



BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH

A bulletin issued by the Bureau of Municipal Research

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NOVEMBER 1976 2 TORONTO STREET TORONTO



LEGISLATIVE ATTEMPTS TO CONTROL URBAN GROWTH IN CANADA

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We would also like to take this opportunity to apologize for the delay in publishing this report. Originally delays were caused by the late return of questionnaires. Then we went through a lengthy process of verifying the data received. There followed a number of necessary reviews by Bureau committees and the Federal government. Finally, the Bureau had a number of studies of slightly higher priority which had to be completed before final touches could be put on the Urban Growth study.

As a result of these delays some of the information may not be accurate due to recently passed legislation and other policy changes.

*It is gratifying to note, however, that due to our extensive review process many key decision makers in the public sector have had access to the findings of our study and we feel there has been valuable insight into **The Legislative Attempts to Control Urban Growth in Canada.***

This study was supported under contract by the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs. The views expressed in this document are not necessarily the views of that agency.

PREAMBLE

From their very beginning as incorporated bodies, Canadian cities seem to have introduced one piece of legislation after another aimed at facilitating population and economic growth. However, recently municipalities in Canada and around the world have begun to introduce legislation with the intention of bringing this previously desirable urban growth "under control". Senior levels of government are also in the act with many European countries already establishing definitive urban growth strategies.

Canadians, like others in the western world, have spent the better part of the 20th century fighting wars and building or rebuilding their economy. The 60's and 70's offered one of the first extended periods of time to be concerned about the quality of life.

The onus for improving this quality of life has fallen in some measure on all three levels of Canadian government, but most of all on local governments where some feel there is the best opportunity of affecting desired changes. Senior levels of government are seen largely as handling those things of regional and national significance and as equalizers in the distribution of certain goods and services. Local government, theoretically, supplies a majority of the hard and soft services which touch the lives of people on a daily basis.

It is perhaps not surprising then that local governments have taken the lead in bringing forward legislation aimed at more carefully managing the urban growth which so dramatically affects their lifestyle.

Unfortunately, very little has been assembled in one place accurately describing just how and why Canadian municipalities have gone about this awesome task of bringing urban growth "under control".

The mere fact that local governments have taken the legislative action they have may be due to the lack of a viable growth policy on the part of provincial governments and the Federal government. If the senior levels of government had developed more comprehensive immigration and economic development programs, there perhaps would not be as much pressure to slow growth in certain urban areas.

With this study we have attempted to gain a basic insight into the actions being taken by cities across Canada by question-

ing key decision-makers from various segments of the community. Their views about what has happened in their city as well as impressions about what the future may hold, create a good starting point for examination of the issues surrounding the current "urban growth controversy".

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SECTION I

URBAN MANAGEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

CHAPTER I

URBAN GROWTH INFORMATION AND OUR STUDY MODEL

The Information Vacuum

When we talk about the lack of information about urban areas, we can mean the inability to accurately identify "people's perceptions" as well as the growing inability to quantify the "hard data" which helps any community to plan for the future. Many communities do not even have an acceptable estimate of their current population, let alone a detailed demographic breakdown. If you asked most communities, for instance, to supply a detailed report on the condition of all housing units and how this condition compares to ten years ago, they would be hard pressed to provide it.

While the hard data referred to above is necessary and useful for planning purposes, it is not the only acceptable method of projecting future trends. As we have already pointed out, this data is only important insofar as it is taken into consideration or coincides with the general public's attitude or at least elected officials' opinions of the public's attitude.

In other words, straight line projections based on historical data do not sufficiently allow for changes in technology and/or attitudes.

Our Methodology

We chose as one of our major research tools, a slightly modified version of what is commonly referred to as "the delphi model". This approach relies heavily on a series of written and/or personal interviews of people considered to be well informed on the subject under study. In many instances, there is also a conscientious attempt to balance the participation with people who may have differing perspectives as well as those from different socio-economic backgrounds.

The Bureau wanted to identify for each of 21 metropolitan areas in Canada, exactly how much concern there was about Urban Growth, whether any concern expressed was due to the lack of or excess of growth,

and how this concern has changed or is likely to change. We also wanted to determine what methods of growth management had been considered, which of these had been adopted, and what was likely to happen in the future that would affect growth patterns in each community.

In order to accomplish this ambitious task, we contacted BMR members in each of the 21 cities and asked for the names of seven people, one in each of the 21 cities and asked for the names of seven people, one in each of the following categories, who would be good respondents for the type of study we were undertaking.

- Elected representative-local gov't.
- Appointed official-local government
- Business representative
- Labour representative
- Ratepayer
- University representative
- Media representative

We hoped to gain a variety of perceptions on the growth management actions taken, as well as those anticipated, because of the composition of the respondent group. By soliciting the opinions of key interest groups in the community, we hoped to gain insight into the actual effect certain actions have had or will have on business, labour, government, ratepayers, etc. Each respondent brings a somewhat different set of values and experiences to bear on any given question. By carefully analyzing how each responded to certain questions, we hoped to be able to identify which actions to manage growth actually have the greatest potential for bringing about desirable change for the entire community.

We contacted each of the prospective respondents by mail to ascertain interest in participating and after receiving each acceptance, a questionnaire (see Appendix I) was mailed out.

The purpose of the questionnaire was actually two-fold:

- 1) to gain insight into the actions taken or contemplated by various local governments to alter in some way the growth patterns which were currently developing, and
- 2) to gain a variety of perceptions con-

cerning actions taken or contemplated by various levels of government to effect a change in urban growth patterns.

Of the 147 people contacted, 108 indicated they would participate and of those, 62 actually returned completed questionnaires, or 42% of the total contacted and 57% of those agreeing to participate.

The response ranged from a low of no questionnaires from one city to a high of five from three cities, with an average return of about three questionnaires per city. In terms of the response by various categories, they ranged from a low of four questionnaires from the Labour category to a high of twelve from Appointed Officials and University Representatives, with the average per category of almost nine respondents. There was also obviously a wide range of population with the smallest city being Saint John at 106,744 and the largest being Montreal at 2,743,208. It is probably significant to note that 10 of the 21 cities have populations which fall within a range of 220,000 to 602,000. All of the above data pertaining to the location and size of cities as well as the categories responding can be found in Appendix II.

A Qualifying Statement About Our Questionnaire

While much of the information obtained is fairly unique and will hopefully be useful to decision-makers at every level of government, let us state what should be obvious. Our sampling is very limited and, while the information has been obtained for the most part from reliable sources, it should not in any way be construed as representative of the opinions of an entire city or of entire groups within a city.

Beyond the Questionnaire

The second section of our study takes a closer look at the various local legislative initiatives to manage urban growth and offers some evaluation of the methods being employed. Information and interpretations were gathered via personal and telephone interviews with civic officials in the cities under study. Much has probably transpired since these interviews took place and this should obviously be taken into consideration.

The final section of our study took an even more in-depth look at two cities,

Vancouver and Toronto, as a means of understanding some of the many factors which have influenced the decision to slow urban growth through legislative mechanisms.

CHAPTER II

THE MANAGEMENT OF URBAN GROWTH—NOW

HOW MUCH GROWTH?—WHERE?

For purposes of our study, urban growth was said to be occurring when "The economy and population are increasing at a sufficient rate to maintain a high level of employment, as well as a diversified and strong tax base, at least equal to or greater than the national economic and population growth rate."

We are aware, however, that population and economic growth are not necessarily synonymous.

Our first question, in our questionnaire to a selected sampling in 21 Canadian cities, asked the respondents to indicate whether, in their opinion, there was too much growth, not enough growth, or growth was not a problem in their community. Of those responding to the question (59) the breakdown was as follows:

-Too Much	- 16 - 25.8%
-Not Enough	- 11 - 17.7%
-Not a Problem	- 32 - 51.6%

When these figures are analyzed on a city by city basis, we get quite a different picture than is indicated by the above collective tabulation. In only one city, Vancouver, was there a clear consensus by our respondents that there was too much growth. In five cities, Hamilton, London, St. Catharines, Quebec City and Saskatoon, it was agreed that urban growth was not a problem and respondents in the remaining 15 cities were split in their opinion about the urban growth question. (See Appendix III for a detailed breakdown).

Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they thought the community generally favoured or opposed more urban growth. Some predictable and other less predictable opinions were expressed as nine of the twenty-one cities were said to be in favour of more growth, while no community clearly opposed more growth. Those favouring more growth were as follows:

-Hamilton	-St. Catharines
-Kitchener	-Saskatoon
-London	-Sudbury
-Quebec City	-Windsor
-Regina	

The only city that came close to opposing more growth in terms of how our respondents viewed community opinion was Toronto, where 3 of the 5 respondents felt the community was opposed to more growth. In Kitchener, where a slight majority of the respondents thought personally that there was too much growth, they admitted the community did not generally feel the same way. More than half of the cities involved indicated that urban growth was not a problem (a more detailed presentation appears in Appendix III).

Generally then, a majority of our respondents felt that growth was not a problem and that the community favoured more of it in the future.

Present Growth Patterns

In order to gain a perspective for the opinions expressed in the foregoing questions, we should consider exactly how much growth has been occurring in these communities.

In terms of population growth, the metropolitan areas under study have increased, in the period 1966 to 1972, anywhere from a low of 2.4% in Saint John to a high of 22% in Calgary. The unweighted average growth for the six years in all cities was about 12% or around 2% per year.¹

Another method of measuring a community's growth rate can be the value of the building permits issued in a given year. The metropolitan areas included in our study had quite a wide range of building activity from 1966 to 1972. Saskatoon experienced a drop in the value of building permits in that period of .98%, while St. John on the other end of the growth ladder, using building permits, was experiencing a 425% increase. While the unweighted average was 90%, it should be stated that the mid range for the cities was actually about 50% to 60% or about 10% per year (Appendix IV).²

We can summarize by saying that the average growth rate of the 21 cities under study for the period 1966 to 1972 was 2% per year of additional population and 10% per year increase building value, and that there seemed to be no correlation between rate of growth and legislative

1. Statistics Canada Year Book 1973.
2. Ibid

efforts to contain same. There are other variables to be considered, such as how much land was available for development, and whether the communities' infrastructure of hard and soft services are adequate to handle the prevailing rate of growth. Appendix IV gives the population and building permit value for all cities in the study.

THE LOCAL LEGISLATIVE EFFORT

Every community knowingly or unknowingly has developed a growth policy which determines to some extent how much and what kind of urban growth occurs. There is a great variation in these plans and they are affected very much by events of significance at the regional, provincial, national and international level. But the important thing is that communities have, through their planning, budgeting, and operating policies, either taken or avoided action which has had an effect on the rate and style of urban growth.

Evidence of the fact that most communities have addressed themselves to the problem of urban growth, at some time or another, comes in the form of responses to one of the questions asked of our 62 respondents in 21 cities. We queried which of a list of seven specific policies had been discussed or acted upon by each of the cities. The seven policies included:

- Height limitation in downtown
- Planned unit development by-law
- Limited residential growth in certain areas
- No growth on periphery of town
- Moratorium on water & sewer extensions
- Limited building permits
- Tax incentives to developers

Appendix V indicates that every one of the cities canvassed had attempted to take some legislative action aimed at managing or controlling urban growth and of these only two, St. John's and Regina, failed to adopt one or more of the seven specific policies. Most popular of the seven policies were *Limiting Residential Growth*, with 16 cities adopting legislation, 2 failing, and 3 not attempting this approach; and *Planned Unit Development*, with 12 adopting, none failing, and 9 not attempting this approach. The least attempted policy was the *Controlling of Building Permits*, with only six cities trying this approach and five of them failing to get any legislation adopted. The

policy which was most rejected was the use of *Tax Incentives* with 8 communities rejecting this approach while 4 cities had successfully implemented some form of tax incentive program. And while most communities were enjoying mixed success in adopting various policies, two cities, London and Hamilton, had been successful in adopting all 5 of the policies which they had officially considered. Our respondents were expressing their opinion as to whether legislation was passed in any of the seven categories and this is to some extent a matter of perception. More definitive information will be provided in Section II.

Recalling that only one city, Toronto, expressed a no-growth attitude in terms of how our respondents viewed public opinion, it might appear strange that so many cities are trying so many different methods of managing urban growth. This may actually point out what should already have become obvious: people, or entire communities for that matter, don't seem to be against growth per se, but rather against the kind of uncontrolled growth which allows certain types of development to create unnecessary pressures on the community. Growth for growth's sake certainly doesn't prevail as a dominant opinion the way it used to, but this has not been replaced by a complete no-growth doctrine. It would probably be much safer to say that the local infrastructure is often too fragile and slow to deal with the *rate of growth* which many communities are experiencing. They have therefore been forced to take actions to stall certain types of growth in certain places in order to buy time. With this time, communities are hoping to be able to evaluate the social, economic and environmental impact of adopting certain short term and long range growth strategies. Unfortunately, such actions are often misconstrued as having been made in an attempt to place a particular segment of the community at a disadvantage (e.g. anti-developer).

Determining the Need for Growth Control Legislation—The Method

Elected representatives use a variety of informal indicators to determine whether or not there is a need for a certain type of legislation. There may also be a recognized crisis which brings attention to some sub-

ject, but in either case there is usually an attempt to get additional information before making a decision.

There are a number of methods by which such information can be obtained. With regard to the question of which methods were utilized to obtain information on urban growth problems, our respondents were offered five specific choices.

- consultant studies
- planning reports
- public opinion polls
- elected officials' opinions
- public hearings

We asked our respondents to list the order of preference for methods which their communities had utilized in attempting to identify the problems they suspected were being caused by urban growth. The choices were very consistent from city to city. First choice in all but 3 cities was the use of consultant reports followed very closely by "in house" planning reports. The third choice was the opinions of elected representatives and bringing up the rear were public hearings and public polls.

This gives us a clear indication that trust in these important matters is almost always placed in the hands of trained professionals. It is then assumed that elected representatives are in a good position to evaluate the need for certain types of legislation to manage growth. The public, apparently, is not thought to have sufficient information or insight to have its opinion be a major determining factor in whether or not a certain type of legislation is needed. With the information in its present form, it is difficult to ascertain precisely how much the public was taken into consideration since there is no way of determining whether consultants, planners, and/or elected representatives take public opinion into consideration in some other way.

Determining the Need for Growth Control Legislation – The Factors

By conducting studies, holding hearings, or sampling public opinion, decision-makers are attempting to determine what factors are most significantly affecting the community as regards reactions to the existing growth rate. Although many specific factors

are obviously available to be tested, for the purpose of identifying the most significant areas of concern we offered a selection of six possible groupings, as follows:

- municipal services were strained
- the environment was endangered
- social conflict was increasing beyond control
- financial resources were insufficient to support future growth
- lifestyle was changing with result of harmful public attitudes (e.g. mistrust, apathy)
- an unsound economic pattern was developing

Of these six general categories, our respondents selected two as being far more significant than the other four. "Strained municipal services" and "endangered environment" were mentioned as the number one and two reasons why growth management legislation was introduced in 15 of the 21 cities under study.

While the remaining four factors were not mentioned as often as municipal services or the environment, they nonetheless were contributing factors in the decisions made in several communities. Of these, economic patterns and insufficient finances were mentioned consistently as being important in the ultimate decision. It is difficult to determine the precise sub-factor within any one of the six categories which was most affected.

Legal Challenge

One of the major considerations in determining whether or not a piece of legislation remains in effect is presence of a legal challenge to that legislation. Once again, in asking our respondents to indicate whether a legal challenge had been instituted, we must remember that identifying legislation as the growth control variety may be largely a matter of perception. We should also consider that while our respondents were identified as informed citizens, the level of information may vary and could affect their opinion regarding whether a legal challenge is underway.

We were able to obtain a rather clear indication of the legal status of the growth management legislation in most communities but 6 of the 21 cities in our study either didn't know or were divided in their opinion. Of the 15 cities whose

respondents were rather certain they knew the legal situation, 9 indicated no legal challenge was currently underway and 6 said there was. There seemed to be no correlation between cities with a legal challenge and those who admitted using mostly subjective criteria in determining the need for growth control legislation.

QUALITY OF LIFE— POPULATION OPTIMUM AND URBAN PRIORITIES

Population Optimum

In attempting to quantify attitudes about controlling urban growth, a serious factor would appear to be opinions concerning the optimum size of cities. Is there a magic number at which a city can be assured continued prosperity as opposed to constant deterioration in the quality of life if it grows beyond that point? We asked our respondents whether they felt any such optimum figure existed. Of the 59 who answered this question, 44 of them or 74% said there was such an optimum, while 15 respondents or 26% said there was not. While 44 did indicate an optimum existed, 13 of these said there was no fixed limit for every city but rather that it depended on the individual characteristics of the city involved. The remaining 31 in favour of an optimum had a specific range in mind that they considered best for all cities. The breakdown is as follows:

The response was obviously affected by the size of the city in which the respondent now lives with a majority wanting what probably 99% of all Canadians want, namely not to have their city grow very far beyond its current size.

This is especially interesting when we recall the significant number of cities (9 out of 21) that appeared to favour "more growth". It would appear that many people are really expressing a desire for more economic growth but at the same time not wishing to have a corresponding increase in population. Since the two factors (population and economy growth) are often inseparable in our present system, we should perhaps look to other factors for clarification of this dichotomy.

Identifying Urban Priorities

While there is usually a prevailing intuitive feeling about what the priorities are for quality of life in cities, there is precious little in the form of research to support these assumptions.

Everyone is able to figure out the obvious needs of food, housing, and employment but beyond that it is extremely difficult to identify exactly what people expect in terms of quality of life from their urban environment. It is equally difficult to place each of these priorities in some perspective in order to determine the extent of the trade-offs which must occur when people opt for one quality factor in lieu of another.

Size of City Responding	No Limit	Yes But No #	Yes 100,000	Yes 250,000	Yes 1,000,000	Yes 3,000,000
100,000 — 300,000	2	8	8	11	1	1
300,000 — 600,000	7	1		4	3	
600,000 — 1,200,000	4	1		3		
1,200,000+	2	3				
	15	13	8	18	4	1

By asking our respondents to rank 16 factors which affect the quality of life, we hoped to be able to gain further quantification of this difficult priority setting task. Our results, however, did not provide any revelations.

The obvious items again filtered to the top as housing, employment and education were ranked 1, 2, 3, well ahead of all other items. At the other end of the spectrum there were a few surprises, as access to public officials, limited natural hazards, and efficient use of energy were ranked 14, 15 and 16, well behind all other factors. In this day and age of supposedly increasing citizen participation and serious energy shortages, it would appear that some people have other priorities.

Each of the respondents was asked to rank the factors with 1 as the highest and 16 the lowest. Then their preferences were totalled and averaged. The following brief tabulation gives an indication of the ranked average of the top 3 factors and the bottom 3, as well as their relationship to the middle grouping. A complete list can be found in Appendix VIII.

Housing	2.957
Employment	3.304
Education	5.822
All other factors	7.429
	9.833
Access to Public Officials	11.780
Limited Natural Hazards	11.923
Efficient Energy Use	12.237

What our respondents seem to be saying is, give us a house, a job, and an education, but don't ask for a significant sacrifice of those three primary needs for any other factors. As our quality of life is increasingly jeopardized, however, trade-offs may become a necessity. Whether people will complain about social and environmental factors to the extent of affecting their own employment or housing situation is questionable.

CHAPTER III

The Management of Urban Growth – In the Future

If cities manage to progress to a point of rationalized urban growth, it will have to be as a result of the cooperative efforts of all three levels of government. The lines of responsibility will have to be much more clearly marked than they are now and the political struggling between levels of government will at least have to be minimized. In order to determine if and when certain policies affecting urban growth will be passed by various levels of government, we asked our respondents a series of "future" oriented questions. A number of the questions are designed to identify related technological, political, economic and social events or trends which might affect urban growth patterns. We shall emphasize a few items, especially those dealing with governmental actions, in an attempt to gain insight into what the future may hold for cities.

FEDERAL ACTION

There are, according to our respondents, several things which might be done by the federal government in an attempt to affect urban growth patterns.

Immigration

Immigration is one of the most important of all considerations because Canada will soon reach zero population growth in terms of its natural internal increases.¹ Assuming this situation occurs, most future population growth in Canada will be as a result of immigration. We posed a series of immigration related questions to our respondents and asked if they thought the event in question would occur in the next 5 years, 5 to 10 years, later, or never. The first of these asked simply whether Canada would legislate a severe limit in immigration. The answers from respondents in all 21 cities were as follows:

next 5 years 17, 5 to 10 years 11,
later 12, never 14, no opinion 4

From this question, we can see that a sizeable majority (40 to 14) thought such action would be taken but they were very divided as to when. In a related question, we asked if these restrictions might be

accompanied by a provision that most new immigrants would go to designated growth centres. The response was as follows:

Next 5 years 12, 5 to 10 years 11,
later 12, never 18, no opinion 4

Once again, a majority felt this action would be taken but were not sure when. The action which our respondents felt was more likely in the immediate future than either of the two thus far mentioned had to do with restricting "undesirable types". This may point to an interesting but unproven premise that Canadians are a bit more concerned with who "gets in" than with how many.¹ The response to the question of admitting only "desirable types" was as follows:

Next 5 years 23, 5 to 10 years 3,
later 8, never 16, no opinion 6

There was also no relief in sight in terms of pressure for admittance as evidenced by the following two questions dealing with inflow and outflow.

Immigration increases significantly?
Next 5 years 10, 5 to 10 years 13,
later 11, never 14, no opinion 8

In spite of anticipated restrictions, it would appear that pressure will likely continue for admittance to Canada, in the opinion of our respondents. And this will not be helped by any out migration as can be seen by the results of the next question.

Emigration increases significantly?
Next 5 years 2, 5 to 10 years 2,
later 4, never 35, no opinion 12

In light of world wide food problems and scarcity of land in some countries, it is understandable why Canada with her vast resources is seen as a desirable place to relocate for many foreigners. The real task as everyone is aware is to balance the world wide pressure for admittance with the internal pressure to create a manageable growth rate for Canada's provinces and territories and especially her urban areas.

We can see a definite trend in the opinion of our respondents that they fully

1. This may also be a direct result of the knowledge that existing immigration policy is based on a point system which establishes as most desirable those persons with relatives in Canada, job skills which are needed, etc.

1. "Canada nearing zero population growth, U.N. says", *Toronto Star*, December 4, 1974.

expect the Federal government to take decisive action on many fronts on the question of immigration. Many feel that such action is not only proper but that this is an area where significant impact on urban growth can be realized.

Decentralizing Federal Offices

Another area in which the Federal government is influential with regard to urban growth patterns has to do with its own role as a major employer. The public service is growing each year and our respondents saw this as a factor in urban growth patterns. When asked if they thought the Federal government would decentralize its administrative services to major Canadian cities, 39 of our respondents agreed that this would happen while 14 felt that it would not. In terms of timing, 16 saw the decentralizing occurring within 5 years, 15 in from 5 to 10 years and 8 later. This was clearly one of the actions our respondents felt would be taken soon, even though they felt it would have a small impact on growth rates in all cities except Ottawa.

Tax Incentives

Our respondents saw the Federal government taking decisive action in the area of tax incentives to companies locating in designated growth areas. By a margin of 51 to 1 they felt that such action would occur and a goodly number, 34, saw the next 5 years as the probable time frame for such action. This could be an area of high impact in terms of affecting urban growth patterns and would appear to have the blessing of every segment (our 7 basic categories) of society at least as they are represented by our respondents. As a side comment there would appear to be potential conflict between the provinces and the Federal government with regard to economic development within the provinces. Economic development patterns, and local government, historically have been primarily the responsibility of the provinces and any attempt to significantly change this policy would no doubt be viewed suspiciously by provincial politicians.

