have also given Kitsilano a more transient population than that in adjacent ridings.

Vancouver-Langara is centred on the commercial ribbon development running south on Cambie street. This development breaks down into three important areas, Oakridge, South Cambie and the south foot of Cambie street. These three commercial centres serve the needs of Langara residents. The eastern boundary of Langara is Ontario street, which marks the transition to the higher income half of the city. The southeastern section of the riding is included through compromise. This is an area of increasing industrial activity and those persons living within this section of the riding are of a lower income group.

Vancouver-Main, like Langara, is centred on a commercial ribbon running north-south. Housing is generally of a poorer standard than is found in other Vancouver constituencies with the exception of Centre and Granville. Incomes are among the lowest in the city and the population is highly transient.

Vancouver-Marine and Vancouver-Shaughnessy were considered together as numerous similarities exist between them. These ridings contain the highest percentage of managerial and professional persons in the city and also have the highest average incomes. Both ridings have Kerrisdale as a commercial core. The boundary drawn between these two ridings is arbitrary and has been drawn simply to create two ridings from this one similar unit because the population is too large to elect only one legislative member.

Vancouver-Musqueam contains the University Endowment Lands and the commercial centres located on 10th avenue and on Dunbar street. The riding differs from Shaughnessy and Marine in that incomes of persons living within Musqueam are generally lower and a higher percentage of older persons live there.

Vancouver-Renfrew, like the ridings of Hastings to the north and Fraser View to the south, contains a population of below average income. The riding has a high percentage of craftsmen and labourers. Renfrew differs from Hastings as it is ethnically more cosmopolitan and incomes are higher. It contains a less economically successful population than Fraser View.

Vancouver-South Slope centres on the long established Fraser street business district located between 41st and 49th avenues. The income of the people within the riding is average for the city. The work force is comprised largely of craftsmen. The riding is a centre of the Vancouver German

community.

Vancouver-Stanley is focused on the commercial areas of Davie and Denman streets. The riding is unique in that much of the population is apartment dwelling and in one person households. The electorate is made up largely of younger people (under 30 years of age) and persons over 65 years of age. Both groups are highly transient. Incomes are average and employment is largely in white collar jobs.

In all cases the Vancouver constituencies attempt to bring together within each riding those persons who have most in common socially and economically. Because of the urban nature of all sections of the city, the lines separating constituencies are not as sharply defined as those drawn in rural constituencies. They do, however, give various economic and social segments of the city a deserved voice in government similar to that provided for rural areas.

<u>Victoria Ridings</u>. The City of Victoria, the bordering municipality of Oak Bay and urban sections of Saanich municipality have been divided into three ridings, again aided by residential and commercial areas and by current transportation routes. (Map 4) The core of the proposed Oak Bay ridings is the municipality of Oak Bay but also includes sections of Victoria City and Saanich which rely on services offered by Oak Bay businessmen. The new Victoria-Pandora riding incorporates much of the residential area of Victoria including the Fairfield, Ross Bay and Rockland areas. Victoria-Harbour contains the central business district of the city and the poorer residential area located to the north of the commercial core. The electoral population of these ridings would be:


Oak Bay Victoria-Harbour Victoria-Pandora 18,440 electors 20,179 electors 19,807 electors

In addition to these three proposed urban ridings, there are included two peripheral ridings, Saanich and the Islands (The Gulf Islands being included with Saanich for reasons stated on page 35) and Esquimalt-Renfrew. Within their boundaries there are both urban and rural populations. The electoral populations would be:

> Saanich and the Islands 18,900 electors Esquimalt-Renfrew 16,085 electors

The Province as a Whole. The result of this process of delimitation of ridings achieves these purposes:

1. The total number of proposed legislative representatives is fiftyone rather than the current fifty-two, thus total representation would remain at almost the same figure.

2. The electoral ratio between the number of voters in the largest and smallest ridings would be lowered to just over two to one, a far more desirable figure than the present twenty-five to one.

3. Persons included within each riding would have a maximum of common interests. Voters would not be cast together haphazardly.

Frequently those ridings which are lowest in electoral population are correspondingly large in area so that adequate representation still remains much more difficult to achieve than in the urban areas. (Table XII) Thus the objectives set out earlier, of giving a greater voice to the urban areas, would be attained without sacrificing the various viewpoints of the rural sections of the province.

