Federalism and the Institutional Dynamics of Intergovernmental Spatial Policy Coordination in Canada

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Humanities

2011

Brian Webb

School of Environment and Development

LIST OF CONTENTS

WORD COUNT: 79,322

FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES AND TABLES

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIT: Agreement on Internal Trade

BC: British Columbia

ESDP: European Spatial Development Perspective

EU: European Union

GIS: Geographic Information System

HRSDC: Human Resources and Skills Development Canada

IGA: Intergovernmental Affairs

IMIF: Interactive Model of Identity Formation

MOU: Memorandum of Understanding

NWT: Northwest Territories

OMC: Open Method of Coordination

PEI: Prince Edward Island

TILMA: Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement

ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the governmental institutional dynamics that structure the formulation and coordination of spatial policy within the federal Canadian intergovernmental system and presents methods to improve it. The research utilises the three traditions of new institutionalism - historical, rational choice and sociological - to develop a crosscutting assessment of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. An embedded case study approach is then used to discuss intergovernmental spatial policy coordination between the governments of Canada, British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Research findings highlight the uniqueness of the institutional environments that exist within each government, and to a lesser extent each department, which structure policymakers' understandings of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. Policymakers demonstrate a distinct awareness of spatial issues, but they are often constrained in their ability formally to articulate this in the development of public policy, particularly in relation to intergovernmental interactions. The decentralised federal nature of Canada is shown to be a highly influential reason for this, with issues of history, equity, politics and strong regional government cultures playing important roles in impeding intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

The thesis explores these constraints, discussing how both formal and informal institutional structures interact to discourage the use of spatial policy, and discusses the ways in which intergovernmental spatial policy coordination could be enhanced in the specific context of Canada. The institutional framework developed in this research is shown to be a useful method for conceptualising the competing federal principles of unity and diversity in the study of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. Ultimately this thesis argues that while intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is poorly developed in Canada, policymaker awareness of spatial issues influences the decision-making processes employed to develop and coordinate public policy.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this of any other university of other institute of learning.

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

I. The author of this thesis (including appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) own certain copyright or related rights in it (the "Copyright") and he has given the University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.

II. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made **only** in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issues under it, or where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of such copies made.

III. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trade marks and other intellectual property (the "Intellectual Property") and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables ("Reproductions"), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.

IV. Further information in the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (see http://www.campus.manchester.ac.uk/medialibrary/policies/intellectual-property.pdf) in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library's regulations (see http://manchester.ac.uk/library/aboutus/regulations) and in the University's policy on presentation of Theses.

<u>DEDICATION</u>

For my grandparents

Anna (1921 - 2008)

and

Jim (1920 - 2010)

Venner

whose spirits continue to inspire me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Professor Cecilia Wong is fond of equating the PhD process to that of building a house. It is in the spirit of this metaphor that I express my gratitude to all of those who have helped me during the course of this research and without whom none of this could have been achieved.

With thanks…

To my supervisors, Cecilia Wong and Iain Deas, who critically not only made sure my blueprints were correct at every stage but also that construction remained on schedule.

To the financers who allowed me to buy the necessary bricks and mortar, I am indebted to the support offered by the Brian Robson Postgraduate Research Scholarship on Urban Policy and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Doctoral Fellowship which made this research possible.

To the interviewees who provided the furnishings, their time and experience was invaluable to this research.

To my fellow friends and colleagues in the Centre for Urban Policy Studies, the Planning Department, and those on the other side of the pond who sustained me by stocking the fridge with cake, beer and encouragement, their constant support, guidance and humour kept me going.

To the building inspectors, Greg Lloyd and Yasminah Beebeejaun, for taking the time to be examiners and making sure everything is structurally sound.

Ultimately, however, a house is only as strong as it's foundation. In this regard I have benefited from the constant love and support of my family. Thanks to my parents, Norm and Barb, my grandmother, Anne, my brother, Colin, and most especially to Ian, who has been with me every step of the way, carrying me when I could not walk and lifting my spirit when it was low. I am who I am because of their sacrifices, understanding, wisdom and love.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

New trends have emerged in the last few decades that have resulted in a profound shift in the economic and social characteristics of industrialised nations. Among these changes, rapid urbanisation and the emergence of new social and economic relationships within and between places have necessitated new conceptualisations of institutions and governance arrangements (Hajer & Wagenaar 2003; Salet & Thornley 2007). Simultaneously, socio-economic inequality has intensified as neo-liberal policies have risen to prominence (Peck 2002), while patterns of identity and regional and national consciousness have been affected in multifaceted ways by the globalisation of economic activity (Castells 1996). This transformation has renewed the debate on how multiple levels of government interact with one another, from the central, to the regional, to the local, as the territorial basis on which the state is organised shifts in response to economic globalisation (Brenner 2004; Rodríguez-Pose 2008; Scott et al. 2001).

At the same time the role and importance of territory within this new multi-scalar environment has been increasingly discussed as more comprehensive spatial planning approaches have emerged, particularly at the city-regional scale (Albrechts et al. 2001; 2003; Alden 2006; Healey 2004, 2006; Salet & Faludi 2000). The advent of spatial planning – a concept that "considers the interaction among policy sectors according to different territorial units, national, regional and local, across a wide range of policy sectors addressing different kinds of problems, economic, social and environmental" (Koresawa & Konvitz 2001, p. 11) – represents a shift away from traditional land use planning and zoning associated with regulation and use of property, and towards an approach which recognises the influence of wider policies on space.

Much of this debate has been limited to European countries, some of which have a long tradition of spatial planning (Balme & Jouve 1996; Faludi 2004; Kunzmann 2001) while others have seen the concept grow in

importance as a result of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) (Coccossiss et al. 2005; Koresawa & Konvitz 2001; Nadin 2007). In North America the concept is usually limited to a metropolitan or regional context and often by way of the term Smart Growth (Dewar & Epstein 2007; Friedmann 2004; Wolfe 2002). Discussions also tend to focus more narrowly on land-use regulation, infrastructure provision and environmental concerns rather than the interaction between these concerns and other policy sectors. Furthermore, there is a distinct lack of consideration of these issues beyond the metropolitan and regional scale, with little comprehensive discussion of the spatial impact of policies between the provincial/state and federal levels of government, particularly in Canada.

While there is much discussion of intergovernmental coordination at the federal/provincial level in Canada (see for example Bird & Tarasov 2004; Brock 2008; Cameron & Simeon 2002; Lecours & Béland 2009), the debate rarely covers the interconnected nature of sectoral policies, often just focusing on the differences between how intergovernmental policy is coordinated within a single policy field, such as health, or education, rather than in a more comprehensive manner (Bakvis & Brown 2010). The federal nature of Canadian government adds another dimension to the analysis of spatial issues and coordination, as federalism is a distinct "mode of political organization that aims to reconcile the principles of unity and diversity within a shared territorial space." (Faford 2010, p. 21). As such, Canada is a useful platform from which to investigate intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in this research.

Understanding the interconnected nature of public policies across levels of government is increasingly seen as an emerging area of concern for policymakers (Lazar 2004). This thesis seeks to make a contribution to this area of research by exploring how intergovernmental policy is formulated and coordinated across multiple policy fields and what role spatial considerations play in this process. An emphasis is placed on the spatial aspect of policy because spatial planning is considered "the most important among policies negatively affected by deficient co-ordination" (Schäfer

2005, p. 3) and has an established tradition of considering the impact of multiple policy fields (Koresawa & Konvitz 2001). In addition there are dynamic tensions, both political and cultural, that exist as multiple levels of government simultaneously represent and define the same overlapping geographical space through their individual policies (Boudreau 2003).

Canadian federalism separates constitutional jurisdiction for policy fields between two levels of government, the federal and the provincial levels – neither of which are constitutionally considered subservient to the other. This has resulted in difficulties in developing comprehensive policies that address cross-jurisdictional concerns, as each government seeks to maintain their control over their own policy competencies. These difficulties manifest themselves in a variety of policy voids, including transportation, housing, and energy. Despite considerable lobbying by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce (2008), and efforts by the Council of the Federation (2005), Canada does not have a countrywide transportation strategy. Similar efforts have been made by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2007) and the Canadian Urban Transit Association (2007) for the establishment of a Federal transit strategy.

Many of the arguments are based on the lack of financial capacity available at the provincial level to fund these initiatives, economic arguments related to the productivity losses associated with a lack of investment, and the need to encourage cross-boundary linkages, both at the provincial and municipal level. Additionally, Canada does not have a countrywide housing strategy and has been without a countrywide energy plan for twenty years (The Council of Canadians 2008). Meanwhile, Federal infrastructure funds are largely limited to piecemeal, smaller scale municipal projects. Each of these policies has the potential also to include a spatial component, as roads, houses, transit and energy lines must be built in a particular location. The lack of countrywide policy initiatives are a symptom of the constitutional division of powers, as particular policy issues are split between governments, limiting the ability of departments to consider wider, strategic benefits and interconnected issues that may lie within another government's competency.

RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

This research aims to understand how institutional dynamics structure the formulation and coordination of intergovernmental spatial policy in Canada, and thereby to make recommendations for its improvement.

Objective One

To examine the current theoretical and practical understanding of spatial territorial development research and policy coordination within an intergovernmental environment in order to develop a framework of study.

Objective Two

To analyse the current spatial inequalities and connectivities that exist within Canada in order to identify regions where intergovernmental spatial policy coordination issues are abundant.

Objective Three

To understand the extent of formal institutionalised intergovernmental spatial policy coordination between the federal and provincial governments of Canada.

Objective Four

To examine the informal institutional context, relationships, and the attitudes of policymakers in Canada towards intergovernmental spatial policy coordination via a case study.

Objective Five

To critique the research framework based on the analysis and to recommend methods to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

After an introduction to the thesis, Chapter 2 seeks to examine the evolving debate around the institutional dynamics of government, the need for new forms of coordination, and how these changes have resulted in new conceptualisations of intergovernmental relationships and spatial policy. The theoretical debate surrounding the primary themes of multi-level governance, federalism, coordination, spatial planning, and institutional/actor relationships, is then outlined and the theoretical context under which the research is to be undertaken is presented.

Chapter 3 introduces the investigation of Canada for the examination of the effects of institutional processes on intergovernmental spatial policy coordination within a highly decentralised country along with the development of the conceptualisation and methodology for the research. The structure of Canada's federalist system and the impact of historical decisions on intergovernmental relations are first explored. A conceptual theoretical framework is then developed from a crosscutting institutionalist approach that recognises both the structural historic, sociological and rational choice factors present within the intergovernmental environment and the impact of these structural forces on policymakers and their conceptualisations of spatial policy and coordination mechanisms. To understand these complex relationships, the use of an embedded case study approach is explained. The approach first broadly explores the wider context within Canada to determine the most suitable candidate for the case study through an analysis of secondary data. This is followed by a more geographically-focused case study that utilises a conceptually clustered matrix to examine the spatial policy and coordination content of federal and provincial policy documents. The analysis is then expanded to include in-depth elite interviews with policymakers. The data collection and analysis process to be utilised in both stages of the case study along with the triangulation process are also outlined.

Chapter 4 provides a discussion of Canadian regionalism and an analysis of the patterns of spatial inequalities and connectivities in Canada and discusses the impact of these trends on spatial structure. Aspects of

Canada's federal culture are first highlighted with particular emphasis on the regional dimensions of federal and provincial politics. The analysis then focuses on using demographic, economic, and social indicators to generate a detailed understanding of the changing regional spatial characteristics of the country, noting major differences and deficiencies in equality as well as using flow data to highlight the spatial connections between regions. A typology of regions is then presented, which is used in conjunction with the discussion of regionalism to inform the selection of the case study locations.

Having generated the evidence base from which to determine the most suitable case study, Chapter 5 begins the more detailed case study analysis in order to understand the formally defined policy environment in which civil servants work and the extent to which spatial policy issues are present and how they are coordinated within the content of public policy documents. Policy documents from a variety of ministries within the Government of Canada and the provincial governments of British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan are reviewed in order to understand the formal content of spatial policy and to ascertain the extent of intergovernmental coordination mechanisms.

While government policy provides one method of understanding the extent of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, the perception of actors involved in the creation of the policy are just as important as the policy statements themselves. To this end, Chapter 6 continues the detailed case study analysis by examining the institutional intergovernmental context, relationships, and attitudes of the relevant actors. This is achieved by undertaking interviews with senior federal and provincial policymakers in order to determine their attitudes and beliefs towards intergovernmental coordination and spatial policy.

Chapter 7 then follows from the earlier discussion with senior policymakers to identify possible methods to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. The information collected through the interviews is analysed by utilising an institutionalist perspective to determine the perceived institutional constraints, actor led relationships and the individual conceptions of the role they play in spatial policy

formulation and coordination. Case studies of the emergence of federal-provincial and intergovernmental spatial policy coordination are then discussed, and crosscutting spatial policy coordination elements identified.

Chapter 8 synthesises the information collected and analysed in the previous chapters. It begins by critiquing the research framework used based on the information collected throughout the research process. A revised understanding of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in Canada based on the research is then posited. Finally, through the process of triangulation, specific policy recommendations are made to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in Canada.

Chapter 9 draws some research conclusions. The contribution that the research has made is demonstrated along with a discussion on how the research can be used to inform future areas of debate on the issue of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a literature review of the key issues and theoretical discussions surrounding government, policy coordination, federalism, and conceptualisations of space. The chapter begins with a discussion of modes of government and the need for policy coordination, specifically within federal systems of government. The chapter then explores coordination processes in more detail, linking theories to practical concerns of spatial policy in an intergovernmental environment. The importance of space and polity is then discussed, with consideration given to how space is conceptualised and the implications of varying conceptualisations of space on intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

DISTINCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNANCE

A shift in understanding of government has occurred over the past half century, moving from traditional conceptions of hierarchical, command and control, forms of government towards a view that sees governance as based on an increasingly complex series of policy and institutional networks (Stephenson 2004). Stoker (1998, p. 17) defines government as "the formal and institutional processes which operate at the level of the nation state to maintain public order and to facilitate collective action". Alternatively, he defines governance as "the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred. The essence of governance is its focus on governing mechanisms which do not rest on recourse to the authority and sanctions of government" (Stoker 1998, p. 17). In this way governance is a fairly broad concept while government is more tightly defined based on those formal institutions that have been provided with the capacity to enforce actions.

While government is often considered to be concerned with top-down, sectorally based, and closed organisational forms of governing, network governance is concerned with "sustaining co-ordination and

coherence among a wide variety of actors with different purposes and objectives such as political actors and institutions, corporate interests, civil society, and transnational governments" (Pierre 2000, pp. 3-4) (see Table 1).

Yet this distinction of concepts masks the complexity that exists between government and governance. Pierre and Peters (2000) as well as Brenner (1999; 2004) contend that the popularity of governance has risen due to the loss of government ability to guide society as a result of a displacement of power towards both supra-national level organisations, such as the World Bank, as well as towards lower level organisations, such as non-governmental organisations operating at sub-state scales. Government, however, is still a primary driver of society and an institution that is increasingly being seen as co-existing with new forms of governance rather than being overtaken by them (Jordan, Wurzel & Zito 2005).

Table 1: Distinctions of government/governance

DISTINCTION	DESCRIPTION
Hierarchical Government	Characterised by a closed-network of top-down, hierarchical government where the state has exclusive control over expert knowledge and dictates to society (Stoker 1998).
Network Governance	Characterised by the recognition that a wide variety of actors within society have their own interests and objectives that must be reconciled with those of government (Pierre 2000).
Multi-level Governance	Characterised by the recognition by different levels of government that each have their own interests and objectives that must be collectively negotiated, horizontally, vertically and diagonally (Marks 1992).

Source: Author

As such, the study of government is still an important area of interest, particularly in relation to planning given its inherent regulatory nature. The interaction of government and governance becomes even more complicated in a federal system, where multiple governments exist alongside new forms of governance. In such a system each of the components of government identified by Richards and Smith (2002, p. 279) - "bureaucracy, legislation, financial control, regulation and force" - have the potential for conflict and overlap between governments as well as between new forms of governance within an intergovernmental environment.

POLICY FORMULATION WITHIN AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL ENVIRONMENT

The Emergence of Multi-Level Governance and its Impact on Government

The shift in government/governance conceptions has come about due to dramatic changes in the international economy, reflected in the changing organisation of capital and labour, and in the role of the state (and in particular the diminishing role for the traditional welfare state). These factors, which have contributed to a change towards network governance, have also spawned new conceptions of governance between different levels of government. This multi-level governing system, first used by Marks (1992) to explain EU structural fund reforms, has been defined as "a system of continuous negotiation among nested governments at several territorial tiers" (Marks 1992, p. 392). Within this system there is a particular emphasis on policy networks that involve all levels of government and non-governmental actors, suggesting multi-level governance is concerned with both vertical and horizontal interactions (Bache & Flinders 2004). The European Union has been particularly interested in the concept of network governance, and specifically multi-level governance, as it affects the autonomy of states within the Union and the shift in power from national governments upwards to the supranational and downwards to sub-national actors (Hooghe & Marks 2001).

The literature on multi-level governance has since been expanded to include non-EU discussions and applied more broadly to shifts in power within nation states to other governmental tiers and non-governmental actors (Harmes 2006). Hajer (2003) understands this shift to multi-level governance as a result, in part, of an institutional policy void brought about by the dilution of the territorially based relationship between politico-administrative institutions, societal processes and cultural adherences that are no longer limited to nation-state borders but which interact on a global scale. He goes on to argue that the disappearance of a stable polity has changed the policy-making environment and suggests the use of deliberative policy analysis is now necessary, which he defines as "a varied search for understandings of society to facilitate meaningful and legitimate political actions, agreed upon in mutual interaction to improve our collective quality of life" (Hajer 2003, p. 191). This definition complements a multi-governance perspective that recognises the mutual interdependence at a variety of levels and segments of society that has resulted from a gradual reorganisation of government at all levels. Yet legal, administrative and professional traditions are often heavily entrenched and do not always easily change to differing circumstances, forcing actors to play within the institutional structure or accept that the most they can hope to do is alter the rules slightly to meet new challenges rather then force wholesale change.