Development of New Communities

Finally, we wondered whether our respondents felt the Federal government would get involved in the development of a large number of new planned communities. While a majority, 41 to 10, felt that this would happen, they were not convinced it would be something

undertaken in the near future as 33 of the 41 answering in the affirmative thought it would occur after 5 years or more.

PROVINCIAL ACTION

Our questionnaire was also designed to determine what actions, if any, were contemplated on the part of provincial governments in an attempt to affect urban growth patterns. It should be pointed out that these are the collective impressions of all our respondents and should not be construed as views representing the respondents of any particular province.

New Planned Communities

Our first question dealt with the development of new planned communities. As in the case of our similar question regarding federal initiatives in this area, our respondents were strongly convinced action would be taken by the provinces to provide for the development of new planned communities. However, while 50 of 54 respondents felt provinces would take action on new communities, many more were inclined to think provincial governments would become involved sooner than the Federal government. Only 8 of our respondents thought the Federal government would become involved in this area in the near future, as compared to 30 respondents feeling the provinces would take action soon. The questions concerning new communities assumes the respondent has knowledge of existing efforts in this area and is being asked to indicate the extent of future initiatives.

Decentralizing Provincial Offices

It was pointed out in the section on federal initiatives that the Federal government was a major employer and therefore the location of its offices could have an effect on urban growth patterns. This is also true of the provincial governments, so we felt obliged to query our respondents regarding the possibility of provincial governments decentralizing their ministries to other cities. Nearly the same number felt that the provinces would initiate such action as felt that the Federal government would, with the exception that respondents again felt the provinces would be taking this action sooner than the Federal government. The exact breakdown for the provincial question on the decentralization of offices is as follows:

next 5 years 21, 5 to 10 years 16,
later 6, never 13, no opinion 1

Growth Areas

Of the five policy areas examined regarding possible provincial action, the one receiving the strongest total affirmative response dealt with the designation of growth areas. In order to get the full impact of this important question and its response, the question is included verbatim as follows:

"The Province passes legislation designating future growth areas and undertakes major financing of public works to facilitate the program."

next 5 years 19, 5 to 10 years 28, later 7,
never 2

The 54 to 2 response is one of the most lopsided in the entire questionnaire and clearly establishes the opinion regarding probable policy direction at the provincial level among our respondents.

While there appears to be a collective agreement that provincial governments should undertake such planning, problems may develop when citizens begin to realize that their community could be affected.

Just in case there was suspicion that the provinces were being given a *carte blanche* approval to take just about whatever action they deemed necessary to manage urban growth, the next two points should provide a balance for that perspective.

Core Area Restrictions

When asked if the provinces could be expected to adopt a policy of restricting commercial and industrial expansion in the core area of the cities, our respondents were not convinced this would happen. Although the overall tally was 27 to 23 in agreement that such a policy would be adopted, not many, only 9, thought it would happen in the next 5 years. More important though was the indication by 23 respondents that this would never occur since this represents one of the more negative responses for the entire questionnaire.

Limit Metro Population

The most negative response for any question dealing with the provincial governments came at our suggestion that someday the provinces might put a limit on metropolitan population and enforce this policy through a limit on the issuance of building permits. Our respondents rejected the possibility that this policy initiative would be adopted by a margin of 28 to 22. Even those indicating in the

affirmative did not feel such action was likely to occur soon. Only 9 respondents felt provinces would take such action in the next 10 years.

LOCAL ACTION

Even though many of our respondents felt that senior levels of government should play a major role in determining urban growth patterns, there was also an expression of support for local legislation to bring about some changes.

Environmental Criteria

The first of a series of questions dealing with possible local action asked whether or not our respondents thought new buildings would be required to meet strict environmental criteria. Of 59 persons answering this question, 50 felt such action would be taken, while more than half of these (27) felt such local requirements would come about within the next 5 years.

Mixed Use Requirements

To ensure the viability of downtown areas, many municipal councils are encouraging developers to provide residential, commercial, recreational, and industrial facilities within their overall plans. While many developments have taken on a mixed use design, this has primarily been the inclusion of commercial space within office developments and some provision of housing. In order to ensure a better mix of residential and other components, we wondered whether future local legislation might include a requirement for each development to comply with fixed standards for mixed use. A majority, 42 to 15, felt such local action would be forthcoming but the real difference again was in the expected time of implementation with 22 opting for the next 5 years; 12 respondents felt 5 to 10 years was more possible; and 8 simply indicated sometime later would be more realistic to expect this action.

The enthusiasm for local growth management initiatives was also indicated in reply to questions about possible negative reactions to such measures.

Local Reforms Cause Unemployment

There has been serious talk in many urban quarters, Toronto among them, that local attempts to slow growth and thus improve manageability are having counter-productive results, especially in the employment sector.¹ We felt

justified in asking our respondents if they agreed that local "reform" policies might be found to create high unemployment and if there might be a counter movement to bolster the local economy. Keeping in mind that these are the collective impressions of representatives from 21 cities across Canada, the following was the result of a question on this point. Six thought unemployment and a counter movement would occur in the next 5 years. Four thought this more likely in 5 to 10 years and 6 indicated later. While 14 expressed no opinion, 22, or a clear majority of the 38 responding, felt this situation would never materialize.

Efforts to Control Growth Fail

Likewise, our respondents were not convinced that specific attempts to control growth would not be successful and eventually be dropped. Actually 28 out of 49 felt that this would never be the case, which would appear to indicate a degree of hope, at least among our respondents, that local efforts will have some *positive* results.

More Local Autonomy

Finally, we were curious to determine whether our respondents felt local government would ever become less dependent on higher levels of government by becoming more autonomous not only in terms of legislative power but also by gaining their own share of the income tax. Of 54 people answering this question, 40 said this would never happen. The 14 who thought this might happen all agreed it would not occur in the next 5 years.

1. "Union Warns of Violence as Half of its Men Jobless", *Toronto Star* (Feb. 25, 1975).

SECTION II

LOCAL LEGISLATION TO MANAGE GROWTH

This section will focus on the techniques of growth management and control being used by municipalities across Canada. To an extent, these legislative initiatives express the current desire to slow growth, although in some instances they simply represent the desire to get a better handle on its control. Specifically we looked at the following seven categories of legislation:

- height limitation in downtown
- planned unit development by-law
- limited residential growth in certain areas
- no growth on periphery of town
- moratorium on water and sewage extensions
- limitation on building permits
- tax incentives to developers

By giving examples of how and why these legislative efforts have been made, we hope to:

- provide a useful summary of growth control legislation introduced to date¹, by local governments across Canada,
- indicate why the legislation was introduced, showing how different communities have used each of the various methods to both similar and disparate ends, determine when possible, the degree to which these legislative attempts have succeeded and why; we shall also look at secondary socio-economic impact to date, to the extent that this is possible, and
- to record instances of legal challenges.

CHAPTER IV

A PARTIAL¹ SUMMARY OF GROWTH CONTROL LEGISLATION INTRODUCED TO DATE BY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ACROSS CANADA

HEIGHT LIMITATION IN DOWNTOWN

Toronto

This has been a major political issue in Toronto since the *45-foot Height Limit By-law* was first passed in September, 1973. The legislation was contained in two by-laws: the Zoning By-law 348-73 imposed a height limitation of 45 feet and gross floor area of 40,000 square feet within the core area of the City, and a height limitation of 20 feet and 20,000 square feet gross floor area within the harbour area. By-law 347-73, Amendment #25 to the Official Plan, was passed by City Council to ensure conformity of the By-law with the Official Plan.

The purpose of the Zoning By-law was to allow the City the power to review development proposals while the Planning Board and the Core Area Task Force undertook a comprehensive review of the plans and policies for development in the central area. Approval of By-law 348-73 was sought until September 30th, 1975. The review of development proposals covered such aspects as: specific site conditions, compatibility with adjacent buildings and surrounding area, effect on transportation systems including parking and servicing, appropriate location and type of open space, retention of buildings of historical and architectural merit, effects of municipal services, wind tunnel effects, social needs and public review.

On December 9, 1974 the Ontario Municipal Board overturned the 45-foot Height By-law, which was then appealed by Toronto Council to the Cabinet.

As a result a second interim by-law to control development was quickly passed by Council – *the Modified Core Area Holding By-law*. This By-law reduced the

1. This study was prepared during the first half of 1975 and was completed in June, 1975. We have attempted to update our research where possible.

1. In Section I information was based on a written questionnaire to 21 cities across Canada. This Section (Section II) utilizes information from the 15 cities which appeared to have the most complete information. Information was verified by personal and/or telephone interviews.

permissible densities of large parts of the core and established criteria for exempting individual building projects. It was to have remained in effect until September, 1975. Like the 45-foot By-law, the Modified Holding By-law was subject to review by the Ontario Municipal Board.

In April, 1975, a third by-law was passed to control building in the downtown core. It was necessitated by the Provincial government's insistence that any holding by-law be accompanied by "objective criteria" by which developers or property holders could measure their chances for exemptions. (March 21, 1975 – Provincial Treasurer Darcy McKeough sustained the OMB's rejection of the 45-foot Height Limit By-Law.) In essence the new By-law used many of the detailed provisions of the Modified Core Area By-law to serve as the criteria for exemptions and added a few new provisions, such as the following:

-developers will be allowed extra commercial density if they include a full measure of housing density. (This means a developer could put up a building with a total commercial floor area of 6.5 times the area of the lot it is on if the building also included a residential component with a floor area of three times the size of the lot. The resulting building density of 9.5 is higher than the 8.5 times maximum density allowed under the Modified Core Area Holding By-law.)

-similarly, developers that save a historic building now can add the floor area of that building to the maximum of the new building.

This by-law will be in effect until September, 1975 when council hopes to overhaul its *Official Plan* and *Zoning By-law* – the two main tools by which the City regulates development.

Vancouver

In Vancouver the City Council is responsible for its zoning by-law and there is no approving body comparable to the OMB. This is a result of the fact that Vancouver has a *charter* which provides the City with "home rule".

Vancouver has two main instruments for growth control.

1) *The Greater Vancouver Regional District Plan*

-this plan was developed by the "Livable Region Program" which began in 1971 to develop proposals to manage the growth of the Greater Vancouver

area. Based on a long series of studies, public meetings and seminars, the proposals called for: 1.

- controlling the growth rate of what each part of the Region could accommodate – specific *targets* are recommended
- using transportation to direct development
- the creation of seven major Regional Town Centres outside the central city
- protecting and developing open space

2) *Zoning*

An interim zoning by-law was introduced in September 1973. It reduced outright floor space ratios to 3 and 1 respectively in the inner and outer core of downtown Vancouver – densities which were uneconomically low. This gave the City a tremendous degree of discretion in allowing new buildings to attain the maximum densities which were set at 9 in the downtown and 5 in the outer core. It functioned as a height control by-law. This by-law leaves a great deal of discretionary power in the hands of the City and is only an *interim* by-law. (According to Mayor Phillips² this by-law has resulted in better development with "far higher amenity buildings".) Vancouver is currently preparing *new development control procedures* which consist of:

- a) a development plan with objectives and limits – an official plan approach
- b) a low outright zoning pattern – maximum densities will be further reduced from 9 and 5
- c) design guidelines which will be the criteria for up-zoning (Vancouver's planners are using Toronto as a model). All development proposals will be forced to adhere to these criteria in order to be granted permission for more economic densities. (A Development Permit Board will process applications.)

1. See page 10 of *The Livable Region 1976/1986* for the five part strategy adopted.

2. See address to the Annual Meeting of the Bureau of Municipal Research, May 1, 1975, Toronto.

London

The City has height limits in the downtown, contained in traditional zoning by-laws which date from before 1961. For example, the C4 high coverage commercial uses area only allows buildings to have a maximum height of 15 storeys.

More recently, London has been re-zoning to bring zoning into conformity with the Official Plan. Most inner City re-zonings are intended as "cross-zonings". The purpose of this legislation is to ensure better development. While height limitation or down-zoning or development control could result, it is not the primary objective. These new by-laws are not operative yet as they do not have OMB approval.

One example of direct control over height is "special re-zoning on application". This occurred in the building of the London Centre Arcade. Land was re-zoned from a high coverage commercial (C4) to a (C4-1). This allowed a 35-foot maximum height for the mall and a 55-foot maximum height for the area containing the theatres.

Ottawa

Height by-laws have been used in Sandy Hill, Lowertown and Centretown on a broad basis during the Neighbourhood Study process. It is anticipated that these will be replaced by specific height limits when the studies are completed.

Following a consultants' study of the Ottawa Central Area in 1969, an amendment to the City's Official Plan was drawn up in 1971, covering the Central Area (Amendment No. 62). This Amendment contained some of the recommendations set out in the consultant's report, one of which was to take steps to safeguard and protect the unique silhouette of the Parliament Buildings as seen from specific vantage points; in particular as seen from across the Ottawa River.

To this specific heights above sea level through which no building should penetrate were set for each block in the downtown area. This strategy was implemented by By-law 238-71, and is still very much in effect.

Under the provisions of Section 35A of the Planning Act, a development control by-law was passed in February 1974 which seeks to give the City increased control over the kind of development built. This was challenged by developers at the OMB but survived the test.

Halifax

Height control is partially provided for in downtown Halifax by a *Views By-law*

(proposed in June 1973 and passed in 1974¹). This legislation aims at preserving views of the Harbour from Citadel Hill. Ten 'view planes' were adopted, radiating from three points on the Citadel; no future developments are to enter or protrude into any of the triangular intersecting view planes.

The Zoning By-law of the City of Halifax (first passed in 1950) will be further amended as Halifax works towards a unified zoning by-law. Any new zoning law will form part of the Municipal Development Plan but in itself will be separate due to the detail required in zoning regulations and the general nature of the Municipal Plan. This Municipal Development Plan in turn will have to conform to the recently adopted Regional Plan for Halifax-Dartmouth². (The Regional Plan generally regulates development in Halifax and Dartmouth but also includes the County of Halifax where most of the uncontrolled development has taken place.)

Edmonton

Restrictions on the height of buildings in the downtown area, and all other parts of the City are contained in the City of Edmonton Zoning By-law and Land Use Classification Guide. Portions of the downtown area are also affected by the Edmonton Industrial Airport Vicinity Protection Area height restrictions of the Canadian Ministry of Transport.

Calgary

The only direct height limitation placed on buildings in the downtown area is provided by the *Development Control By-law*, covering general land use in the City of Calgary. Within the Central Business District – in the CM-1 and CM-2 Districts – building height is limited to a maximum of 150 feet if the proposed building is within 500 feet of the banks of the Bow River. Otherwise, the only control over height is in the application of the maximum floor area in ratio to the site area (ranging up to 15 times site area).

-
1. The By-law was passed as an amendment to the 1950 Zoning By-law.
 2. This Regional Plan was adopted by the Province of Nova Scotia in the spring of 1975.

Montreal

Zoning by-laws governing density and specific site conditions control the height of building. (e.g. the height of buildings on specified streets is twice the width of the street without exceeding 130 feet.) Exceptions to this formula exist in certain areas (the area bounded by Sherbrooke, Guy, Dorchester and Stanley) where there are various height control limits of 40, 80 and 120 feet. Beyond this spot-zoning, Montreal has exercised little control over downtown growth.³

Kitchener

An Official Plan amendment has been proposed which includes a schedule for height limitation in the section of the City known as the "Civic Centre Neighbourhood". (A By-law to Amend By-law 4830.) It restricts certain specified lots to a 4 storey or 40 foot height restriction; others have a six storey or 70 foot height limit. The aim is to prevent any extensive high-rise residential development in the area. This has yet to be considered by Council.

Oshawa

Oshawa has had height limitations as part of its comprehensive Zoning By-law since 1958. The By-law uses traditional methods of setbacks and density control. Exemptions to the By-law can and are being granted on the basis of site plan agreement or special conditions.

In the heart of the downtown core area, apartment development is prohibited, but in this area the height limitation may be lifted. This occurs through the approval of an application for rezoning by Planning and Development Committee and City Council to apply the Special Condition #14 to a specific site. Special Condition #14 permits a maximum Floor Space Index of 8.

Hamilton

On June 10, 1975, Hamilton City Council approved the Planning and Development Committee's report on height and density of buildings. The report consisted of amendments to the present Zoning By-law #6593, restricting height, densities and providing for landscaped areas.

The amended By-law now provides a variety of controls: from a height limit

of eight storeys or 85 feet in certain Multiple Dwelling Districts, to thirty storeys or 330 feet in the Central Business District (provided the 75° average angle of light obstruction is met). The amended By-law also limits building heights in areas where previously there were no restrictions: the Special Waterfront, the Community Shopping and Commercial, Central Business, and Civic Centre Protected Districts.

Landscaped areas are also provided by the amended By-law. A minimum of 25% of the lot area must now be landscaped in the Multiple Dwellings, Lodges, Clubs Districts. This is increased to 40% of the lot area in the High Density Multiple Dwellings District.

PLANNED UNIT DEVELOPMENT BY-LAW¹.

(Legislation which provides for the comprehensive planning and development of a unit of land. This unit can range in size from one building to a major section of the city.)

Toronto

Planned unit development by-laws are not authorized by the Ontario Planning Act. However, the City may exact Site Plan By-laws which are amendments to the Zoning By-law to specify density, siting, and design on a lot for a specific development project. This type of amendment is passed from time to time.

London

There are some large parcels of land in London which are owned by one or two developers. District Plans to ensure integrated development are not used in this case. Instead the developer himself may put forward a proposal for a comprehensive plan for the total area (in some instances his proposal might cover an area larger than his own assembly). Developers work with city planners at the subdivision stage. Some examples: Byron and the Windemere-Richmond Street areas.

1. A new approach to development which attempts to replace the old style zoning approach with a planning method. Instead of relying on zoning restrictions to dictate the form, the buildings and land use are designed as a unit. This method allows greater flexibility.

3. Dida Berku, "Saving Montreal" *City Magazine* (Charlottetown Group Publishing Inc., May-June, 1975)

Halifax

While Halifax has not adopted Planned Unit Development as a planning approach, it does have a development permit for areas of five acres or more which are then treated as separate units, by contract.

Winnipeg

Zoning By-laws inherited with amalgamation include "planned building group districts". These districts permit multiple residential and other uses subject to the approval by City Council of plans illustrating the siting of buildings, typical floor plans, etc., and Council may impose such further restrictions and requirements as they deem necessary and in the public interest. These planned building group districts are treated as areas within which the uses are permitted as a right. Council has the opportunity to look at the plans and make suggestions regarding siting, landscaping, parking, etc.

Saskatoon

The regulation of planned unit development has been reserved to the Province under the Planning and Development Act, 1973. As yet no regulations enabling this have been made.

Edmonton

Section 13 and notably the CD-1 zoning category of the Zoning By-law provide regulations for this type of development concept. (Section 13 deals with special provisions for various kinds of establishments) Section 35 (Comprehensive Development) sets out the requirements for the comprehensive plan of development for a site that must accompany all applications for a zone change to CD-1. The stated general purpose of this CD-1 category is to provide a district for these major developments which do not conform to the provisions of any one particular zoning district or land use designation, but which do comply with the principles and objectives of the General Plan — and because of their specific location, comprehensive outlook and high quality of design are considered acceptable to the Municipal Planning Commission and City Council.

Montreal

Montreal has not adopted Planned Unit Development as a planning method. However, the Director of the Planning Department may recommend the approval by Council of a master plan for a project which does not fit with the normal zoning

by-law requiring that buildings must be constructed in one or more distinct lots. The master plan must conform with all the other by-laws.

The Council may, by by-law, approve a master plan for projects for construction of several buildings on land belonging to one or more owners provided it is at least 2 acres in size. (Exceptions: educational establishments, hospitals, public administration, public service buildings, and low-rental housing.) If the project requires modification of a zoning by-law, approval by Council is also needed.

Oshawa

Conventional townhousing is permitted through approval by Planning & Development Committee and City Council of an application for re-zoning to apply the requirements of Special Condition #8 which sets out design standards. This amendment to the Zoning By-law is subject to site plan control.

A Development Control By-law is presently being formulated to regulate the design of properly zoned multiple residential developments.

Multi-family residential areas on the periphery of the City generally occur within the context of a large plan of subdivision. The City has adopted the neighbourhood planning concept which encourages higher densities of residential development on the periphery of a neighbourhood. Such sites require amendment to the Zoning By-law and are subject to site plan control.

LIMITED RESIDENTIAL GROWTH IN CERTAIN AREAS

Toronto

The two main instruments by which Toronto regulates residential growth are zoning regulations and the Official Plan.

Vancouver

One of the primary policies adopted by the Greater Vancouver Regional District is that residential growth in the region should be controlled. In the past, the amount of residential growth in any part of the Region was not set in advance; municipalities used zoning to determine residential growth. The Livable Region Program calls for the setting of Residential Growth Targets for each part of the Region. The overall growth of the Region to 1986 is to be shared. Targets are based on 13 "livability" concerns such as the preserva-

tion of open space and recreation areas, transportation factors, minimizing disruption to existing communities, etc. The Region was divided in 9 sub-areas (some sub-areas include several municipalities) and population targets have been set for each. The municipalities are to determine how to achieve these targets.

The Plan (released in March, 1975) has been authorized for discussion with the public and with municipal councils. The procedures for setting specific municipal targets and for achieving these targets after they have been adopted remains to be developed.

London

The City of London is currently designing four District Plans. Each plan covers a specific section of the City (although all the City is not covered by District Plans). Reflecting citizen input, they define comprehensive development criteria for the area, including density, location, open space, recreation and circulation factors. The plans have legal status and are approved by the Province.

This approach is aimed at *directing* growth *not limiting* it. For example, while the White Oaks District Plan was being completed, the City Council put into effect Section 4.S2 of the Comprehensive Planning Act. (This specifically set out that no single-family, two-family or row housing would be permitted in one part of the District until another part was 75% occupied.) City Council was able to phase the growth in the area.

A similar phasing policy was used in designing The Highland District Plan for the west half of the City's "superblock". In this case, development in the area was encouraged through this strategy.

The West London District Plan was unique in its approach. The District geographically represented the "inner" and "outer" city, and the inner part was already developed. Because part of the District was developed already, residents were involved in setting the goals and objectives of the District Plan. The goals and objectives were based on citizen needs. In this case, the District Plan had priority in planning. No new developments were approved until the partial District Plan (this included a financial plan for servicing the area) was completed.

District Plans (partial or detailed area plans) have been used in London for those areas where there is multi-ownership and it is difficult to ensure an integrated development of the area. (e.g. The Highland Partial District Plan, the Windemere-

Richmond Street and the Byron areas.)

In other parts of the City where there is only one or two owners, District Plans (partial) or detailed area plans are also used.

Finally, with the City's Comprehensive Plan an attempt was made to ensure sequential development that was consistent with the City's budget and with public interest. Section 4.4.5. stated that urbanization of large undeveloped land in the newer areas would be permitted in two stages: Stage I - 1971 to 1980 or to a city population of 300,000, and Stage II - after 1980 or after a city population of 300,000.¹

Although this section is still intact in the Plan, pressures from developers have convinced Council to change this section. Its removal, however, has not yet been approved by the Minister.

Halifax

The recently adopted Regional Development Plan provides for a limit on residential growth. Within the three municipal units covered in the Province's Regional Plan, individual controls will be established which will grant approval of subdivisions without the necessity of the Province granting approval in the future.

Winnipeg

Residential growth is limited to certain areas within the City through the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan.