TABLE XI	I
NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS BY BASED ON 1963 PROVINCIA	PROPOSED CONSTITUENCY: L ELECTORAL DATA
Cariboo	10,861 electors
Central Okanagan	14,741
Columbia	10,743
Coquitlam	20.891
Cowichan	14,765
Crowsnest	13.810
Delta	21,471
East Burnaby	18.542
East Fraser Valley	20.455
Esquimalt-Renfrew	16,085
Fort Langley	17.204
Fraser	10.348
Harrison-Stave	17.747
Island Central	14,625
Kootenav	15,589
Mackenzie	9.452
Malaspina	15.426
Nechako	19.316
New Westminster	20,294
North Burnaby	19.240
North Okanagan	13.501
North Vancouver City-Capilano	16,576
North Vancouver District	17.830
Oak Bay	18.444
Peace River-Stikine	14,048
Pend d'Oreille	16,754
Richmond	20,547
Saanich and the Islands	18,900
Skeena	18,535
South Okanagan	15,455
Strathcona	14,596
Sunshine Coast	14,529
Thompson	18,722
Vancouver-Centre	17,341
Vancouver-Fraser View	17,203
Vancouver-Granville	18,209
Vancouver-Hastings	17,866
Vancouver-Kitsilano	19,019
Vancouver-Langara	19,120
Vancouver-Main	19,385
Vancouver-Marine	18,941
Vancouver-Musqueam	20,281
Vancouver-Renfrew	17,605
Vancouver-Shaughnessy	16,391
Vancouver-South Slope	19,322
Vancouver-Stanley	18,792
Victoria-Harbour	20,179
Victoria-Pandora	19,807
West Burnaby	16,877
West Vancouver	15,697
Whalley	18,508

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In comparing the number of constituencies proposed for various areas of the province to the number in 1965 the following areas would show declines: northern British Columbia from seven members to three; eastern British Columbia from eight to four; Central British Columbia from nine seats to eight; Vancouver Island from ten seats to nine. In contrast the number of representatives from Greater Vancouver would increase sharply from 18 to 27. For the first time in the history of the province, electors in Greater Vancouver would elect over one-half of the total number of legislative representatives. The outcry for greater urban representation would be answered and still the communities of interest of the interior and coastal regions would be well represented. As well, reasonably sized constituencies of fairly equable voting numbers would have been established throughout the province.

An area of possible contention is the northern section of the province. If the government felt that the far north needed one more member, the general area of the current Omineca riding could be retained to give this region one additional representative.

CHAPTER IV

HYPOTHETICAL ELECTION RESULTS IN THE PROPOSED CONSTITUENCIES Justification in Determining the Possible Electoral Pattern of the New Constituencies

It would be presumptuous indeed to expect any government to accept a new set of constituency boundaries for an electoral area, provincial or federal, without asking "What would be the result of an election if these boundaries were employed rather than those presently in use?" If the proposed boundaries lead to a completely different provincial voting pattern to that presently found and especially if it appeared that the governing party were to be seriously challenged or even defeated at the polls, then the possibility of these new constituencies ever being adopted is indeed slight. Any government, once elected, attempts to remain firmly in office.

Therefore, with this thought in mind, a study of a new set of constituency boundaries must pose this important question "What would the result of the most recent provincial election have been if these proposed boundaries were used instead of the set presently employed?" It is not unrealistic to assume that implementation of this new set of boundaries could hinge largely on this question, regardless of how valid and fair the new boundaries were to the provincial electorate.

Although the calculated result of a hypothetical election using these proposed constituencies must be theoretical, the use of the statistics gathered poll by poll from the provincial election held in September, 1963 can indicate the number of legislative representatives each party would perhaps have elected.

Calculation Problems in Single Member Ridings

In the ridings in which only one member of each political party stood for election the possibility of error in declaring a winner would seem to be very low; such an error being possible where a highly regarded candidate was elected largely due to personality rather than to political party affiliation. In a few ridings the present member of the legislature is extremely well regarded by voters of all political parties. If the riding he represents contains a small number of voters, then the popularity of the candidate when seeking election in a larger, new riding containing territory in which he has never previously stood for election may give him more votes than the number of votes received by the candidate who stood for election in that poll in 1963.

Each political party has this type of representative, examples being Mr. Cyril Shelford of the Social Credit Party who represented the Omineca riding in 1965, Mr. Leo Nimsick of the New Democratic Party representing the Cranbrook riding, and Mr. Harry McKay of the Liberal Party from the constituency of Fernie. Each man has a popular appeal to supporters of all political leanings. Each is presently elected from a constituency which contains a small electorate. How each would fare in a larger constituency containing territory new to them is a matter of speculation.

It cannot be calculated accurately how many more votes each would receive in the new sections of these proposed ridings through their personal voter appeal. In calculating hypothetical election results based on the

proposed constituency boundaries, the number of votes credited to each candidate in the added polls of their new constituencies are the actual amounts received by other candidates of the same political party who ran for election at those polls during the provincial election of 1963.

In most ridings, however, the choice of candidates appeared to be determined by political philosophy and local promises. Personality seemed to play a lesser role than political party affiliation.³⁷ For this reason a winner may be predicted for most ridings with considerable confidence.