Hooghe and Marks (2003) have defined two types of multi-level governance, which they call Type I and Type II (Table 2). Type I systems operate in the same manner as a federation, whereby multiple forms of government exist with different defined boundaries, elected officials, and competencies, with each level taking a similar organisational structure as the other. Type II systems are composed of multiple jurisdictions with mandates defined by the functional delivery of a service or good, composed of whatever members are needed to undertake the task, operating without predefined levels of governance, boundaries or organisational design.

Table 2: Types of multi-level governance

TYPE I	TYPE II
General purpose jurisdictions	Task-specific jurisdictions
Non-intersecting memberships	Intersecting memberships
Jurisdictions organised in a limited number of levels	No limit to the number of jurisdictional levels
System-wide architecture	Flexible design

Source: Hooghe & Marks 2003, p. 7

What must be noted with these two styles of governance is that Type I systems are highly defined and not particularly malleable to change, while Type II systems are more susceptible to shifts in organisation and role. Type I systems have often endured over long periods of time while Type II are more likely to disappear in the long-term (Shanks, Jacobson & Kaplan 1996). Dealing with multi-level governance shifts within Type I systems of governance is particularly complex as the formed institutions are often formally defined within law, predominantly in a constitution, and not easy to change, coupled with a strong bureaucratic tradition of hierarchical command and closed, sectoralised systems. Recognising the mutual interdependency of government is further complicated in Type I systems of governance as roles are often tightly defined and do not lend themselves to interaction. Finding ways to work within such a formally defined environment is particularly complicated.

During the 1980s changes began to occur that saw a shift in the role of central governments within society towards a more multi-governance system, comprised of both Type I and Type II governance systems. Focusing specifically on Europe, Salet and Thornley (2007) identify three aspects of this shift: "a reduction in the government's proactive role in the economy and society; the rescaling and restructuring of intergovernmental relationships; and the diversification of decision making throughout a wide range of governmental and nongovernmental organizations" (p. 190). These shifts, they argue, were brought about by European integration and the gradual removal of central government control of the economy and an

entrenchment of the private and non-profit sector in the delivery of social and economic goods. During this time, central governments became more concerned with global institutions and relationships while at the same time recognising that previously centralised government policy spheres could be more effectively delivered at a lower scale (Brenner 1999; Salet & Thornley 2007; Sholte 2000).

The actual impact of the decentralisation of power within many Western countries is, however, a matter of debate. The terms of the new governance arrangements associated with devolution were in many cases determined by central governments. In some cases local levels of government had long-established authority that was maintained during decentralisation, resulting in the new metropolitan or regional level of government occupying a position of limited authority between the central and local levels (Burszt 2008; Le Galès & Lequesne 1998). This characterisation of the new multi-governance reality is, however, not shared by some who argue that individual contextual environments have resulted in dramatically different power relations emerging among the old and newly established governance scales (Salet, Thornley & Kreukels 2003).

Coupling of Policy Arenas in a Multi-Level Governance Environment

Given the complexity of coordinating policy among relevant actors, methods for reducing the barriers to coordination become vital. Within a multi-level governance environment, coordination is often impeded because actors are compelled to operate within their own limited institutional arena, such as representative office or an individual department, thereby restricting the ability to modify or abandon a position because their job is based on its maintenance (Benz 2002).

When this inflexibility in decision-making occurs, it is referred to as strict coupling and can lead to higher coordination transaction costs as ever more empowered actors and institutions become involved in the coordination and decision-making process. The opposite of this situation is decoupling, whereby policy spheres are decentralised to the point where no interaction exists between institutions and group decision-making is non-

existent (Benz 2002). Finding a balance between these two positions, loose coupling is regarded as a method for improving the coordination process while avoiding the pitfalls of strict coupling and decoupling.

Loose coupling is defined as an institutional environment whereby independent decisions taken within one arena only have an impact on specific aspects of another arena, rather then completely influencing it (Weick 1985, pp. 163-165). In this environment, binding decisions are replaced by communication, information exchange and persuasion across arenas. Policy made in one arena must understand and recognise its impact on another arena and areas of overlapping policy must be resolved collectively rather than through imposed decisions or restrictions based on veto powers. As Benz (2002) argues, loosely coupled multi-level governance environments need to be stabilised by ensuring subsidiarity and maintaining independent decision making within policy sectors while ensuring those decisions reflect and respect the broader inter-related policy environment. Yet such an environment runs the risk of muddling accountability, as citizens within a multi-state country can often find it difficult to assess who is responsible for particular policy successes or failures (Cutler 2004).

The Role of Informal Structures in Multi-Level Policy Formulation

To deal with this complex governance environment and the institutional policy voids stemming from it, new methods of governance interactions are emerging that attempt to stabilise loosely coupled institutional arenas. Chief among them in the European Union (EU) is the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). The OMC has recently emerged within the EU as a decision making tool that can be used when the harmonisation process is not possible but a need exists to reduce barriers and improve cooperation (Mosher & Trubek 2003). OMC is characterised by its decentralised nature, whereby members seek to formulate goals and indicators for success but are not limited in determining how to achieve them. It also works to ensure an environment where best practices can be disseminated and progress monitored (Faludi 2004).

The OMC process, as Faludi (2004) notes, though not formally detailed at the time, was used in the formulation of the ESDP, an EU based voluntary document providing guidance on the spatial development of Europe. Along with the EU Structural Funds, the ESDP has resulted in new spatial policy interactions between all levels of government within the Member States. The publication and agreement of the ESDP was approved by the member states despite the EU not having a formal spatial planning competence and having to deal with a variety of governmental systems at the national level, from highly centralised to federal (Faludi 2006; Sykes 2008). At a process level, a loosely coupled environment was created through a dialogue between experts and administrators and more broadly discussed at conferences resulting in information and ideas permeating through government institutions (Benz 2002; Faludi 2004). Evidence-based arguments were formulated and helped to reinforce the need for the ESDP among other bureaucrats and politicians helping to create a positive environment for cooperation. The use of such informal mechanisms for policy development within a multi-level governance environment demonstrates the potential of the OMC and similar non-structured systems of policy formulation when dealing with complex governance environments. Yet this form of coordination suffers from weak enforcement methods and often requires additional, more coercive, instruments in order to ensure implementation, such as financial incentives that reward coordination and encourage competition among governments and departments to spur policy innovation (Benz 2002; Graute 2002; Hooghe 1996).

The shift to network-based conceptions of governance has, however, spurred a debate on democratic accountability. Accountability within network governance systems has been identified as lacking in terms of transparency, decision-making, democratic representation, and the weakness of 'peer' accountability mechanisms that are often utilised (Papadopoulos 2007). While all four are important to consider, it is the lack of accountability due to the multi-level aspect of governance that is of greatest concern in this context. In his discussion of multi-level governance through the OMC, Benz (2007) suggests that in a multi-level governance

29

environment the vast number of actors involved, be they politicians, bureaucrats, non-governmental interest groups or academics, results in three problems of accountability. The first is that observers of the process face difficulties comprehending the numerous interactions between participants; the second is that the more actors present, the more dispersed responsibility becomes by allowing actors more easily to deny responsibility for their actions and avoid blame; and the third is that participants can argue that their decisions are constrained by the institutional arrangements they must work in, resulting in a limiting of decisions and alternatives (Benz 2007).

To address accountability concerns, Papadopoulos (2007) argues for a functional division of powers where those who are democratically accountable to citizens hold veto power over decisions in order to ensure that arguments and decisions are publically communicated. This system should be further supplemented by mutual learning that allows those with veto power the opportunity to understand the positions of the other stakeholders involved in the process. While issues of accountability remain, network governance has generated new ways of collaborating, with the potential to help achieve policy coordination in a more inclusive manner within a decentralised policy environment.

Policy Making and Federalism

While Type I multi-level governance environments look similar to federal systems of government, federalism is a distinct form of government that involves multiple political entities within a shared territorial space. Elazar defined the political dimensions of federalism as having

> to do with constitutional diffusion of power so that the constituting elements in a federal arrangement share in the process of common policy-making and administration by right, while the activities of the common government are conducted in such a way as to maintain their respective integrities. Federal systems do this by constitutionally distributing power among general and constituent governing bodies in a manner designed to protect the existence and the authority of all. (Elazar 1979, pp. 5-6)

As such, the distribution of policy-making powers between different governing bodies has resulted in major challenges for policy coordination within modern federations (Bakvis & Brown, 2010). The complexities of intergovernmental relations within federalist systems of government in part stem from the contradictory principles of federalism. As Faford notes, "federations must emphasise both balance and countervailing or offsetting centres of power. In sum, federalism has the task of reconciling principles that are, prima facie, contradictory." (Faford et al. 2010, p. 21). These contradictory federalist principles often stand in contrast to the principles of rational public policy development, yet they are navigable and in the long-term can contribute to the maintenance of democracy given the amount of debate and discussion that can arise between the various political entities (Smiley 1987).

The balance between respect for diversity and broader goals of solidarity, efficiency and civic responsibility must be maintained by recognising the interdependence of the autonomous units and the overarching desire to solve common problems (Brugmans 1969). The formal institutional mechanisms of intergovernmental relations within federal states often receive a large amount of attention when discussing methods for managing public policy and federalism (Banting 2006; Obinger et al. 2005). Yet it has been argued that these formal institutional structures alone are not adequate for understanding federalism, rather informal structures composed of values, perceptions and ideas must also be understood as they influence the dynamics of federalism (Brugmans 1956; Faford et al. 2010). Both the formal and informal aspects come into play during intergovernmental policymaking as an outcome is sought that seeks to manage political independence with policy dependence (Simeon 1980).

Central to the idea of a federalism that exists as both a set of institutions as well as ideas is the concept of federal political culture. There is not a generally accepted definition of federal political culture; rather it is considered an ambiguous term with a variety of meanings (Cole, Kincaid & Rodriguez 2004). Fafard, Rocher and Côte (2010) discuss how the debate ranges from that of a citizen focused perspective of government structures,

to one based on the acceptance of diversity, to one based on broad decision-making. Farard, Rocher and Côte combine various aspects of these concepts and extend their discussion to explore the extent to which federalism is understood and accepted by both citizens and public servants. From an intergovernmental policy coordination view, federal political culture might be best viewed from the policymaker's perspective by seeking to understand the relationship between policy diversity and policy interdependence through an exploration of policymakers' views and attitudes of federalism that result from the balancing of these two opposing concepts.

Within a federal system certain strong sub-state governments are also capable of exerting particular institutional control over those that live in that territory (Breton 1964). As Henderson (2011) notes,

> by controlling the rules of political engagement, or by controlling policy creation in particular areas of jurisdiction, regional governments can create a unique political environment that prompts specific expectations about government performance and policy delivery, support for an active or a small state, inclusive or exclusive notion of citizenship or community belonging. (Henderson 2011, p. 441)

In turn, these expectations created by regional institutionalisation are fed back into the policymaking process, creating unique policy environments within each regional government, further reinforcing the existence of divergent policies in order to meet the particular demands of a region's citizens.

Diversity and Shared Identity in an Intergovernmental Environment

Intergovernmental environments often require interaction, collaboration and negotiation between different levels of government and between different governmental departments and institutions. Within this interactive environment, shared identity is a particularly strong indicator of outcomes and is positively related to an increase in the coordination of activities (Swaab et al. 2007). The formation of shared identity has been theorised in what is referred to as the Interactive Model of Identity

Formation (IMIF). The IMIF suggests that there are two methods under which shared identity emerge, deductively from the larger social context that the individual is immersed in as well as inductively from the interaction of an individual with that of other individuals' conceptions through a process of communication and reconciliation of ideas (Swaab, Postmes & Spears 2008). Deductive shared identity formation not only impacts on the individual who is immersed in that particular social context, but also works to provide other individuals outside that social context with an image of how the person will behave (Haslam 1997; Haslam et al. 1998). This stereotyping affects group dynamics and negotiation both positively and negatively by allowing individuals to determine areas of perceived commonality, and by raising tensions on areas of perceived difference. Within the inductive process a sense of shared identity is formed as communication and inter-group interaction occur, allowing individuals to form specific stereotypes of the group members that are unique and separate from those that might be concluded deductively. Ultimately this inductive process can lead to the group forming a shared identity based on personal characteristics and abilities, rather then broad social norms (Gaertner et al. 2006).

The formation of shared identity within an intergovernmental context, whether deductively or inductively, can have a positive impact on coordination and negotiations between government units. Inductively, the role of communication and interaction between government units becomes key as individual civil servants and politicians gain trust, an understanding of the resources that each level can bring to the table and a shared sense of the problems to be solved. Improvements in creating a shared identity inductively may also help to dampen tensions that are inferred deductively. Within an intergovernmental environment, the impact of regional identity can be strong and may work against coordination and compromise. Paasi (2003) argues that regional identity can often create closed, imagined identities that are used by individuals to guide their actions, noting that:

> narratives of regional identity lean on miscellaneous
> elements: ideas on nature, landscape, the built
> environment, culture/ethnicity, dialects, economic

success/recession, periphery/centre relations, marginalization, stereotypic images of a people/community, both of 'us' and 'them', actual/invented histories, utopias and diverging arguments on the identification of people. (Paasi 2003, p. 477)

The ability of individuals to use regional identity to both rally others to a cause and also stand opposed to certain ideas, suggests that the use of regional identity in coordination and negotiation needs to be better understood. While regional identity may be composed of multiple and conflicting identities at various spatial scales (Cohen 1996), the way that a regional identity is conceptualised and used by individuals to influence coordination towards the achievement of a particular goal and the way that it influences the actions and perceptions of others involved in coordination needs further study.

Within Europe, regional identity has been used as a tool to conjure up a particular spatial planning vision in an attempt to positively influence collective action. The visioning process is often based on the use of metaphors, such as the ESDP's use of the 'bunch of grapes' (Jenson & Richardson 2001; Kunzmann 1998) or the National Planning Framework for Scotland's use of the 'small country – big plans' imagery (Peel & Lloyd 2007). Metaphors, which can be either visual or verbal, are highly useful because if properly chosen they can simplify complex processes and allow diverse groups to rally around a common conception (Nadin 2002). This common conception results in a shared identity that can be used to improve negotiations and group outcomes. In the case of the European 'bunch of grapes' metaphor, it is suggested that it speaks to a number of embedded social conceptions Europeans have, including their sense of regionalism, concerns of unabashed mobility, sustainability within regional economies and ecologies, regional job markets and intra-regional economic circuits as means of product specialisation and growth, individualised regional development, co-operation and solidarity, and the regional potential of virtual global information and communication networks (Kunzmann 1998, pp. 117-118). Metaphors within spatial visions act as a means of

communicating and can result in the establishment of a sustained mental concept towards which politicians and policymakers can work incrementally, thereby allowing the spatial vision to be maintained over long periods of time (Kunzmann 1998).

Building a spatial vision from societal values and conceptions differs from the traditional method of plan making that is based on empirical experimentation and evidence derived from deduction and inquiry resulting in the formulation of a plan based on this knowledge. The visioning process is the result of not just scientifically derived knowledge but also from individual experiences, collective compromise, value systems and professional norms which interact to generate new ways of thinking (Healey 2007). The visioning process is therefore built through social practices while at the same time being judged based on feasibility, political ideology and resources for implementation. The vision must be focused enough therefore to fit into the practical constraints of plan-making, while at the same time broad enough to fit into the vast majority of the actor's individual conceptions of space and place in order to be effective in the long-term (Albrechts, Healey & Kunzmann 2003).

To ensure that subsequent future spatial visions are in fact grounded in reality, it is necessary to understand what is, in order to know what can be (Goodchild & Hickman 2006; Nadin 2002). This requirement must relate to both the empirical, quantitative collection of indicators and data as well as the qualitative aspects of what specific stakeholders and actors understand the current state to be. From the quantitative perspective, data can assist participants in the vision process to understand the past and present trends and collectively determine whether a particular issue, as identified by the data, should be considered a priority in the debate. The qualitative perspective is useful in contextualising the visioning process and in evoking imaginations of the past that continue to have resonance with participants, both good and bad. Together the quantitative and qualitative understandings of past and present can be used to prioritise and frame the parameters of the spatial vision so that the outcome is based on reality and is achievable in the long-term.

THE NEED FOR COORDINATION IN AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL ENVIRONMENT

The increased interaction between government and governance brings new challenges for the coordination of spatial policies, particularly at the federal level where policies are often broadly applied across diverse environments, geographically, demographically and institutionally. It is now recognised that government must not simply concern itself with coordinating its own individual sectoral policies but also with those of other levels of government due to their existence within a multi-level environment. Such coordination is highly complex given the number of actors involved and the many external effects that can impede coordination.

Defining Coordination and Methods of Analysis

Coordination is a term that is often defined in a variety of ways, both as a process (Dunsire 1978; Mulford & Rogers 1982) and as a desired end-state (Metcalfe 1994). For the purposes of this research, coordination is defined both as ''mutual adjustment that causes (governments) to pursue different policies than they would have chosen had policy-making been unilateral'' (Webb 1995, p. 11) and as a more end-state where "a set of decisions is coordinated if adjustments have been made in it such that the adverse consequences of any one decision for other decisions in the set are to a degree and in some frequency avoided, reduced, counterbalanced, or outweighed" (Lindblom 1965, p. 154). For Lindblom, the goal of coordination is to identify and reduce negative effects while also identifying and encouraging positive effects. In this way, coordination is seen as something that is a positive and which should be a desired goal to be achieved. Webb's definition is also considered essential because, unlike other definitions of coordination (Kochen & Deutsch 1980), it does not limit itself to a top-down, hierarchical mode of coordination, but rather defines coordination as a process involving multiple decisions between governments resulting in a new outcome brought about by mutual exchange.