Saskatoon

All development in the City must be consistent with the Community Planning Scheme which specifies the areas and sequence of growth of new residential and industrial areas. Adopted in 1966 (and subsequently revised) the Community Planning Scheme was intended to insure that development occurred in an orderly manner. It assumed a potential population for Saskatoon of up to 210,000. It consisted of two detailed plans which established the land use patterns and standards for all areas of the City. Saskatoon was able to utilize this kind of overall development plan due to the fact that the City owned most of the land (only 5 major private land developments have

1. As a basis for this Plan, Council has established as a tentative range for the ultimate size a population of 500,000 to 600,000. However, it only expects to have approximately 385,000 people at the end of the planning period - after 1980.

taken place in Saskatoon since the early 1950's). No other City in Canada has had a comparable long-range land policy!

Calgary

Residential growth in undeveloped areas within the city limits is controlled by a policy of council which prevents approval of urban subdivisions in areas which do not have an adopted *Design Brief*. A Design Brief represents a policy statement of Council and, while it has no legal status, does become part of the general policy for land use. An area not covered by a design brief policy report may be withheld from the development until completion of the Design Brief for this area.

Montreal

By-law No. 3411 provides for a floor area index and for a building outline. The floor area index is lower for residential buildings than for others, imposing a certain limitation on residential growth.

The By-law provides the traditional density controls and traditional exceptions: a maximum floor area of any building is set at twelve (12) times coverage. There are exceptions to this in certain areas (e.g. land bounded by Stanley, Da Gauchetiere, Windsor, Saint Antoine and University). Here the maximum floor area may be increased at the rate of six square feet per square foot of open space on a parcel of land. This is provided the open space meets certain criteria. (e.g. is developed as a park or terrace, open to the public, is adjacent to the street, etc.)

NO GROWTH ON PERIPHERY OF TOWN

Vancouver

The Livable Region Program calls for the preservation of a wide variety of open spaces and an aggressive open space and recreation program. It calls for an "*Open Space Conservancy*" which indirectly implies no growth on the periphery of parts of Vancouver (e.g. creating a major regional park on the University Endowment Lands is a key priority).

London

The City's Planning Policy 4.3.1. supports Federal, Provincial and Municipal government policies which discourage urban development in the municipalities surrounding London (the Central Middlesex Planning Area). Government policies do provide for limited development in designated

growth centres.

Council may apply where appropriate, for the annexation of periphery areas which should remain *rural*, in order to ensure they remain rural. Such lands will be designated as rural areas in London's Official Plan. However this has not occurred since it was enacted.

Halifax

The municipality cannot ordinarily extend services beyond the boundary established by the Regional Plan. However, if the City can indicate and prove that the areas beyond the Regional Development Boundary (yet within the City limits) can be adequately serviced and controlled through the Municipal Plan, then development can continue within the City. This is a very important issue now being questioned by the Municipal Development Plan Committee. The City of Halifax itself does not have legislation to prohibit growth on the periphery of the City.

Winnipeg

The Greater Winnipeg Development Plan was established by the City of Winnipeg Act as the development plan for the City of Winnipeg. The plan provides for the control of residential growth on the periphery of the City. For example, rural areas and limited urban areas are established around the City. Within the rural areas construction of a residence requires a minimum of forty acres. The limited urban areas may, with special permission of Council, accommodate residential growth.

Saskatoon

A District Zoning By-law controls the type of development permitted adjacent to the City limits. The surrounding municipality of Corman Park also has a Zoning By-law which controls development beyond this District. Both by-laws restrict development to that appropriate to a rural area.

Calgary

Within the City limits growth is controlled through Planning Act legislation and by the design brief process mentioned earlier.

Outside the City limits, growth is controlled by the Calgary Regional Planning Commission and Municipal Districts by means of the Preliminary Regional Plan. Basically, all the land development is limited to agricultural uses and a limited amount of country residential development.

Oshawa

The City of Oshawa placed a "buffer" district around its north, east and west periphery in 1951 as a means of restricting growth. Policies adopted by City Council required provision of full municipal services for any residential or other developments.

As the City has developed, pressures have increased and these buffer areas have been eroded by Official Plan amendments as services and development come in proximity to these lands.

On January 1, 1974, the former Township of East Whitby became part of the City of Oshawa. The Official Plan of the former Township almost totally designated the lands adjacent to the old City Limits as "Agriculture". Development pressures are now upon these lands to the point that one amendment to the Official Plan has been processed to permit residential subdivision development. Numerous applications for further amendment to the Official Plan for additional residential development in the former Township of East Whitby have been filed with the Regional Municipality of Durham.

MORATORIUM ON WATER AND SEWAGE EXTENSIONS

London

Within those areas designated as Stage II of development (new City areas ... 4.4.5.), local water, sewer, street, education and recreation facilities will not be provided except where necessary for health, safety and welfare of existing inhabitants.

Council does not provide adjoining municipalities, municipal services and facilities which would permit urbanization to occur outside City boundaries, but may provide services and facilities necessary for the health, safety, welfare of those inhabitants already residing in these areas. (4.3.3.)

Saskatoon

There is no legislation on this, but the City maintains a very tight control over the extension of water service to individual developments in the surrounding rural municipality.

LIMITATION ON BUILDING PERMITS

We were only able to find one example of this method to control growth in the

cities examined and it was the result of an unusual set of circumstances.

Toronto

After the Ontario Municipal Board overturned the 45-foot Height By-law, Toronto City Council instructed the Building Commissioner not to proceed with the issuance of building permits which were inconsistent with the Municipal Core Area Holding By-law until that law could be brought into effect. The hiatus created by the OMB decision would have permitted a flood of applications for building permits under the old zoning conditions had not City Council acted quickly to impose this freeze. It only remained in effect until the Modified Core Area By-law was passed.

TAX INCENTIVES TO DEVELOPERS

Winnipeg

There was a brief period of tax exemption on apartment construction in downtown Winnipeg some years ago.

Montreal

Montreal, like most other municipalities, has not passed legislation to give tax incentives to developers. However, the very nature of the traditional property tax system acts as an incentive to high-rise developments in the core and as a disincentive to preserving older buildings. All property is taxed at a standard mill rate based on an evaluation which is usually about 90% of the market value of both land and buildings. Thus if a person owns a low-rise building and a high-rise goes up next door, the market value of his property increases, so do his taxes.¹

Although this study covers recent by-laws enacted as incentives/disincentives to growth, it is also important to understand the impact of the traditional property tax system on growth.

1. Gabeline, D.; Lanken, D.; Pape, G.; *Montreal at the Crossroads* (Montreal, 1975) page 34.

CHAPTER V

EVALUATION OF LOCAL GROWTH CONTROL LEGISLATION

In this section, we shall examine some of the legislation described above with a view to understanding:

- why the legislation was introduced;
- the degree to which it has succeeded and why; and
- the apparent secondary or side impacts of the legislation.

We intend to focus on some of the more interesting or significant examples of these legislative initiatives to show how different municipalities are using the various methods. As indicated in the summary above, some methods of growth control have not been used significantly, including: moratorium on water and sewage extensions, limitation on building permits and tax incentives to developers. This section deals in detail with the more consequential initiatives.

Because the impact of development control legislation in a city often represents the combined effects of several municipal by-laws and planning devices, it is useful to organize this part of the report on a city by city basis. The order is as follows: Toronto, Vancouver, London, Ottawa, Halifax, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Calgary.

TORONTO

Downtown Development Control

Because of the controversy that has surrounded Toronto City Council's moves to control development, it is impossible to determine the nature of the impact of the height by-law and the subsequent core area by-laws. Opponents of development control insist that the side impacts include: housing shortages, higher rents, devaluation of land and building sites, loss of revenue from real property tax, discouragement of future capital investment, loss of employment in the construction industry and related trades.

For example, in its decision rejecting the 45-foot Holding By-law, the OMB explicitly accepted the assumption that such legislation "had . . . stilled" the heart of a great city. The Board could not ignore what it termed "certain incontrovertible facts". These were:

"Values of land would be seriously de-

pressed. The evidence of N.R. Wood, President of Cadillac-Fairview Corporation Limited, a developer in the larger cities of Canada, a part-owner of the Toronto-Dominion Centre, and developer of the Eaton Centre, should not be overlooked. This company has assets of \$800,000,000, and is the largest real estate development company in Canada. The effect of the by-law on this company at least is to create such uncertainty that no further lands are being acquired for development because the risk is too great. The consequence of the by-law no doubt has been to drastically reduce land values which in part would have to be passed on to the ultimate user. The housing market has also been seriously and adversely affected."¹

Defenders of the by-law dismiss this kind of argument as totally without substance and the OMB judgment itself as a highly political document. They say it is too soon to tell about the nature and extent of secondary impacts and there are too many different variables such as the state of the economy and the state of commercial supply to judge the situation with any accuracy. No objective studies considering the economic effects of the changes in land use control or the fiscal implications have yet been completed. For example, while no hard evidence substantiates claims of declining property values, one of the major reasons why the OMB rejected the City by-law was the fact that the City had not substantiated the potential social or economic impact of their action.

It was because of this absence of hard evidence about the impact of development controls, that the City of Toronto Planning Board has hired a number of consultants to participate in a series of comprehensive studies of the whole subject of the core area and land-use. Reports on various parts of the project which deal directly with economic impacts were due during June and July, 1975.

In addition to this study, an Industry and Labour Advisory Committee to the Mayor has been established. It is composed of representatives of the Development Industry, the Toronto Building and Trades Council, the Toronto Construction Association and selected architects and legal counsel. Authorized in late 1974 this Advisory Committee started to meet in early March with a view to responding to the Central Area Plan Review Principles.

1. OMB decision, December 9, 1974, p. 13.

The Committee has hired an urban geographer to help prepare a submission on the direction that the City Planning Board proposes to take for development of the core area and suggesting a basis for an alternative policy.

VANCOUVER

The Greater Vancouver Regional District Plan and Down-Zoning

The Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) Planning Department has completed its "*Livable Region Program*" and produced a report outlining proposals for managing growth in the metropolitan area. As explained in the summary above, the 52-page report calls for a policy of "sharing growth" throughout the region; it recommends specific population and job targets for the various municipalities comprising the Greater Vancouver area; the creation of several regional town centres is a major part of the plan for decentralization; a transportation plan to direct growth and a program to protect and develop open spaces are also proposed.

The essential objective of the plan is summed up by the word "livability". The Report stresses the concern that "room to grow" in the region "is severely limited": the fear is that uncontrolled population growth will result in even greater shortages of affordable housing with higher rents and house prices, increased pressures on the limited amount of farmland and on open space and recreation areas. The overall objective of the entire Livable Region Program was and is to "maintain or enhance the livability" for all who live in the Region.

It is not possible to evaluate the success of the Plan yet. While population targets have been set, it is up to the member municipalities to implement them. Certainly, the GVRD has gone to great lengths to build a broad public consensus in support of their policies. Public participation was an important element in the Livable Region Program; and following the Report's publication, the GVRD Planning Board has authorized a public information evaluation and feedback process, designed again to involve citizen groups, municipal councils and senior government representation. The program represents a first step toward a concerted effort by the municipalities of the Region to manage growth.

Some tangible benefits are already apparent. Two of the proposed regional town centres are becoming fairly well established. A specific transportation policy with a transit-oriented emphasis

has been detailed. Some 3,500 acres has been acquired by the GVRD for land for regional parks and twelve sites within the region have been designated to be given priority for recreation development. However, the key proposals of the Plan including targets and transportation remain to be implemented — which ultimately will determine the success or failure of the entire scheme.

Vancouver's use of "down-zoning" as a means to control development has been far more radical than the development control legislation introduced by any other municipality in Canada. Vancouver has been able to have such a free hand because of the fact that her charter provides her with autonomy on zoning issues.

The Vancouver and Toronto experiences are similar in many ways. In both cases far-reaching development control legislation was initiated by so-called "reform" councils, led by "reform" mayors in response to anti-growth pressures. These pressures indicated a desire to control or manage the rate of growth in order to preserve or enhance the existing lifestyle; in part, certain types of development, notably high-rise, were judged to be unacceptable for aesthetic and environmental reasons. In both cities there was a general wish to discourage downtown office growth and at the same time to encourage a decentralization of growth. With the strong political pressure to act quickly and with no implementable plans, a stop-gap was needed. While Toronto opted for a height by-law, Vancouver introduced an interim zoning by-law which dramatically reduced allowable densities to uneconomic maximums. The new development control procedures, currently being prepared by the Vancouver Planning Board will further reduce the maximum densities.

As in the case of Toronto, the economic impact of Vancouver's down-zoning by-law is difficult to measure. Vancouver has not undertaken any studies to determine this. While rents and house prices in Vancouver are very high, there has been an acute shortage of affordable housing there for the past several years; the situation cannot be blamed on the new zoning by-law. Similarly any slowdown in commercial construction may be due to general economic conditions.

The by-law gives City Council a great deal of discretion in granting building permits and has resulted in more amenities in those developments which have been approved. The final by-law will spell out the design guidelines to which all developments will have to adhere.

LONDON Downtown Development Control and Limiting Residential Growth

Rezoning

In an attempt to bring zoning into conformity with the Official Plan, London's Council is rezoning certain areas.

The rezoning is directed toward several kinds of land uses. In some cases land which was zoned residential but was still being used as industrial was rezoned "two family residential". In other instances the "two family residential" zoning was applied to reflect existing uses. Council also passed a by-law rezoning areas of the inner city as open space — which had not been provided for in previous by-laws. The OMB has ratified the above by-laws.

However, London Council still sought more effective means to control the type of development in the downtown area. Areas designated "office/apartment" in the Official Plan were rezoned "local business one". This would allow offices and apartments but no retail or commercial uses. The by-law is contentious; it would make many buildings in the area non-conforming. (They are already commercial and are consistent with the new Official Plan.) In this case the by-laws are more restrictive than what is required to implement the Official Plan.

Another by-law was passed by Council in 1973 to rezone to "two family residential" all those high density residential areas in the Official Plan. The intention of the by-law is to control the quality of development in these areas by forcing the developer to apply to Council for an up-zoning of the land. As in Vancouver, the down-zoning is not intended to restrict developments to the uneconomic densities proscribed. Rather, it allows Council to require certain amenities/designs from the developer.

These last two by-laws have not been presented to the OMB for approval. With the overturning of Toronto's height by-law, London City Council and administration fear these two by-laws would also be thrown out by the OMB.

Since these two by-laws have not yet been submitted to the OMB for approval, the Council cannot enforce them. Any new development applications are necessarily exempted from the by-laws by the Land Use Committee.

This type of inoperative zoning process could discourage some developers from building. In the event that the City of London decides not to present these by-laws for approval by the OMB, Council

may try to use Section 35-A of the Planning Act.

This legislation is currently being tested by Ottawa and will also be used by Toronto. It was passed at the end of 1974 and in effect legitimizes the practice of demanding certain design¹ conditions before issuing development permits. It allows Council to designate certain areas as development control areas. Council can then review development designs for buildings in that area. Under this provision the City may also assess the design of the proposed development in relation to neighbouring structures.

London, as well as Ottawa and Toronto, will find Section 35-A of the Planning Act limiting however. It does not deal with height limitations or densities, and the criteria for assessing design factors are vague. Further, a city cannot require design changes which entail the total redesign of a building. The legislation also does not allow for exemptions of single structures, which makes it a rather inflexible planning tool. Instead, whole areas are designated development control areas and all industrial and commercial structures and apartments of 25 units or more that are within the area are then judged by the design criteria. The full impact of this new section 35-A is not yet evident.

Limiting Residential Growth — District Plans

In the City of London there are large portions of land under multi-ownership. Multi-ownership makes integrated planning of facilities and services difficult; to overcome this, the City instituted District Plans.

The District Plans have legal status; after being passed by Council they must be approved by the OMB. In many ways they fill the gap between the Official Plan and zoning. They cover density, the area of coverage, circulation, schools, recreation, open space and land use policies. Their purpose is to provide for organized development and provision of adequate services, particularly in those areas with multiple ownership. There are four plans in process; three have been approved by Council; one is expected to be approved shortly by the OMB.

1. Section 35-A allows municipalities to control the site plan of a development, including access routes, and landscaping characteristics.

Examples:

a. The White Oaks District Plan

White Oaks was an area low in population. In order to ensure orderly development a District Plan was designed. While the plan was in process, residential development was halted in the White Oaks area. This proved to be an effective delaying method until more comprehensive plans were available.

b. The West London District Plan

The approach to this plan was unique. Unlike the White Oaks area which was largely undeveloped, the West London area was more built up. It represented geographically the "inner" and "outer" city. There was a concern that new developments match the needs and expectations of present residents. Through neighbourhood elections citizens were appointed to a Citizens' Advisory Committee. The Committee will comment on all new applications for development.

Also, the citizens-at-large were polled regarding the needs of the neighbourhood and desired development. Through citizen participation goals and objectives were set for the area.

Impacts

The District Plans may slow development to some degree. However, they seem to be in the interest of the developer as well. In areas where the land is under multi-ownership the design of roads, for example, by the developers would be very difficult.

OTTAWA Height Limitation

Height by-laws have been put into effect with considerable success in certain areas of Ottawa including the Sandy Hill area, the west end, "Centretown" and "Lower Town" Ottawa. The first of these was created for Sandy Hill in 1974, an older residential area on the edge of the Central Business District of Ottawa. The agitation for stricter development control began in 1973 and it led to the first of a series of neighbourhood studies (akin to Toronto's Part II official plan studies) that have been undertaken in various sections of the City. The purpose of the height limitations was to halt development in the area until the neighbourhood study was completed. Specifically, many citizens wanted to stop certain kinds of high-rise and high density apartment

dwelling. The study's recommendations will include:

- a) a limit to high-rise development
- b) the encouragement of medium-density, family-oriented housing
- c) the preservation of many of the buildings in the Sandy Hill area for heritage purposes

The height limitations in Sandy Hill have since been replaced by an interim by-law; after the study is completed a new by-law will come into effect.

With regard to other height limits in Ottawa, the height by-law in the west end has been replaced by new zoning restrictions; the by-law for Centretown was replaced by City Council after the study there was completed; a height by-law is still in effect for Lower Town.

In general, the height by-law method was and is being used by Ottawa City Council for limited purposes — as a stop-gap to halt development temporarily while neighbourhood studies are undertaken. They are achieving their purpose. Certain types of development which were perceived as objectionable for aesthetic, environmental and social reasons have been halted and new zoning by-laws are being developed to reflect the changed criteria.

While Ottawa does have an overall planning direction — namely, to encourage a strong central core and combine it with some decentralization of employment, this has not yet been embodied in land-use legislation. The height by-laws apparently were not designed to encourage decentralization from the core (or vice versa) as were Toronto's or Vancouver's height limitations.

As to the nature of long term social or economic impact there does not appear to have been any major negative results. There were some complaints that the height by-laws were unjust in their economic impact but these were few and there has been no hard evidence to substantiate this. Property values have continued to escalate in Ottawa. Whatever construction slowdown there has been does not appear to be the result of these by-laws; for example, even before the Sandy Hill by-law was put into effect there was no stampede for building permits. It is possible that when permanent zoning goes into effect and density is reduced, prices may go down. Similarly, the by-laws cannot be given credit for more amenities in buildings; Ottawa has been trying to achieve this for some time by applying Section 35-A of the

Planning Act for better development control. Ottawa still does not have satisfactory legislation regulating standards and criteria for development.

HALIFAX

The View By-law and The Regional Development Plan

The View By-law which was introduced in Halifax in 1974 was instituted to protect the views of the harbour from Citadel Hill. In contrast to downtown height limitation adopted in cities like Vancouver and Toronto, it was not connected to pressures for growth control. The View By-law was intended to protect views and to preserve a historical and aesthetic relationship. In doing so, they created height restrictions which vary from plane to plane.

In evaluating its success it can be said that this purpose has been largely achieved. Specific developments have been stopped or modified. This success is in part due to the fact that the by-law was implemented slowly: a draft by-law was prepared for discussion purposes and public meetings were held so that the people of Halifax had warning of the legislation. The final by-law embodied compromises and adjustments which took account of some proposals that had been initiated prior to the introduction of the By-law.

The View By-law is having secondary impacts which were not anticipated originally. These side impacts are two-fold. Firstly, pressures for development began to occur on sites which under normal circumstances would not have been deemed appropriate for high density development. Specifically, because the area within the triangular planes was restricted, pressures arise on sites within the unrestricted areas that might not have otherwise. This occurs, for example, on some sites of historic value. Secondly, the legislation appears to be having an unanticipated impact on design. Due to the triangular nature of the planes some triangular-shaped buildings are being constructed. This contrasts sharply with existing rectilinear buildings, and some in the community have suggested that it is not eye pleasing.

The recently adopted *Regional Development Plan* is too new to evaluate as to its impact. It is significant to note, however, that this regional plan is a result of provincial initiative and betokens a concern for "good planning". It has not been introduced as a result of any anti-development or anti-growth sentiments.

Halifax is proceeding to develop a Municipal Development Plan which will seek to ensure that City development conforms to the regional plan.

WINNIPEG

Control of Growth on Periphery of Town

The Greater Winnipeg Development Plan controls the growth of residential developments on the periphery of the City. Prior to this plan some residential growth occurred throughout the areas on the periphery of the City, now this growth is limited to specific areas designated as areas of limited urban expansion. These areas are intended to provide residential homes in a rural type of setting. The short period of time during which this policy has been in effect has not allowed for a proper determination of the nature of its impact.

While the plan does allow some farmers to stay on the farm by selling off parcels of their land, it does not ensure that these lands will be used for agricultural purposes.

SASKATOON

Development Control – Downtown and Residential

The *Community Planning Scheme* is intended as a guide for the development of Saskatoon for a population up to 210,000. It stipulates which areas of Saskatoon will be developed and when. It was introduced to control the rate of growth (residential and industrial), and particularly to relieve the strain on the City's budget. The Scheme has been reasonably successful; it has been closely followed with one notable exception and the City can now budget well for "hard services". Since Saskatoon owns large amounts of land in the City, development is further controlled.

There have been no negative impacts to date. In fact, the Scheme has kept land prices down; encouraged low cost housing; prevented large blocks of land from being held for speculative purposes so that new developments have not had to "leap frog" unbuilt areas.

EDMONTON

Planned Unit Development

While Edmonton introduced the Comprehensive Development District over two

years ago, no development has yet been built using this approach. As explained previously, the purpose of this legislation was to permit certain types of development which would not fit in with normal zoning categories but were judged to be "good" projects. This is an open-ended zoning category where unorthodox or mixed uses can be negotiated, so that there is a potential for innovative developments. However, it is noteworthy that no CD-1 project has yet been built. Three applications are presently before City Council. But the process of formulating the required "development agreement" between Edmonton City Council and the developer is time-consuming. One application has been processed and was turned down due to citizen opposition in an established neighbourhood. The other two, now before Council, are for high density commercial uses and there is speculation that at least one is likely to be passed. Another proposal for a small row-housing development is presently before the City Planning Department. In this case, land is presently City-owned and will be sold to the successful bidder. This last proposal is the first residential development attempted under this process. The Comprehensive Development District planning approach was intended to be used for residential development, as well as commercial. One informed public official whom we interviewed suggested that the lengthy time factor discouraged residential project proposals.

Residential Experimental Development Area — a new form of PUD

Edmonton is about to revive another form of planned unit development in order to encourage innovation in housing. The specific tool they will use is Section 155 of the Planning Act of Alberta. According to this provision:

1. Upon application by a municipality, the Minister of Municipal Affairs can issue an order designating an area Residential Experimental.
2. After this land is so designated, Council may approve projects without regard for City zoning or City land-use regulations. (Fire regulations are still enforced.) The Minister must authorize the Council's right to waive the regulations.
3. If Council is not willing to approve projects that are inconsistent with by-laws, the Council may ask the Minister to waive either the City or provincial regulations involved.

Section 155 was put into the Planning Act by the Province about six years ago, when CMHC had money available for experiments in residential developments. At that time, Section 155 was written with specific reference to experiments subsidized through CMHC and ten or eleven projects consisting mostly of walk-ups or row houses were built.