Calculation Problems in Multi-Member Ridings

In the case of the multi-member ridings located in Vancouver, Victoria, Burnaby, North Vancouver and Delta the task of calculating a winner for each constituency was more difficult, especially where the majority of the winner was slight. Because each elector voted for more than one candidate there was some vote splitting by electors between political parties in evidence.

The amount of vote splitting among party candidates could not be determined accurately with the exception of the constituency of Vancouver-Point Grey. In this riding one Liberal Party candidate received over 8,000 more votes than either of his fellow Liberal party candidates. In multimember ridings, the highest number of votes received by any candidate of the same political party was used as that parties' vote for that particular poll. As an example poll #1 of the present Delta riding is also poll #1 of the proposed Richmond riding. In the 1963 provincial election two candidates ran for election on behalf of each political party. In poll #1 one Social

³⁷Personal view of Mr. H. J. Bruch, M.L.A. Social Credit representative for Esquimalt riding.

Credit party candidate received 237 votes, the other 225. The New Democratic Party votes were 227 and 222. Liberal Party votes were each 98. In calculating the theoretical result of the proposed Richmond seat, 237 votes were tabulated for Social Credit, 227 for the New Democratic Party, and 98 for the Liberals.

The standing in the provincial legislature by political party in 1965 was Social Credit 33 members, New Democratic Party 14 members, and Liberal Party 5 members. The Progressive Conservative Party and the Communist Party failed to elect any members.

Hypothetical Results for the Proposed Constituencies

The results of the 1963 provincial election were considered poll by poll, as recorded in the provincial <u>Statement of Votes</u>,³⁸ and fitted into the proposed electoral districts. The hypothetical election results, taking into account the qualifications outlined above, were: Social Credit Party 32 members, New Democratic Party 14 members, and Liberal Party 5 members. This would therefore mean that after a complete constituency revision of the province there was a net loss of one seat to the Social Credit Party. The New Democratic Party and the Liberal Party would each have remained at their present number of seats. The tabulation of results, riding by riding, is found in Table XIII.³⁹

³⁸Province of British Columbia, <u>Statement of Votes</u>, Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1964.

39As the number of votes received by two of the three Liberal Party candidates in the present Vancouver-Point Grey constituency was much less than those received by the third candidate, the likelihood of the Liberal Party winning three seats in this section of Vancouver, as shown in Table XIII is questionable.

TABLE XIII

HYPOTHETICAL WINNERS OF PROPOSED BRITISH COLUMBIA CONSTITUENCIES: BASED ON 1963 ELECTORAL STATISTICS

Cariboo Central Okanagan Columbia Coquitlam Cowichan Crowsnest Delta East Burnaby East Fraser Valley Esquimalt-Renfrew Fort Langley Fraser Harrison-Stave Island Central Kootenay Mackenzie Malaspina Nechako New Westminster North Burnaby North Okanagan North Vancouver City-Capilano North Vancouver District Oak Bay Peace River-Stikine Pend d'Oreille Richmond Saanich and the Islands Skeena South Okanagan Strathcona Sunshine Coast Thompson Vancouver-Centre Vancouver-Fraser View Vancouver-Granville Vancouver-Hastings Vancouver-Kitsilano Vancouver-Langara Vancouver-Main Vancouver-Marine Vancouver-Musqueam Vancouver-Renfrew Vancouver-Shaughnessy Vancouver-South Slope Vancouver-Stanley Victoria-Harbour Victoria-Pandora West Burnaby West Vancouver Whalley

Social Credit Social Credit Social Credit New Democratic Party New Democratic Party New Democratic Party Social Credit New Democratic Party Social Credit Social Credit Social Credit Social Credit Social Credit New Democratic Party Social Credit New Democratic Party New Democratic Party Social Credit New Democratic Party New Democratic Party Social Credit Social Credit Liberal Social Credit New Democratic Party Social Credit Social Credit New Democratic Party Social Credit New Democratic Party Social Credit Social Credit Social Credit Liberal Liberal New Democratic Party Liberal Social Credit Social Credit Social Credit Social Credit Social Credit Liberal New Democratic Party The total number of seats in the proposed scheme is one less than the current 52 seats, this situation being by chance rather than design. According to the calculated result, by using these more equable constituency boundaries the present government, the Social Credit Party, would clearly have been in no danger of defeat or challenge at the polls. Indeed employment of the new boundaries would be to their advantage as many ridings which the Social Credit Party won by only a slight majority using the 1965 constituency boundaries would have been decisive wins using the new boundaries.

In the election of 1963, sixteen of the fifty-two ridings were won by margins of less than 500 votes. If the proposed constituency boundaries were used, this number would have dropped to only ten seats. (Table XIV) This greatly lessens the number of seats which give doubtful results. Thus by using these new boundaries narrow victories would have been far less common than they actually were, a desired feature in any political contest. That the contests might have been more decisively won would seem to indicate that by creating more cohesive ridings, the electorate would be more united in their viewpoints then was hitherto the case. This could be a measure of the success of this system of constituency derivation.