Traditionally, coordination has been observed as a product of hierarchies, markets or networks (Gretschmann 1986; Thompson et al. 1991). Each of these conceptions has its own advantages and disadvantages, particularly when being discussed within a spatial planning environment (see Table 3). When dealing with intergovernmental coordination there are three types of coordination of planning that are of importance. The first is horizontal coordination of individual government sectors such as transportation, housing, economic development or energy. The second is vertical coordination that is concerned with the coordination of spatial policies between various levels of government, such as federal, regional and

Table 3: Coordination concepts

Coordination Concept	Description	Relation to Spatial Planning Governance Concerns
Hierarchies	- Top down - Dependent on central agency to provide direction - Works well when organisation is heavily integrated and have clear understanding of the tasks to be performed	- Useful for reducing competition between departments by defining clear mandates - While government departments are hierarchical, spatial planning tasks are often complex and require interaction with numerous other sectors/departments reducing the coordination efficiency of this model
Markets	- Coordination is achieved through the self-interest of policy actors - Results from bargaining and the mutual exchange of resources	- Information is a highly valued commodity here, providing leverage to some departments with mandates to collect information while disadvantaging others - Government is highly rule-based, not market driven, resulting in difficulties in adopting market based coordination - Assumes departments are focused on contradictory goals, while spatial planning is often about the advancement of mutual goals
Networks	- Depends on the mutual interest of those involved to solve a collective problem - Coordination is achieved by relying on professionalism of actors and their interest in doing their jobs effectively	- Multiple interests greatly help in developing policy, however implementation relies on weak bargaining - While a variety of professional expertise can be brought to solving a problem it can create a closed network of professionals at the expense of other important actors - Spatial planning deals with numerous professional realms, each of whom have their own terms and definitions making coordination more difficult

Source: Adopted from Peters 1998, pp. 298-9.

local. Finally, the shift to a governance form of interaction has brought about a form of diagonal coordination that sees a need for public and private institutions to coordinate to achieve policy goals (Priemus 1999).

As Schäfer notes "spatial planning is the most important among policies negatively affected by deficient co-ordination" (2005, p. 3). Within an intergovernmental environment, coordination becomes complicated due to the transaction costs that result from overlapping areas of interest between governments. Hooghe and Marks (2003, p. 13) explain the need to coordinate by noting "to the extent that policies of one jurisdiction have spillovers (i.e. negative or positive externalities) for other jurisdictions, so coordination is necessary to avoid socially perverse outcomes." (Hooghe & Marks 2003, p. 13). These perverse outcomes increase exponentially as the number of agents and institutions rises, requiring coordination in order to reduce related issues (Scharpf 1997).

Coordination can be utilised to solve three main issues: redundancy, lacunae and incoherence (Peters 1998). Redundancy refers to multiple actors being involved in the alleviation of the same problem, leading to a waste of resources and departmental conflicts over service to client groups. Solving this task requires determining the policy overlap and working to resolve who is most suited to solving the task. Lacunae refers to a lack of involvement by any department in a task, leading to a gap in policy or implementation. This may come about for two reasons, either because departments do not realise such a gap exists, in which case the gap must be identified, or because a department believes the problem cannot be solved and would be a waste of resources. Finally, incoherence refers to departmental dealings with the same policy sphere but with differing requirements and goals, leading to conflicting policies while each department works to fulfil its own mandate. Incoherence is difficult to resolve, in that each department often believes its solution is correct given their own institutional biases and mandates, the clash between economic development versus protection of the environment for example. These problems are brought about by various organisational structures within which government coordination functions, and which influence how

decisions are made.

Game Theory and Coordination

The coordination of decisions among multiple actors has been explored through the use of game theory, a concept popularised by Luce and Raiffa's (1957) publication *Games and Decisions*. What eventually emerged from this publication was the development of numerous strands of sociological theory to explain how individuals make decisions in various situations, the best known of which is the Prisoner's Dilemma. While the Prisoner's Dilemma demonstrates the issues involved in making decisions amongst two people, the addition of three or more actors creates a more complex environment where coalitions and majority voting become important. These multi-person games fall into two categories, the non-cooperative approach, which is characterised by an environment where actors develop their strategies independently and cannot communicate with the other actors, and the cooperative approach, where actors can communicate with one another and the joint establishment of binding rules are allowed within the game (Colman 1982). Unsurprisingly, it has been shown that when actors can communicate with one another the chances of their actions being coordinated greatly increases (Dawes, McTavish & Shaklee 1977; Mintz 1951).

In this way, the cooperative approach has far more relevance to real world coordination environments, such as the development of government policy within an intergovernmental environment, and is composed of 'inessential' and 'essential' coalitions. 'Inessential' coalitions are characterised by the inability of actors to improve their situation by coordinating, while for 'essential' coalitions the reverse is true (Colman 1982). As such the impetus for coordination between actors, whether they are different ministries, units of government, non-profit agencies or any combination of these, may result from a demonstration that coordination among actors will provide more gains than they currently receive by not coordinating.

In 1962 William Riker argued that the success of coalitions is further

improved through the management of the size of the coalition, suggesting that the most successful coalitions will only be as large as necessary to win, as superfluous members decrease the eventual benefits received among all members and increases the burden of communication. Such a notion can be applied to strategic spatial planning, where there is a tension between breadth and inclusivity, on one hand, and practicability and focus on the other. The number of tasks selected in turn influences how many actors are involved in the process. Ensuring that only the actors who are absolutely necessary are involved in the coordination process will decrease issues of conflict and increase the likelihood that coordination is successful.

Yet even if the size of the coalition that is attempting to coordinate their activities is kept tightly defined, additional problems remain which require the actors to abandon their self-interest in exchange for collective rationality in order to avoid negative results (Colman 1982). This is aptly demonstrated through the 'tragedy of the commons' game theory (Hardin 1968; Lloyd 1833). The situation is defined by multiple actors, each of whom benefits from acting in a selfish manner; however should all the actors act in a selfish manner then the combined actions result in a negative for all. This can be described through examples such as everyone running for an exit at once in an emergency and people ignoring calls for water rationing in a drought (Colman 1982). In each case it is noted that if everyone acts collectively to solve the problem, there are positive benefits. Demonstrating the fallacy of self-interest actions within government departments, and the potential positive benefits that could be obtained through collective rationality can act as a catalyst for encouraging better coordination. Such a situation may also warrant the establishment of rules and punishments in order to ensure actors do not deviate from a determined collective decision for selfish gains.

Through its various streams of thought, game theory demonstrates the logic of coordination among actors. However, the experiments that underline the theory are undertaken with general assumptions and closed environments that do not reflect the reality of external influences that are often exerted on individuals when making decisions. Therefore, while

general conclusions for how to encourage coordination can be derived from the various sub-theories, including the need for communication, the need to demonstrate gains to actors within a coalition, the need to be selective, and the need to demonstrate the negative result of self-interest over collective rationality, these must be applied with the understanding that coordination is often undertaken within complicated environments that game theory has not adequately accounted for.

Intergovernmental Coordination Issues

Benz (2002) has outlined a number of general structural problems of coordination within multi-level governance environments that have particular salience for intergovernmental coordination; including too many actors, the impact of democracy, complexity, closed policy networks, different institutional frameworks, and varying structures of existing policies. While these problems were written specifically about European multi-level governance they have been adapted and generalised here to relate broadly to the coordination of spatial planning policy in any intergovernmental environment (see Table 4).

One critical factor missing in Benz's problems of coordination is that of the time dimension. Individuals, departments and levels of government all work within different conceptions of time, both legally- and goal-imposed. Legally imposed timeframes complicate coordination as different levels of government often imprse different legal requirements both on its individuals and its political structures. Individual legal requirements such as statutory vacations and restrictions on the amount of time one can work per week mean projects being undertaken by different levels of government are not uniform, possibly complicating the achievement of a goal. Perhaps more importantly, however, legal restrictions on political structures can often result in election timings differing between government levels, restricting and influencing political decisions. Goal imposed timeframes are those generated by departments or managers and can differ across levels of government and departments depending on individual workload and resources available, complicating coordination of policies and projects.

Table 4: Problems of coordination in an intergovernmental environment

Problems	Consequences for Negotiation and Coordination Processes
1. Many actors	Due to spatial planning's diverse involvement in multiple sectors it involves a large number of actors. The more actors that are involved in negotiation the more difficult it is to find a common ground, increasing the transaction costs and likelihood that coordination will fail.
2. Control of democratic institutions	Intergovernmental coordination often involves dealing with a number of democratically elected bodies. When decisions are opened up to these elected officials it shifts the coordination dynamics from arguing the merits of a joint policy towards bargaining, standing up for constituency concerns and avoiding decisions that lead to excess public concern or embarrassment.
3. Complexity of planning at all levels	The coordination of spatial policy may result in dramatic changes to individual policies (such as to ensure conformity with an overall plan or policy) which can sometimes take a large amount of time and effort to undertake and can bring about new types of conflicts as unintended consequences of coordination emerge.
4. Interlocking politics in sectoral planning	The closed policy networks within some government sectors can be heavily entrenched and any coordination that occurs must recognise the limits that these closed networks will go to in order to achieve coordination outside their traditional policy interactions. Implementation, therefore, may not be achievable if the closed network is unwilling to change their policies.
5. Different institutional frameworks in intergovernmental systems	Within intergovernmental environments, each level can have its own definitions, legal structures, policies and procedures for tasks. This complicates the coordination process as discussion focuses on resolving conceptual and legal issues rather than the resolution of actual policy problems.
6. Varying structures of existing policies	The institutional interactions that exist within intergovernmental systems are often long established and uniquely defined. Some programs such as economic development can involve individual agreements designed to address very specific problems and circumstances while others can be broadly applied based on standardised formulas. Understanding all these interactions is necessary but complicated when undertaking spatial policy coordination.

Source: Adopted from Benz 2002, pp. 145-7

Within government, overcoming coordination issues such as those described previously is more often done through the establishment of goal-directed networks rather then serendipitous networks (Agranoff & McGuire 2003; Provan, Isett, & Milward, 2004; Provan & Milward 1995). Serendipitous networks are characterised by chance, opportunistic interactions that result in positive and negative benefits among multiple actors, while goal-directed networks are purposely established in order to achieve a particular goal through the coordination of collective actions (Kilduff & Tsai 2003).

Establishing goal-directed networks for the achievement of coordination and overcoming the related difficulties can be done in a manner that utilises a 'guidance' approach, as experience has shown that pre-designed and forced administrative efforts at coordination, even within one level of government, consistently fail due to departmental struggles for power, departmental interest in protecting individual clienteles, and personal concerns related to job security and career promotion within the bureaucracy (Kunzmann 1998).

SPACE AND POLITY

Understandings of space and polity have changed over time as more complicated relationships emerge and perceptions of territory and government shift. How space is conceived within a policy context has also changed as conceptions of space evolve among policymakers. Within an intergovernmental environment the coordination of spatial policy becomes necessary as multiple policies seek to influence the same geographic space. The following discusses these issues in more detail, exploring how conceptions of space have evolved, how spatial issues and policy interact and the need for spatial policy coordination within an intergovernmental environment.

Conceptions of Space

Conceptions of space have changed over time as understandings of geometry, philosophy and sociology have evolved. While a full history of the

evolution of spatial thinking is not possible or necessary here, Davoudi and Strange (2009) have identified three periods of thought that have influenced modern spatial thinking: positivism, structuralism, and post-structuralism.

The positivist approach is characterised by the primacy of empirical research to inform spatial policy and is most commonly referred to as evidence-based planning today (Davoudi 2006). This conceptualisation of space gained particular prominence after the Second World War and was largely based on the setting of goals and objectives and then determining the most efficient method possible to meet those goals through a very linear, supposedly neutral process of resource allocation and budgeting based on analysis and projected need (Friedmann 1993). Within this conceptualisation, spatial relationships were reduced to "a single sheet of paper" (Murdoch 2006, p. 134) derived from the survey-analysis-plan approach. This process largely flourished until the 1970s when Harris contends that:

> institutional rigidity, national centralisation and the Master Plan approach ill-equipped countries and cities to meet the serious economic downturn; the result was the economic devastation of the first and second recessions of the 1970s, the worst since the Great Depression of the inter-war years . . . City planners were now swamped by high unemployment, de-industrialisation and spreading inner city urban dereliction. Whatever the merits and demerits of the old system of planning, it had manifestly failed to anticipate, let alone prevent, catastrophe. (Harris 2001, p. 40)

While this may be an overly dramatic admonishment of planning, the economic collapse of the 1970s led many to abandon the top-down survey plan approach and label it a failure based on outdated conceptions of spatial relationships and top down government intervention. At the same time theorists largely from disciplines outside of planning were struggling with this positivist approach, on the grounds that complex social phenomena defied ready quantification or the identification of clearly defined cause and effect. Positivism, it was argued, underplayed the ways in which elaborate human relationships impacted upon the organisation of space, and the

consequent implications of those impacts on future behavioural patterns. Critiques of positivism therefore championed the need for a greater appreciation of behaviour and agency, and highlighted the need for more sophisticated qualitative research as an alternative to (or in addition to) quantitative methodologies (Hubbard et al. 2004; Ley 1974; Tuan 1977).

Around this time the structuralist approach also gained prominence, defined by the "search for hidden structures and forces, whether psychological or social, which are seen as determinant of human behaviour" (Davoudi & Strange 2009, p. 26). This process was brought into planning theory through the work of structural Marxists who emphasised "analysing the relations between things, rather than the things themselves" (Henderson & Sheppard 2006, p. 59, quoted in Davoudi & Strange 2009, p. 27). In this way space was viewed as being socially constructed. While the structural Marxist approach was highly critical of planning it largely failed to provide solutions to planning problems, leading to planning practice continuing on largely as it had before, though with a greater realisation of the political and social dynamics present in planning practice (Low 1991).

These political and social elements entered planning practice through the advocacy, mixed-scanning and incremental planning approaches that became popular in the 1970s (Davidoff 1965; Etzioni 1967; Lindblom 1979). Yet these approaches were based upon the planner as acting in the 'public good', a concept that was rejected by the structural Marxists (Allmendinger 2002). Structural Marxist views were further removed from planning practice as a result of the rise of neoliberal governments in many industrialised countries, in which planning was viewed increasingly as too restrictive. Alongside this, planning also faced criticism from other ideological perspectives, notably the post-modernist view that the future cannot be planned with any meaningful degree of precision (Albrechts 2004).

During this same time, many governments were undertaking decentralisation policies. The decentralisation process resulted in major problems of coordinating planning policy among the numerous new authorities, resulting in a need for governments to centralise some higher

level planning powers (Alterman 2001; Marcou 2001). While such an approach was traditionally aligned with socialist, left-leaning governments, centralisation gained increasing acceptance from all sides of the political spectrum during this time (Alterman 2001). This can be particularly seen in the United Kingdom and France, with Grant (2001) noting that the United Kingdom's Conservative government under Margaret Thatcher weakened local planning and in turn centralised much planning policy at the national level. Later on in France it was a right-of-centre government that introduced the 1995 Guidance Act on Spatial Planning and Development, calling for dramatic national planning initiatives (Marcou 2001).

Compared to the positivist and structuralist conceptions of space, the post-structural theory that developed in the 1980s was radically different. Rather than viewing space as contained or structured based on social or political dynamics, post-structuralists view space as culturally produced and socially constructed (Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1989). In this way space cannot be singularly or linearly understood, rather conceptions of space differ depending on the individual, context and interpretation of language (Hubbard et al. 2004). These ideas have resulted in the development of a relational understanding of space and place where space is not structured but rather exists as a result of the relationships between people and time (Amin 2002; Massey 2004; Murdoch 2006; Thrift 2004). Yet it has been argued that this conceptualisation of space is not necessarily useful for everyday practice as politics remains a territorially bounded concern where politicians represent a defined space and jurisdictional issues often remain geographically bounded (Haughton et al. 2010; Morgan 2007).

By the 1990s post-structuralist academic debate had filtered through to aspects of planning practice, in part resulting in a revival in strategic spatial planning, particularly in Western Europe. Here strategic spatial planning was seen as a means to meet new challenges, such as problems resulting from rapid urban growth, a revived interest in the environment and the realisation that longer-term thinking and less rigid project regulation was necessary to achieve broader policy objectives that took into account the relative relationships and flows between territory (Albrechts

2004; Breheny 1991; Friedmann 2004; Newman & Thornley 1996). New conceptualisations of the world were emerging that shifted the understanding of planning from one of economic land-use based on infrastructure investment to one based on the notions of a network society where multiple actors interact in different ways and at different spatial scales, along with a renewal in the importance of individual actions and their influence on each other and their environment (Castells 1996; Smith 1999). In comparison to its use in the 1970s, strategic spatial planning was now being used less to guide the investment of government funds in the physical aspects of planning and more as a means of coordinating and establishing linkages between different sectors and providing frameworks to foster new forms of governance (Healey 2007).

The spatial planning approach only touches on a post-structuralist view of space in terms of the acknowledgement of spatial flows and fuzzy boundaries. Davoudi and Strange (2009, pp. 37-8) draw on Hirt (2005, p. 28) to outline where post-modern conceptions of space might intersect with planning practice, suggesting that "a growing interest in participatory planning; the search for place identity and cultural specificity; an appreciation of the historicity of places and the turn to heritage; the primacy of mixed and flexible land use; and a return to the 'human scale', urban compactness and high-density development" are all aspects of concern to post-structural planners. The enduring impact of positivist and structuralist traditions along with the extent to which post-structural conceptions of space are translated in policy provides insight into how policymakers view spatial issues.