With growing pressures for more housing and a more economical use of land, this provision of the Planning Act has been revived. The prerequisite CMHC involvement has been removed and Section 155 is being looked at as a means to encourage a form of planned unit development. Through this program, developers may apply to the City to build housing. The City then chooses at its discretion, whether it wishes the Province to consider the proposed plans. The proposed row housing project is an example of this.

Section 155 is now being used to design housing with zero lot lines. This permits a more concentrated pattern for urban growth and reduces servicing and land costs by providing individual lots considerably smaller than those required for conventional subdivision housing. These new forms of small lot housing differ from traditional subdivisions; their design and location is an integral part of the overall site design.

Four or five projects are now underway. If the housing proves satisfactory the by-laws might then be changed to allow different housing types. Section 155 gives the City room to experiment with various housing styles before changing the by-laws. In the summer of 1975 the City will coordinate such a project in the Millwoods Area (a large land assembly owned by CMHC now being occupied by the City). A private developer has applied for the land, and will submit plans to the City and will work with the City's Real Estate and Housing Department.

In the end, a good deal of discretionary power rests with the Municipal Planning Commissions in deciding which projects will be approved under this scheme.

CALGARY Limited Residential Development and Downtown Development Control

Calgary uses two interesting methods to provide for development control:

The Design Brief and The
Development Control By-law.

Limited Residential Development – The Design Brief

Calgary uses a method of Design Briefs to establish the policy for land use of a given area. They are not by-laws but policy statements of Council's intent for that area. Although they have no legal status they are used to control development, for example, residential development.

Most planning decisions are evaluated against Briefs. However, there are cases where Briefs have been ineffective. Some older parts of Calgary are just now reaching the redevelopment stage. Since Design Briefs represent up-dated policy decisions and frequently do not match land use classifications, there are conflicts which have to be resolved.

There is currently an area where the Land Use Classifications are in the process of being recommended for change in order to match the policies required by the Design Brief.

Since the Briefs have no legal status, developments under the Land Use Classification Guide of the Development Control By-law have been approved in spite of the policy in the Brief.

Impacts

a) Design Briefs have been followed fairly firmly in new areas. A Brief may indicate apartment building use but the Land Use Classification would need to be amended to match this. The land is then limited to this use and other development will not occur except under special circumstances. The Design Briefs, then, can prevent the construction of incompatible development within the Design Brief area.

b) Some people have said that the Design Briefs have an impact on property values. Areas that are withheld from development because of lack of a Design Brief could cause other land to increase in price. However, there is no hard evidence for this.

c) Prior to the Design Briefs, some areas were being developed with "country residential". As the City has grown and Design Briefs have been written, some of these areas no longer allow for "country residential". As a result, these developments are now occurring on the fringe; farmland prices are increasing.

d) The Design Briefs cover the amount and the location of land to be developed. Frequently for the development of an area the provision of services is a prerequisite. As a result, there are political

pressures for the extension of sewers, hydro and roadways.

The Development Control By-law

The Development Control By-law permits land use control with flexibility; there are no specific zones with specific regulations. It is a land use classification guide within the Planning Act of Alberta.

The Land Use Classifications are comparable to zoning districts and the rules governing the use of land under the Development Control By-law are also administered similarly to zoning regulations.

Technically, under the Development Control By-law the landowner has *no* rights. He can only seek approval for projects. Even if his appeal were consistent with current zoning regulations, it could be turned down.

Within the Development Control By-law there are specially designated areas such as that area covered by the Downtown Development Standards. (In some ways, it is a form of Planned Unit Development.) Its objectives include:

- (a) Maximize development potential and design in accordance with the General Plan adopted or under preparation.
- (b) Coordinate development of the downtown areas in order to maximize the efficiency of public expenditures for utility and service systems.
- (c) Organize block development around open areas and public plazas.
- (d) Ensure the continuity of the segregated pedestrian-vehicular traffic system in designated areas.

According to the City Planning Department some of these objectives have been at least partially achieved.

– Developers are encouraged through a bonus system to make maximum use of the land. (Bonuses are provided in order to achieve public open spaces, and public facilities. Increased building density is obtained through the provision of bonuses and is expressed as a factor of bonus area to additional floor area. The bonuses are designed to implement the objectives.)

– There has been some coordination of development. However, most development has occurred building by building.

– Several projects are now in process which will incorporate open areas and public plazas. These include a sizeable glassed-in park to be constructed this summer, a downtown mall, a plan for a 40-acre downtown project adjacent to the river; other public projects have also

created open space.

— Almost all the buildings in the downtown area have been built to accommodate a segregated pedestrian-vehicular traffic system. However, many of the bridges have not yet been built. Therefore, there is a limited pedestrian system.

CHAPTER VI

LEGAL CHALLENGES

The degree of local planning control possessed by Canadian municipal councils varies from province to province, and is a primary determinant of the number and type of legal challenges which are instituted in reaction to any local planning legislation.

- In New Brunswick, Quebec and British Columbia planning is left almost entirely to the local council with a minimum of provincial direction. (For example, Vancouver, B.C., operates under a separate charter through which none of the City's plans or by-laws are subject to provincial review.)
- In all other provinces, provincial approval of plans is required.
- In five of the provinces the Department of Municipal Affairs and its Minister (or similar Minister) administer the planning statute and supervise the planning process at the local level.
- In Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Alberta a separate board is established for this purpose. However, in Alberta only regional plans must be approved by the Provincial Board. (In Calgary, for example, the Planning Commission handles local development applications. Membership on the Commission consists of: directors of City departments, three elected representatives and three citizens-at-large.)¹

This section does not, of course, include all legal challenges in Canada. Some legal challenges are still in process: for example, the City of Ottawa is awaiting a decision by the OMB on its use of Section 35-A of the Planning Act to control development and others seemed to repeat the situations depicted in the cases mentioned.

The following three cases are offered in order to illustrate the role that provincial control can play in local planning initiatives.

1. Ian MacF. Rogers, *Canadian Law of Planning & Zoning* (Toronto: Carswell Co. Ltd., 1973) The introduction includes a detailed description of the different provincial approval processes for local planning.

CALGARY Challenge to Annexation

When planning power is localized at the municipal level, legal challenges are rare. This is true of Vancouver in our survey. While Calgary and Edmonton also have a fair degree of autonomy in local planning, provincial approval is required on regional plans, and in one case there has been a legal challenge.

Until recently Calgary's borders were extended to allow for development without challenge. With no adjacent municipalities to object the City was able to keep its boundaries just outside the growth areas. The policy in essence was: annex areas that can be serviced.

While in the past, applications for annexation were approved by the Local Authorities Board (a provincial body) automatically, this is no longer so as the Province now is pressuring to control the growth of both Calgary and Edmonton.

In May 1974 there was a provincial hearing on Calgary's desire to annex land in the Municipal District of Rocky View. The Local Authorities Board is appointed and is supposed to act autonomously and objectively in these cases. The Local Authorities Board rejected the City's appeal for annexation on these grounds:

- the overwhelming defeat of a plebiscite indicated that the residents of Calgary did not favour further territorial expansion of the City at the present time;
- the Board was aware of stated government policy regarding expansion of Alberta's two major urban centres - Edmonton and Calgary.

The City of Calgary then appealed this decision in the Supreme Court of Alberta. It challenged the decision on the grounds that at no time during those hearings was reference made to the stated policy of the Alberta Government, now to the general plebiscite to be held in Calgary regarding land annexation. The Board, in fact, failed to follow certain provisions of the Administrative Procedures Act; it did not give the City of Calgary the opportunity to furnish relevant evidence to contradict or explain the two factors mentioned above.

The Supreme Court allowed the appeal to be heard. In early 1975 the Local Authorities Board's decision was declared void. The City is now awaiting a new decision.

TORONTO Legal Challenge to Height By-law

The impact of the OMB ruling on Toronto's 45-foot Height By-law has had repercussions on local initiatives to control or manage growth in other Ontario municipalities.

The OMB's decision December 9, 1974, has been widely criticized as a 'political' one.¹ The Board dismissed the application of the City for approval of the two by-laws which would have given City Council broad discretionary power while the review of development for the Central Toronto area was being conducted. (Zoning By-law 348-73 would impose a height limitation of 45 feet and gross floor area of 40,000 square feet within the core and a height limitation of 20 feet and 20,000 square feet gross floor area in the harbour region. The second by-law amended the Official Plan to conform with these restrictions.)

In rejecting the 45-foot limit, the OMB considered:

- the all-embracing scope of the By-law and the discretionary power this gave Council; the implications of this for the rights of potential developers when decisions are left to the whim of Council;
 - the potential economic side effect of a development freeze;
 - the right of local elected officials to make decisions which in the Board's view affect the region and province; and
 - the lack of background studies of possible consequences by City planning staff.
- Critics of the decisions, however, argued that it:
- ignored the mandate given to Mayor Crombie and a "reform" Council to exercise control over downtown development;
 - criticized the propriety, as a planning tool of Council review of each application for development, without consideration of the limited legal avenues through which the City could exercise development controls;

1. Bernard Burns, "Development Control - A Crucial Issue in the Search for Greater Municipal Autonomy", *AMO Newsletter* (Toronto, February 1975)

- attacked the Planning Commissioner personally as a planner;
- disregarded the democratic process, the jurisdiction of the local council and the relationship of the appointed civil servant to the elected council;
- ignored provincial planning strategies to decentralize growth (as in the Toronto Centred Region Plan.)
- mistakenly equated the interests of the City with those of the developers; the Board down played the interests of the neighbourhood associations in the core area and identified with the interests of developers; and
- ignored the social and economic impact of not instituting development controls by overlooking a number of crucial considerations. It did not consider loss of housing in the downtown core as a result of demolition of existing housing and the probable necessity to replace these units.

The Toronto case is not an isolated one. It demonstrates the lack of authority Ontario municipalities have to effectively control development. The Toronto decision has also had impact on the approach used by other Ontario municipalities. London City Council, for example, is reluctant to send its down-zoning by-law to the OMB for fear it also will be thrown out. The show of power in overturning the Toronto Height By-law can effectively discourage other Ontario municipalities from implementing stringent development controls.

SECTION III

TWO CASE STUDIES OF URBAN GROWTH

INTRODUCTION

In Section I perceptions of community leaders allowed us to establish a basic framework for why attempts are being made in Canadian cities to improve the management of urban growth. In the next section we looked at the various legislative mechanisms actually attempted, and in some cases implemented, in order to bring about this more orderly management.

Due to the complex nature of this subject and the distance between and among Canada's many urban areas it has not been possible to get more than a general idea of how this changing urban strategy has actually occurred.

However, while it is not feasible to examine all urban areas in depth, perhaps by looking more closely at the two cities (Vancouver and Toronto) which have been in the forefront of urban growth management efforts, we can gain needed insight.

CHAPTER VII

VANCOUVER

PERCEIVING THE PROBLEM

A Natural Place to Go

In 1921, Vancouver was Canada's fourth largest city in population (224,000) with three cities fairly close behind. The *big seven* at that time ranged in size from 154,000 in Hamilton to 796,000 in Montreal. As the western port of entry, it was natural that Vancouver would assume the role of one of Canada's leading economic and population centres. But the city had other attributes such as a clean and beautiful environment which made it all the more attractive to a growing number of Canadians, as well as immigrants. The completion of the east-west railroad and the dawning of the air age made Vancouver not only desirable, but quite accessible as well. The result has been the addition of nearly 1 million people to the Vancouver area since 1921 and a drastic change in the life style of its inhabitants.

Urban geographers estimate Vancouver can expect up to 1 million more residents in the next 30 to 40 years and people who are already there have begun to question the ability of the region to absorb growth at this rate and in this quantity.

There were several indicators of this emerging concern in the 1960's, things that were beginning to be noticed in other urban areas all over North America. Perhaps the key initial indicators were the changing skyline brought about by the squeeze for land and the transportation difficulties created by urban sprawl. In both Vancouver and Toronto where Canada's urban growth has been most rapid, there were major confrontations over expressway construction, followed by attempts to limit downtown development. These were the focal points of the concern, and while they are still in the forefront somewhat, they have had many other items added in with them.

Preliminary Indications

Population has always been the key indicator of an area's growth and the

starting point for any evaluation of whether or not that growth rate is likely to have a negative and positive impact on the social and economic structure of a given community. The Vancouver Region had a population of 665,352 in 1956 and increased to slightly over 1 million by 1971. The Region was, in essence, growing at nearly twice the national growth rate. (2.9% GVRD¹ and 1.5% Canada) Individual communities within the region had growth rates as high as 17% per year with the result being a substantial strain on the provision of municipal services and a growing concern for the quality of the environment.

This population explosion was aggravated by the fact that Vancouver had unique geographical characteristics which rendered it less prepared to cope. With ocean to the west, mountains to the north and marshland and the United States border to the south, the Vancouver region has only 700 square miles within a 35 mile radius of the downtown compared to 1,500 square miles in the Toronto area.

The swiftness of the growth and the compact area where it was forced to occur tended to create perhaps an exaggerated and accelerated feeling of change. The high-rise development had the instant negative affect of cutting off the magnificent visual attributes which have been one of the strongest desirable features of the region. This visual pollution probably was as responsible as any detailed report for the rising awareness by Vancouver's citizens to the need to protect the area from the potential harmful effects of excessive and/or unmanaged growth.

Pressure on the Downtown

Most Metropolitan CBD's² in North America started to go through a transition after W.W. II, which saw retail and industry leave in favour of a more concentrated office development. Canadian cities lagged behind the United States in this regard because of the severity of the depression and the extended war period, which affected the investment capital available for development. But the trend was picked up in the late 50's and early 60's. The figures on Vancouver's net rentable office space reveal an even later jump.

Net Rentable Office Space — Downtown Vancouver³.

1958	5,980 square feet
1963	6,625 square feet
1968	7,475,980 square feet
1973	11,224,050 square feet
1980	15,000,000 square feet estimate

The normal growth of a little under 1 million square feet every five years was quadrupled from 1968 to 1973 as nearly 4 million square feet of new office space was added to the downtown. Estimates to 1980 indicate another 4 million square feet may be added. What this means in terms of impact on services may be illustrated by estimates in another Planning Department report published in 1970 on the number of employees by category.

	1970		1985	
		Low	High	
Retail	18,000	20,000	25,000	
Office	48,000	82,000	105,000	
Service & Warehousing	19,000	22,000	28,000	
Public Buildings & Institutions	6,000	9,000	15,000	
	91,000	133,000	173,000	

The Planning Department estimated that projects announced at that time would bring downtown employment to a level of 129,000 in the early 1970's. It was also indicated that a level of 130-150,000 could be tolerated after which intolerable levels of congestion would develop. They indicated that serious plans to divert growth and construct a rapid transit system should begin immediately.

The high estimates for 1985 presented above by the Planning Department, assumed that no steps would be taken to divert growth to other areas in the region. We can see that their estimate of 173,000 workers in the downtown is well above the maximum tolerable level of 150,000 workers. This does not take into account the impact of a transit system, but there is the clear implication that due to the lengthy lead time necessary on such projects, if work did not begin soon, it would be difficult to avert the congestion

1. Greater Vancouver Regional District
2. Central Business District
3. City of Vancouver Department of Planning and Civic Development Information and Statistics Report no. 9, August 1973, page 21.

problems predicted.

Reports such as this were, no doubt, an important factor leading to the creation by the Province of the Greater Vancouver Regional District.

In 1970 the first meetings of the GVRD Planning Committee were held in an attempt to identify what part the Regional District should play in guiding the future of the region.

A DIALOGUE HELPS PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK

The Initial Discussions

Two parallel political events were occurring in Vancouver at the time of this awakening and concern for the developing urban environment. At the City level, reform-minded councillors were being elected as a formal expression of citizen concern and the municipalities in the region were starting to work together to develop a planning framework for the entire region.

A number of public meetings and seminars were held in conjunction with this evolving regional scheme and the initial findings had a great bearing on the course of future actions.

(a) At the Wiesmann seminar, it was agreed that growth would be a big factor in future livability and the notion that growth could not be limited was discarded.

(b) At the Harrison seminar, it was decided that the key planning committee objective should be the production of a "Livable Region Plan".

(c) Project Alpha posed several physical development choices for the region arising from growth and indicated the impact on the infrastructure of the region.

All of the above were occurring in 1970-71 and ushered in the February 1972 design for the proposed direction of The Livable Region Plan. The strategy was initiated on the premise that people and not things would be the focus and issues related to long term growth (5 to 20 years) would be considered.

It is important to note that there was agreement from nearly every quarter, not to undertake time consuming and complex impact studies for the various development options. Instead, it was agreed that the many planning studies which had already been done in the 60's and 70's would be utilized (Appendix I). The effort now would be concentrated on developing an actual long range strategy utilizing a strong public input component, to go along with the technical studies which

were already available.

Identification of Key Issues

One of the first tasks for the Planning Committee set up by the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) was the identification of the key issues which should be considered in designing the Livable Region Plan. Through a series of public meetings the following issues were identified as being of concern to citizens at this time.

- (1) shortage of jobs
- (2) housing costs outpacing incomes
- (3) decline in the ease of movement
- (4) increasing air and noise pollution
- (5) loss of feeling of openness
- (6) fear and opposition to rapid and unanticipated changes

Some Assumptions by the Committee

(1) The Committee saw the need to create more than 300,000 jobs in the region over the next 30 years.

(2) Their studies indicate land prices climb as population grows and people will either have to pay more or change their living habits.

(3) The number of people who take longer than 30 minutes to get to work is increasing and the costs of moving people rises sharply with city size and density.

(4) Research studies indicate growth will be a major factor in levels of pollution and they should urge controls to maintain acceptable levels of air quality and noise.

(5) Public perception of change as in openness, for example, need to be further studied and new controls will have to be considered.

The Committee Maps A Strategy

During 1972 it was the intention of the GVRD Planning Committee to take its problems to the public and determine what their reactions were to this overall question of future urban growth. The following is a quote from the GVRD publication "A Report on Livability", November, 1972.

"Three concerns were expressed in almost all of the discussions we have had with a wide variety of groups in all parts of the region.

- A resistance to further rapid growth and a concern for personal livability
- A desire to participate in community decisions
- A wish to see action"

The report goes on to indicate not only a resistance to growth, but an outright desire to stop it or at least severely restrict it.

TABLE A
1986 POPULATION TRENDS AND TARGETS

	1971 Census	1976 (est.)	1986		Target Increase 1976-1986
			TREND	TARGET	
VANCOUVER-UNIVERSITY ENDOWMENT LANDS	429,940	442,000	474,445	489,500	47,500
BURNABY-NEW WESTMINSTER	168,495	194,000	226,070	248,500	54,500
NORTH SHORE West Vancouver, North Vancouver, City and District	127,115	145,500	182,245	167,000	21,500
NORTHEAST SECTOR Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam Port Moody, Ioco-Anmore	84,560	103,500	159,600	154,500	51,000
RICHMOND	62,130	87,000	120,700	130,000	43,000
DELTA	45,935	68,000	98,000	77,500	9,500
SURREY-WHITE ROCK	108,860	139,700	214,630	209,200	69,500
OTHER Bowen Island, Howe Sound Lions Bay, Indian Arm	775	1,200	2,100	1,600	400
TOTAL GVRD	1,027,810	1,180,900	1,477,800	1,477,800	296,900

TABLE B
RESIDENT WORKERS

	1971	1986 Trend	1986 Target	Target Increase 1971-1986
VANCOUVER-UNIVERSITY ENDOWMENT LANDS	187,930	218,000	225,100	37,170
BURNABY-NEW WESTMINSTER	70,760	103,200	112,500	41,740
NORTH SHORE West Vancouver, North Vancouver, City and District	53,065	79,600	73,100	20,035
NORTHEAST SECTOR Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam Port Moody, Ioco-Anmore	29,740	60,500	58,500	28,760
RICHMOND	24,985	51,900	55,900	30,915
DELTA	16,325	38,200	29,500	13,175
SURREY-WHITE ROCK	37,590	83,600	80,600	43,010
OTHER Bowen Island, Howe Sound Lions Bay, Indian Arm	290	830	630	340
TOTAL - GVRD	420,685	635,830	635,830	215,145

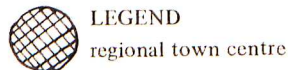
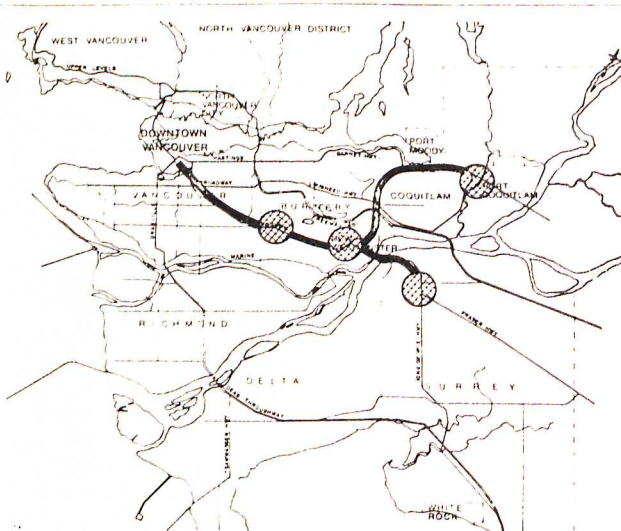
TABLE C

JOBS

	1971	1986 Trend	1986 Target	Target Increase 1971-1986
VANCOUVER-UNIVERSITY ENDOWMENT LANDS	251,229	369,500	297,900	46,671
BURNABY-NEW WESTMINSTER	67,723	106,000	111,500	43,777
NORTH SHORE West Vancouver, North Vancouver, City and District	31,795	42,000	51,700	19,905
NORTHEAST SECTOR Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam Port Moody, Ioco-Anmore	17,061	30,000	45,200	28,139
RICHMOND	25,806	42,000	52,500	26,694
DELTA	8,439	15,000	22,300	13,861
SURREY-WHITE ROCK	23,892	41,000	64,400	40,508
OTHER Bowen Island, Howe Sound Lions Bay, Indian Arm	221	300	300	79
TOTAL - GVRD	426,166	645,800	645,800	219,634

TABLE D

GREATER VANCOUVER - REGIONAL TOWN CENTRE LOCATION



On July 9, 1975, the governing body of the GVRD officially adopted the proposals to manage growth in the region. It is interesting to compare just how well they were able to carry out the mandate clearly expressed in 1972. The key questions would appear to be:

- (1) *Did the public participate?* By every measuring device available it would appear that public input to this plan was excellent.
- (2) *Is growth going to be deterred and livability preserved?* The plan does not include any measures to reduce the amount of growth coming to the region. There are, however, many proposals aimed at the dispersal of growth to designated growth areas (Regional Town Centres) in order to create a more rational development pattern.
- (3) *Will the people see quick action?* While time was saved by avoiding new impact studies and representatives on the GVRD have agreed to the Plan, there is an important missing ingredient to guarantee action and that is the ability to direct jobs to the Regional Town Centres.

Although the tools needed to implement the plan have not been formally introduced as legislation, they have to a great extent been articulated in the proposals to date and are as follows (according to a survey of business and government leaders in the summer of 1974):

- * There must be a clear plan with firm decisions as to the actual form of the regional centre and commitments that things will not be altered by political shifts.

- * Development incentives such as tax or financing concessions, government commitments to locate offices and provide services are needed to ensure a stable investment climate.

- * Housing within or close by the Regional Town Centres is important.

- * Transportation policies should show an early start of rapid transit links between Regional Town Centres and the downtown while not frustrating automobile access.

- * Amenities are important, especially in design, provision of services and the title of location should be identified as Greater Vancouver.