Because of the more equable voting numbers found in the proposed constituencies, the theoretical election results in these new ridings indicates the broad basis of support which the present government enjoys throughout the province. Thus the government cannot justifiably reject provincial constituency redistribution in the belief that their support is extremely local in nature and found primarily in the areas presently represented by small constituencies. These hypothetical election results suggest that Social Credit support is not solely in isolated pockets of the province. Much of their support is received from areas which are currently

TABLE XIV

HYPOTHETICAL TOTAL VOTES RECEIVED BY CANDIDATES IN PROPOSED ELECTORAL DISTRICTS: BASED ON 1963 ELECTORAL DATA

Constituency	S.C.	N.D.P.	Lib.	Majority
Cariboo	2,890	1,443	1,120	1,670
Central Okanagan	6,802	1,406	555	5,396
Columbia	<u>3,015</u>	2,198	729	817
Coquitlam	4,797	6,617	2,266	1,820
Cowichan	3,622	4,764	980	1,142
Crowsnest	2,841	<u>3,639</u>	2,169	798
Delta	6,778	4,823	1,458	1,755
East Burnaby	4,726	4,806	1,900	80
East Fraser Valley	7,822	2,377	1,924	5,445
Esquimalt-Renfrew	4,741	2,659	1,327	2,082
Fort Langley	5,472	3,790	1,144	1,682
Fraser	2,543	2,428	1,079	113
Harrison-Stave	5,257	4,492	1,635	765
Island Central	4,064	4,421		35 7
Kootenay	4,783	2,982	1,781	1,801
Mackenzie	1,757	1,983	600	226
Malaspina	4,083	5,116	932	1,033
Nechako	6,751	2,321	1,365	4,430
New Westminster	4,574	4,913	2,261	339
North Burnaby	4,810	5,485	1,898	6 7 5
North Okanagan	3,940	1,917	1,946	1,994
North Vancouver City-Capilano	4,454	2,464	4,068	386
North Vancouver District	4,432	2,197	5,738	1,306
Oak Bay	5,286	1,080	4,949	337

TABLE XIV (Cont'd)				
Constituency	S.C.	N.D.P.	Lib.	Majority
Peace River-Stikine	5,454	1,33 7	1,368	4,086
Pend d'Oreille	5,851	3,266	1,743	2,585
Richmond	5,885	4,732	1,856	1,153
Saanich and the Islands	6 <u>,333</u>	2,855	1,669	3,478
Skeena	5,190	3,818	2,151	1,372
South Okanagan	5,834	2,453	1,345	3,381
Strathcona	3,888	3,682	713	206
Sunshine Coast	3,688	3,912	2,121	224
Thompson	6,245	1,734	788	4,511
Vancouver-Centre	3,682	3,125	1,077	557
Vancouver-Fraser View	4,322	5,011	1,100	689
Vancouver-Granville	3,695	3,037	2,409	658 [.]
Vancouver-Hastings	3 ,8 69	5,291	966	1,422
Vancouver-Kitsilano	4,342	3,891	2,484	451
Vancouver-Langara	<u>5,347</u>	2,626	4,155	1,192
Vancouver-Main	4,641	4,607	1,446	34
Vancouver-Marine	4,966	1,354	6,139	1,173
Vancouver-Musqueam	4,879	1,757	7,207	2,328
Vancouver-Renfrew	4,171	5,195	938	1,024
Vancouver-Shaughnessy	4,256	1,072	6,049	1,738
Vancouver-South Slope	5,428	4,658	1,619	770
Vancouver-Stanley	4,139	2,531	2,382	1,608
Victoria-Harbour	5,907	2,495	2,356	3,412
Victoria-Pandora	6,011	2,236	2,744	3,267
West Burnaby	4,774	4,108	1,826	666
West Vancouver	3,886	1,004	5,776	1,890
Whalley	4,360	4,728	1,088	368
Number of Candidates Elected	(32)	(14)	(5)	

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under-represented by legislative members, such as in Vancouver-Point Grey and Delta. Therefore the employment of more equable constituencies would show more clearly the actual measure of support which British Columbians do in fact have for the governing party.

As for the electorate, the proposed boundaries would increase the value of their vote because the voting ratio would be drastically reduced. Each area would also be given a more specific voice in the direction of government. With the 1965 ratio of voting numbers in the province being in excess of twenty-five to one, some votes counted very little. By using the proposed new boundaries this imbalance would be no longer in existence. The present government and the provincial electorate would both benefit from adopting new boundaries for each would have a clearer picture of the provincial voting pattern and of the areas of strong support for each political party. The will of the voters of British Columbia could more easily be ascertained.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Restatement of the Problem

For many years British Columbia, like all of North America, has experienced a major population shift from rural to urban areas. Since the end of World War II British Columbia has also felt the pressure of a rapidly increasing population. Because of these two influences the 1965 legislative constituencies were out of date and no longer desirable as a vehicle to register the wishes of the electorate.