The Spatial Dimension in Policy Formulation

Space remains a foundational element of government. As Gottmann (1951, p. 71) argued, "one cannot conceive a State, a political institution, without its spatial definition, its territory". Yet how concerns over space get translated into political institutions through policy can vary greatly. This variation can often be the result of how policymakers conceptualise space, as Hoch (2007, p. 16) contends: "disputes between substantive and

procedural rationality or between modernist and postmodern rationality matter because the kind of rationality we adopt shapes the kind of planning advice we give – the kinds of plans we make". Within planning practice three such understandings of space are generally understood to exist, absolute, relative, and relational (Harvey 1973) and are closely aligned to the positivism, structuralism and post-structuralism periods discussed previously.

The absolute approach is often associated with Euclidean geometry and the view that space is a container in which objects can be placed and controlled (Agnew 2005). Such a view had a major impact on planning practice, resulting in a belief that planners could manipulate spatial processes such as through the master planning or zoning approach that has largely been the hallmark of Western planning practice since the early 20th century (Healey 2000). This approach was eventually challenged through the relative conception of space, whereby the relationships and flows of activity between places is recognised and viewed as the principal component of inquiry which is largely associated with spatial planning practice (Harris & Hooper 2004). More recently there has been a push towards a relational approach to space to be incorporated into planning practice. The relational approach suggests that space is generated by the relations between places and as such is "made not by underlying structures but by diverse social, economic, cultural and physical processes" (Davoudi & Strange 2009, p. 14). Yet such a viewpoint requires a paradigm shift for planners and policymakers and an abandonment of traditional understandings of space that have proven extremely difficult (Healey 2004).

Rather planners and policymakers tend to fall back on absolute or relative understandings of space as opposed to embracing relational spatial conceptions (Harris & Hooper 2004; Healey 2004). As such, despite the push for a more relational view of space, the idea of territory as bounded remains a dominant method for understanding space by practitioners. This idea of bounded space follows through to issues of public policy, where a defined space is increasingly becoming a primary focus of public policy coordination efforts (Sellers 2002). Within an intergovernmental environment,

understanding how spatial considerations are used as a coordination mechanism to mediate multiple public policies at different spatial scales becomes increasingly important.

RECONCILING SPATIAL PLANNING WITH ORGANISATIONAL THEORY

Recognising the close relationship between planning and organisational systems is critical to understanding spatial policy coordination processes within an intergovernmental environment. Conceptions of space and planning are invariably linked to conceptions of organisational systems and government. Planning exists because it is sanctioned by government to regulate certain processes within society. When examining the role of planning in coordinating functions within and between government systems, the fact that planning gains its regulatory authority from government and is highly institutionalised within its organisational systems means that it is necessary to explore both planning and organisational theories of governance.

Organisational and Planning Theories

Organisational and coordination theories provide insight into the functioning of the government structures in which spatial policy is undertaken. Understanding the process-based difficulties that present themselves within government and society is necessary to overcome problems associated with intergovernmental coordination. The dynamics inherent in intergovernmental environments often lend themselves to a guidance approach to policy coordination, as hierarchical organisational structures have been proven to have had limited success at coordination within complicated environments (Bolton & Leach 2002; Kunzmann 1998). Yet, like older positivist planning theories, traditional notions of hierarchy and bureaucratic organisation pervade both government and society. Game theory provides evidence on how to establish the optimal conditions to achieve coordination. However, the difficulty lies in applying those approaches to an intergovernmental environment and the tensions that arise from conflicting regional identities.

There are three primary methods for studying intergovernmental relations: the constitutional approach, the decision-making approach, and the perceptual approach (Entwistle 2010). Entwistle (2010) summarises the characteristics of each, with the constitutional approach focusing on the impact of the formal rules and laws of the country being studied, the decision-making approach focusing on what decisions different levels of government make, and the perceptual approach focusing on the views of the relevant actors. Each process has identified flaws, with the constitutional approach neglecting the informal practices of actors, the decision-making approach neglecting the importance of non-decisions and barriers, while the perceptual approach suffers from being unable to identify whether actors are giving an objective account of their actions (Entwistle 2010). These three approaches are considered in the following section in relation to the role of institutions in intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

Approaches to the Study of Institutions

Within both planning and organisational theory the importance of institutions has become a prominent theme. Institutions are entrenched within planning and government and represent a myriad of relationships as their structures and interactions with each other constrain the actions of those within them. Healey (2007) has discussed the role of institutions within the planning development system, making connections between their role in structuring the outcome of the planning process. While Healey's focus was on the local development process, her work demonstrates the importance of institutions in explaining complicated relationships. The impact of institutions is not a new concept in organisational and political science, having a prominent role in the writings of Max Weber, Thorstein Veblen and Karl Polanyi and gained original stature in explanations of macro institutions (Thelen & Steinmo 1992).

The definition of institutions varies considerably in the modern literature. One of the most utilised definitions comes from Peter A. Hall (1986, p. 19) who defines institutions as "the formal rules, compliance procedures, and standard operating practices that structure the relationship

between individuals in various units of the polity and economy". Similar to this line of thought, Ostrom (1990, p. 51) defines institutions as "the set of working rules that are used to determine who is eligible to make decisions in some arena, what actions are allowed or constrained, what aggregation rules will be used, what procedures must be followed, what information must or must not be provided, and what payoffs will be assigned to individuals dependent on their actions". These definitions neglect to include the more cultural and informal norms of society that structure relationships as well as limit institutions to the political and economic aspects of society. A more encompassing definition of institutions would suggest that they are the rules, procedures, and predominant social and cultural norms that constrain and guide the actions of individuals within society and which work to structure emergent relationships (Jepperson 1991). Such a definition of institutions is drawn from the social sciences and the re-conceptualisation of institutions that started in the 1970s in the form of 'new institutionalism' and is utilised for the remainder of this research.

The new institutionalism tradition began as a response to perceived flaws in prominent behavioural theories of the 1950s and 1960s and the need to examine institutions at a more intermediate level (Thelen & Steinmo 1992). What eventually emerged from new institutionalism thought were three schools of theory: rational choice institutionalism, historical institutionalism and sociological institutionalism (Hall & Taylor 1996). While the three schools are each concerned with agency and structure, and the role of institutions in the policy-making process, they are based on different assumptions. Rational choice theorists focused on how changes in institutions constrain the decision making process of actors seeking to maximise benefits for their own self-interest. Historical institutionalists, working from a broader understanding of the actors within institutions who are 'rule-followers', sought to satisfy rather than to maximise benefits. Sociological institutionalists, by contrast, have focused on how existing institutions define and limit how new institutions are formed and existing ones are altered (Hall & Taylor 1996; Thelen & Steinmo 1992). The methods of research also vary, as rational choice theorists work from a formulated

hypothesis and historical institutionalists and sociological institutionalists work far more inductively.

When examining the differences between the three schools, what becomes apparent is the importance of the stage of inquiry of institutions that the schools are interested in. Historical institutionalists focus heavily on how an institution came to be formed, rational choice institutionalists largely focus on how institutions constrain actions in the present, while sociological institutionalists mainly focus on the constraints that existing institutions place on future institutional reform and how such reform takes place.

A key concept within historical institutional theory is path dependence. The concept gained prominence within economics to demonstrate how small changes in initial conditions can have a dramatic effect on the end result of a situation as positive feedback mechanisms worked to reinforce ideas (Arthur, Ermoliev & Kaniovski 1983). Within historical institutionalism, path dependence is utilised to explain how the initial decisions made when an institution or policy was created greatly constrains the actions that can be taken in the future in respect to that institution or policy as positive feedback mechanisms reinforce the structure of the institution or policy, making it difficult to alter (Hall & Taylor 1996; Koelbe 1995; Peters 2001). Path dependence has a tendency to go against the rational choice school as the constraining factors placed on institutions often do not allow individuals to maximise their benefits.

Path dependence within historical institutionalism, however, raises some conceptual issues. If institutions are locked into a particular path, how that path gets broken becomes critical (Greener 2005). In traditional historical institutionalism such change can only occur during policy windows (Kingdon 1995, 1996) or at critical junctures, when the constraining factors have become so rigid and unable to deal with the environment around them that they must be broken (Collier & Collier 1991). Determining when and to what extent such change will occur has never been adequately explained; rather it is a general assumption that it can occur, leading to a gap in one of the underlying assumptions of historical

institutional theory. Yet this is not a critical concern of most historical institutionalists as they are often more interested in explaining why such critical changes occurred as opposed to determining when they will occur.

Sociological institutionalism, in part, attempts to examine this field of inquiry. The focus here is on the wider societal norms and rules that have shaped institutions and govern decision-making within them. These processes then limit the type of institutional reform possible in the future based on existing institutional forms (Meyer & Rowan 1987). Sociological institutionalists examine why institutions exist the way they do, stressing the importance of cultural beliefs and the need for social legitimacy. This affects individual decision-making, often resulting in a neglect of the role of individual decision-making on other individuals and the impact of the individual on the institution itself (Hall & Taylor 1996).

Rational choice institutionalists, meanwhile, focus heavily on the role of institutions in constraining individual decision-making for the obtainment of maximum personal gain and the role of institutions in helping to solve problems related to collective action decision-making. Within rational choice institutionalism, the role of the individual is of greatest importance and the line of examination follows from the impact of institutions on the individual's actions (Hall & Taylor 1996).

Critiques of all three schools have occurred, arguing that while rational choice institutionalists develop grand theories about the impact of institutions on human action they often fail to explain why particular actions were taken, holding tightly to their basic assumptions regarding human behaviour (Green & Shapiro 1994). Historical institutionalists, meanwhile, are often critiqued as being nothing more then generators of narratives of the past (Thelen 1999). Sociological institutionalists, meanwhile, are considered to be more interested in explaining institutional change rather then the role of institutions on present decision-making processes.

Agency and structure are key aspects within institutional theory. Agency refers to human actions done intentionally. Here, it is the forethought to the action that is important not the outcome of the action, which may be dramatically different than what was intended. Of particular

relevance to environments involving multiple agents and interaction is the recognition within human agency that:

> most human pursuits involve other participating agents. Such joint activities require commitment to a shared intention and coordination of interdependent plans of action. The challenge in collaborative activities is to meld diverse self-interests in the service of common goals and intentions collectively pursued in concert. (Bandura 2001, p. 7)

In moving from intention to action, people frame their actions and expectations based on the environment around them and take action that, within the external context, they believe will result in the intended outcome (Bandura 1986). The impact of the external environment to structure human agency, and human agency to structure its external environment, therefore take on particular importance.

SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the multi-disciplinary collection of literature related to intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. An important distinction is made between government and governance. While the last two decades have seen an increased move towards governance as a concept within the literature, particularly in relation to new public management and multi-level governance, the role of government should not be abandoned. Government is particularly important when discussing federal countries and their constituent bureaucracies due to the constitutionally defined set of institutional arrangements that must be navigated and adhered to. Within this government environment coordination becomes important due to the inherent conflicts of managing both diversity and unity that exist within federal systems. In terms of policy development this issue is manifested through concerns of balancing policy independence and dependence within the context of a well-defined set of rules related to constitutional jurisdiction.

Spatial planning acts as a useful interface for the study of these issues given the concept's emphasis on policy interdependence within a defined

space, which often requires the reconciliation of multiple policies produced by governments operating at different spatial scales. Conceptions of space have shifted and evolved over time, from absolute to relative to relational. How these different conceptions of space by policymakers operating within distinctive institutional environments influences the development and role of these policies provides insight into how federal systems of government are meeting the challenges of increased policy interdependence.

The next chapter provides an introduction to Canada and the development of the conceptual framework and methodology used in this research. It focuses on Canada's unique form of federalism and how this has structured intergovernmental relations. It highlights how historical and current government arrangements and decisions have the potential to generate unique institutional environments that impact on the development of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. This context is then used to develop a crosscutting institutional framework to study intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. The specific methods used to undertake the study are then discussed.

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXTUALISING CANADA - CONCEPTUALISATION AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a contextual discussion of Canada and begins by exploring the historical evolution of federalism in the country and its political and economic consequences. This is followed by a more detailed examination of the financial dimensions of Canadian federalism and the impact of the 'federal spending power' on federal-provincial negotiations, policy development and implementation. With this context in mind a conceptual framework for the study of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is developed and the methodologies adopted defined. The conceptualisation draws on a crosscutting institutional approach that utilises a combination of historical, sociological and rational choice approaches to the study of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. The interaction between structural and agency factors and their influence on intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is then discussed, with a distinction made between formal and informal structure and agency. Research questions are then related to the aim and objectives of the research and a discussion of the mixed-method embedded case study approach is discussed along with how it has been operationalised within the research.

CANADIAN FEDERALISM: THE ROOTS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL TENSION

The current intergovernmental dynamics of Canada stem from its origin as a country resulting from historical decisions that continue to structure relations between the federal and provincial government. Canada's constitutional roots lie in an 1867 Act of the British Parliament, which envisaged a Westminster style parliamentary democracy situated within a constitutional monarchy. Canada is currently governed via a single federal government, ten provinces and three territories, but only the federal and ten provincial governments have constitutional standing. The local level

of government exists by the will of the provinces and is constrained in its actions by the responsibilities laid out by each individual province. The Federal Government has overall responsibility for the three northern territories. The indigenous people of Canada, commonly referred to as First Nations, Inuit and Metis peoples, also have varying, though often limited, self-governing powers as defined by treaty rights or negotiated agreements with the Federal Government.

Originally composed of four founding provinces – Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick – the country gradually expanded to include six others: Manitoba (1870), British Columbia (1871), Prince Edward Island (1873), Saskatchewan (1905), Alberta (1905) and Newfoundland and Labrador (1949). It is further composed of three northern territories that are under devolved Federal jurisdiction: the Northwest Territories (1870), the Yukon (1898) and Nunavut (1999) (see Figure 1). Taken together the country's territory results in the longest coastline in the world at 243,000 kilometres and the second largest land area at just under 10 million square kilometres, yet given its population of 34 million it is one of the least densely inhabited of the advanced industrialised countries at 3.2 people per square kilometre (Natural Resources Canada 2006). The vastness of the territory combined with trade links and the harsh climate in the north of the country has resulted in three quarters of the population living within 150km of the United States border (Hillmer 2005) and over 80% of its population living within urban areas of more then 10,000 people (Statistics Canada, 2005). The close interaction with the United States has resulted in a strong economic relationship between the two countries, with each country being the other's largest trading partner (Fergusson 2008).

Figure 1: Map of Canada (Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2006)

The division of constitutional responsibilities has had long-lasting implications for intergovernmental interactions. The responsibilities of the federal and provincial governments are stipulated in the Constitution Act of 1982 (which is based on the British North America Act of 1867), structured on unwritten conventions and legal statue. For the purposes of this research, the term 'Federal Government' refers to the legislative level of government that is democratically elected and whose jurisdiction covers the entire Canadian land mass as laid out in the Constitution Act of 1982. The term 'national' is not used in the Canadian context, unless quoted by others, as it is an imprecise and contentious term given its use in Canada. This can be seen when referring to the First Nations people or the Quebecois Nation, in that they represent a group of people that share a similar cultural origin but are not necessarily represented as a formal level of government.

The country's founding fathers originally intended for the federal level of government to be a strong, centralising force on the country.

However, the powers of the Federal Government have been gradually eroded due to court decisions and the changing priorities of its citizens, creating one of the most decentralised countries in the world (Simeon 1972). Until 1949 the country's highest court was the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council located in London, England – a court that consistently sided with the provinces on matters of constitutional jurisdiction thereby weakening the role of the Federal Government in provincial matters.

Federal responsibilities mainly consist of matters related to foreign affairs, defence, monetary policy, trade, justice, citizenship and inter-provincial transportation and communication, such as harbours, airports, television and radio, as well as matters broadly defined in Section 91 of the Constitution as relating to 'peace, order and good government'. The provinces have responsibility for education, health, social services, natural resources as well as local and private matters, which have been interpreted to include municipal government, civil property and by extension land-use planning. In almost all provinces land-use planning responsibility has been devolved to the local level, but the provinces often provide guidance and policy direction to the local governments on planning matters as well as direct planning control in the most remote rural areas that lack sufficiently trained staff and resource capabilities.

Other responsibilities are shared between the federal and provincial level, including agriculture and the environment. Both levels of government have individual tax-raising powers and both own vast amounts of Crown land, particularly in the largely uninhabited north. Areas of jurisdiction that are not specifically stipulated in the Constitution are assigned to the Federal Government, but there is a broad interpretation of Constitutional jurisdiction, often resulting in claims by the provinces over unspecified aspects of jurisdiction. Each level of government closely protects attempts by the other level to interfere in their constitutional responsibility (McIntosh 2004). This jurisdictional protectionism often extends to civil servants, who tend to view their policy environment through the eyes of the individual level of government they serve rather than the larger Canadian perspective (Hunter 1993).

The various municipal responsibilities are defined by the province and by and large are assigned service delivery roles, such as waste management, community services and transit. Land-use planning is also assigned to the municipal level in most cases. While each province is unique, generally the planning system at the local level is involved in formulating master, or official, land-use plans, defining zoning regulations, and monitoring and enforcing building standards. The provinces set out the broader policy and legal framework, monitor and sometimes provide an avenue for appeals. Some provinces, such as Ontario and Alberta, have recently become active in the creation of regional plans while provinces such as Quebec have long-standing regional planning systems.