- * Groupings of businesses should be heterogeneous and businesses should be free to set their own hours.

While many of the above suggestions for implementing the Regional Town Centres will be easily accomplished, others will present a problem. Traditionally, items such as tax incentives have been extremely difficult to implement. And one of the more serious underlying difficulties with the managed growth approach which has

been proposed is the ability of government to control the phasing of development. There is an inherent danger in assuming that land holders will cooperate in staging of development. Especially with the obvious negative effect this may have financially.

The Five Ingredients of the Plan¹.

1. *Achieve Residential Growth Targets in Each Part of the Region*

The Plan says the overall growth of the Region to 1986 should be shared among the municipalities on a rational basis. They propose population growth targets for each part of Greater Vancouver based on 13 livability concerns such as the preservation of open space and recreation areas, minimizing travel time and inconvenience, and minimizing disruption to existing communities. (see Table A).

2. *Promote a Balance of Jobs to Population in Each Part of the Region.*

Some areas have just over half as many jobs as resident-workers, so many of their residents have no choice but to commute to jobs in Vancouver, New Westminster, and other areas which have a "surplus" of jobs over workers. Their aim is to correct this imbalance as much as possible by 1986. (see Tables B and C).

3. *Create Regional Town Centres*

Developing Regional Town Centres in suburban locations will bring jobs, shopping and cultural opportunities closer to where people live. Decentralization to these centres of some of the office growth that otherwise will locate in downtown Vancouver will greatly reduce transportation problems. The aim, therefore, is to create lively and diverse urban places which are attractive alternatives to downtown. (see Table D).

4. *Provide a Transit-Oriented Transportation System Linking Residential Areas, Regional Town Centres and Major Work Areas.*

A good transit system is the backbone of regional development. It will help make Regional Town Centres viable, and, in turn, transit-oriented Regional Town

1. The Livable Region 1976/86: Proposals to Manage the Growth of Greater Vancouver, The Greater Vancouver Regional District (Vancouver, March 26, 1975).

Centres will help make high-quality transit service economically possible. People should be able to travel quickly and comfortably to major centres in the Region without having to own a car.

5. *Protect and Develop Regional Open Space*

To keep this a livable Region, they want to retain unobstructed views of the mountains and sea, protect our wilderness areas, and provide future residents with access to recreation. Proposals for conserving open space and for developing more recreation opportunities are therefore crucial to their planning strategy.

PROVINCIAL & LOCAL ACTION – BUT A REGIONAL EMPHASIS

Corresponding Actions by Provincial and Local Government

While the Province of British Columbia was apparently not in pursuit of an overall development strategy as was the case in Ontario, they were cognizant of the need to regulate the use of land in some ways. Particular interest and concern was expressed in conjunction with the preservation of prime agricultural land. This concern emerged primarily as a result of the election in 1972 of a New Democratic Party government which quickly placed a freeze on all agricultural land pending the establishment of the British Columbia Land Commission. In the Act creating the Commission in 1973, there was power to encourage the establishment and maintenance of agricultural land for farm use, green belt land, land-bank land for urban and industrial development, and park land for recreational use.

While the B.C.L.C. began to implement its plans it was soon apparent there would be serious implications for the Greater Vancouver area. In September, 1973, 76,000 acres within the area were placed in agricultural preserves, either primary or secondary in nature.

The Commission has recently been experimenting with computer modeling to determine the impact of various development scenarios. In Kelowna, B.C. several options calling for the staged development of the 7 classes of agricultural land produced interesting and revealing development patterns. As this modeling approach is perfected there is reason to believe it will become one of the primary tools of the Commission in determining the release of various classes of agricultural

lands for development purposes. There is every indication at this time that the 76,000 acres originally frozen by the Commission in the Vancouver Region will more than likely stay preserved for agricultural purposes.

Local Action

As we pointed out in Section II of our study the City of Vancouver has been taking action independent of Provincial and Regional action in an attempt to bring about an even faster decentralization of urban growth. They have been doing this through amendments in their zoning by-law to reduce maximum allowable densities. The actual interim by-law introduced in September, 1973, reduced outright floor ratios to 3 and 1 respectively in the inner and outer core areas. This created a very uneconomical development potential and forced all proposals for exemptions to come before council for approval. If a project met certain criteria established by the City (very similar to Toronto's) they could then be granted an exemption allowing up to a maximum density of 9 in the downtown and 5 in the outer core. A Development Permit Board has been set up to process applications and while the by-law obviously gives City Council a great deal of discretion in granting building permits, it has resulted in more amenities in those developments which have been approved. The final by-law will spell out the design guidelines to which all development will have to adhere.

While the City may consider itself fortunate in not having such by-laws reviewed for approval by a provincial agency, as is the case in Toronto (the Ontario Municipal Board must approve all changes in municipal zoning by-laws), they certainly don't see such freedom as the answer to all of their growth problems. There always has been the recognition by the City that a great deal of cooperation from neighbouring municipalities would be needed in order to bring about any responsible overall growth strategy. That is perhaps one of the reasons why the city has been so anxious to see the efforts of the GVRD succeed.

Emphasis on Managing Growth at the Regional Level

Despite the efforts of the City of Vancouver and the Province of British Columbia, the major effort to control or manage future growth is being left in the hands of the regional district. There

are two reasons for this and they help to understand the eventual strategy of managing existing growth rather than attempting to stop it.

CHAPTER VIII

TORONTO

1) The spillover of growth problems to municipalities around Vancouver is inevitable and the extent of the impact will depend on when the management effort is undertaken. The usual selfish parochial view held by most suburban communities would probably have allowed Vancouver to decay seriously before any action was taken to alleviate the problem. By taking action now, Vancouver will probably remain very livable and the region buys precious time as well as the security of knowing that each area will be taking its fair share of future growth.¹

2) The regional municipalities must have realized early on the inability of local government to decisively change existing growth rates. The number of people eventually destined to live in the region is obviously much more in the hands of the Provincial and Federal governments. Through immigration policies and other policies affecting economic growth, certainly the number of people coming to an area could be controlled, but no such policies seemed to be on the horizon in the view of the Planning Committee. So, while local officials can continue to urge more Provincial and Federal action, they must at the same time accept the inevitable growth rate they are going to experience if no action is taken to stop it and plan for its management the best way they know how.

As of July 9, 1975, the Plan, as we have outlined generally in this report, is in effect. No doubt it will take several years to determine the degree of success which will be achieved, but certainly it can be said, by most observers, that to date a maximum effort has been put forth.

In September, 1973, Toronto City Council gave notice of its intention to pass *Holding By-laws* which would permit increased control over development in the downtown area. In the face of growing public concern over the pace and style of downtown change, the existing instruments of land policy — namely, the Zoning By-Law and the Official Plan — were no longer deemed adequate to deal with central area development pressures. By that time Council had already made a firm commitment to a comprehensive review of the future growth and redevelopment of the Central Area by creating the Core Area Task Force and by undertaking an extensive series of planning studies. The entire programme was aimed at designing new laws for downtown development in the form of major amendments to the Official Plan and other planning controls, by September, 1975.

During the past two years City Council has passed a series of three interim by-laws, done battle at the Ontario Municipal Board and confronted a host of legal and planning problems in its attempt to revise land use policies for downtown Toronto. The purpose of this report is to review this two-year long effort. It is divided into three sections:

- a summary explanation of why the new policies and by-laws are initiated,
- a chronological review of the actions taken, and
- a discussion of the apparent effects of City Council's policies and actions to date.

WHY THE NEW POLICIES AND BY-LAWS WERE INITIATED

The general context for a fundamental change in planning policies and programmes in the Central Area of Toronto was the record growth and redevelopment that had taken place in the period of the 1960's. In a recent report entitled, *Central Area Plan Review — Principles* (March, 1975) the significance of this continual growth is summarized.² In addition to the

1. The action of course was taken by the Province in establishing the GVRD but without the cooperative effort of all GVRD municipalities, it would not have been possible to develop the plan which has not been approved.

2. *Central Area Plan Review — Principles* (City of Toronto Planning Board, March, 1975) Chapter 2.

vitality and commercial activity which accompanied the dynamic growth in Toronto's downtown core, certain undesirable effects were becoming evident. These included: a dramatic increase in the amount and proportion of space devoted to office uses, the displacing of light manufacturing businesses, the reduced amount of housing available, particularly for people with low or moderate incomes, the replacement of old residential neighbourhoods by high-rise apartments or institutional buildings, increasing demands on the transportation system and other facilities and amenities, such as parks serving the area, etc.¹

Of course, the general public did not have a coherent view of the negative effects of this construction boom. The majority of residents in the City were not apparently being hurt directly as a result of the physical changes. But by the turn of the decade there was a growing sense among many people that things were changing too much and too fast. For a small minority the threat of high-rise development in their neighbourhood created an immediate awareness of the kinds of problems associated with constant redevelopment. For others there was just a general feeling of unease, as favorite places disappeared and unfriendly structures began to dominate the urban landscape. Specific grievances such as the proposed destruction of the Old City Hall and Union Station helped to crystallize this concern about the detrimental effects of growth.

Predictably, this rising public concern led to a questioning of accepted policies and practices. When Metro's draft Official Plan was produced in 1959 and the City of Toronto's current Official Plan was formulated in the mid 1960's, they reflected the assumptions and values of the day — namely, that intense growth and redevelopment in the central area of Toronto was desirable and should be encouraged. Thus under the Zoning By-Law (which dated back to the early fifties) developers were permitted to build up to *twelve times coverage* so that a building could have a gross floor area of up to twelve times the area of the site. In the period from 1962 to 1973 the amount of space occupied by office uses in the inner core increased from 22 million square feet to 38 million square feet!² By 1972 changing values and a changing political climate required that existing assumptions and Official Plan policies be reviewed.

Furthermore, long before the 1972 elections, indeed even before 1969, there

was an increasing awareness among certain professionals, including architects, planners and aspiring politicians, that a reaction to the then-prevalent growth ethic was almost inevitable and that development would likely become a popular political issue in the near future. These individuals clearly appreciated the advantages of becoming involved in the fledgling *reform* movement, both in terms of their career ambitions and their sensitivity to the problems associated with urban growth. As a result the energy and leadership of many eager professionals and budding politicians were added to the general disquietude about the future of central Toronto.

The 1972 Municipal elections provided the opportunity for the creation of major new policies, programmes and by-laws for land use in downtown Toronto. After their victory at the polls the reformers, who had campaigned with pledges of neighbourhood preservation and development control, felt they had both a mandate and an obligation to act.

One of the earliest responses of the 1972 *reform* Council was to constitute an advisory citizen's group, called the Core Area Task Force on February 15, 1973. Its original mandate was vast: it was instructed to bring forward recommendations on all forms of movement in the Core Area and *all other matters to do with traffic generation, movement and parking and the accommodation and comfort of residents and those working and visiting the Core Area!* Because of the scope of this mandate the Task Force felt obliged to deal with virtually all aspects of land use and the environment during its fifteen months of deliberations. The major publication summarizing the findings of the Task Force is the *Core Area Task Force Report*, published in June, 1974. In this report the Task Force identified four major areas of concern: 1) the type and intensity of land use in the Core; 2) movement in the Core; 3) the future of the inner city residential neighbourhoods; and 4) the quality of the environment in the central City. For each of these the Task Force outlined goals and objectives, proposed policy changes and made recommendations for specific programmes. The overriding theme of all of the proposals was that *greater control should be exercised over future growth in the Core Area of Toronto.*

1. For a comprehensive documentation of the effects of change in the Core see the *Core Area Task Force Technical Appendix* (Toronto: September, 1974).

2. See *Core Area Task Force — Technical Appendix* (Toronto: 1974) page 392, 396.

criteria such as: compatibility with the character and function of the area and surrounding area; not undue taxing of public services and amenities of the area including transportation facilities, respect for buildings of architectural or historical interest, etc.

Some development projects were exempted by the Holding By-law at the time of its passage. These were structures that had been approved prior to September 14. Further, four specific projects were excluded from the Hold: 180 Bloor Street West, The Windlass Project (between St. Patrick and McCaul Streets), Phases 1A and 1B of the Eaton-Fairview Centre; and the Harbour Square Development. Subsequent to December 7 there were several additional exemptions, including the Mon Sheong 'Home for the Aged', two projects on University Avenue, the Hazelton lanes project and the proposed new Metro Council Library on the east side of Yonge Street.

However, as applications for exemption to the Holding By-laws increased¹, Council reversed its position and in June, 1974, decided to grant no more exemptions. Council adopted this position on the advice of its legal Counsel who advised that it would be unwise to continue granting exemptions until more specific criteria for evaluating the projects were devised.

As a result, in October, 1974, the City planners produced a report recommending a more specific set of interim criteria in order to aid Council to evaluate applications for exemption from the Core Area Holding By-law. This report was published while the majority of the local area and functional studies described above were still in progress. The aim of the criteria was to ensure that development projects would be consistent with the emerging objectives of these studies.

The report, entitled *Core Area Interim Criteria*, was emphatic in stating that the criteria suggested were meant purely as interim, intended to serve for project evaluation until the By-law was replaced by permanent policies and controls. It set out interim criteria for each local planning area which varied in accordance with the planning progress that had been made; the less advanced the planning, the more restrictive were the controls.

1. Since September 14, 77 applications were made for exemption from the By-law and several others were requested by way of letters of objection. See *Core Area Interim Criteria* (October 1974) page 5.

They were based on the following general planning principles:

- i) The essential continuance and the stability of areas predominantly for government, health and education, with possible infilling of these and other uses such as housing.
- ii) Stabilizing existing residential areas while permitting low or moderate density infilling with housing where that new housing would be consistent with the existing areas and promote various social and environmental objectives.
- iii) Promoting housing in all other areas as mixed use rather than single-use areas.
- iv) Providing for a range of densities for housing and commercial and other uses in various mixed use areas, with the higher densities in the Inner Core.
- v) Recognizing the continued function of the high intensity Central Business District area as the primary commercial-office concentration in the region, while promoting a mixture of housing there.
- vi) Stabilizing existing industrial areas in order to promote renewal of industry (with the possibility of new housing in these areas if this proves environmentally feasible and does not occur at the expense of industry).
- vii) Conserving and strengthening existing "areas of identity" which form an important part of the City's character and heritage.¹

The report also suggested procedures for reviewing applications for developments which would require exemption from the By-law's provisions.

When the criteria were made available (October 1974) the reaction was prompt, vigorous and predictable. The development industry complained they were too restrictive while "anti-growth spokesmen" argued they were not restrictive enough. One of the most controversial of the principles was the objective of introducing housing into the Central Business District.

On December 9, 1974, the Ontario Municipal Board rejected the Core Area Holding By-law on the grounds that the criteria for exemptions were not clearly spelled out. City Council quickly declared its intention to introduce a new by-law — the Modified Core Area Holding By-law — and confirmed its goal of adopting new policies in the Core Area by the end of September, 1975. At the same time it appealed the Ontario Municipal Board's decision to the Cabinet.

1. *Core Area Interim Criteria*, page 55.

The new Modified Core Area Holding By-law was officially adopted by City Council on February 26, 1974. It was essentially a composite. It contained a number of simple *holds*—height and gross floor area limitations—as well as certain restrictions of density, use, height, unit mix and servicing and access, derived from the *Core Area Interim Criteria* report. It differed from the original Hold in that it would permit development beyond the original limits where interim criteria had been brought forward. In those areas where interim criteria had not been brought forward it re-imposed the limits of the original hold.

The following month, on March 21, the Ontario Cabinet upheld the OMB decision rejecting the 45-foot height by-law and told the City that it would only approve the Modified Core Area Holding By-law if Council adopted a resolution setting out exempting criteria with thirty days.

This created a dilemma for City planners and City Council who had to decide whether to maintain the Modified Holding By-law intact and devise further exemptive criteria or split the by-law into two parts so that it would consist of the holding restrictions in terms of height and gross floor area limits and an exempting resolution.

Choosing the latter course of action, City Council adopted an amended version of the Modified Core Area Holding By-law (No. 49-75) on April 16, 1975. This third by-law imposed various height area limits on the Central Area. In most areas north of Front Street these limits are 38 feet in height and 15,000 square feet in gross floor area. In certain areas (e.g. Metro Centre, East of Bay and the St. Lawrence area) these limits were 45 feet in height and 40,000 square feet. In parts of the Waterfront an area limit of 20,000 square feet was maintained.

Projects exceeding these height and area limits were to be exempted if they met the *exempting criteria* spelled out in the attached resolution. There were three types of proposed exempting criteria. The bulk of the exempting resolution consisted of *sub-area criteria* which were limits and requirements for each planning district derived from the Interim Criteria Report. In addition to this main category there were special density provisions in which the densities in certain types of projects could be increased beyond the set limit. For example, projects that retained historic buildings or included a full measure of housing density or included certain public amenities were to be allowed extra

commercial density. A third type of criteria listed special exemptions. These included small additions, renovations, hospitals as well as projects which had been designed in conformity with the original Holding By-law.

This current Modified Core Area Holding By-law is permitted to remain in effect only until September 30, 1975, at which time the Official Plan amendment which provides for it expires. As of October 1, therefore, the existing growth controls will not apply. Either the Holding By-law must be replaced by some form of permanent controls or the period of the Hold must be extended. In July the Commissioner of Planning informed the City Planning Board and City Council that the planners needed more time to complete their planning program and devise policy revisions for the central area. He explained that four more months were needed to in order to complete the wide range of studies undertaken and, especially, to allow enough time for proper public discussion and comment. At the time of writing this report, it is expected that the City will be permitted to amend the appropriate section of the Official Plan in order to extend the period of application of the Modified Core Area Holding By-law from September 30, 1975 to January 31, 1976.

The four maps which follow show the nature of the changing land use controls for the downtown core:

—Figure 1-1 shows the maximum commercial densities possible under the present zoning

—Figure 1-2 indicates the height and densities set out by the Core Area Holding By-law, and

—Figure 1-3 and 1-4 show the significance of the downzoning limits imposed by the Modified Core Area Holding By-law.

GENERALIZED MAP OF THE MAXIMUM COMMERCIAL DENSITIES PERMITTED UNDER CURRENT ZONING DESIGNATIONS

TIMES COVERAGE:

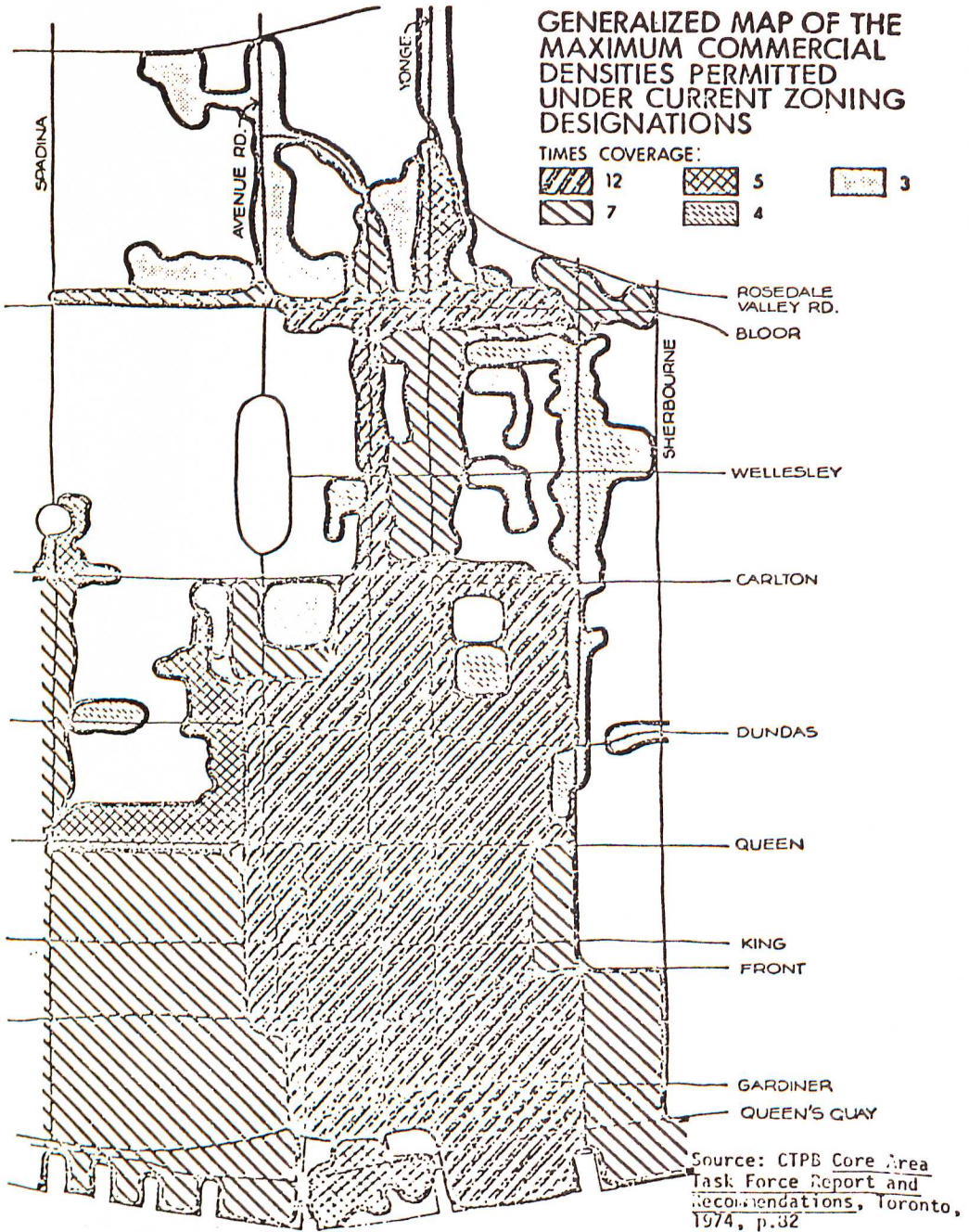
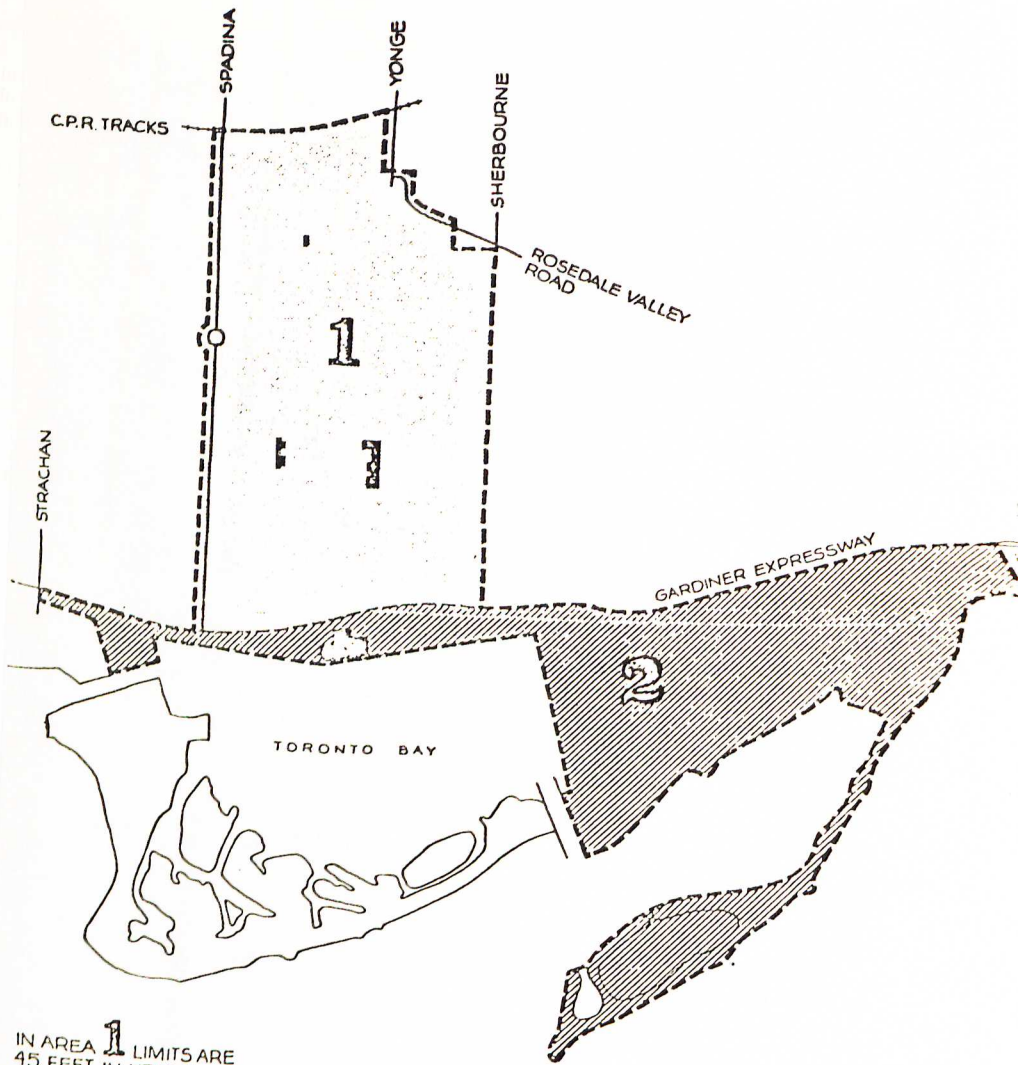