The problem which this thesis attempts to solve is "What criterion would be most suitable in determining new constituency boundaries for the province?"

British Columbia is represented by federal ridings based on the concept of representation by population. Although population is very unevenly distributed, the criterion on which federal constituency boundaries are established is accepted as reasonable because in the House of Commons the representatives elected from British Columbia discuss mainly questions concerning the welfare of the Dominion or of British Columbia as a whole. On the provincial political scene the situation is quite different. Members of the Legislative Assembly are expected to promote the viewpoints of their constituents and do discuss matters in terms of local political views. As stated previously, if representation by population were employed in British Columbia provincially, the majority of legislative members would come from Great Vancouver and Greater Victoria. It must be agreed that it does not take a great number of representatives to put forth the viewpoint of these metropolitan areas. Most other areas of the province would be given only token, ineffective representation.

In seeking a new pattern of representation in British Columbia one should not begin with the view of pitting one area of the province against another. If Greater Vancouver controlled the legislature by a wide margin the government would in effect be setting the large urban area against the remainder of the province. Provincial economic growth would give way to political disunity.

In Chapter II an attempt was made to show that throughout the history of legislative representation in this province there has been an attempt to give each area an opportunity to putforward its viewpoint forcefully. This concept has not changed -- either in the minds of the electorate or in the minds of political party leaders and legislative representatives.

As there is general agreement throughout the province that representation by population is not acceptable the question is really "How can each area of the province best be heard without creating the very large ridings which representation by population would adopt?" As an answer to this question, the author has recommended the principle of Nodality, creating areas of common interest throughout the province, and has attempted to measure their function as possible constituencies.

Assessment of Deliniation Method

It would appear that the measurement of nodal regions is a suitable method of determining political boundaries because the range of electoral riding size is not extreme -- being at most two and one-half votes to one. The proviso that it is particularly useful in an emerging economic and population area must be included. This functional analysis and boundary delimitation has not yet been attempted in areas where an even population distribution exists nor where a state of population equilibrium has been reached.

Constituencies of common interest would give to each riding a sense of unity because each person within the constituency would be socially and economically linked with all other voters located in the same riding. If the total number of constituencies must be limited then the boundaries should be carefully chosen according to a meaningful criterion which give the electorate the possibility of expressing themselves.

In the analysis of hypothetical electoral returns for the 1963 provincial election one possible clue as to the worth of the proposed method of delineation is the fact that the number of close ridings -- those where two parties could very possibly have won the constituency -- was greatly reduced. The analysis of the 1963 election results showed that generally the areas of lower income and labour supported the New Democratic Party. Upper and average income groups and white collar workers tended to support the Social Credit Party. Therefore in many present ridings, when these two groups were separated the desires of each group could more adequately be expressed.

The boundaries devised may not be acceptable to a province or state which has only a small area. If the province of Prince Edward Island, with

its more even population distribution and much smaller area, were used for examination, perhaps representation by population would be a more satisfactory method of determining constituency boundaries.

It would appear that in determining boundaries for the purpose of political representation generally, that there is no single principle by which, when applied, satisfactory boundaries are obtained. Economic, cultural and political factors together mould the thoughts and actions of the population. Only when these factors are treated in concert can meaningful and understandable boundaries be constructed. This treatment was used in the example of nodal regions serving as a basis for constituency boundaries in British Columbia. In this province this method appears to be an objective and satisfactory means of establishing political boundaries. Further studies may provide other examples to illustrate this principle. It should be expected that British Columbia is not unique in this regard.

POSTSCRIPT

The Angus Royal Commission Activities

On August 5, 1965 the Honorable W. A. C. Bennett, Premier of the province of British Columbia, appointed a Royal Commission to study the present electoral boundaries of the province. The Commission was instructed

to

Make inquiry into and concerning the need, if any, for amendment of the Constitution Act in order to secure, by whatever definition of electoral districts is required, proper and effective representation of the people of all parts of the province in the Legislative Assembly and that in formulating the recommendations to be contained in their report the Commission

1) take into account where feasible historical and regional claims for representation;

- 2) make their recommendations on the basis of a) that no electoral district comprise fewer than 7,500 registered voters having regard to present population and apparent population trends to the year 1975, and b) that the Legislative Assembly comprise not fewer than fortyeight nor more than fifty-two members; and
- 3) give consideration to the provision of multiple member ridings of two members each in the metropolitan areas of Victoria and Vancouver and report their findings and recommendations to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council in accordance with the Act.⁴⁰

The chairman of this Royal Commission was Dr. H. F. Angus, assisted by the Chief Electoral Officer of the province, F. H. Hurley, and by the Deputy Chief Electoral Officer, K. L. Morton.