Given that the federal level is limited in its powers, the government cannot become directly involved in the regulation of land-use. However, the Federal Government need not have a legal land-use capacity in order to induce spatial change, as is evident in a number of industrialised countries where upper tier governments sometimes eschew direct involvement in matters of land-use, performing instead a broader function, such as through the creation of non-binding plans, monitoring, coordinating, and making provision for the inclusion of policy in lower level government planning decisions (Alterman 2001). Yet at the moment the federal and provincial levels of government have no formalised forums from which to establish such integrated policies resulting in closed-policy fields and ad hoc agreements. Such an environment may result in an institutional culture of suspicion when dealing with other levels of government due to a lack of established personal and formal relationships between officials.

Aside from federal, provincial and municipal government, Canada's governmental environment also includes Aboriginal peoples who are guaranteed specific treaty rights along with certain aspects of self-government. The balancing of Aboriginal rights along with the relationship between English and French culture have often dominated constitutional conversations within the country. These issues dominated two failed constitutional amendment conferences that took place in 1987 and 1992. This on-going debate is manifested within the relationship between the

federal and provincial governments, resulting in major impacts on the structure of Canadian federalism.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Intergovernmental interactions within Canada have no legal or constitutional standing, which has the potential to drastically affect intergovernmental policy coordination within the federation. As Cameron and Simeon (2002) note,

> Canadian intergovernmental relations remain highly fluid and ad hoc. The process has no constitutional or legislative base, little backup by bureaucrats linked to the success of the process rather than to individual governments, no formal decision-rules, and no capacity for authoritative decision-making. (Simeon 2002, p. 64)

Rather, intergovernmental relationships are based on informal tradition of both bilateral and multilateral forums where issues of concern are discussed on a case-by-case basis. The Federal Department of Finance was the first to create a dedicated federal-provincial-territorial relations unit in 1954, while Quebec was the first province to establish a separate intergovernmental agency in 1961, eventually to be followed by all other jurisdictions through the 1960s and 1970s (Johns, O'Reilly & Inwood 2007).

Canada's federalism has been described as predominantly taking two different forms throughout the country's history: competitive federalism and collaborative federalism (Simeon 1998; Smiley 1987). Competitive federalism describes periods in which the federal and provincial "governments keep their distance and provide separate bundles of services as they compete for public support" (Painter 1991, p. 269). In contrast, collaborative federalism describes periods when the federal and provincial "governments come together to co-operate in the provision of public services, with the provincial governments seeking a close involvement in spheres of federal policy that are perceived to intrude on provincial jurisdiction" (Painter 1991, p. 269). These two forms of federalism have existed to various extents in Canada throughout its history as governments and circumstances have changed. Within the last two decades collaborative

federalism has been the dominant practice. This is largely the result of the failure of the constitutional talks, as Cameron and Simeon (2002) argue:

> the collaborative model is also an alternative to constitutional change. Many of the issues unresolved in the failures of Meech Lake and Charlottetown have re-emerged in the intergovernmental arena-the economic union, the social union, "who does what" jurisdictionally, and the spending power. Now, rather than being expressed in the uncompromising language of constitutional clauses, and enforced by the courts, they are to be expressed as intergovernmental "Accords," "Declarations," and "Framework Agreements. (Cameron & Simeon 2002, p. 55)

As such this process has created a patchwork of joint programmes, agreements and conditional federal grants to the provinces, all the while shaping the political dynamic between the Federal Government and the provinces. This incremental approach to federalism has become ingrained in the institutional culture of the various levels of government, in part due to the failure of previous comprehensive attempts to resolve longstanding constitutional issues. As a result, policy coordination, particularly in relation to long-term goals, has the potential to be difficult given the fluid nature of collaborative federalism.

Practices of collaborative federalism have been heavily influenced by executive federalism (Cameron & Simeon 2002). Executive federalism refers to the dominance of the cabinet, most often discussed federally but also existing provincially, to command and institute change through party discipline when a majority is held in parliament (Radin & Boase 2000). As such, executive federalism places particular control in the hands of the Prime Minister or Premier. In intergovernmental negotiations executive federalism plays out at a high level through First Minister's Conferences where major policy issues are developed and debated. These conferences are often seen "as the pinnacle of the intergovernmental system, resolving conflicts at the highest level and providing direction to the network of lower level meetings" (Cameron & Simeon 2002, p. 62). Yet while such high level meetings are extremely useful for resolving long-standing policy issues, they have no defined frequency, with the most recent conference being held in 2008, and before that in 2004, resulting in poor institutionalisation of

Federal / Provincial forums (Bolleyer 2006).

Despite the lack of frequency of First Minister's Conferences, other forums have developed in the past few decades to aid intergovernmental relations, including ministerial councils, topic specific forums, as well as the rise of intergovernmental officers within ministries (Cameron & Simeon 2002; Johns, O'Reilly & Inwood 2007). While some of these forums are formalised, others are more ad hoc. The formal structures of intergovernmental relations are themselves uneven across the federation, with intergovernmental affairs (IGA) departments existing as either a line department or a central agency and with varying levels of accountability (see Table 5).

Table 5: Intergovernmental agency structures and accountabilities, 2006

Jurisdictions	**Intergovernmental agency structure**		**Accountability**	
	Line Dept	Central Agency	Directly to Premier	Minister of IGA
Canada		x		x
Yukon		x	x	
NWT		x	x	
Nunavut		x	x	
British Columbia		x		x
Alberta	x			x
Saskatchewan	x			x
Manitoba	x	x	x	x
Ontario	x			x
Quebec		x		x
New Brunswick	x			x
Nova Scotia	x		x	
PEI		x	x	
Nfld. & Labrador		x		x

Source: Johns, O'Reilly & Inwood 2007, p. 23

While these structures have remained relatively stable since the late 1980s, one of the most profound changes in intergovernmental relations is the increased role played at the departmental level (Johns, O'Reilly & Inwood 2007). Figure 2 highlights the dramatic increase in departments with intergovernmental units (note: IGAs and finance departments are excluded and Nunavut was not created until 1999). This sharp rise demonstrates the increased importance placed on coordination and intergovernmental relations.

THE IMPACT OF THE 'FEDERAL SPENDING POWER'

The need for increased intergovernmental structures is in part the result of the federal spending power. Provincial autonomy to make decisions in areas of their own jurisdiction in Canada has become increasingly difficult due to the financial power of the Federal Government. As Birch (1955, p. xi) once aptly noted "the problem of finance is the fundamental problem of federalism". A large number of social programmes have become cost-shared between the federal and provincial governments, including health care and higher education – despite the Federal Government's lack of constitutional responsibility in these sectors. These conditional grants have been contentious since their creation in 1910,
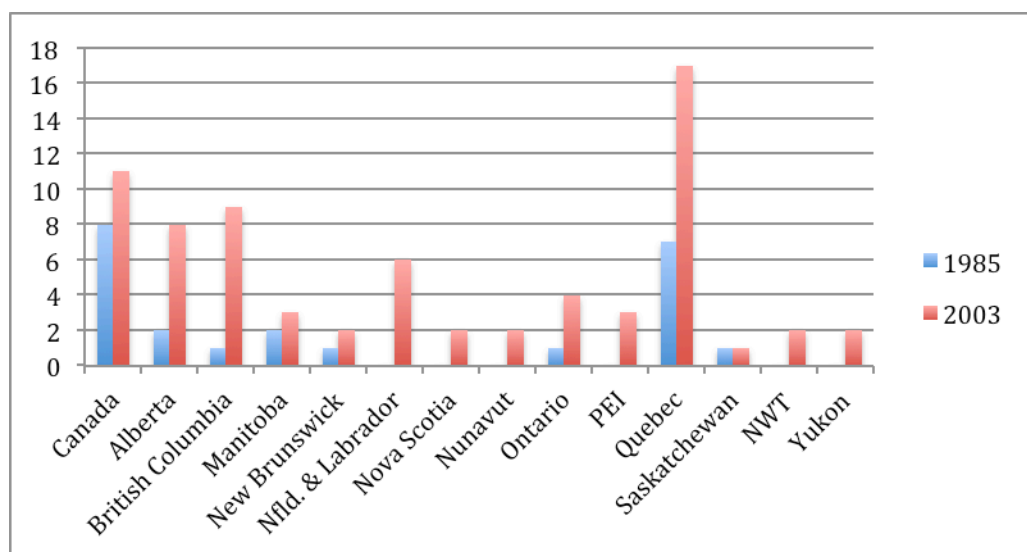
Figure 2: Number of departments with intergovernmental units of jurisdiction, 1985 to 2003 (Source: Johns, O'Reilly & Inwood 2007, p. 25).

particularly within the province of Quebec where they are seen as a federal invasion of provincial sovereignty (Sécrétariat aux Affaires Intergovernmentales Canadiennes 1998).

The use of federal-provincial transfers expanded heavily during World War II when the provinces voluntarily ceded their income tax-raising ability to the Federal Government to help finance the war effort in exchange for fixed-sum payments. This arrangement was intended to be a temporary war-time measure, but the Federal Government negotiated new agreements with most of the provinces after the war, each time creating more complex inter-provincial financing arrangements (Perry 1997). One of these new financial arrangements was the 'Equalization Programme' created in 1957. This is a federal programme designed to provide financial assistance in the form of transfer payments to provinces with lower revenue raising capabilities in order to augment revenue raised locally via taxes on corporate and personal income and duties. The intention is that federal transfer payments bring per capita revenues in provinces with weaker tax bases to the average of the five most economically successful provinces (OECD 2002). This programme was therefore intended as a way of ensuring that a Canadian citizen could receive the same basic standard of government service regardless of where they lived, a condition outlined in Section 36(2) of the Constitution. Unlike many other federal transfer payments, equalization payments are unconditional, allowing provinces to use the payment however they wish. The equalization programme seeks to resolve horizontal fiscal imbalances between the provinces depending on their fiscal capabilities, rather than based on per-capita population transfers (Bakhshi et al. 2009).

Inter-provincial finance agreements, such as the equalization programme, along with numerous bilateral joint programmes such as the Canada Health Transfer and Canada Social Transfer have given birth to the federal spending power, a power that is argued to have both created the modern Canadian state but also resulted in sometimes highly potent intergovernmental tensions (Telford 2003). Through the federal spending power the Federal Government utilises its superior financial position to

persuade the provincial governments to enter into programmes and grants in areas of responsibility that are often constitutionally defined as provincial, often on the basis that the provinces lack the income sources to fund their constitutional responsibilities. In 2009-10 the Federal Government provided over $53 billion CAN to the provinces to help fund a variety of programmes (see Table 6). The provinces constitutionally have access to the same taxation resources as the Federal Government, but are unable to fund their programmes appropriately because the Federal Government continues to capture a large portion of income (and

Table 6: Federal-Provincial transfers, 2005-2010

	2005–06	2006–07	2007–08	2008–09	2009–10
				(millions of dollars)	
Major Transfers					
Canada Health Transfer[1]	20,310	20,140	21,729	22,778	23,987
Canada Social Transfer[1]	8,415	8,500	9,857	10,560	10,865
Children			1,100	1,100	1,133
Post-Secondary Education			2,435	3,235	3,332
Social Programs			6,202	6,202	6,388
Equalization[2]	10,907	11,535	12,925	13,462	14,185
Offshore Accords[3]	219	386	552	663	645
Territorial Formula Financing[4]	2,058	2,118	2,279	2,313	2,498
Other payments[5]					563
Subtotal	41,909	42,680	47,352	49,775	52,743
Direct Targeted Support					
Labour Market Training Funding				500	500
Wait Times Reduction	625	1,200	1,200	600	250
Subtotal	625	1,200	1,200	1,100	750
Total - Federal Support	42,534	43,880	48,552	50,875	53,494
Change from 2005–06		+1,346	+6,018	+8,341	+10,960
Per Capita Allocation (dollars)	1,321	1,348	1,476	1,529	1,588

Source: Ministry of Finance 2010

consumption) taxes. While the provinces could increase their income taxes it would be politically difficult for them to do so. The result of the federal spending power is that it severely limits the provincial governments' ability to create or expand programmes through higher taxation, but instead must rely on the Federal Government to help fund provincial programmes, creating a negotiating environment that favours the Federal Government.

This superior negotiating environment can be seen in the multiple bilateral agreements that the Federal Government enters into with the provinces. Bilateral negotiations often favour the Federal Government, particularly when dealing with economically less powerful provinces due to the Federal Governments' superior financial strength (Perry 1997; Kershaw 2006). McRoberts (1985) suggests that the federal spending power incorporates a 'divide and conquer' element to federal dealings with the provinces as it allows them to tailor spending depending on individual provincial needs through bilateral negotiation while also advancing a uniquely federal agenda. The implication of this sort of environment is that it diminishes the constitutional understanding that the federal and provincial governments are both equal levels of government. Within such an environment, attempts at intergovernmental policy coordination may become strained, with the Federal Government taking a similar position of superiority in any such negotiations.

The federal spending power has been justified in various ways by the Federal Government. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's government justified it in the 1960s by arguing that such involvement in provincial responsibilities was in the 'national' interest, arguing that "because the people of Canada will properly look to a popularly elected Parliament to represent their national interests, it should play a role *with* the provinces, in achieving the best results for Canada from provincial policies and programmes whose effects extend beyond the boundaries of a province" (Trudeau 1969, p. 34, emphasis in original). Quebec has never accepted this line of reasoning, while the remaining nine provinces have remained relatively ambiguous on the subject (Trudeau 1969). A compromise was later established that sought to allay Quebec's concerns through the

Established Programs (Interim Arrangements) Act of 1965, which allows a provincial government to opt-out of a federal programme and in return receive a cash transfer from the Federal Government on condition that it establish a similar provincial programme. Such an arrangement creates the provincial illusion that it is in control of the programme because it manages it but at the same time it still binds them to a federally designed programme (Hogg 1985).

An expanded opt-out provision was one of many items included in the failed constitutional amendment talks in 1987 and 1992 (Telford 2003). The failure of these constitutional discussions has resulted in even more bilateral agreements between the federal and provincial governments as both levels worked to avoid new constitutional talks, the previous breakdown of which strongly contributed to a near 'yes' vote (by a margin of only 1.16% against) for Quebec separation in 1995 (Perry 1997; Kershaw 2006). The lack of interest in re-entering constitutional discussions has led to a more pragmatic negotiating environment between the federal and provincial governments. The implication of such a shift has been that intergovernmental relationships and coordination become more important mechanisms to reduce tensions.

The variety of bilateral agreements and policy integration between the two levels of government since the end of the Second World War has led Lazar (2004) to note that "today, it is impractical to think that either the federal or provincial governments could carry out their full range of responsibilities without one affecting the other, given the massive growth in intergovernmental interdependence" (Lazar 2004, p. 7). Yet, the recognition of this intergovernmental interdependence appears to be lacking at both levels of government. The provinces and territories appear to understand this independence to a greater extent than the Federal Government, as they have recently begun annual premier's meetings, a variety of inter-provincial cabinet meetings as well as negotiating internal trade agreements. At the federal level intergovernmental forums are piecemeal, with issues of interdependent policy largely delegated to individual ministers and the larger bureaucracy to solve. With many intergovernmental negotiations

restricted to officials rather than politicians, there is a risk that a lack of political leadership could result in aspects of policy coordination being diminished or perverse closed-policy networks blocking improved intergovernmental interaction.

The disadvantages and advantages of such fragmented intergovernmental relations for the Federal Government are debatable. The disadvantage of such a fragmented approach means that larger-scale issues could be missed and there may be a tendency to pander to the lowest common denominator rather then seek large-scale achievements. From the other side it offers the advantage of being able to negotiate independently with each province, helping to avoid the advantage of numbers that is gained through First Minister's conferences when all Premiers are collectively able to pressure the Federal Government. At the same time it allows more nuanced policy and programmes to be negotiated between each province and the Federal Government as opposed to trying to force a one-size-fits-all approach, allowing the federal and provincial governments to address individual regional concerns.

TOWARDS A CROSSCUTTING INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

Taken together, the preceding discussion highlights the unique institutional intergovernmental environment present within Canada. In order to gain a more complete picture of the impact of institutions on spatial policy coordination within this environment the remainder of this chapter develops a conceptual framework of study that draws on all three schools of new institutionalist thought; historical, sociological and rational choice. Such integration of the three schools has already occurred by some individuals described by Thelen (1999) as 'crosscutters'. A crosscutting approach for the study of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is necessary due to the recognition that "state spatiality is actively produced and transformed through regulatory projects and socio-political struggles articulated in diverse institutional sites and at a range of geographical scales" (Brenner 2004, p. 76).

The utilisation of an institutionalist approach that incorporates

aspects of the structural origin and historical constraining factors of power relations, the role that rational choice plays in the decision-making processes of individuals along with the sociological tradition of examining the role of institutional change together provide a detailed picture of why institutions are the way they are. These factors sit within diverse politically constructed entities, requiring an understanding of how individuals have structured their decision-making process within their own unique spaces of jurisdiction, and what aspects of the institutional structure facilitate and what aspects complicate spatial policy coordination across different institutional settings.

Agency and Structure

An intergovernmental environment creates many difficulties for the coordination of spatial policy. The agency-based difficulties of coordinating spatial policy within this environment must therefore be viewed alongside the structural forces that also influence the nature and form of intergovernmental relations (see Table 7). The definition of structural forces in this research is constructed from all three new institutional schools, drawing on the rational choice school regarding the role of formal rules and procedures in constraining individual goal achievement, historical institutionalist conceptions of the role of path dependency in structuring outcomes and the more informal rules and values of the sociological tradition that influence institutional structure and reform. Based on the literature review conducted in Chapter 2, the range of structural influences on coordination within intergovernmental systems include concerns of inherited hierarchical government and legal structures, the number of actors involved at all levels of government, the sectoralised nature of government policy, the cultural values of society and those involved in the coordination process, the varying vertical alignment of government functions, and the numerous historical demographic and economic factors that limit and inform future actions.