FIGURE 1-1



IN AREA 1 LIMITS ARE
45 FEET IN HEIGHT AND
40,000 SQ. FT. GROSS FLOOR AREA

IN AREA 2 LIMITS ARE
20 FEET IN HEIGHT AND
20,000 SQ. FT. GROSS FLOOR AREA

 EXEMPTED LANDS LISTED IN THE BY-LAW

 HOLDING BY-LAW LIMIT

HOLDING BY-LAW (BY-LAW 348-73)

Source: City of Toronto Planning Board.
Core Area Task Force Report
and Recommendations, Toronto,
1974, p.2

FIGURE 1-2

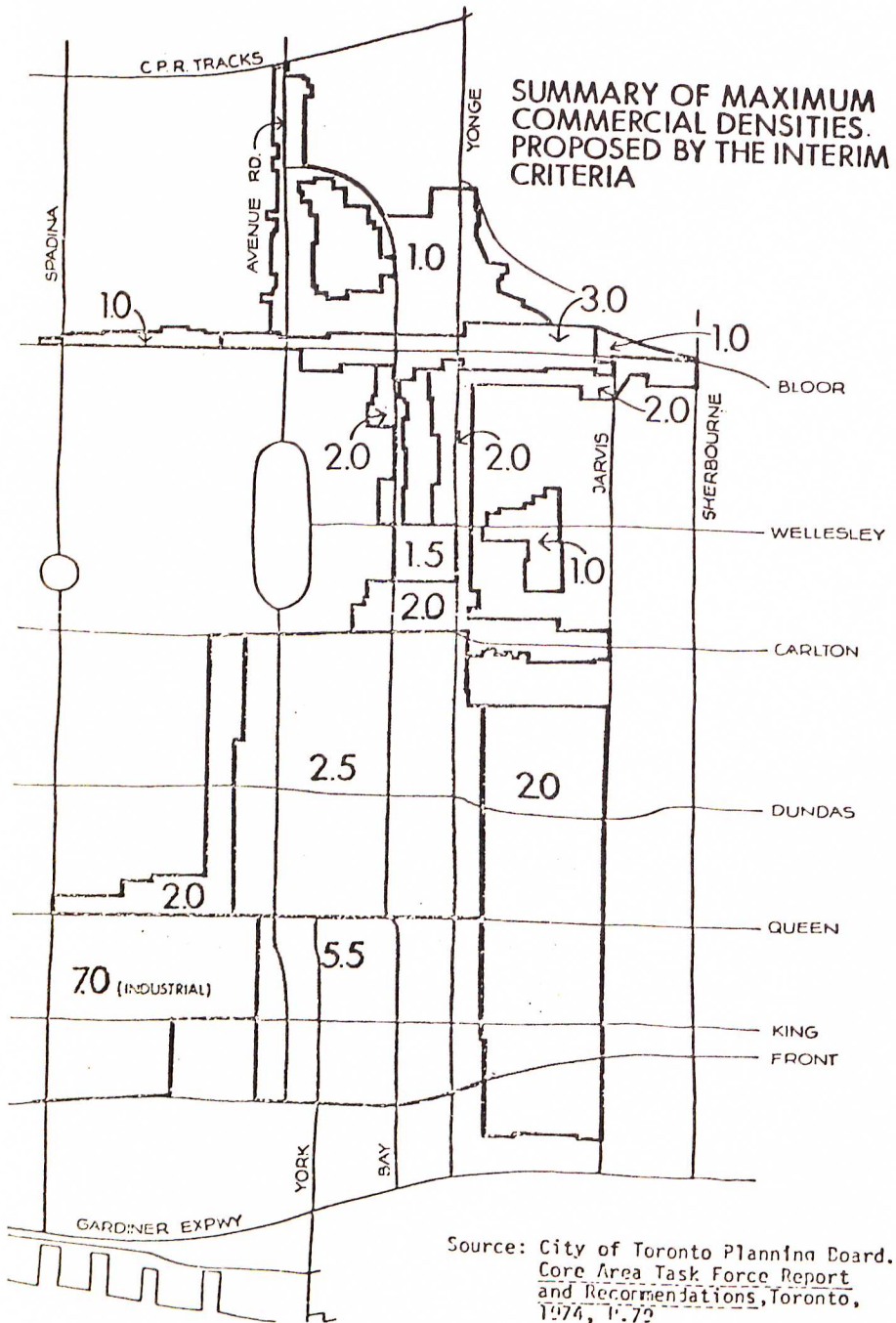
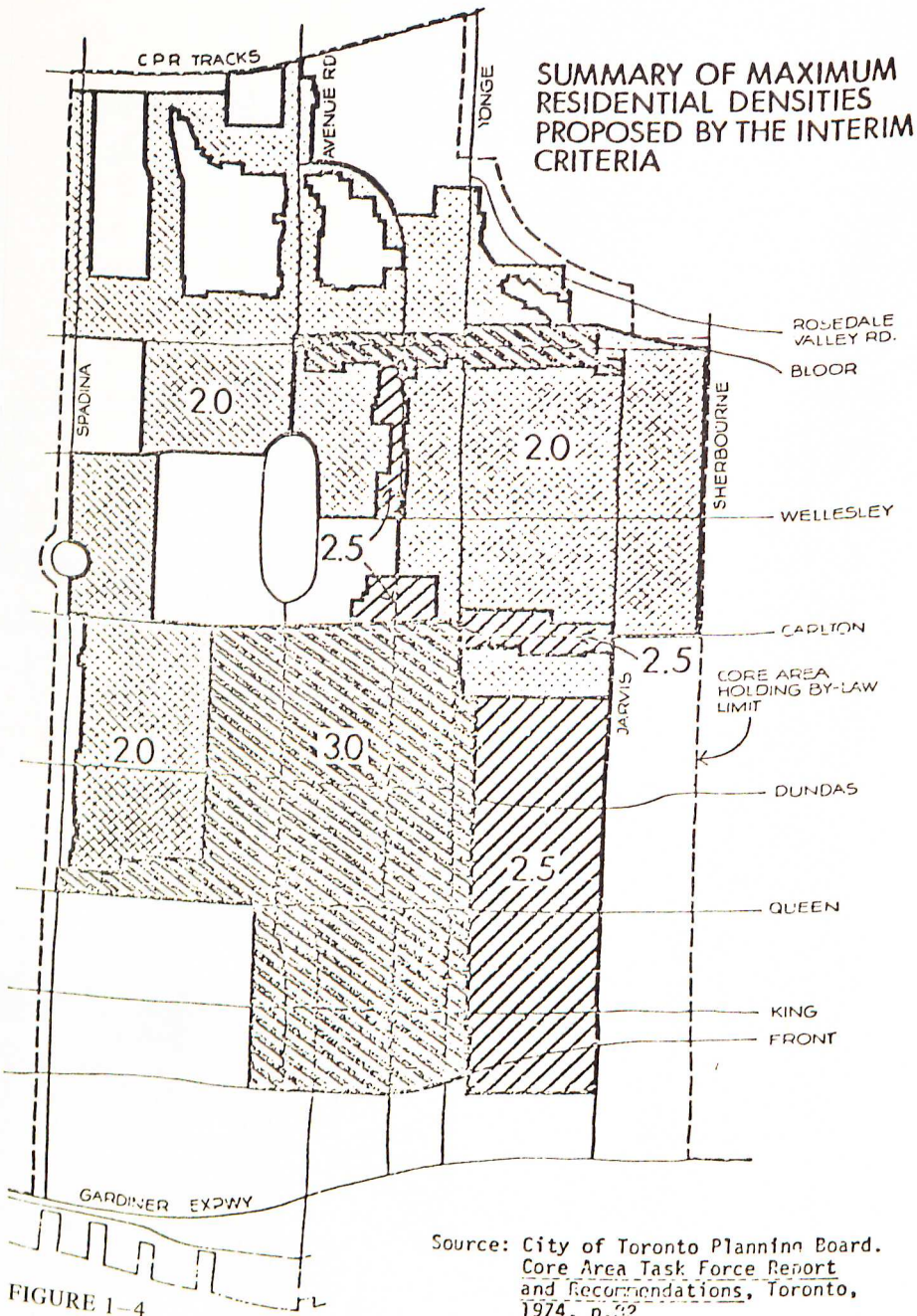


FIGURE 1-3



Source: City of Toronto Planning Board. Core Area Task Force Report and Recommendations, Toronto, 1974, p.32

FIGURE 1-4

THE APPARENT EFFECTS OF TORONTO CITY COUNCIL'S DEVELOPMENT CONTROL POLICIES TO DATE

A precise definition of the economic impact of the original Holding By-law and the two subsequent Modified Core Area Holding By-laws is not possible for several reasons.

First, the reaction to continued rapid urban growth in Toronto was part of a broader shift in public attitudes and philosophy towards a whole range of so-called *quality of life* issues. Yet the 45-foot height by-law immediately became a key symbol of this change. Because of this symbolic role both praise and criticism of the by-law have often reflected more fundamental value judgements. To some extent the current debate over the effects of the by-laws is rooted in conflicting ideas about the role of government and its right to interfere with *free market forces*.

A second obstacle to assessing the impact is the difficulty in distinguishing between the effects of the by-laws and the influence of the existing economic conditions. By the time the 45-foot by-law was put into effect the Canadian economy was in an acknowledged state of downturn. Several City planners who were interviewed for this report suggested that any perceptible slowdown in development in downtown Toronto has been the result of the rise in interest rates (from roughly 8 to 12%) together with a major rise in construction costs and some increase in operating costs, not City Council's actions.

A third factor which complicates an assessment is the need to distinguish between the impact of the uncertainty created by the interim legislation and the economic implications of the by-laws if they were in fact to become the ground rules for future development. Many of the attacks on the by-laws and the accompanying projections of economic losses (both to date and anticipated) by the development community appear to be based on expectations that the interim by-laws will become the permanent criteria. Thus in weighing the allegations that have been made about negative economic effects the following questions must be asked: *How have the developers determined their costs and losses and to what extent has the main impact of the*

development control efforts been the uncertainty they created rather than the freeze on building itself?

Having stated the difficulties in evaluating the effects of Toronto's development control actions, we shall now attempt such an evaluation. This section of our report will look at:

- i) The traditional indicators of construction activity;
- ii) the response to the *Central Area Plan Review—Principles* report which has been endorsed as the basis for further work and public discussion leading to final development controls, and
- iii) the various studies on the subject that have been recently completed or are in progress.

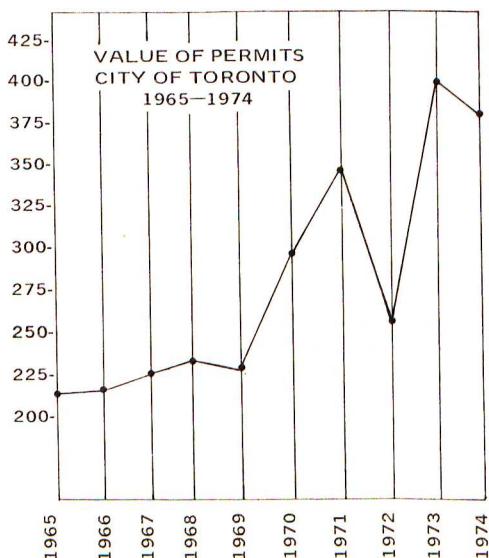
Four Traditional Indicators of Development Activity are:

- a) building permits issued
- b) land being traded or assembled
- c) the price of land
- d) housing and office space supply and rents

Turning to each of these factors in turn, it appears that the evidence is inconclusive.

a) Value of Building Permits

According to the 1974 annual report just released by the Toronto Buildings and Development Department, the dollar value of permits issued in 1974 was only 2% lower than the all-time high of 1973. The following chart illustrates Toronto building permit values for the ten-year period 1965 to 1974:



As the chart indicates, the 1974 total (\$402 million) was down slightly from \$409 million the previous year; the biggest drop was in housing construction including apartments (from \$115 million to \$72.9 million).

Much of this construction was for projects which were initiated before the 45-foot holding by-law was imposed in September, 1973. As explained previously in this section, nine major projects were exempted by City Council from the holding by-law, including the \$250 million Phase I of Eaton Centre. (Building permits for this project are being issued as work proceeds; in 1974 permits issued for Eaton Centre had the value of only \$11.4 million.)

These statistics appear to dispute the predictions that stringent development control by-laws would cause a drastic slump in building and a concomitant high level of construction unemployment. However, there are two notes of caution which must be sounded in reading these kinds of figures: first, due to inflation, the dollar of building permits may be less significant than they at first seem; second, many of the projects were initiated prior to the introduction of the holding by-law, so that these figures in part still reflect the pre-1973 development boom.

b) Land Being Traded or Assembled

While there are no summary reports to which one can turn for detailed figures on land assembly or land trading, there is evidence that the rate of transaction has fallen off slightly over the past eighteen months.¹ According to some developers, capital for new building projects, especially apartment buildings, is moving to other cities.² But to the extent that this is occurring it is actually impossible to extrapolate the impact of development controls from the total situation of 1974—including the dramatic rise in mortgage rates, the controls on foreign investment imposed by the Province, and the 50 per cent Provincial tax on speculative real estate profits (subsequently reduced to 20 per cent).

1. This was the impression of several members of the City Development Department to whom we spoke. They seem to think that most of the developers are playing a *waiting game*.

2. On the other hand, this trend of big companies to expand operations in other Canadian cities can be seen as part of the natural economic scheme of things.

c) Price of Land

Again, this is an area for which it is difficult to gather the facts, but there is evidence that only in a few cases has land declined in value. Some smaller developers and some speculators who were unable to *hold out* during the period of uncertainty may have been hurt by the situation, including the land use restrictions. On the whole, however, it was the impression of several real estate salesmen, planners, economic consultants and staff members of the Development Department with whom we spoke, that land values are *not* falling.

d) Housing, Office Space and Rents

Some indication of the effects of the development control by-laws can be found in A. E. LePage's *Real Estate Market Survey* for 1975.

This report documents the fact that housing starts for 1975 across Canada will be 20 per cent to 30 per cent below the 1973 level. This drop in housing starts has resulted from a combination of factors, including the shortage of serviced lots, greatly increased construction costs, and above all, the rapid rise in mortgage interest rates.

In Metro Toronto, housing construction declined from the 1973 figure of 20,307 dwelling starts to the 1974 figure of 16,202.¹ An 8–10 per cent rise in the average resale house price in 1975 has consequently been predicted.

Apartment construction for Metro Toronto as a whole has declined most significantly—48.7 per cent from the 1973 level of approximately \$446,000,000 to the 1974 level of roughly \$228,500,000.² The A. E. LePage report explains that talk of rent controls, high mortgage rates and carrying costs, uncertain economic conditions, increasing labour costs and municipal intervention have all forced the apartment developer out of this form of investment.

Given this national and regional context, a decline in new housing starts, it is not surprising that the City housing situation is also one of fewer starts and rising prices.³ The sharpness of the decline is somewhat greater in the City than for Metro at large. The apartment vacancy situation is particularly ominous, in Metro

1. CMHC Ontario Housing Statistics.

2. A. E. LePage uses the Toronto Census Metropolitan area, while CMHC uses the current boundaries of Metro Toronto. These figures cited here are for the larger *Toronto* area.

3. The 1974 starts numbered only 1,939 compared to 2,996 starts in 1973.

and in the City.¹

But to what extent can this situation be blamed on the imposition of the *bold*? The answer would seem to be that the anti-development legislation has been a minor factor. This is indicated by the fact that there are currently outstanding permits for a considerable amount of housing construction including several apartment-hotels and high-rise projects. But they are not being built (e.g. Windlass, West St., Jamestown) due to the generally sluggish economic conditions. Moreover, a housing shortage and low vacancy apartment rates of from 1½% to zero are to be found in the major cities across Canada as well as in a number of middle-sized cities. Toronto's situation in this respect is not unique.

While there has been a definite decline in office space construction, the situation is still one of oversupply. In 1974 office vacancies in Metro increased to 7.2% from 6.3% in 1973.² The A. E. LePage 1975 report predicts that 1976 will be the first year that the effects of development control efforts will be felt to any degree: in 1976 according to this real estate survey, the new controls will combine with other factors to *cause rental rates to escalate at a very rapid rate*.³ However, the report admits that due to the pattern of development in office space over the past decade – in which the supply of space has doubled – in the downtown and midtown areas – there is currently still a significant surplus of office space. In terms of office space supply it is apparent that the 45-foot holding by-law and subsequent by-laws have had, as yet, minimal effect.⁴

Reaction to the Document

Central Area Plan Review—Principles

In March, 1975, the City Planning Board adopted a staff report entitled *Central Area Plan Review—Principles* as the basis for recommendations of changes in planning policies for the core area of

Toronto. Because this document represented a synthesis of the work of the Core Area Task Force and the Planning staff to date and would provide the framework for subsequent policy development it was recognized that the public should have a chance to comment in response to it. Two public meetings were held in April and deputations were received from a number of groups and individuals representing a broad spectrum of opinion on the issues. (Submissions were received from several residents' groups including the Confederation of Residents and Ratepayers Association on the one hand and from the business community including the Board of Trade, the Toronto Real Estate Board and the Mayor's Industry and Labour Advisory Committee on the other.)

Because the comments at these two meetings are indicative of the range of public opinion on the issue of development control, for and against, it is worthwhile to consider the discussion that took place.¹

One of the primary general criticisms of the *Principles* document was that it was premature in that it was impossible to make proper judgements on the main development issues until the evidence as to economic implications of any policy changes was in. The fact that various studies of economic implications of development controls were underway only confirmed to the spokesmen of the business and development community the folly of the *Principles* which confirmed a planning direction before the results of all of the economic studies were known.

The response to the various components of this policy direction varied predictably according to the bias of the people making the comments. Thus, planned decentralization as a basis for future development of the region was advocated by those groups in favour of greater zoning controls while groups such as the Urban Development Institute and the Canadian Institute of Public Real Estate Companies were satisfied that decentralization was already occurring and that it was therefore unnecessary to intervene in the natural process of regional evolution.

While there appeared to be general agreement regarding decentralization as a desirable goal for the region, the conflict over the extent to which such a policy

1. A. E. LePage's *Market Survey* shows a Metro decline in apartment vacancy rates from 3.2 per cent (the highest for the 1964–74 decade) to an alarmingly low .9 per cent. By comparison, Vancouver had an even lower rate of .1 per cent vacancy.

2. A. E. LePage *Real Estate Market Survey*, 1975.

3. *Ibid.*, page 9.

4. In the downtown Toronto area as of the end of 1974 there were over 800,000 square feet of vacant office space representing 5.6% of the total space. This was a decline of only .04 per cent from the 6.0 per cent figure of 1973.

1. A City Planning Board Report of June 10, 1975, has reviewed and categorized the public comments. Appended to this report is the full text of all submissions received.

should be enforced illustrates the difficulty of arriving at a conclusion about the impact of greater development controls. The business and development interests pointed to a number of negative impacts of more stringent controls. These included:

- the disruption of market forces; severe downzoning will not permit development to occur economically
- delays in construction activity and unemployment in the construction industry and related industries
- increase in office rents
- deterioration of working conditions as a result of greater crowding of existing space
- dispersal of business community causing a breakdown in face-to-face contact
- loss of efficiency and a diminution of the focal character of the central business district
- increase in taxes due to losses in assessment

The planning staff answered that, first, they had not yet determined how severe the controls would be, a decision that must await the completion of the study program, and that second, the developers were not reading the *Principles* report accurately that it did not suggest that commercial development in the downtown should be stopped nor that severe downzoning should be imposed. What the report did call for was a modification of the *rate* of office growth in the Central Area so as to keep the option for further decentralization open. Thus the nature of disagreement apparently is one of defining just how extensive the controls need be in order to maintain this decentralization option. According to the planning staff the dire predictions of undesirable impacts by the business - industry - labour communities are unwarranted.

On other topics the disagreement was more clear-cut. But again, the evidence as to whose views are valid seems inconclusive. Thus with regard to the *principle* that residential housing should be encouraged in the central business district, those opposed insisted that such a goal was impracticable and undesirable; it would complicate servicing conditions and would disrupt and disperse the efficient primary office function; above all, they argued that the notion that low-cost family housing could be built in the central area was not a feasible one. Residents groups and planners, on the other hand, believed that more family housing in the central business district was both feasible and desirable and should

be one of the primary aims of future planning controls. Again, however, specific proposals for the various parts of the Central Area had not yet been worked out.

Comments were received on a number of topics arising out of the *Principles* - transportation, industry, parkland and recreation space, retail facilities, etc. However, the key issues raised by these comments have already been mentioned above. In general those critical of the *Principles* were alarmed by what they saw as a unilateral thrust by City Council at drastically scaled down development in the downtown business core producing considerable economic harm. The numerous ill effects which they point to presume a continued delay in new buildings and/or permanent downzoning. Whether or not this scenario is realistic will depend in part upon when the permanent controls are enacted and how stringent they will be.

Economic Studies of Development Controls Recently Completed or in Progress

In March, 1975, the City Planning Board expanded the Central Area work program by authorizing a number of economic studies to be undertaken by selected consultants. Five studies were outlined, as follows:

- Study #1 Impact of Development Controls on Urban Space Costs
- Study #2 Fiscal Implications of Development Controls
- Study #3 Economics of Agglomeration
- Study #4 Non-Resident Day-Time Population Survey
- Study #5 Analysis of Past Trends and Future Influences on Floor Area Ratios for Downtown Office Workers

Study #1 was subdivided into two parts, each with subsections. Part A was to deal with the techniques and assumptions of the land market while Part B focused more directly on the economic effects of changes in land use control in the central city, including zoning changes and other methods of control.

This elaborate schedule of studies is itself indicative of the complexity of the subject. At the time of writing this report most of the studies were in their final stages, but not yet available to the public. Their terms of reference, however, indicate some of the many factors and various points of view involved in assessing

impact.