This Commission held hearings throughout British Columbia and

⁴⁰British Columbia Legislative Assembly, Order in Council No. 2233, August 5, 1965. invited interested persons in each section of the province to put forward suggestions concerning a suitable constituency to serve their needs. In most cases the briefs submitted dealt only with the local area. Thus the Commission still had the task of attempting to fit these local representations into a provincial pattern.

At White Rock, B. C. on November 22, 1965, the author presented the findings put forth in this thesis. (Appendix 3) The submission was warmly received by the Commission and the map of proposed constituencies as outlined by the report of the Commission has a striking similarity in many instances to the boundaries proposed in this thesis.⁴¹ This is not to suggest that the Angus Commission accepted the maps submitted in this brief in total and simply imitated them, for such is not the case. The Commission found, through independent investigation, as was stated in this thesis, that transportation patterns and economic activities were worthwhile guides for the determination of regions of common interest. The Commission often agreed with the findings outlined above and it is probable that this material was used as a guide to the boundary construction proposed by the Commission.

During the provincial legislative session in 1966 the government brought into law a Bill entitled "An Act to Amend the Constitution Act, 1966"⁴² in which it legally set up new constituencies for the next provincial

⁴¹British Columbia Legislative Assembly, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Redefinition of Electoral Districts, Under the Public Inquiries Act, Angus, H. F.; Hurley, F. H.; Morton, K. L.; Victoria: Queen's Printer, January, 1966.

⁴²Province of British Columbia, An Act to Amend the Constitution Act, 1966, Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1966.

election. The government did not adopt the recommendations of the Angus Commission in total. It deleted the recommended northern ridings of Northland, Omineca and Peace River and in their place retained the former ridings of North Peace River, South Peace River, Omineca and Atlin. As the terms of reference given to the Commission stated that no constituency of under 7,500 voters could be recommended, it would seem that in maintaining the old northern ridings the government has bowed to the political pressure exerted by members of these northern ridings.

The recommendation, of the Commission and of this study, that Vancouver and Victoria use single member ridings was also rejected. The Vancouver ridings, as outlined in the Royal Commission Report, were also deleted. This change would also seem to be politically inspired. However, in spite of the political hand taken to the Angus Commission recommendations, in the main the newly adopted boundaries are a vast improvement over those previously used in this province.

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APPENDIX 1

The Questionnaire

Questionnaire Employed to Determine Nodal Regions of B. C .: Please place in the space provided the name of the settlement where you receive each of these services. 1. We buy the majority of our groceries in 2. My Doctor lives in _____ 3. My bank is located in 4. When the need arises, we usually go to hospital in 5. When listening to the radio we usually listen to the station in 6. People here usually buy their liquor at 7. Which Daily newspaper(s) do you subscribe to?_____ 8. Which Weeklies do you subscribe to? 9. When we attend the movies we usually travel to 10. Funerals in this area are usually carried out by undertakers with offices in Thank you again for your time in assisting me with this information.

.89.

APPENDIX 2

Settlements Used to Determine New Constituency Boundaries

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Settlements Used to Determine New Constituency Boundaries: (Classified According to 1963 Federal Constituency in which located) Cariboo (77% total questionnaire return) Aleza Lake Le jac Barkerville Lower Post Bouchie Lake McBride Cecil Lake Marguerite Cinema Moberly Lake Clayhurst Montney Cornel Mills Moose Heights Nithi River Crescent Spur Nukko Lake East Pine Pink Mountain Engen Red Pass Fort Fraser Fort Nelson Sinclair Mills Fort St. James Summit Lake Fraser Lake Tete-Jaune-Cache Germansen Landing Tupper Hixon Upper Fraser Valemount Hydraulic Keithley Creek Wonowon Lemming Mills Coast Capilano (86% return) Billings Bay Redonda Bay Brem River Refuge Cove Stuart Island Lund Esquimalt-Saanich (83% return) Glen Lake Malahat Saanichton Lagoon Port Renfrew Shawnigan Lake Comox-Alberni (62% return) Parksville Ahousat Bamfield Port Neville Provincial Cannery Black Creek Blind Channel Qualicum Beach Blubber Bay Quathiaski Cove Bull Harbour Quatsino Coombs Read Island Savary Island Esperanza Simoon Sound Estevan Point Fanny Bay Sointula Sullivan Bay Holberg Jeune Landing Surge Narrows Kakawis Tahsis Kildonan Telegraph Cove