While these structural forces limit the processes and options that can be undertaken to achieve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination,

Table 7: Structure and agency based considerations

STRUCTURE-BASED		AGENCY-BASED	
Hierarchical Structures	- Legal restrictions - Bureaucratic organisational traditions	**Communication**	- Encouragement of mutual discussion between departments - Gaining appreciation of role of other actors
Multiple Actors	- Horizontally between governments - Vertically between governments	**Collective Rationality**	- Recognition of the impact of actions on other actors - Understanding of the positive benefits of coordination
Institutional Legacies	- Specialised policy fields - Closed-network of actors	**Selectivity**	- Strategic selection of areas to be coordinated - Determination of 'who does what'
Cultural Norms	- Societal conceptions of the role of government and planning - Predominant values	**Mutual Conceptions**	- Defining of terms - Recognition of common ideals that can be rallied around and reduction of regional tensions
Historical Trajectory	- Previous and current demographic and economic circumstances - Limits to the goals that can be achieved	**Goal-orientated**	- Selection of a course of action that is feasible - Determination of how the goal is to be achieved and over what period of time

Source: Author

they also help define the actions required to reconcile these constraining factors and achieve better-coordinated outcomes. Agency-based difficulties have been determined to relate to the interaction of the multiple agents and institutions present in an intergovernmental environment. Overcoming agency-based difficulties requires greater attention to the role of communication, the management of collective rationality over individual rationality, the selection of policies to be coordinated, a focus on the underlying mutual conceptions and alleviation of regional tensions, the creation of a long-term goal, and an understanding of the means necessary to implement agreed-upon actions.

While planning and organisational theories provide detailed insight into specific processes, an institutional conceptual framework that incorporates methods and understandings of institutions from all three new institutionalist schools provides a more robust process for examining intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

Conceptualising Intergovernmental Spatial Policy Coordination

This research conceptualises intergovernmental spatial policy coordination through a crosscutting institutional framework. Within this conceptual approach, the formal and informal aspects of both structure and agency influence intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. Historical, rational, and sociological strands of new institutionalism are utilised in order to fully understand this interaction. Individual aspects of these institutional strands are subsumed within four components of the spatial policy coordination conceptual framework: formal governments, informal structural forces, formal actors, and informal agency options (see Figure 3).

Formal Government Institutions

Government institutions are represented within the conceptual framework as the formal structures and rules that govern an individual's actions, as highlighted by Hall (1986). Within an intergovernmental environment these institutions are composed of distinct levels of government that are provided with the freedom to set their own rules within their defined jurisdictions. These formal rules are often written down in laws and statues that have been developed over time to govern the
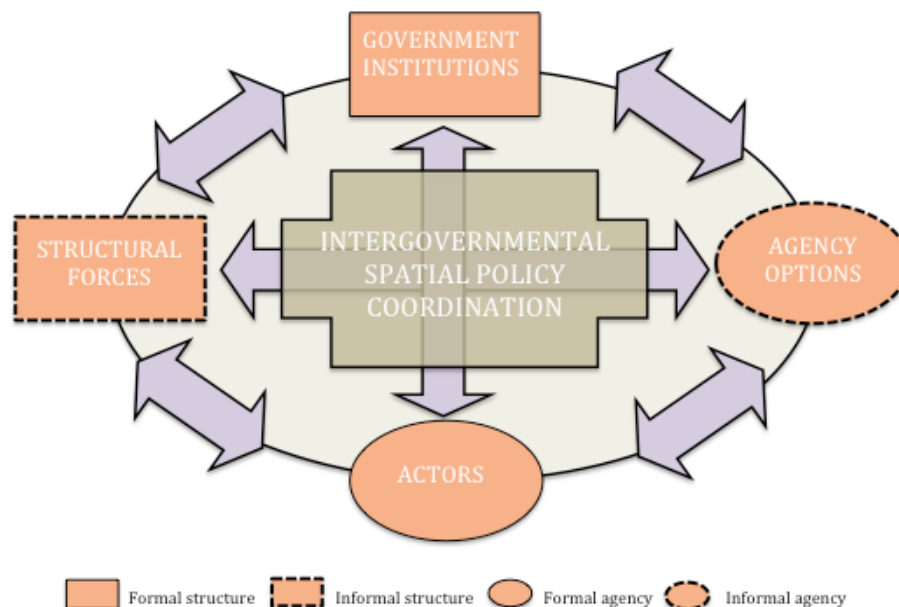
Figure 3: Conceptual framework

Source: Author

conduct of citizens as well as employees of government who must uphold and work within the assigned system of rules. In turn, these rules reduce the ability of individuals to maximise gain and instead force them to compromise and satisfy.

The intergovernmental environment complicates spatial policy coordination, as the formal institutions of one government need not necessarily align to those of another. Reconciling the differences in formal rules and procedures can potentially add to additional costs and conflict. As a result, jurisdictional concerns may arise as competencies are discussed and who does what is debated.

Informal Structural Forces

In the same manner that formal government institutions structure agency, so do the informal cultural norms and procedures of society (Jepperson 1991). While the formal government institutions are written down, the informal structural forces are more ephemeral. These informal norms and procedures influence the behaviour of individuals in a variety of ways, such as through their regional culture, family upbringing, and education. In this way, they structure individual conceptions of right and wrong and how they make decisions. Within government, individuals that develop policy and the formal written rules, project their individual biases as well as attempt to mediate between the wide varieties of conflicting societal beliefs, thereby influencing the creation, modification, and dismantling of formal government institutions.

The influence of informal structural forces extends to spatial conceptions given the link between culture and space (Paasi 2003). Forms of intergovernmental spatial policy are therefore a partial product of informal norms and cultures that structure how individuals deal with spatial concerns. Governments, with their unique geographic boundaries and historic regional identities, must balance these informal institutional interests when developing intergovernmental spatial policy.

Formal Actors

Formal actors are conceptualised here as the individuals that function within the formal government institutions. These include the politicians, ministers and civil servants who are necessary to ensure the functioning of government. Within intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, these individuals are considered to be the main actors across the various governments due to their primary role in developing policy. While it is recognised that a wide variety of actors also play a role – including citizens, non-governmental organisations and academics – they are considered external actors that informally structure the policy formulation process, as the ultimate decision-making power does not rest with them.

In an intergovernmental context, the formal government actors exist across more than one government and interact with one another. Actors must work across government to solve particular problems while attempting to protect and advance the formal agenda that government has set for them. Within each government, positions and job descriptions are not necessarily the same and difficulties may arise related to terminology, a mismatch of skill sets, or clash of cultures. These difficulties may at times limit the ability of actors to achieve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

Informal Agency Options

Actors have an infinite number of options available to them when making decisions. These decisions are, however, limited by the structural constraints placed on them, both formally and informally. Informal agency options represent this aspect of agency and structure. The combined influence of the formal government institutions, the informal structural forces, and the formal role the actor must play within government results in a limiting of the number of options for each actor. Following Bandura's (2001) discussions related to the need to meld diverse self-interests with collective intentions, within an intergovernmental context the actor must choose the course of action they think can balance all the various structural

forces while at the same time achieve the greatest level of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. The literature suggests that a variety of options exist (as discussed previously in Table 7) to improve intergovernmental spatial policy. However, not all of these options are necessarily available to the actor as they are constrained by the individual institutional environment in which they work. Simultaneously, individual actors are influenced by the other actors that they must work with, each of whom also functions within their own unique institutional environment. The resulting outcome of these decisions generates improved intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, maintains the status quo, or impedes it.

Intergovernmental Spatial Policy Coordination

Intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is conceptualised as being impacted by all four components of the framework: formal government institutions, informal structural forces, formal actors, and informal agency options. Government institutions set the formal rules of the game within which actors must coordinate; structural forces informally influence actors' decision-making process; a particular formal set of actors must be dealt with throughout the process, each of whom has his or her own particular agenda to uphold; while the available informal agency options limit what decisions can be made to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. At the same time each component influences the other, ultimately structuring the outcome of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

Applying the Crosscutting Institutionalist Framework to Canada

The crosscutting institutionalist framework is utilised to study Canadian intergovernmental spatial policy coordination through five components: the mapping of the country's regional spatial structure; identifying the formal level of institutional spatial policy and coordination; understanding the institutional intergovernmental context, relationships, and the attitudes of the relevant actors towards intergovernmental spatial

policy coordination; identifying possible methods to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination based on the perceived institutional constraints, actor led relationships and the individual conceptions of the role they play in spatial policy formulation, implementation and coordination; and finally by a critique of the intergovernmental spatial policy coordination framework and a discussion of its application to Canada. Each of these components is studied through the use of an embedded case study approach.

An analytical component of the framework is provided first through a mapping of the spatial structure of Canada. The mapping provides detailed insight into the economic, demographic and social processes that have influenced, and continue to influence, the informal structure, dynamics and actors present within government institutions. The analysis is divided into two main components: spatial inequality and spatial connectivity. Each component highlights the past and current regional spatial stresses within Canada. These stresses are then analysed within the context of the institutional dynamics present providing insight into where and in what capacity problems of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination are being manifested. Once identified, a more detailed, regionally focused, case study area is selected and an empirical institutional study is undertaken with confidence that an analytical examination has highlighted a region that could benefit from better intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

An empirical component is then utilised to explore conceptions of space through an analysis of the formal policy environment in which policymakers must coordinate intergovernmental spatial policy. The formal policy environment is understood by analysing policy documents of the case study governments, with a particular emphasis on those that might have spatial components, such as transportation or housing. This analysis provides evidence as to how spatial policy is used and understood by government and the extent to which coordination mechanisms are formally written into policy across the case study governments. Furthermore, it provides the policy context within which actors must function and provides insight into how they are constrained by current policy.

A further empirical component is conducted through primary data collection by conducting semi-structured interviews with policymakers in each case study government. These interviews are used to understand how current government institutions function, influence, and constrain policymakers' ability to make decisions. The interviews provide knowledge on how coordination currently takes place within the current institutional environment; what structural factors impede it; and how spatial policy issues are currently understood and conceptualised by policymakers to gain a better understanding of the importance of spatial concerns within each government. Decision-making processes are then discussed to offer insights on how intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is currently undertaken and what formal and informal mechanisms and processes impede and promote it.

Finally, the conceptual framework is re-evaluated in light of the experience of assembling and analysing empirical data, resulting in a critical assessment of its strengths and weaknesses. The research is then used to provide policy recommendations for Canada, detailing how intergovernmental spatial policy coordination can be improved.

METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

This research aims to understand how institutional dynamics structure the formulation and coordination of intergovernmental spatial policy in Canada, and thereby to make recommendations for its improvement. In order to achieve this aim, five objectives have been set, each of which are informed by the research questions outlined as follows.

Objective One
To examine the current theoretical and practical understanding of spatial territorial development research and policy coordination within an intergovernmental environment in order to develop a framework of study.

    a) How is policy formulation undertaken within multi-level

governments?

b) What are the current theoretical understandings of intergovernmental policy coordination?

c) How do conceptions of space impact policy formulation?

d) How can spatial policy approaches be reconciled with intergovernmental coordination?

Objective Two

To analyse the current spatial inequalities and connectivities that exist within Canada in order to identify regions where intergovernmental spatial policy coordination issues are abundant.

e) What is the current level of spatial inequality in Canada?

f) What is the current level of spatial connectivity within Canada?

g) How have spatial inequality and spatial connectivity impacted the spatial structure of Canada?

h) What regions of Canada contain a variety of spatial stress concerns?

Objective Three

To understand the extent of formal institutionalised intergovernmental spatial policy coordination between the federal and provincial governments of Canada.

i) How spatially specific are Canadian federal and provincial policies?

j) How are coordination mechanisms mentioned in relation to spatial policy issues?

k) What are the common and divergent spatial policy coordination elements present throughout the levels of government studied?

Objective Four

To examine the informal institutional context, relationships, and the attitudes of policymakers in Canada towards intergovernmental spatial policy coordination via a case study.

l) How do senior government officials interact with one another?

m) What constraints does the present institutional environment place on senior policymakers when coordinating policy and how effective are current policy coordination mechanisms?

n) What are senior policymaker's views on, and what role do they take in, the development of space-based policy within their department?

o) How do perceptions of intergovernmental spatial policy vary depending on the institutional culture that policymakers work in and how can intergovernmental spatial policy be improved?

Objective Five

To critique the research framework based on the analysis and to recommend methods to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

p) How can the study of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination be improved?

q) How can intergovernmental spatial policy coordination be improved within the case study?

Research Strategy

The overarching research strategy uses a case study approach. Case studies are "particularly well suited to new research areas or research areas for which existing theory seems inadequate. This type of work is highly complementary to incremental theory building from normal science research" (Eisenhardt 1989, pp. 548-9). This is of relevance given that the research seeks to deploy a new framework for the study of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. As Yin (1994, p. 1) notes, "case studies are the preferred strategy when; 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context". In relation to this research, a case study approach is appropriate because it seeks to explain how spatial policy coordination is undertaken within an

intergovernmental context. The research is focused on a contemporary problem and the real-life, complicated relationships present between varieties of actors operating within an institutional environment that cannot be controlled for.

The research utilises a three phase embedded case study approach that is exploratory in nature as each case study informs the selection of the next (see Figure 4). An embedded case study approach differs from that of a holistic case study approach, in that the latter is most commonly characterised by the exclusive use of a qualitative approach while the former generally involves "more than one unit, or object of analysis, and usually [is] not limited to qualitative analysis alone" (Scholz & Tietje 2002, p. 9). The integration of quantitative and qualitative data improves the transparency and reliability of case study research (Scholz & Tietje 2002). The embedded case study approach allows for detailed case study analysis to be informed by a wider case study context and to apply research undertaken at one level of analysis to another level in order to relate values, interests and power relationships to the wider social context of the research (Lotz-Sisitka & Raven 2011). As Scholz and Tietje (2002, p. 2) discuss, "in an
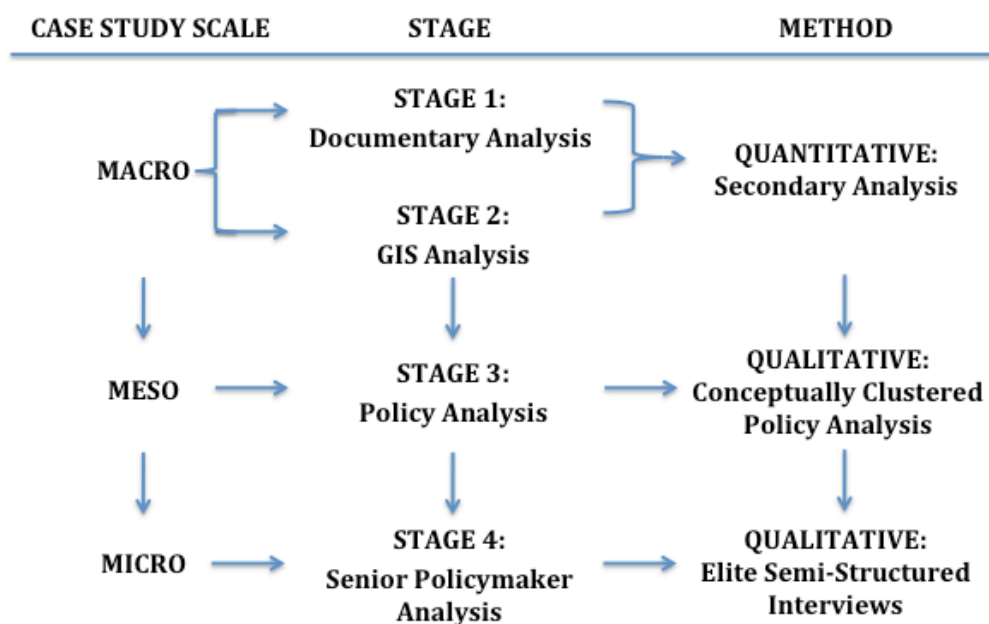
Figure 4: Research approach

Source: Author

embedded case study, the starting and ending points are the comprehension of the case as a whole in its real-world context. However, in the course of analysis, the case will be faceted either by different perspectives of inquiry or be several subunits". In the case of this research, an embedded case study is used to focus the line of inquiry from the macro scale down to the micro scale while at the same time the different perspectives and data collected at each scale are used ultimately to inform the overall analysis and conclusions.

First, a macro quantitative analysis at the country-wide level was conducted, which was followed by a more detailed regionally focused qualitative analysis of policy documents. An additional qualitative component, consisting of elite semi-structured interviews with senior policymakers, was carried out across a range of government ministries. Four governments were chosen for the policy analysis and senior policymaker analysis, within which multiple interviews were undertaken with senior policymakers working in different ministries. In this way, multiple case studies are used to better understand how intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is undertaken within the context of the conceptual framework outlined earlier, and to ensure generalisability, which is recognised as a necessary component of successful case study design (Rowley 2002).

The research utilises both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative approach is characterised by an open systems assumption of research as opposed to a closed system. The features of open and closed systems are outlined by Smith (1998) in Table 8. The qualitative aspects of the research are undertaken from a semi-idiographic philosophy, whereby the goal is to detail a particular set of relationships (Yates 2004). This approach is utilised to understand the institutional structure of the federal and provincial case study ministries and agencies through an analysis of policy documents and interviews with senior civil servants.