For example, in analyzing the impact of alternative zoning policies on development one needs to know how developers calculate their losses and under what conditions they will or won't build. The study on agglomeration will attempt to define the extent to which agglomeration is healthy and what the costs are of excessive agglomeration; when does decentralization become too costly and inefficient? Study #5 will report on how office space is being used and how the changing trends in uses (e.g. if office space is getting bigger, as it appears, more space is needed for fewer people) relates to proposed limits on office space construction. No statement can yet be made on the significance of these studies other than the obvious fact that there are many implications to changing land use policies. Several planners and consultants with whom we spoke suggested that, so far, their evidence shows that if permanent controls based on low densities were enacted, some people (e.g. the smaller, less diversified developers) would suffer economically, but that in the long run as a new certainly developed, rents and prices would stabilize again.

In addition to these economic studies there are two other areas of research which have direct relevance to the permanent criteria which are being developed. One is the *Core Area Housing Study* by Klein and Sears which suggested that it was feasible to build at least 20,000 new housing units in the core area of the City over the next ten years. The second area of work deals with all aspects of the built environment. One study on the subject entitled *On Building Downtown* (September, 1974) suggests that design guidelines such as Sun and Shade, Wind and Calm, Noise and Quietude, Air Pollution and Control, serve as input into the planning area criteria. Another study on built form by an outside consultant is currently in progress, with a final report expected shortly. It will look at such aspects of land use as mixed uses and recreation space.

One study of special import has been completed. It was prepared for the Mayor of Toronto's Industry and Labour Advisory Committee by Professor William Code of the University of Western Ontario and it is descriptively entitled: *Controlling the Physical Growth of the Urban Core: A Study of the Implications of Restrictive Zoning in the Central Business District of Toronto*.

Frankly polemical, the report is a coherent, well thought-out argument,

representing one point of view. It articulates the fears of the business development community that restricting the commercial growth of the core will have hazardous economic consequences. Emphasis is placed on the complex interaction of factors which permit efficient operation of the downtown core as a nexus of the regional and, indeed, national financial community. Professor Code stresses the fragility of this interaction and its vulnerability to change. The question one must ask, however, is: would development controls destroy this vital *nexus*? The report proceeds from the assumption that the final permissible densities will be the maximum commercial densities proposed by the interim criteria. Two senior planners with whom we spoke suggested that the final controls will be significantly less stringent than the interim criteria. If they are correct, then Code's concern about *the multiplier effects of introducing diseconomies into the operation of the financial and administrative functions of the core* seems much less real.

The study argues that a decentralized employment pattern would evolve in Toronto without controls. This is certainly true to an extent, but several studies suggest that this dispersal is not happening fast enough in Metro, nor at all from Metro throughout the rest of the province. It also correctly points out that not all of the core would develop to the maximum limits of 12 times coverage, regardless of controls; yet the fact is that many recent developments in the core, including Prudential Building (King & York), Commerce Court, the Toronto-Dominion Centre, York Centre, the Bank of Montreal, the Four-Seasons Sheraton - Thompson Block, etc., did build to capacity limits.

Professor Code questions the assumptions and data base for projecting employment as well as the validity of the 435,000 figure accepted by the Planning Board as the central area employment limit. While these doubts are legitimate, one can well understand the planner's response of: what else can they do other than plan on the basis of the most complete data available?

The study goes into an impressive amount of detail in order to indicate the kinds of negative impacts that development controls will likely have on commercial and apartment rents, on the quality of new construction, on Toronto's and Metro's finances, and above all on interrupting the efficient

and healthy functioning of the central business district.

What alternative does the study suggest? It proposes that two basic *principles* should be adopted for the planning of the core area:

- (1) that policy should be of a *pull* character rather than a *push* character based on external decentralization incentives and not tightly restrictive physical controls.
- (2) that policy should seek to protect and *guide* development within the core, and not contain it. This would involve protecting clearly defined sites and areas which need protection and at the same time, not restraining redevelopment in those areas not needing protection.

The weakness of these alternative policies indicates that there are very different views as to the nature and extent of the *problem*. To the developers, according to Professor Code, the planners are reacting to concerns about *over-centralization and monolithic land use*. To advocates of new development control by-laws the future of the downtown environment as a whole (including social and aesthetic aspects) is at stake, requiring comprehensive planning controls.

While the study does not *prove* that new physical controls will be traumatic it provides a valuable insight into potential problems, albeit from one point of view.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

When this study was first undertaken, we had very little in the way of previously gathered information or study models to guide our efforts. The approach finally adopted seemed to have the dual advantages of providing potentially useful information and providing it in a relatively short period of time. We anticipated a larger return of our questionnaire (it was 42%) since we had taken such precaution in the selection of individuals and especially after receiving a positive indication of cooperation from more than 73% of those contacted.

One of the detrimental factors was probably the length of the questionnaire itself, as well as the complexity of some of the questions. Here again, we were experimenting due to the lack of existing information and were forced to ask every question which we thought would have some relevance for our study. We utilized a questionnaire similar to one designed by the Price Waterhouse Company and received initial review by representatives of Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (MSUA) and the University of Toronto. While we have made adjustments to obtain additional information for this study, if this approach is utilized again, we would suggest having extra names canvassed in each of the various categories (7 in our case). This might insure that a full complement of respondents would be available, thus providing the maximum reliability of the data obtained. It would also minimize the problem which we faced of comparing opinions and perceptions which are in some instances 9 months removed from one another. The time gap should be compressed to no more than 3 months if the data is going to be very reliable.

The data included in Section I of our study is but a small part of that which was gathered via our questionnaire. In a sense this reflects the fact that we may have gathered too much information. It is also fair to state that some of the information was not complete and could not be used for comparison purposes. Of those things which we did learn and report in Section I, the most significant are as follows:

There is still no universal acceptance of the no growth or slow growth attitude now popular in some cities. This nor or slow growth attitude is more popular than in the past, and a few city councils are now dominated by so-called reform members. However, the general public

has not been able to ascertain the precise impact of slow growth on all of the various facets of their life. The amelioration of the conflict between and among social, economic and physical factors is difficult on a personal as well as a community level. Some of the communities in our study felt that they would be worse off if they waited until they knew all the answers. Perhaps that is why approximately 55 pieces of legislation aimed at managing urban growth have been introduced in 21 Canadian cities. And this in spite of very little consensus by our questionnaire respondents that urban growth was even a problem that posed a serious dilemma for their community.

Depending on the circumstances prevalent in each city when various types of growth-related legislation was introduced, it is our opinion that the legislation fell into one of two categories. It was either to control growth and manage it or just plain manage it. The difference is purely one of degree in terms of the pressure being brought to bear by the existing growth pattern on the social, economic, and physical infrastructure in the community. Some city councils have not intended to impede the growth rate but rather direct it in such a way as to create a balanced development pattern. Other cities clearly intended, with their legislation, to slow the rate of growth and direct it to some other part of the province or country. This differing pattern of pressure and intention of legislation can be seen in comparing Edmonton and Calgary with Toronto and Vancouver. Both Edmonton and Calgary have been growing at a faster rate than Toronto and Vancouver and yet the latter two cities were the only two of the 12 under study that really indicated any displeasure with their existing rate of growth. Edmonton and Calgary would appear to have more room to facilitate growth and therefore have not felt the pressure to legislate a halt or a slow down.

Of the 7 categories of possible growth management legislation we presented, only 2 have been attempted and adopted in Calgary and only 3 attempted and adopted in Edmonton, all dealing with the control of residential development. On the other hand, Toronto and Vancouver have attempted to adopt all seven types of legislation with 3 being successful in Toronto and 4 in Vancouver.

Most of the cities in our study had used *consultant studies* and *planning reports* to determine that the major need

for growth management legislation was based on *municipal services being strained or the environment being endangered*. And in spite of the findings of these reports, several cities were faced with legal challenges to their growth legislation.

All of this attention to rate of growth and balanced growth stems from a desire to improve the quality of life experienced by people. If not improve it, at least the goal is the maintenance of the status quo. Just how prevalent is the attitude that growth is fine just so long as it does not adversely affect "me"? We got some clues but certainly the evidence was not conclusive. For instance, our respondents really were not sure whether a certain size city (population) was better than another. A few respondents from larger cities thought smaller was better and a few from smaller cities thought larger was okay. But basically it was the same old story as most people opted for about the same size as the city in which they were now living.

Similarly, our attempt to have respondents rank various quality of life factors produced obvious results as everyone indicated a strong preference for housing, employment and education. Although this suggests which things have the strongest appeal and would possibly rise to the top in any trade-off situation, there is not always a fundamental "either/or" situation prevalent. Several of the items we asked to be ranked were so closely ranked as to defy differentiation. The only real surprise was the low concern for public access to public officials and for energy consumption at a time when both factors would appear to be high on most people's list of concerns.

What is expected to happen in the future as regards urban growth and how are the 3 levels of government going to be involved? We found a wide range of opinion about future possibilities but there were some identifiable patterns which developed.

The Federal government is no longer looked upon as handling only those commonly national things such as defence, external affairs, etc., and the reason is not the result of a shift in philosophy. It probably stems more from an increased understanding of the intricate relationship between such things as immigration, national transportation policy, resource development and the ultimate pattern of urban development. Not only is it impossible to separate many of these problems, but to some people federal initiatives represent the best opportunity to

bring about a reasonable development of our urban centres because of the over view they have as well as financial advantages (revenue from the income tax). It is not surprising then that our respondents envisioned the federal government taking an active role in urban development via location of federal offices, tax incentives to business, and the development of new communities. But the most impact would obviously be felt through immigration policies and that is where our respondents saw the federal government being most active in the near future.

The Provincial government was still looked upon as the primary agent for change as people suggested "they" would be decentralizing their offices and building new communities, but more important would be provincial direction of economic growth. And, while people did not see the provincial governments interfering too much with the infrastructure of the individual municipalities, this would not necessarily indicate a trend towards more municipal autonomy.

Our respondents did, however, see local governments taking aggressive actions on many fronts in an attempt to preserve the quality of life. And there was a definite feeling that these efforts on the part of local governments would not only be successful but would continue for some time to come.

In conclusion, it would probably be safe to say that our respondents saw the Federal government deciding *how many* (people), the provincial government deciding *where* (they would work) and the local governments deciding *how* these people would be accommodated.

The only real problem is that the cities have been trying to say *how* without much assurance or direction from the Federal government or the provincial governments as to *how many* will be *where*.

Lacking this senior level framework many local governments have taken the initiative and introduced legislation aimed at managing some aspect of urban growth. This independence of action raises questions concerning the appropriate degree of autonomy which should be afforded municipalities in such matters.

Autonomy in planning at the local level has advantages and disadvantages. In British Columbia, the City of Vancouver for example, has been able to introduce design criteria for down-zoning without provincial interference. Similarly, Calgary had adopted Design Briefs to control

residential growth. Yet in Montreal, where there is little or no provincial control, the City has no master plan and there has been large scale demolition of historic sites and low-cost homes with consequent citizen displacement.

On the other hand, in provinces such as Ontario where city plans and zoning are subject to provincial approval, by-laws comparable to those passed in Vancouver have been rejected.

Where the municipality's plans and zoning by-laws are not open to provincial approval, there is a hazard that the municipality will ignore the need for development controls.¹ When the province does have review powers, there is likewise a hazard that in the effort to protect individual rights and the "public interest" it can stifle efforts by municipal councils to design effective methods of development control.

Significance of Local Legislative Efforts to Control Growth

From the above review of efforts in a few municipalities across Canada to control or manage development, certain observations can be made:

— Many local municipalities feel the need to go beyond the traditional instruments of regulating development, such as Official Plans and Zoning By-Laws, in response to the growing concern about the impact of continued and rapid growth and redevelopment.

— The success of the new implements such as height limits and down-zoning depends first on the statutory freedom of the municipality. The rejection of Toronto's height by-law by the OMB has constrained other Ontario municipalities. (e.g. London)

— Section 35-A of the Planning Act of Ontario does not appear to be a sufficient tool for regulating urban development, in that it lacks sufficient scope and flexibility.

— Any consideration of secondary economic and social impacts must take account of the political significance of revising land use policies. Since all of the proposals to modify zoning or establish new criteria affects property, and other socio-economic interests, an "objective" evaluation of side impacts

is probably impossible. Moreover an assessment of impacts must include a consideration of the consequences of not implementing reforms.¹

Tri-Level Action to Manage Growth

As one reads of the many attempts in Canada and abroad at all levels of government to cope with the difficult subject of urban growth, two distinct and even overwhelming factors are recognized as being the major determinants of growth patterns. They are, as well, the major reasons why changes in existing patterns are so difficult to design and implement. They are:

at the Federal level, *Immigration Policies* and

at the Provincial level, *Economic Dispersion*

Immigration Policies — The Federal government's green paper on immigration has been debated as the Federal road show travelled from city to city inviting the comments of all interested parties. As the complaints were registered, we began to understand the difficulty of plotting a course in an area so filled with emotion and diversity of values and cultures.

The pressures to turn off the immigration tap comes not only from those urban dwellers wishing to slow down or halt the rush to our cities, but also from a growing number of rural folk concerned about Canada's ability to care for so many new people without affecting our own standard of living.

Pressure from the other side is both internal and external to Canada but is primarily based on the desire to keep open the gates of opportunity to as many people as we can possibly accommodate, especially in light of poor living conditions in so many corners of the world. With so much of the world's

1. For example, Montreal lacks an official plan and adequate development controls. Between 1967 and 1974, 15,041 housing units, mainly low-cost, were demolished through the City. In their place a luxury hotel, Place Radio Canada and an auto route were built. Since 1967 the City has built only 5,067 low-cost houses replacing just one-third of the housing units lost. Further, whole communities have been destroyed in this process, since the City builds homes, not neighbourhoods. Attempts at spot-zoning only result in pressures for development in other parts of the City. (Berku, Dida "Saving Montreal", *City Magazine* Vol. No. 3, Feb-Mar '75 pp. 38-46).

1. See the recent article in *The Toronto Star*, *Canadian Magazine* section "Let Them Eat Cake", By Mary Kate Rowan, (Toronto Star, June 7, 1975).

population starving, many people find it hard to believe that a country which apparently abounds in resources and food could even contemplate accepting a lesser number of immigrants than is presently the case.

If the answer to the immigration problem were an easy one, no doubt the Federal government would already have reached a solution and a program would be well on the way to implementation.

And if we were governed by a less democratic set of principles and laws, even an unpopular position could be assumed, but this is not the case.

There are many factors, other than social, associated with any decision to decrease or increase existing immigration quotas. And it may be the economic factors which will actually be most influential on the government in the final analysis. New population usually creates markets for housing and a whole host of other products and services which are important during times of general economic recession but there is the other problem of unemployment. Population increases also generally mean a flush labour market which stimulates expansion and keeps the economic wheels well oiled in normal times.

The debate over the value of increasing immigration to stimulate the economy is about as nebulous as the debate over the ability of increased government spending to stimulate the economy. We would be foolhardy at best to attempt an answer to such a complex matter while others much more qualified have failed so miserably. We would instead offer a course of moderate restraint such as reducing immigration gradually by 10% per year for a four year period from 1974 levels and then increasing it again to 1983. By that time, an overall, long-range policy could certainly have been formulated. Levels of immigration would be as follows:

1976	130,000
1977	117,000
1978	106,000
1979	96,000
1980	106,000
1981	117,000
1982	130,000
1983	143,000

The following are the reasons for such a plan:

- 1) 10% was chosen because less than that would be insignificant and more might be too much of a cut in a year.
- 2) There would be a cooling off period when cities would have a little less

pressure and be able to develop plans which would have a chance to be implemented before they became outdated (we believe this would reduce immigration to the major cities even though some would argue that Vancouver and Toronto would continue to receive the same number of immigrants regardless of restrictions.)

- 3) The youth of our country, now the greatest percentage unemployed, would have a better opportunity to find employment.
- 4) There would be an easing of pressure on the much troubled housing market.
- 5) Businesses would also be able to plan better with a definite immigration policy. Expansion plans could be laid out and available employment would be much more predictable.
- 6) This would give the Provincial and Federal governments time to devise economic strategies to meet the anticipated increases in immigration in the 1980's.

Economic Dispersion – While each of the three levels of government has some measure of influence over economic patterns, the power of the provincial governments, in this respect, is probably the greatest. With their ability to determine overall land use policies, influence transportation networks, provide for the servicing of land and the provision of tax incentives, they have the major weapons in the government arsenal to bring about regional economic reform. Reform in this sense has traditionally meant the changing of current economic patterns – e.g. location. In terms of our study, it can be more specifically defined as the ability of the government to entice business to locate away from Vancouver and Toronto. And while both provincial governments involved have officially expressed a desire to have such a redirection occur, have received the moral backing from the Federal government, and all kinds of help from the local governments involved, the goal has not nearly begun to be fully realized.

In Ontario, the government has officially been working on a development policy for almost ten years and while the conceptual framework has been established, the detail and implementing programs are very much in abeyance.

If all of the tools exist and the direction is clear and agreed upon, then why has there been so little in substantive action? The answer is probably two-fold and

can be drawn from the reference in the previous sentence to *tools* and *clear direction*.

The *tools* are there for government to bring about the changes but the government has been unwilling to use them, at least to their fullest extent because business is not in total agreement with the *direction* of decentralization.

Students of economics and others who follow business closely will certainly understand the need for business to ascribe to the *bottom line* theory which in essence means the amount of profit determines whether a relocation is or is not made. Business has traditionally been willing to move from the city centre to cheaper suburban land so long as transportation links remained good and the work force was close by. But what the government has in mind in Ontario is not decentralization to the suburbs, although some of that is still desirable, but rather decentralization to an area 50 to 100 miles or more from Toronto's core area. This, to steal an oft-cited phrase, creates a whole new ball game. The economics of such a change are not always favourable, especially in terms of the aforementioned criteria of transportation and manpower. Also to be considered are such *minor* items as available energy which certainly has taken on added importance in the last few years.

Couple all of the above with a rather unstable economy and fast rising government spending and it is plain to see why there has not been any concerted effort to create new economic centres away from Toronto.

The Vancouver situation is somewhat different because of the reduced land area. As a result, their decentralization effort will probably occur in the 15 to 20 mile range as opposed to the 50 to 100 mile range desired in Toronto. They would appear to have the concurrence of those localities which are designated as growth centres, something that Ontario has also been unable to accomplish to date.¹ But they face all of the other difficulties such as actually getting business to relocate and coming up with the public money necessary to carry out such a plan.

Therefore, even if the Federal and Provincial governments took the legislative action recommended in this report it is conceivable that the lack of necessary public funds could delay affirmative action for several years. Let us hope that this does not provide an excuse for not

going ahead with this important senior level planning. All the evidence would seem to indicate if the senior levels of government don't proceed, local governments certainly will continue to attempt resolution through existing mechanisms.

1. A possible exception may be the Simcoe-Georgian Area to the north of Toronto, where a recent task force report seems to establish agreed-upon growth rates well above existing levels.

APPENDIX I
THE MANAGEMENT OF URBAN GROWTH

NAME _____

TITLE _____

ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE NUMBER _____

Number of years you have lived in this community _____ years

Number of years you have been involved in government _____ years

Will this questionnaire be filled out:

- _____ entirely by yourself
- _____ with partial consultation with others
- _____ with much consultation with others

Have you ever participated in any other studies of this kind? _____

List of Instructions

1. This is a general purpose, trend-pattern questionnaire designed to determine individual attitudes concerning the past, present and future of urban growth.
2. Please do not attempt to compare answers with any other member of this study group as this may tend to prejudice the results. Post report comparisons will be much more interesting.
3. Please complete and return your questionnaire no later than one week from the time you personally receive it.
4. Please make any comments or suggestions about the style or format of the questionnaire on the last two pages which are marked for that purpose.
5. If a question is not entirely clear, please answer it to the best of your ability and make a brief statement as to the problem as you see it in the margin near the question.
6. If a question does not have applicability to your community, please mark very clearly NA for Not Applicable.
7. Please read the introductory remarks on urban growth before proceeding in order to gain somewhat of a common starting ground with other study participants.
8. If there are any major questions regarding any facet of this study, please call collect to:
Mr. Charles K. Bens
416-363-9265

DEFINITIONS

- (1) **Urban Growth** – that economic or population increase which occurs in the urban community at a rate sufficient to maintain a high level of employment, as well as a diversified and strong tax base, at least equal to or greater than the national economic and population growth rate.
- (2) **Local unit of government** – may refer to a city, town, borough, county or regional government. Basically any unit of government smaller than the provincial government.
- (3) **Legislation** – may take the form of a local act, holding by-law, zoning regulation or any other action on the part of a governmental body which has local status and to which those affected must conform.
- (4) **Metro area** – in this instance conforms to the census definition of a metro area (CNA) which usually includes cities of 100,000 or more and the communities surrounding such a city.
- (5) **Pressure group** – may be defined as any group of people constituted for the specific purpose of supporting a particular point of view or interest and attempting, through whatever means are available, to win support for their convictions either through the general public or the governmental bodies which may be involved.
- (6) **Subjective criteria** – refers in this case to information that was not gained through the use of acceptable and proven data-gathering techniques – highly opinionated to the extent that there may be many other views on the subject.
- (7) **Objective criteria** – any drawn from acceptable and proven data-gathering techniques such as referenda, public information polls, scientific studies, approved statistical reporting, etc.
- (8) **Diversified tax base** – a distribution of commercial, industrial and residential facilities which accomplishes an acceptable burden on the individual taxpayer as well as on the commercial and industrial facilities.
- (9) **Ranking questions** – where a range of options in answering a question is presented, moderate usually refers to that which has been the average or the norm for the country as a whole, e.g. – economic growth in line with the increase of the gross national product or population growth in line with national trends.

The questionnaire is designed to solicit your response and views on how you perceive growth in your community in the past, in the present and in the future. These should be individual responses based on your individual experience rather than an attempt to present a view representative of a cross-section or a majority of your community.

URBAN GROWTH MANAGEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. When considering urban growth in your community do you feel:

there is too much growth _____ there is not enough growth _____
 it is not a problem _____

2. Are you aware of attempts by your *local unit of government* to deal with this growth problem through the passage of legislation aimed at improving their ability to either control the situation generally or create desirable alternatives in those areas contributing most to the problem of growth.

Yes _____ No _____

3. Are you aware of attempts by your *provincial government* to deal with this growth problem through the passage of legislation in some manner, effect the trend?

Yes _____ No _____

4. Which of the following policies has your local unit of government adopted or attempted to adopt recently to deal with the problem of growth? (Check only if they have attempted to apply the following. If you do not know, please check DK)

	Discussed	Failed to Adopt	Adopted	Don't Know
Height Limitation in downtown	_____	_____	_____	_____
Planned Unit Development by-law	_____	_____	_____	_____
Limited residential growth in certain areas	_____	_____	_____	_____
No growth on periphery of town	_____	_____	_____	_____
Moratorium on water: sewer extensions	_____	_____	_____	_____
Limited building permits	_____	_____	_____	_____
Tax Incentives to developers	_____	_____	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____	_____	_____

5. If yes to #2 -
 What method(s) were utilized in determining the need for growth control legislation?
 You may check more than one.

- _____ consultants' studies
- _____ governmental planning reports
- _____ public polls
- _____ elected officials' opinions
- _____ public hearings
- _____ other _____

6. Do you believe that each urban area in Canada has a population optimum beyond which problems outnumber advantages?

Yes _____ No _____

If Yes, is there a general range for this optimum point in your estimation? Put a 1 (one) in what you feel is the optimum size of an urban area generally, and a 2 (two) in the second best, and so on.

- No
- under 10,000
- 10,000 to 25,000
- 25,000 to 50,000
- 50,000 to 100,000
- 100,000 to 250,000
- 250,000 to 500,000
- 1 million
- 3 million
- 5 million

Write in the optimum size to which you would like to see your community grow by the year 2000.