Comox-Alberni (continued) Kokish Kyuquot Mansons Landing Minstrel Island Muchalat Kamloops (71% return) Alexis Creek Anglemont Avola Big Creek Big Lake Ranch Birch Island Birken Blue River Bridge Lake Brookemere Buffalo Creek Canim Lake Canoe Chinook Cove Clinton Copper Creek Criss Creek Darfield Dog Creek Douglas Lake Fawn (Lone Butte) Gosnell Kleena Kleene Kootenay East (66% return) Athalmer Baynes Lake Canal Flats Canyon Parsen Donald Station Edgewater Fairmont Hot Springs Grasmere Harrogate Kootenay West (61% return) Argenta Arrow Park Beaton Boswell

Castlegar

Thurlow Uclulet Whaletown Winter Harbour

Lillooet Little Fort Lower Nicola Lytton McLeese Lake Mahood Falls Meldrum Creek Merritt Notch Hill 100 Mile House Pavilion Quilchena Red Lake Redstone Salmon Arm Scotch Creek Seton Portage Soda Creek Spences Bridge Tappen Tatlayoko Lake Vavenby Walhachin

Jaffray Kingsgate Lister Parson Radium Hot Springs Toby Creek Wardner Wycliffe Yahk

Kaslo Nakusp New Denver Queens Bay Renata Kootenay West (continued) Crawford Bay Sandon Crescent Valley Syringa Creek Ferguson Ymir Gray Creek Howser (64% return) Nanaimo Chemainus Paldi Clo-oose Pender Island South Pender Extension Ganges Westholme Ladysmith Okanagan-Boundary (57% return) Bankeir Kettle Valley Beaverdell Princeton Fife West Summerland Okanagan-Revelstoke (67% return) Arrowhead Mara Craigellachie Mount Cartier Enderby Sicamous Malakwa Winfield (70% return) Skeena Aiyansh Noralee Anahim Lake Oona River Atlin Ootsa Lake Babine Perow Burns Lake Port Clements Cassiar Queen Charlotte City Clemretta Quick Danskin Skidegate Dorreen Smithers Endako Streatham Grassy Plains Stuie Haysport Takysie Lake Hazelton Tatalrose Houston Telegraph Creek Kitwanga Tlell Klemtu Usk Moricetown Wistaria Total Questionnaire returns --225

APPENDIX 3

Brief Submitted to the Provincial Redistribution Commission: (Abridged) Brief Presented to the Provincial Redistribution Commission: (Abridged)

White Rock, B. C. November 22, 1965.

Gentlemen:

As a graduate student of the Department of Geography at the University of British Columbia, I have been preparing a Master of Arts thesis on the subject of a new set of provincial electoral boundaries for the province of British Columbia. While doing so I have learned much about the grouping of people in all parts of the province, the large economic communities which are present, and of the aspirations of areal segments of the province. With your permission I should like to share some of these findings with you and to present some of the conclusions which I have reached. Because the thesis being written deals with the province as a whole I wish to present this brief as a recommendation for provincial electoral boundary change and not as a recommendation for a regional change.

Representation by population has been a rallying cry in democratic countries for several centuries and I am sure that many submissions presented to you advocate this concept. Because of the heavy concentration of electoral population in the southwest corner of the province, the adoption of such a policy would, I believe, create an undesirable situation throughout the rest of the province. As the use of representation by population in boundary determination would create many rural ridings of large area, the government would not be insuring that these sparsely populated areas were effectively represented. One man cannot adequately represent a large area of the province be it well populated or not. In an area changing as rapidly as is British Columbia, it would seem necessary as well that residents of peripheral regions be given adequate representation in order that they may forestall the

continued concentration of economic development in the southwest corner of the province. The majority view may well be a selfish view and not in the interest of good long term provincial growth.

The problem really centres around the method of drawing boundaries so as to achieve managable and meaningful constituencies. To achieve this representation by population must be modified but it need not be lost sight of as is at present the case in this province. An alternative method of boundary delimitation which I feel is worthy of your consideration is the concept of "Communities of Interest" and the subsequent identification of nodal regions.

If the loyalties and ideas of the communities found within a large electoral district are not similar then the elected legislative member must also have conflicting loyalties. He, therefore, cannot be a spokesman for the constituency as a whole but only for a part of it.

The revolution in transport and communication in North America has broken the isolation of the past for many communities. In this province many smaller communities have become connected to the larger population centres and regional interdependence between these communities has been affected. Such groups of villages and towns that focus upon regional cities could provide a useful unit for representation in the legislature.

This concept of communities of common interest (Nodal regions) is not new. In their defense, Dr. Alfred de Grazia, Professor of Government at New York University, has stated that "The Federalist papers, the United States Constitution, and indeed the prevailing doctrines and practices throughout history and around the world, incorporate and defend principles such as the

representation of communities <u>per se</u>, the representation of interests of functional groups . . . , the interests of minorities and the interest of efficient administration." Thus history and practicality side equally well with the idea of representation of communities of common interest as with the strict adherence to representation by electoral numbers.