Table 8: Features of open and closed systems

	Closed systems	Open systems
Simplicity and complexity	A limited number of measurable variable are involved to increase the possibility of identifying and predicting clear relationships	A state of complexity is acknowledged as the condition of one's objects of analysis and the relations between them
External boundary	Exclusion clauses ensure that the confusing mass of possible influences are screened out	No external boundary is assumed to exist so that each object can be part of multiple causal relations and one cannot predict an outcome with any degree of certainty
Intrinsic properties	All objects of analysis are taken at face value so that the intrinsic properties of an object are not considered	Open systems analysis recognises that all objects have intrinsic properties and structures which affect their performance in different conditions

Source: Smith 1998, p. 348

Stage 1: Contextual Documentary Analysis

A literature review was undertaken in order to provide a context for the Canadian case study, given the unique historical and political environment present within the country. The review provided insight into the current state of federalism studies within the country, focusing on intergovernmental coordination, public policy and regionalism as well as spatial planning. A quantitative component is presented through secondary survey data which highlights the Canadian public's understanding of federal-provincial relations based on province of residence, allowing an improved understanding of the contrasting views of citizens depending on where they live.

Stage 2: Geographic Information System (GIS) Analysis of Spatial Structure

An open system of inquiry recognises that the economic, social and demographic relationships being mapped within Canada are complex, with variables that cannot be completely accounted for. The approach adopted utilises an experimental method of closure, whereby results of the mapping are measured against one another to elaborate on the functioning of the spatial system (Smith 1998). Findings are presented in Chapter 4.

Mapping Canada's spatial structure utilises secondary data to generate an understanding of the current demographic, social and economic pressures facing the country. This analysis is primarily undertaken through GIS analysis of secondary data in order to describe cross-sectoral trends and

the relative strength and weakness of inter-regional relationships. Secondary data sources included the 2001 and 2006 Canadian Census along with additional Statistics Canada data on migration flows, immigration, airports, and freight movements. A complete list of indicators and the selection process is described in more detail in Chapter 4. Broadly, the spatial structure of Canada is analysed under the following three categories:

- *Spatial Inequality:* is analysed by selecting indicators to demonstrate the past and current demographic and social state of Canada. These indicators are based largely on those used in previous research to ensure general consensus on their appropriateness.

- *Spatial Connectivity:* is analysed by selecting indicators to demonstrate the functional inter-relationships, or lack of, between regions. These indicators are based largely on those used in previous research to ensure general consensus on their appropriateness.

- *Spatial Structure:* is analysed by generating typologies of regions with similar socio-demographic characteristics and inter-regional relationships.

The quantitative analysis is then discussed within the context of the documentary analysis to explain the selection of more specific regional case studies.

Stage 3: Policy Analysis of Case Study Areas

Drawing on Miles and Huberman's (1994) qualitative method of data analysis, a conceptually clustered matrix is used to analyse 28 government policy documents across the four case study governments identified in Chapter 4 (see Appendix 1). The analysis, which is presented in Chapter 5, also includes documents from the Council of the Federation because of its interprovincial composition, mandate and platform for pan-Canadian policy discussions by Canada's Premiers.

A conceptually clustered matrix allows relationships to be tested and comparisons between variables to be made (Miles & Huberman 1994). To

do this, the concepts to be studied are first determined and then a textual analysis of the document is undertaken to identify where and to what extent the concepts are mentioned. The documents were chosen to provide a broad overview of policy direction with an emphasis on those that were most likely to have a spatial impact. Within the matrix, references to issues that have spatial impacts are noted and then clustered around three key areas of inquiry: the level of spatial specificity, whether a coordination mechanism exists, and a brief outline of what the implication of the reference may be. A separate matrix was created for each policy document (Table 9). Although the empirical alignment of concepts may not be entirely appropriate for each document, they do provide a framework for consistent comparison (Miles & Huberman 1994). The data in each matrix is then summarised with reference to the level of spatial and coordination specificity of each document. Due to the spatial nature of the analysis, reference to the number of maps included in each document is also noted.

While the emphasis was on analysing strategies and guidance based documents that were thematically focused on a particular issue such as transportation or climate change, for many ministries no such strategy or guidance based documents existed in the public domain, and in these cases ministry corporate plans were utilised instead. This was particularly the case for the Government of Saskatchewan, where no strategic documents were available for the ministries studied, apart from corporate plans or the occasional publication that was more than five years old. Overall, the policy documents studied provide insight into how spatial issues are formally conceptualised and coordinated within and between government.

Stage 4: Interviews with Senior Policymakers

This process is then followed by interviews to assess the values and perceptions of relevant actors as well as their relationships with other departments and governments towards intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in Chapters 6 and 7. This process was completed through in-

Table 9: Policy documents analysed by government and ministry

Government of Canada / Multi-Governmental	
Ministry/Department	**Document Title**
Western Economic Diversification	Corporate Business Plan 2009/2010 – 2011/2012
Transport Canada	Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative
Transport Canada	Building Canada: Modern Infrastructure for a Strong Canada
Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation	Corporate Plan 2009-2013
Environment	A Climate Change Plan for the Purposes of the *Kyoto Protocol Implementation Act*
Government of Canada, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba	Pacific Gateway Strategy Action Plan
Council of the Federation	
Council of the Federation	A Shared Vision for Energy in Canada
Council of the Federation	Looking to the Future: A Plan for Investing in Canada's Transportation Infrastructure
Government of British Columbia	
Transportation and Infrastructure	Service Plan Update
Economic Development	Asia Pacific Initiative
Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources	The BC Energy Plan
Community and Rural Development	Service Plan Update 2009/10 – 2011/12
Environment	Climate Action Plan
Housing and Social Development	Housing Matters BC
Small Business and Economic Development / Transportation	British Columbia Ports Strategy
Government of Alberta	
Environment	2008 Climate Change Strategy
Capital Planning	Alberta's 20 year strategic capital plan
Energy	Alberta's Provincial Energy Strategy
Secretariat for Action on Homelessness	A Plan for Alberta: Ending Homelessness in 10 Years
Sustainable Resource Development	Land-use Framework
Agriculture and Rural Development	A Place to Grow: Alberta's Rural Development Strategy
Government of Saskatchewan	
Energy and Resources	Plan for 2009-10
Highways and Infrastructure	Plan for 2009-10
Finance	Government Direction for 2009-10
Municipal Affairs	Plan for 2009-10
Social Services	Plan for 2009-10
Environment	Plan for 2009-10
Advanced Education, Employment and Labour	Plan for 2009-10

Source: Author

depth semi-structured interviews. Yates (2004, p. 157) notes that in-depth interviews are useful in order to:

- achieve an in-depth understanding and detailed description of a particular aspect of an individual, a case history or a group's experience(s);

- explore how individuals or group members give meaning to and express their understanding of themselves, their experiences and

/ or their worlds;

- find out and describe in detail social events and to explore why they are happening, rather than how often; and
- explore the complexity, ambiguity and specific detailed processes taking place in a social context.

The findings of the semi-structured interviews are analysed in two ways: through a within-case thematic conceptual analysis based on government (Chapter 6), and secondly through a cross-case thematic conceptual analysis based on all interviews (Chapter 7). Within this context it is recognised that interviewees may at times explain processes and activities that are in fact different to those implemented in practice (Denscombe 2003).

Interview requests were made through phone or email and arranged prior to arrival in each capital city. However, on two occasions a snowballing effect occurred when interviewees assisted in arranging last-minute additional interviews during the fieldwork visits with colleagues of interest through the use of personal contacts. The cost of travelling and staying within each capital city was prohibitive due to budget constraints and resulted in short periods of time, a week to two weeks, to conduct interviews in each location. The success rate for interview requests varied depending on the level of government (see Table 10). The success rate was

Table 10: Interview success rate

Government	Interviews Targeted	Interviews Undertaken	Response Rate
Government of Canada (including Council of the Federation)	22	9	40.9%
British Columbia	17	11	64.7%
Alberta	14	7	50.0%
Saskatchewan	16	6	37.5%
Total	69	33	47.8%

Note: The two additional interviews arranged by interviewees are noted as interviews targeted and successful interviews undertaken
Source: Author

lowest for the Government of Canada; despite its size and the number of interview requests, a limited number of interviewees accepted the request to participate. This may be attributed to the political and economic circumstances at the time of the interview programme in 2009, as many departments were preoccupied with implementing the government's 'Economic Action Plan', which provided billions of dollars in stimulus in order to deal with the economic downturn and the instability resulting from a minority government (hung parliament). However the interviews are about depth, their focus is qualitative and therefore representativeness does not apply to the same extent as quantitative research.

This creates some limitations in terms of understanding the perspectives of certain senior federal civil servants and the intergovernmental relationships present. The preferred goal was to obtain interviews with federal and provincial ministries that had overlapping mandates, such as Transport Canada and the Alberta Ministry of Transportation for example, in order to understand the level of spatial coordination present. In the case of the Government of Canada, interviews with Environment Canada, Industry Canada, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, and Natural Resources Canada were declined by officials. However, interviews with those departments' provincial equivalents were mostly successful. This limits the extent to which conclusions can be made regarding the relationship between departments where jurisdiction is constitutionally shared. However, broader generalisability related to the extent to which consideration is given to intergovernmental spatial concerns and coordination between departments that do not have constitutionally shared jurisdiction remains valid.

Senior officials were the predominant target group for the interviews given their role in developing, approving and initiating new policy. An added benefit was their close relationship with politicians. As Radin and Boase (2000, p. 83) comment "if knowledge is power, then much power resides with the high level public servants in Canada". To this end the majority of the interviews successfully undertaken were with Assistant Deputy Ministers (second most senior civil servants behind a Deputy

Minister), Directors (third highest) or Departmental Managers (fourth highest) (see Table 11).

Each interview lasted approximately one hour. At times interviewees arranged for colleagues to join the discussion when they thought it would be beneficial to the discussion. Interview participants were informed of the parameters of the research through a participant information sheet and permission was documented through a consent form (see Appendix 2 and 3). Voice recording of interviewees was requested while informing them of their right to decline and opt for written notes only (an opportunity to which five interviewees availed themselves).

Interviewees were informed that their names and positions would be kept confidential. Individuals were further informed that their comments may be quoted but would not be directly attributable to them; rather, reference would only be made to the level of government that they represent. These assurances were made in the hope of allowing officials to reveal their personal views on the questions asked without having to be concerned about making comments that diverged from government policy.

Triangulation

Triangulation is a commonly utilised method within social science that uses multiple approaches to enhance confidence in research findings (Bryman 1988). It is defined as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" (Denzin 1978, p. 291). Denzin (1970) explains two methods of triangulation: within-method and between-method. Within-method refers to the use of the same method to study an issue but with the use of different parameters; between-methods involve different research methods, such as quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Table 11: Interview participant summary

Position	Number of Interviewees
Assistant Deputy Ministers	8
Directors	16
Managers	4
Other (Senior Policy Analysts, etc.)	5

Source: Author

Within-method triangulation is most commonly used to test the reliability of a particular method. However, in order to generate a more sophisticated understanding of an issue, between-method triangulation is considered a more useful approach, as multiple methods are useful for counter-balancing the inherent flaws of each individual method (Denzin, 1978). Between-method triangulation is used in this research for three purposes: to inform the selection of case studies, to validate findings, and to construct a more holistic and in-depth understanding of a unit or units, allowing for the discovery of new knowledge that might not have been achieved if relying on only one method of analysis (Jick 1979).

Documentary analysis based on quantitative survey data of Canadians views of federalism are combined with GIS data on the spatial structure of Canada as well as qualitative appraisal of historical and current affairs to select the case-study provinces. A further qualitative analysis of policy documents within those provinces is then undertaken and individual policymakers are selected for interview. The qualitative analysis of how spatial issues and coordination are conceptualised within policy documents is then contrasted against the conceptualisations of these issues by policymakers in order to validate findings as well as to confirm the quantitative observations related to federalism.

Ultimately triangulation is utilised to generate new knowledge that is contextually situated and makes connections between scales in order to develop conclusions about intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. This is achieved by contrasting policymakers' perceptions of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination with those of their colleagues in other governments, as well as against the formal written policy documents of their department. These conclusions are then contextualised in relation to the socio-economic, demographic and historical data collected at the country and provincial level to provide improved understandings of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in Canada.

SUMMARY

This chapter has highlighted the complicated historical institutional

intergovernmental structures present within Canada. Some of these are long-standing, such as First Minister's Conferences, while others are more ad hoc, such as issue-based forums. The rise of intergovernmental agents within departments in the last two decades helps to demonstrate that public policy is becoming more interconnected and complicated between governments. Yet there is a lack of understanding of how policymakers function within this more complicated environment, and specifically how issues of space are conceptualised and coordinated by them. Further understandings of these issues are developed in Chapters 6 and 7 along with possible methods to overcome intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

In order to study the institutional intergovernmental environment a crosscutting institutional framework that conceptualises institutions from a historical, rational-choice, and sociological perspective is presented as the chosen framework. The framework recognises the structural forces and the agency actions that frame intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. The research aims and objectives are then revisited and research questions presented. A mixed methods approach is used to address the aims and objectives. Secondary survey data on citizens' perceptions of federalism is used, followed by an analysis of secondary census and socio-demographic data that is analysed through the use of GIS to refine the case study area. A conceptually clustered analysis of policy documents is then undertaken in order to understand the formal aspects of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. The use of semi-structured interviews is then discussed with the goal of understanding the more informal components. Ultimately triangulation is used to make overall conclusions related to the research aims and objectives.

The next chapter will explore the spatial dimensions present in Canada in order to understand where spatial pressures exist and what regions could benefit from improved policy coordination. This exploration will assist in narrowing down the study area for the more detailed empirical study of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, while also providing further analytical evidence on how space and people interact across Canada.

CHAPTER 4: THE CANADIAN REGIONAL CONTEXT & CASE STUDY IDENTIFICATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the characteristics of Canadian regionalism and the country's space economy over time in order to understand the regional patterning of pressures and problems, and to contextualise accompanying policy intervention. It's purpose is to set the broad cultural, socio-economic and demographic context, complementing Chapter 3's discussion of governmental structures and history in Canada, and identify areas on which to focus in much more depth on intergovernmental relations and policy coordination. The chapter begins with a discussion of regionalism based on Canadian perceptions of federal-provincial relations and the impact this has on intergovernmental coordination. This is followed by the use of secondary data and geographical information system (GIS) analysis, to map Canada's spatial structure in order to understand the current demographic, social and economic pressures facing the country. From this analysis more detailed case study areas are identified for empirical study. Given the exploratory nature of this research, the chapter contributes to both the broader understanding of regionalism and spatial planning concerns in Canada as well as assisting the framing of the line of inquiry to be taken for the content analysis and empirical interview components of the research.

The chapter begins by drawing on secondary survey data of Canadian views on regionalism and federalism. The spatial analysis component of the research is then introduced by defining what indicators are used in the analysis and explaining their selection. This is followed by an examination of the indicators under two broad headings: spatial inequality and spatial connectivity. Drawing from this analysis, regions experiencing spatial stress are identified. These regions are then considered in the context of the discussion from Chapter 3 of this thesis, resulting in the selection of four levels of government for detailed case study analysis.

EXPLORING REGIONALISM IN CANADIAN FEDERALISM

Given Canada's highly decentralised nature, regionalism is a dominant aspect of the country's social and political dynamic (Gibbins 1982). A Canadian region can be defined in a variety of ways. Two forms of regionalism are explored here: first as an individual province or territory, such as the Ontario region or the Quebec region; and second, as a collection of provinces at the inter-provincial scale, in the form of, for example, 'Western Canada' (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and sometimes Manitoba) or 'Atlantic Canada' (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland and Labrador). These regions are defined based on both social, demographic, and geographic similarities (Eagles 2002; Foot 2006) but "may also exist 'in the minds' of citizens who believe that collective experience and condition in one geographical area of the country is different than in other parts of the country" (Anderson 2011, p. 448).

Equally, some authors suggest that the existence of regional heterogeneity in policy preferences is overstated and that policy approaches and cultures are more often similar rather then radically diverse (Clarke, Pammett and Stewart 2002; Ornstein & Stevenson 1999). Whether overstated or not within the wider literature, Anderson's study (2010) demonstrates a sharp rise in differences of regional policy preference between 1979 and 2006, particularly between 1979 and 1993. The diversity between both regions as provinces/territories and regions as provincial/territorial agglomerations in Canada is explored here to highlight the cultural and political differences present within the country and the impact of this on regional perceptions of federal-provincial relations. Since the focus of this research is on spatial policy coordination between the provincial/territorial governments and Federal Government of Canada, this research deliberately avoids exploring the issue of smaller scale regions *within* provinces, focusing instead on the larger macro scale of regions that exist as defined political entities capable of negotiating directly with one another, as well as with the Federal Government.