7. Do you consider your community generally in favour of growth or opposed to it?

Opposed _____ Favour _____

Has this recently changed?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, was there a single event more than any other that changed their attitude and what was it?

8. If yes to #2 -

To what extent did a change in the general public's attitude bring about growth control legislation? Circle one.

Very much 2 3 4 Not at all
 1 5

9. If yes to #2 -

Which of these community participants played a significant role in getting that measure adopted? (Score the following on their role)

	Highly Significant				Not Significant
	1	2	3	4	
media (t.v. press)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ratepayers association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
planning department	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
City Council	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
university	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
business	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
other _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. If yes to #2 -

Has there been a legal challenge to your growth control legislation?

Yes _____ No _____

11. If yes to #2 -

Was your legislation drawn on the basis of subjective _____ or objective _____ criteria? If objective, which of the following was proven?

Rank 1 to 6

- _____ municipal services were strained
- _____ the environment was endangered
- _____ social conflict was increasing beyond control
- _____ financial resources were insufficient to support future growth
- _____ life style was changing with result of harmful public attitudes (e.g. mistrust, apathy)
- _____ an unsound economic pattern was developing (e.g. too much dependence on construction or service industry)

other _____

12.

URBAN CANADA GROWTH MANAGEMENT SURVEY

Listed below are a number of factors that affect the quality in a given community. Please indicate your assessment of the importance of each in the determination of whether a community has a high ranking in terms of quality of life. Please add and rank any factors not mentioned, that are, in your opinion, important.

Rank the following factors in terms of how important they are for *any* community. One (1) is the highest. Each number can be assigned only once.

This is an individual ranking for *your* community with one (1) as the highest. You may have several with high ratings.

FACTORS

		Very Good			Very Bad
		1	2	3	4 5
a	_____ availability of housing with variety of form and cost	_____	_____	_____	_____
b	_____ limited traffic congestion	_____	_____	_____	_____
c	_____ convenience of shopping facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
d	_____ limited natural hazards (tornados, earthquakes, etc.)	_____	_____	_____	_____
e	_____ employment availability	_____	_____	_____	_____
f	_____ diversified tax base	_____	_____	_____	_____
g	_____ access to public officials	_____	_____	_____	_____
h	_____ low crime rate	_____	_____	_____	_____
i	_____ variety of and access to leisure time activities	_____	_____	_____	_____
j	_____ a steadily expanding economy	_____	_____	_____	_____
k	_____ compatability of people interactions	_____	_____	_____	_____
l	_____ an unspoiled ecology	_____	_____	_____	_____
m	_____ sound educational system	_____	_____	_____	_____
n	_____ compatible land use development patterns	_____	_____	_____	_____
o	_____ efficient use of energy sources	_____	_____	_____	_____
p	_____ good physical appearance (with a blending of high-rise with other structural amenities)	_____	_____	_____	_____
q	_____ other _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

13. How would you assess the following factors as affecting your community's growth rate? Please mark one block for each factor.

	Negative				Positive			
	none	high	moderate	slight	neither	slight	moderate	high
availability of natural resources								
proximity to Canadian markets								
immigration								
national economic condition								
provincial government policies								
rural migration								
municipal government policies								
area economic condition								
availability of labour								
well balanced transport system								
availability of capital								
dynamic local/provincial leadership								
weather & other natural conditions								
proximity to U.S. markets								

14. How do you view your community's rate of *economic* growth?

	none	slight	moderate	high	extreme
since the end of W.W. II					
in the last 10 years					
recently					
in the next 10 years					
in the next 20 years					

How do you view your community's rate of *population* growth?

	none	slight	moderate	high	extreme
since the end of W.W. II					
in the last 10 years					
recently					
in the next 10 years					
in the next 20 years					

15. How would you rate your views on urban growth as compared to those of:

Please put an X or ✓ in the appropriate block for each category.

	far more conservative	somewhat conservative	about the same	somewhat liberal	far more liberal
the community as a whole					
your professional peers					
the business community					
ratepayer groups					
the media					
labour					
academia					
elected officials					
appointed officials					

The following questions are designed to solicit your views on the future. Please fill out accordingly.

EVENT	COLUMN ONE When is event most likely to occur (X or ✓ only 1 column)				COLUMN TWO Will this increase or decrease urban growth in your community							COLUMN THREE Government should address itself to this problem							COLUMN FOUR Remarks	
	Next 5 Years	5 - 10 Years	Later	Never	High	Moderate	Slight	None	Slight	Moderate	High	Very Definitely	Probably	Not Sure	Probably Not	No	Federal	Provincial		Local
1. Serious or prolonged recession occurs in the Canadian economy.																				
2. Serious and prolonged inflation, worse than experienced by international trading partners, occurs in Canada.																				
3. Significant energy shortage develops, requiring strict allocation.																				
4. Canada passes an immigration control act which severely limits the numbers of immigrants per year to Canada.																				

EVENT	COLUMN ONE When is event most likely to occur (X or ✓ only 1 column)				COLUMN TWO Will this increase or decrease urban growth in your community						COLUMN THREE Government should address itself to this problem						COLUMN FOUR Remarks				
	Next 5 Years	5 - 10 Years	Later	Never	No Opinion	High	Moderate	Slight	None	Slight	Moderate	High	Very Definitely	Probably	Not Sure	Probably Not		No	Federal	Provincial	Local
5. Significant energy shortage develops, substantially changing price and consumption patterns.																					
6. New buildings are required to meet strict environmental criteria.																					
7. Inner Core buildings are taxed to cover the infrastructure costs (e.g. transportation) incurred by the municipality to support these developments.																					
8. The Provincial government initiates the planned development of a number of new planned communities to help encourage growth in certain places.																					

EVENT	COLUMN ONE When is event most likely to occur (X or ✓ only 1 column)				COLUMN TWO Will this increase or decrease urban growth in your community							COLUMN THREE Government should address itself to this problem IF YES, WHICH LEVEL							COLUMN FOUR Remarks		
	Next 5 Years	5 - 10 Years	Later	Never	High	Moderate	Slight	None	Slight	Moderate	High	No Opinion	Very Definitely	Probably	Not Sure	Probably Not	No	Federal		Provincial	Local
9. Major office buildings are required under zoning regulations to include mixed use facilities (residential, commercial, recreational, industrial).																					
10. A guaranteed annual income is made available for all Canadians over 21.																					
11. The "work ethic" is de-emphasized, affecting office worker availability to a significant degree.																					
12. Canada adopts immigration policies which call for a distribution of most new immigrants to designated growth centres throughout Canada.																					

EVENT	COLUMN ONE When is event most likely to occur (X or ✓ only 1 column)				COLUMN TWO Will this increase or decrease urban growth in your community						COLUMN THREE Government should address itself to this problem				COLUMN FOUR Remarks									
	Next 5 Years	5-10 Years	Later	Never	No Opinion	High	Moderate	Slight	None	Slight	Moderate	High	No Opinion	Very Definitely		Probably	Not Sure	Probably Not	No	Federal	Provincial	Local		
13. Immigration to Canada increases significantly.																								
14. Emigration from Canada increases significantly.																								
15. Immigration to Canada is severely restricted to defined "desirable" types of people.																								
16. The Province passes legislation severely restricting commercial and industrial expansion in the core city area (downtown and surrounding neighbourhoods).																								

EVENT	COLUMN ONE When is event most likely to occur (X or ✓ only 1 column)				COLUMN TWO Will this increase or decrease urban growth in your community INCREASE/DECREASE				COLUMN THREE Government should address itself to this problem IF YES, WHICH LEVEL				COLUMN FOUR Remarks										
	Next 5 Years	5 - 10 Years	Later	Never	No Opinion	High	Moderate	Slight	None	Slight	Moderate	High		No Opinion	Very Definitely	Probably	Not Sure	Probably Not	No	Federal	Provincial	Local	
17. A significant proportion of administrative offices locate close to their operating facilities.																							
18. A number of provincial government ministries are decentralized to other cities.																							
19. Federal government administrative services are decentralized to major Canadian cities.																							
20. The Province puts a limit on the population of the Metropolitan Area and enforces the limit via issuance of building permits.																							

COLUMN ONE When is event most likely to occur (X or ✓ only 1 column)	COLUMN TWO Will this increase or decrease urban growth in your community	COLUMN THREE Government should address itself to this problem	COLUMN FOUR Remarks
	INCREASE/DECREASE	IF YES, WHICH LEVEL	
	High	Very Definitely	
	Moderate	Probably	
	Slight	Probably Not	
	None	Not Sure	
	Slight	No	
	Moderate	Federal	
	High	Provincial	
	No Opinion	Local	
EVENT			
21. Professional organizations (e.g. legal, accounting firms, etc.) become the major customers for office space in the Inner Core area.			
22. Office operations are decentralized to achieve greater interface with the public, customers, etc.			
23. Emphasis on prestige location of accommodation diminishes significantly.			
24. The federal government provides tax incentives to companies that locate in designated growth areas.			

EVENT	COLUMN ONE When is event most likely to occur (X or ✓ only 1 column)					COLUMN TWO Will this increase or decrease urban growth in your community							COLUMN THREE Government should address itself to this problem IF YES, WHICH LEVEL						COLUMN FOUR Remarks			
	Next 5 Years	5 - 10 Years	Later	Never	No Opinion	High	Moderate	Slight	None	Slight	Moderate	High	No Opinion	Very Definitely	Probably	Not Sure	Probably Not	No		Federal	Provincial	Local
25. Flexible working hours become common, decreasing peak load demands on transportation facilities.																						
26. Second shifts are introduced for clerical operations, significantly increasing utilization of existing facilities.																						
27. The local environment changes to the point where congestion, pollution, crime, etc. significantly affect labour availability.																						
28. Local governments are given the right to govern themselves independent of provincial action and a portion of the income tax to finance their operation.																						

EVENT	COLUMN ONE When is event most likely to occur (X or ✓ only 1 column)				COLUMN TWO Will this increase or decrease urban growth in your community					COLUMN THREE Government should address itself to this problem					COLUMN FOUR Remarks									
	Next 5 Years	5 - 10 Years	Later	Never	No Opinion	High	Moderate	Slight	None	Slight	Moderate	High	No Opinion	Very Definitely		Probably	Not Sure	Probably Not	No	Federal	Provincial	Local		
29. Transportation systems that encourage decentralization of business are introduced.																								
30. Use of private cars is restricted in the Inner Core area.																								
31. A new, inexpensive form of individual, controlled, short-range transportation is introduced as an alternative to the automobile.																								
32. Local governments are replaced as functioning units of government and replaced by a system of regional governments.																								

COLUMN ONE When is event most likely to occur (X or ✓ only 1 column)	COLUMN TWO Will this increase or decrease urban growth in your community	COLUMN THREE Government should address itself to this problem	COLUMN FOUR Remarks
Next 5 Years 5 - 10 Years Later Never No Opinion	High Moderate Slight None Slight Moderate High No Opinion	Very Definitely Probably Not Sure Probably Not No Federal Provincial Local	
EVENT			
33. Public pressure for improvement in the quality of life greatly increases.			
34. A socialist form of federal government is elected, leading to a highly planned economy.			
35. Downtown living becomes extremely desirable as a result of increased emphasis on living nearer to work as well as attractive building concepts.			
36. A federal political party is elected which provides private enterprise with greatly increased scope to shape the Canadian economy.			

EVENT	COLUMN ONE When is event most likely to occur (X or ✓ only 1 column)				COLUMN TWO Will this increase or decrease urban growth in your community				COLUMN THREE Government should address itself to this problem				COLUMN FOUR Remarks									
	Next 5 Years	5 - 10 Years	Later	Never	No Opinion	High	Moderate	Slight	None	Slight	Moderate	High		No Opinion	Very Definitely	Probably	Not Sure	Probably Not	No	Federal	Provincial	Local
37. Public pressure for improvement in the quality of life greatly decreases.																						
38. The Province passes legislation designating future growth areas and undertakes major financing of public works to facilitate the program.																						
39. The federal government initiates the development of a large number of new planned communities to take the heat off of rapid growth areas.																						
40. Development controls force private developers to put money into other areas thus requiring government to become the country's major developer.																						

EVENT	COLUMN ONE When is event most likely to occur (X or ✓ only 1 column)					COLUMN TWO Will this increase or decrease urban growth in your community					COLUMN THREE Government should address itself to this problem					COLUMN FOUR Remarks					
	Next 5 Years	5 - 10 Years	Later	Never	No Opinion	High	Moderate	Slight	None	Slight	Moderate	High	Very Definitely	Probably	Not Sure		Probably Not	No	Federal	Provincial	Local
41. All attempts to specially control growth are found to be ineffective and are dropped with only the standard land use regulations remaining.																					
42. Local reform policies are found to create high unemployment situations and a counter movement occurs in an effort to bolster the local economy.																					

We would welcome any comments or suggestions you would make with regard to the format of this questionnaire or other suggestions as regards this study.

APPENDIX II
CITY SIZE & LOCATION – CATEGORIES RESPONDING

City	1972 Population	Location	Categories Responding
Calgary	403,319	midwest	A
Edmonton	495,720	midwest	AUB
Halifax	222,637	east	AE
Hamilton	498,523	midwest	AUBE
Kitchener	226,843	midwest	AUE
London	286,011	midwest	AELM
Montreal	2,743,208	east	U
Oshawa		midwest	UE
Ottawa	602,510	midwest	AUMR
Quebec	480,502	east	UEL
Regina	140,734	midwest	M
St. Catharines/Niagara Falls	303,429	midwest	BUEMR
Saint John	106,744	east	
Saskatoon	126,449	midwest	AUMR
Sudbury	155,424	midwest	UBE
Thunder Bay	112,093	midwest	MLUB
Toronto	2,628,043	midwest	URMLE
Vancouver	1,082,352	west	AUBE
Windsor	258,642	midwest	BU
Winnipeg	540,263	midwest	ARM
St. John	131,514	east	R

CODE

- A – appointed official
- E – elected official
- U – university representative
- B – business representative
- L – labour representative
- R – ratepayer
- M – media representative

APPENDIX III

ATTITUDE TOWARD URBAN GROWTH -- RESPONDENTS & COMMUNITY

City	Respondents Attitude on Growth			Community Attitude on Growth			
	Too Much	Not Enough	Not a Problem	NA	Favour	Oppose	NA
Calgary	1				2	1	
Edmonton	2		2			2	
Halifax	1		1		1	1	
Hamilton		1	3		3	1	
Kitchener	2	1			3		
London		1	5		5		
Montreal		1			1	1	
Oshawa		1	2		2		
Ottawa	2		3		3	2	
Quebec			2	1	3		
Regina		1			1		
St. Catharines/N.F.	1		4		5		
Saint John					3	1	
Saskatoon			4		3		
Sudbury		1	2		2	2	
Thunder Bay	1	2	1		2	3	
Toronto	3		2		2	1	1
Vancouver	3				1		
Windsor		1	1		2	1	
Winnipeg	1		2		1		
St. John			1		1		
	17	9	35	1	44	16	2

APPENDIX IV

RATE OF GROWTH – POPULATION AND VALUE OF BUILDING PERMITS 1966-1972

City	Percentage Population Increase 1966-1972	Rank	Percentage Building Permit Value Increase 1966-1972	Rank
Calgary	22.0%	1	92%	6
Edmonton	16.5%	3	68%	11
Halifax	6.1%	18	122%	4
Hamilton	9.0%	12	11%	16
Kitchener	18.0%	2	- 33%	17
London	12.7%	8	91%	7
Montreal	6.7%	14	22%	14
Oshawa				
Ottawa	13.9%	6	112%	5
Quebec	10.0%	10	198%	3
Regina	6.3%	15	20%	15
St. Catharines/Niagara Falls	6.3%	16		
Saint John	2.4%	20	425%	1
Saskatoon	9.1%	11	- 98%	19
Sudbury	13.7%	7	409%	2
Thunder Bay	3.8%	19		
Toronto	14.8%	5	69%	10
Vancouver	16.0%	4	87%	9
Windsor	8.5%	13	22%	13
Winnipeg	6.2%	17	90%	8
St. John	12.1%	9	- 52%	18

Source: Canada Year Book 1967 and 1973

APPENDIX V

LEGISLATIVE ATTEMPTS TO MANAGE GROWTH

City	Ht. Limit	P.U.D.	Limit Res. Growth	Limit Periphia	Limit water & sewer	Limit Bldg. Permits	Tax Incentives	Total Per City
Calgary	-	-	adopted	adopted	-	-	-	2/0
Edmonton	-	adopted	adopted	-	adopted	-	-	3/0
Halifax	adopted	adopted	adopted	discussed	discussed	discussed	adopted	4/0
Hamilton	adopted	adopted	adopted	adopted	discussed	-	adopted	5/0
Kitchener	-	-	adopted	adopted	adopted	-	-	3/0
London	-	adopted	adopted	adopted	adopted	-	adopted	5/0
Montreal	adopted	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/0
Oshawa	adopted	adopted	adopted	failed	-	-	-	3/1
Ottawa	adopted	adopted	adopted	failed	failed	-	failed	3/3
Quebec	adopted	adopted	adopted	discussed	-	adopted	failed	4/1
Regina	-	-	failed	-	-	-	failed	0/2
St. Catharines/N.F.	failed	adopted	adopted	-	adopted	failed	failed	3/3
Saint John	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3/2
Saskatoon	adopted	adopted	adopted	-	failed	-	failed	4/1
Sudbury	-	adopted	adopted	adopted	adopted	-	failed	2/2
Thunder Bay	adopted	-	adopted	-	failed	failed	discussed	3/4
Toronto	adopted	adopted	adopted	failed	failed	failed	failed	4/3
Vancouver	adopted	adopted	adopted	adopted	failed	failed	discussed	1/2
Windsor	discussed	discussed	adopted	discussed	failed	failed	adopted	2/1
Winnipeg	failed	-	-	-	adopted	-	-	0/2
St. John	failed	-	failed	-	-	-	-	-
Total per Item	10/3	12/0	16/2	6/3	6/6	1/5	4/8	adopted/failed

APPENDIX VI

DETERMINING NEED FOR LEGISLATION – METHOD

City	Consultant Studies			Planning Reports			Public Polls			Elected Officials Opinions			Public Hearing			Other		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Calgary																		
Edmonton	1				1													1
Halifax	1				1													1
Hamilton	3				2				1									2
Kitchener				3														
London	4			1	4				1						2			2
Montreal				1						2								2
Oshawa	2				1													1
Ottawa	2			1	2					1								1
Quebec	3				1													1
Regina	1																	1
St. Catharines/Niagara Falls	4				2													2
Saint John																		2
Saskatoon	2				2													2
Sudbury	2				2													2
Thunder Bay	2				2													2
Toronto	3			1	2													1
Vancouver	2				3				1						2			2
Windsor	2				3				1						1			1
Winnipeg	2				1													1
St. John	1				1													1

APPENDIX VIII

QUALITY OF LIFE FACTORS — ALL RESPONDENTS AVERAGED

Housing	==== 2.95=*												
Employment	==== 3.30=*												
Education	==== 5.82=*												
Land Use Development	==== 7.42=*												
Traffic Congestion	==== 7.51=*												
Leisure Activities	==== 7.75=*												
Low Crime Rate	==== 7.83=*												
Expanding Economy	==== 7.90=*												
Unspoiled Ecology	==== 8.81=*												
Diversified Tax Base	==== 9.09=*												
Convenient Shopping	==== 9.38=*												
People Interactions	==== 9.71=*												
Aesthetics	==== 9.83=*												
Access to Public Officials	==== 11.78												
Natural Hazards	==== 11.92=*												
Efficient Use of Energy	==== 12.23=*												
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

APPENDIX IX

LEGAL CHALLENGE TO GROWTH MANAGEMENT LEGISLATION

City	Yes	No	No Answer
Calgary		3	3
Edmonton	2		1
Halifax	4		
Hamilton	1	2	
Kitchener	4	1	
London		1	
Montreal		2	1
Oshawa	2	3	
Ottawa		3	
Quebec	1		
Regina	1	3	1
St. Catharines/N.F.			
Saint John	1	2	1
Saskatoon		2	1
Sudbury	1	1	2
Thunder Bay	5		
Toronto	1	2	
Vancouver		2	
Windsor	1		
Winnipeg			
St. John			

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Corporate

A. E. Ames & Co. Ltd.
Bank of Montreal
The Bank of Nova Scotia
Bell Canada
Board of Trade, Metro Toronto
Bovis Corporation Ltd.
Bramalea Consolidated Developments
Brascan Limited
Cadillac Fairview Limited
Canada Malting Co. Ltd.
Canada Packers Foundation
Canada Permanent Trust Co.
Canada Wire & Cable Ltd.
Canadian Freehold Properties Ltd.
Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce
Canadian National Railways
Canadian Pacific Railways
Confederation Life
Consumer's Gas Co. Ltd.
Crown Life Insurance Co.
Dofasco Ltd.
Dominion of Canada General Insurance
Dominion Securities Corp. Ltd.
Donlee Manufacturing Ind. Ltd.
T. Eaton Co.
Falconbridge Nickel Mines Ltd.
Gilbey Canada Ltd.
Greenshields Inc.
Group R
GSW Appliances Ltd.
Gulf Realty Co. Ltd.
The Imperial Life Assurance Co.
of Canada
Imperial Oil Ltd.
Independent Order of Foresters
International Business Machines Co. Ltd.
Jackman Foundation
Kodak Canada Ltd.
John Labatt Ltd.
A. E. LePage Ltd.
Lever Brothers Ltd.
Maclean-Hunter Publishing Co. Ltd.
Maple Leaf Mills Limited
L. J. McGuinness and Co. Ltd.
National Trust
Neptune Meters
Northern and Central Gas Corp.
Ostranders Jewellers
Parking Authority of Toronto
Procter and Gamble of Canada Ltd.
Redpath Industries
The Royal Bank of Canada
Royal Insurance Company
Royal Trust Co.
Samuel Son & Co. Ltd.
Shell Canada Ltd.
Robert Simpson Co.
Simpsons Sears Ltd.
Steel Co. of Canada
Sun Oil Co. Ltd.
The Toronto-Dominion Bank
Toronto Star Ltd.
Trans-Canada Pipe Lines Ltd.
Turner and Porter Funeral Directors Ltd.
Union Carbide Canada Ltd.
Victoria & Grey Trust Co.
Weber Reproductions Ltd.
George Weston Ltd.
Wood Gundy Limited
F. W. Woolworth Limited

Professional

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Blancy, Pasternak, Smela and Watson
Blake, Cassells & Graydon
John Bousfield Associates
Mary Collins Consultants Ltd.
Damas and Smith Ltd.
Deleuw, Cather & Co.
Dilworth, Secord, Meagher & Assoc
Giffels Associates Ltd.
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& Planners
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Peat, Marwick and Partners
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Thorne, Riddell & Co.
Waterloo Region Health & Social
Planning Study
Webb, Zerafa, Menkes, Housden
Weir and Foulds
Woods, Gordon & Co.

Governmental

Burlington
Reg. Mun. of Durham
Borough of East York
Borough of Etobicoke
Reg. Mun. of Hamilton-Wentworth
Kingston
Kitchener
Metropolitan Toronto
Ministry of State for Urban Affairs
Ministry of T.E.I.G.A.
Mississauga
Reg. Mun. of Niagara
Borough of North York
Oshawa
Reg. Mun. of Ottawa/Carleton
Reg. Mun. of Peel
Richmond Hill
St. Catharines
Sudbury
Reg. Mun. of Sudbury
Toronto
Town of Vaughan
Borough of York
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Labour

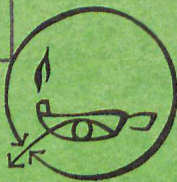
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