The concept of nodal regions based upon communities of interest is a simple idea. However, identification of the regions is more difficult. As a first step to identification, the cities of the province must be ranked according to size. (Thesis Table IX) Assuming that the larger population centres are nodes of regions in which community of interest is present it is then necessary to accurately delimit the boundaries of the region which focus on the nodal centre; that is to identify the region in which the primary sphere of influence occured, that area of the province where people identified themselves more with the progress and happenings of one city than of any other. It is possible to draw a circle on a map to show the area which is under the primary influence of any city.

The solution to this question of area of influence is not a random process. It is possible to isolate those services which only appear in large population centres. By using the questionnaire method it is then possible to use these isolated functions to determine which population node each of the smaller communities use. Through functional analysis it was found that the services best suited to this investigation included: Radio Stations, Hospitals, Funeral Homes, Bowling Alleys, Optometrists, Theatres, Commercial Photographers, Department Stores and Daily Newspapers.

A questionnaire was devised using the above mentioned services and mailed to postmasters of two hundred selected provincial communities. The

proportion returned was in excess of seventy percent. The return was not equally high throughout the province but even in those areas of relatively low response it was felt boundaries could be accurately determined. The boundaries of primary influence around each of the large centres of the province, except greater Vancouver were then drawn. Sixteen nodal regions were identified. The electoral population within each was then calculated. (Thesis Table X)

Certain areas of the province were found tributary to smaller centres than heretofore recognized. Rather than one city dominating a region, two or three smaller centres shared services for the surrounding population. Five areas of the province fell within this category, three in the interior and two on the coast. Their electoral populations were also calculated. (Thesis Table XI)

The heavily populated centre of Greater Vancouver did not lend itself to an investigation similar to that carried out elsewhere. Other methods of delimitation were therefore employed. Surrounding the City of Vancouver various incorporated municipalities have provided local government for many years and singly or in groups they have been represented in the provincial legislature. The creation of new urban constituencies would require some recognition of municipal interests as municipal limits are boundaries of common interest to those persons living within the district.

Where possible, the constituencies formulated should employ municipal boundaries. Within the City of Vancouver various neighbourhoods have developed based upon shopping and community services; or sometimes social groupings. Neighbourhood interest should be taken into account where municipalities or the city must be subdivided for constituency purposes.

Using the techniques noted above municipalities and neighbourhoods which would be well suited to forming constituencies were identified. By chance fifty-one ridings were created. This is one seat less than the number of constituencies presently in use. Were it felt that fifty-two seats should be created, I would recommend that consideration be given to the creation of a riding midway between Prince George and Prince Rupert where the Omineca seat is presently located.

On examining the electoral totals for the constituencies which are here being presented you will notice that they easily fall within the terms of reference given at the commencement of these hearings. The largest constituency proposed would contain 20,891 voters, the smallest 9,452; giving a ratio of less than 2-1/4 to one. (Thesis Table XII)

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Were these constituencies implemented, northern British Columbia would decline in number of ridings from seven to three, (four if Omineca remained) eastern British Columbia from eight seats to four, Central British Columbia from nine seats to eight and Vancouver Island from ten seats to nine. In contrast the number of seats in Greater Vancouver would increase from eighteen to twenty-seven. The number of representatives given to the area outside the lower mainland must be reduced. By using the idea of "Communities of Interest" those constituencies created would be meaningful.

Believing that no government would accept a set of electoral boundaries which seriously challenged them at the polls, I have calculated the theoretical voting result in the proposed ridings using as a basis the 1963 electoral statistics. The votes cast in the 1963 election were considered poll by poll, and fitted into the proposed series of boundaries. The result was Social Credit 31 seats, (32 if Omineca were included) New
Democratic Party 15, and the Liberal Party 5 seats. When compared to the present Legislative standings there would be a net shift of only one seat, that going from the Social Credit Party to the New Democratic Party.

In the voting analysis of these proposed constituencies it was found that the number of seats won in close contests declined. In 1963 there were sixteen ridings in which the vote margin of the winner was less than 500 votes. If these new constituencies were used this number would have dropped to only nine.

The last problem I wish to comment on is that of multi-member ridings. Although this type of riding has been in existence since British Columbia initiated representative government I feel that the use of them today is wrong. They occur when it is felt by government that the affected population is too large to be adequately represented by only one man. If this is correct then two men working either separately or in concert cannot fill this need. I believe that each riding should be represented by only one person so that the electorate can fairly judge the member's competence.

Gentlemen I have attempted to be brief as possible and yet not omit basic considerations. The boundaries presented to you have been consistently determined so that all ridings are valid in terms of "community interests." I respectfully submit to you that these boundaries and the method by which they were achieved be given careful consideration.

Thank you for the opportunity of presenting this brief to you at this time.

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