Table 12: Percentage of respondents answering that governments are working together "very well" or "somewhat well"
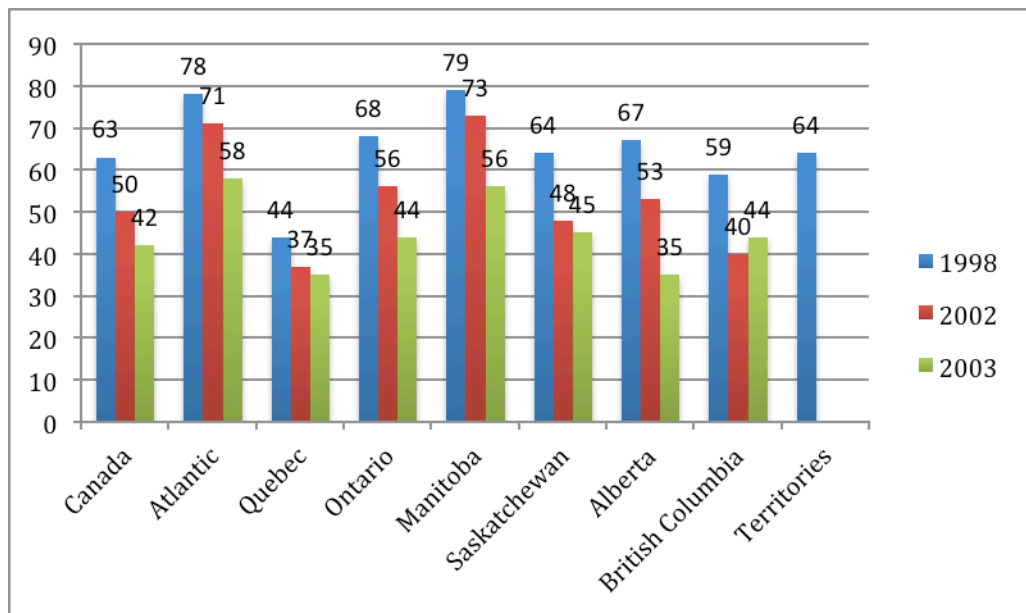
Source: CRIC 2004

Canadian opinion on federal-provincial relations points to an increasing level of dissatisfaction on the matter. Survey data from the Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC) undertaken in 2003 (the last survey produced by the organisation before its funding was cut and it was dissolved) demonstrates that inter-provincial cooperation is a high priority for Canadians. Seventy percent of Canadians surveyed said that improved federal-provincial cooperation should be a high priority for the Prime Minister, rating only second to increased spending on health care (CRIC 2004). This may be a result of declining opinion regarding the state of intergovernmental cooperation, with only 42% of Canadians believing that the two levels of government work well together in 2003, representing a significant drop from 63% in 1998 (see Table 12, CRIC 2004). The most significant decrease was in Alberta where there was a drop from 67% to 35% (CRIC 2004). Blame for intergovernmental conflict is apportioned equally to both levels of government by 70% of Canadians, but those who blame one level of government over another tend to view the Federal Government (19% of respondent) as more often responsible for intergovernmental conflict than the Provincial level (6%) (see Table 13,

Table 13: Who is to blame for intergovernmental conflict (% in 2003)?

Bar chart. Y-axis ranges from 0 to 90. Categories: Canada, Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Territories. Legend: Federal Government (blue), Provincial Government (red), Both Equally (green).

Region	Federal Government	Provincial Government	Both Equally
Canada	19	6	70
Atlantic	21	4	72
Quebec	12	4	78
Ontario	15	7	74
Manitoba	27	4	64
Saskatchewan	30	3	63
Alberta	40	6	51
British Columbia	24	11	62
Territories	27	6	64

Source: CRIC 2004

CRIC 2004). These statistics demonstrate the increasingly negative opinion of Canadians towards intergovernmental relations and towards government more generally.

Of equal concern is Canadians' opinions regarding the advantages of federalism. 32% of respondents disagreed with the statement 'Canadian federalism has more advantages than disadvantages for my province/territory' (CRIC 2004). Apart from Quebec (at 43%) the three other provinces that disagreed most with this statement include the three most Western provinces, Alberta (41%), British Columbia (36%), and Saskatchewan (33%) (see Table 14, CRIC 2004). This reflects the often-noted sentiment of 'Western alienation', a term that refers to Western Canadian provinces feeling left out of the decision-making process due to their smaller population and lack of economic weight compared to Ontario and Quebec. The sense of alienation can also be seen in Western Canada when the question of whether the provincial/territorial level of government should have more power is posed. While Quebec rates highest at 58% in agreeing to this statement, Alberta (47%), Saskatchewan (47%) and British Columbia (43%) show significantly high ratings compared to Central Canada and the Atlantic Provinces (with the exception of Newfoundland and

Table 14: Canadian federalism has more advantages than disadvantages (% in 2003)?
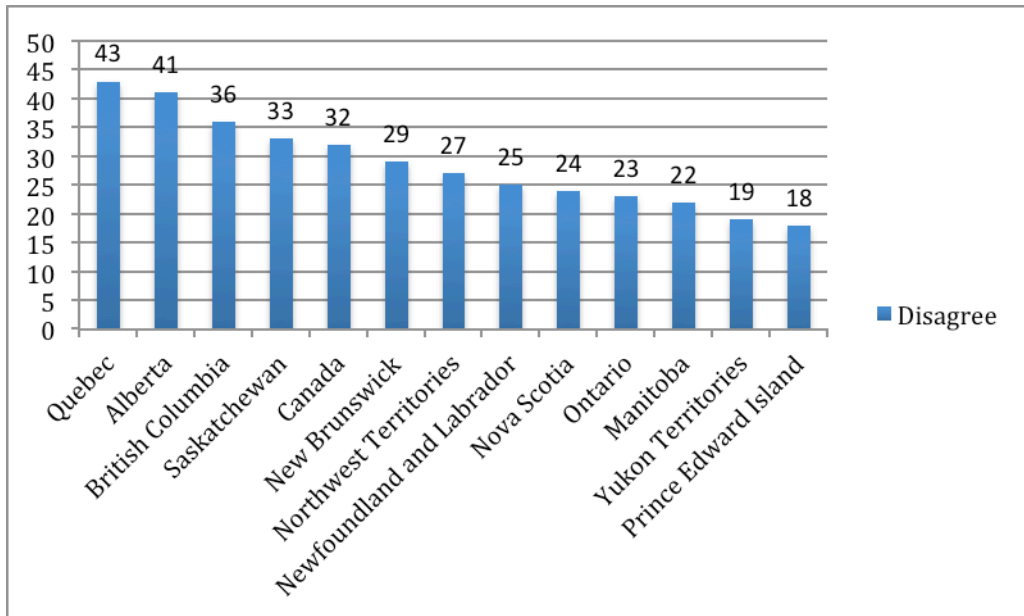
Source: CRIC 2004

Table 15: Percentage of respondents that agree provinces should have more power in 2003
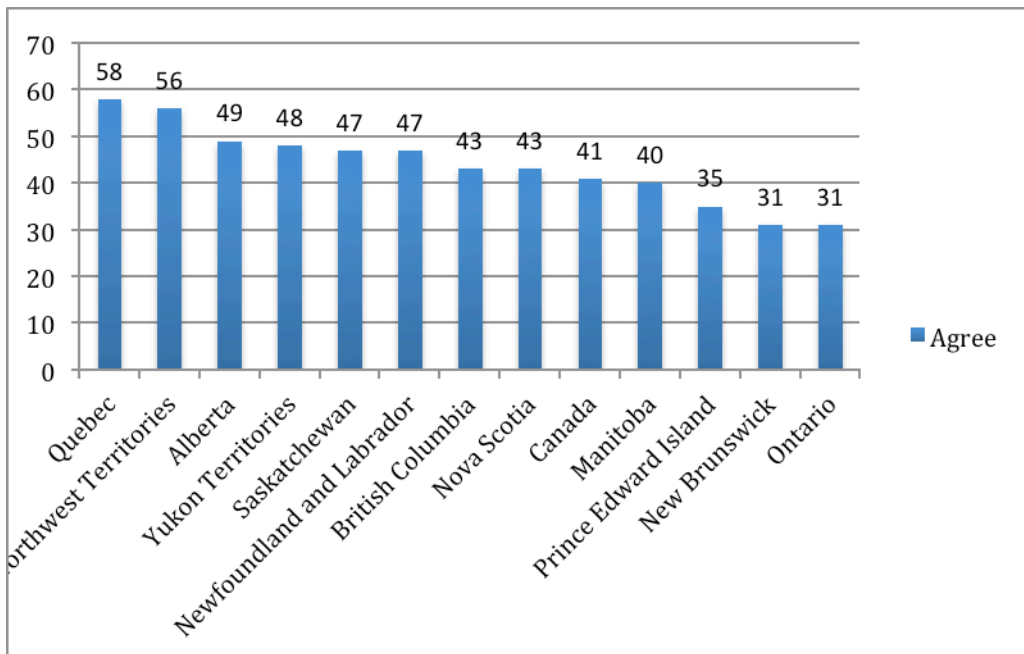
Source: CRIC 2004

Labrador) (see Table 15, CRIC, 2004). Taken together there is a clear trend in Canadian public opinion toward a breakdown of the federal partnership

that Canada is based on due in part to concerns of intergovernmental conflict, particularly in the West.

This breakdown in the federal partnership can partly be understood when issues of trust and importance are explored at the provincial level. While some respondents viewed the federal level of government as the one most trusted to protect programmes of perceived value, the vast majority (seven out of ten provinces) trusted the provincial level of government more (CRIC 2004). This result must be taken with caution, however, given that the provinces have a far more limited population to satisfy compared to the federal level of government, which must seek to appease a more diverse variety of interests across the entire country. Of greater interest is inter-regional variation in perceptions of the degree to which each province gets the respect it deserves within the Federation. In Alberta there has been a dramatic drop in perceived influence, from 57% in 1998 to 38% in 2003 (CRIC 2004). Only a majority of Ontarians believed that their province gets the respect it deserves; all other provinces that answered yes in 2003 were below 50%, with Saskatchewan (26%) and Newfoundland and Labrador (24%) at the bottom end of the poll (CRIC 2004). These two provinces represent some of the least populated provinces but also those with newly found mineral resources, perhaps highlighting the desire of the population to use these resources to increase their influence in the Federation.

The influence of individual provinces on the broader Federation also demonstrates the stark regional differences that exist in Canada, particularly related to the perceived impact that Ontario and Quebec have on the country by its residents compared to other provinces. When asked 'How much influence does your province/territory have on important national decisions in Canada?', Ontario (17%) and Quebec (34%) polled the lowest in terms of having less then their fair share of influence (CRIC 2004). This stands in contrast to Saskatchewan, which topped the poll at 72% along with all the other provinces and territories, none of which dropped below the 50% mark (see Table 16, CRIC 2004). These results suggest a perceived

Table 16: Province/territory's influence on national decisions (%, 2003)

Chart data (labelled bars, in descending order):

Province/Territory	Less than its fair share
Saskatchewan	72
Nova Scotia	70
Newfoundland and Labrador	65
British Columbia	65
Prince Edward Island	63
Northwest Territories	61
Yukon Territories	58
Manitoba	57
New Brunswick	57
Canada	56
Alberta	54
Quebec	34
Ontario	17
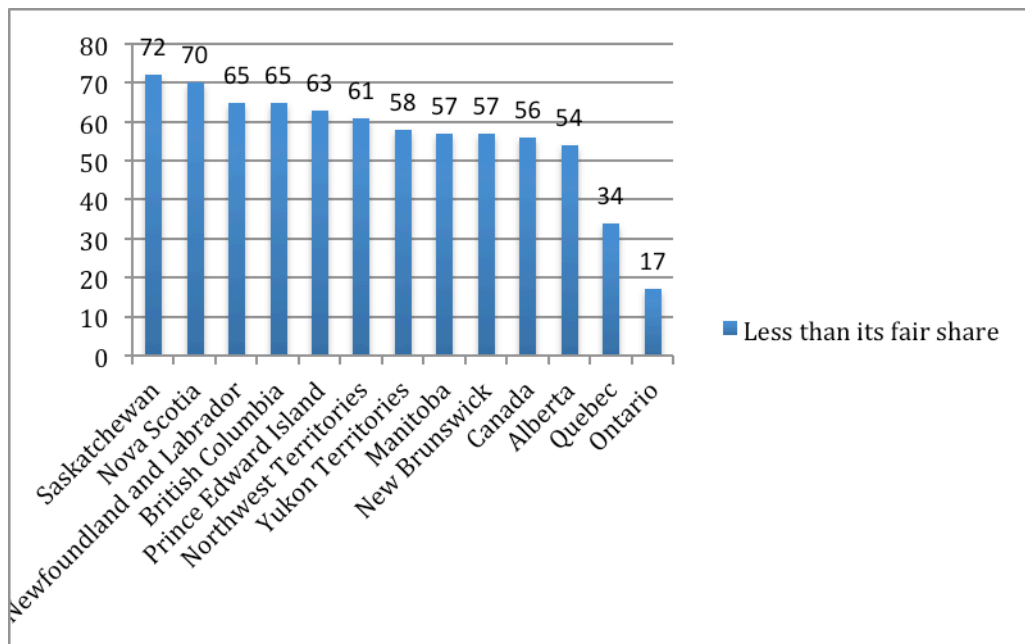
Source: CRIC 2004

failure of intergovernmental decision-making as most provinces perceive their influence on national decisions as being extremely weak, highlighting a desire to improve provincial standing within the Federation and their sway with the Federal Government.

In order to expand their influence on federal matters, the provinces and territories are increasingly cooperating with one another. In 2003 the provincial and territorial Premiers met in Prince Edward Island to establish the Council of the Federation, a forum for the provinces and territories "to play a leadership role in revitalizing the Canadian federation and building a more constructive and cooperative federal system" (Council of the Federation 2009, p. 1). Provincial/territorial cooperation has been particularly noticeable in Western Canada, where British Columbia and Alberta have recently held a number of joint provincial cabinet meetings. In April 2006, these two most Western provinces signed the Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement (TILMA), resulting in the removal of a wide number of provincial barriers to free trade and labour mobility that had previously existed (TILMA 2006). Joint provincial cabinet meetings were later extended to include Saskatchewan along with discussions of the

province joining the TILMA (Kneebone 2008).

Federal-provincial cooperation among Western provinces has also been increasing as a result of investments made through the Western Economic Partnership Agreements that were first initiated in 1996. These agreements provide matching federal-provincial funds for joint priorities in order to 'promote co-operation in planning and decision-making' on strategic federal-provincial goals (Western Economic Diversification Canada 2009). These projects and funds are managed by Western Economic Diversification Canada, the economic development agency that covers the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The programme is designed to achieve federal objectives while taking into account the unique regional differences of the four provinces involved. Similar federal economic development programmes exist for the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, Northern Ontario, Southern Ontario and the Territories, highlighting one of the more regionally nuanced federal programmes.

Provincial assertiveness of late has created a new relationship with the Federal Government. The provinces' ability to capitalise on a renewed sense of Canadian regionalism and work together cooperatively demonstrates that provincial-to-provincial interactions are becoming more fundamental to the maintenance of Canadian federalism. Shifts in economic status have also resulted in previously overlooked, smaller provinces playing a key role in the economic future of the country shifting federal attention from the larger and more established central provinces of Ontario and Quebec.

MAPPING CANADA'S SPATIAL STRUCTURE: INDICATOR SELECTION

The remainder of this chapter focuses on Canada's regional spatial structure through the use of a select bundle of secondary data, which is mapped using GIS in order to understand the wider demographic, socio-economic and infrastructure variations present across its various regions. For the purposes of this chapter, indicators are used to map Canada's spatial structure to generate an understanding of the current socio-economic

pressures and spatial dynamics facing the country. Such a process is useful for defining potential policy problems that need to be addressed (Wong 2006). The indicators selected are designed as input measures rather than as outputs, as their purpose is to define a policy problem rather than look at the impact of a particular policy (Wong 2002). A number of social indicators are utilised in this research as a "set of rules for gathering and organising data so they can be assigned meaning" (Innes 1990, p. 5). This analysis uses GIS techniques to identify trends and map data.

The selection of indicators was derived from a literature review of national spatial plans and spatial analysis working papers that dealt with, in part, the spatial impact of demographic trends, flows between spaces, and the connection of those factors to public policy. The documents reviewed were:

- National Spatial Strategy for Ireland: 2002-2020 (Government of Ireland 2002)
- People, Places, Futures: The Wales Spatial Plan (Welsh National Assembly 2004)
- Regional Development Strategy for Northern Ireland (Department for Regional Development 2001)
- Uniting Britain: The Evidence Base – Spatial Structure and Key Drivers (Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006)
- National Planning Framework for Scotland (Scottish Executive 2004)
- Spatial Development and Spatial Planning in Germany (Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning (2001)
- Maps on European Territorial Development (Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs 2007)
- Toward an American Spatial Development Perspective (Lincoln Institute of Land Policy 2004)

Common indicators among the reviewed plans, taking into account data availability from Canadian sources, were selected and the most appropriate data sources identified for each indicator (see Tables 17 and 18). Two additional factors that were not addressed in the review of national spatial plans and spatial analysis working papers but were deemed appropriate to the Canadian context are the demographic impact of aboriginal populations and the use of government transfers as a method of ensuring income equality. The indicator sets were then divided into two categories: those related to spatial demographic trends under the title of

Table 17: Spatial inequality indicators

	Indicator	Examples of previous uses	Data used in this research
Spatial Inequality	Population Projections	Government of Ireland 2002; Welsh National Assembly 2004; Department for Regional Development 2001; Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006; Scottish Executive 2004; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001; Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs 2007; Lincoln Institute of Land Policy 2004	Projected (2009 – 2036) average annual growth rate, provinces and territories
	Immigration	Government of Ireland 2002; Welsh National Assembly 2004; Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006; Scottish Executive 2004; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001; Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs 2007	Total percentage of population who are recent immigrants (2001 – 2006)
	Population Age	Government of Ireland 2002; Welsh National Assembly 2004; Department for Regional Development 2001; Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006; Scottish Executive 2004; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001; Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs 2007	Percentage of persons aged 65 years and over (2006)
	Aboriginal Population	Furgal and Seguin 2006; Bourne and Rose 2001; Peters 2003; Newbold 1998	Total Aboriginal identity population
	Income	Government of Ireland 2002; Welsh National Assembly 2004; Department for Regional Development 2001; Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006; Scottish Executive 2004; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001; Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs 2007; Lincoln Institute of Land Policy 2004	Median income in 2005 of population 15 years and over (2005)
	Unemployment	Welsh National Assembly 2004; Department for Regional Development 2001; Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006; Scottish Executive 2004; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001; Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs 2007	Unemployment rate (2006)
	Government transfers	Breau 2002; Hatfield 1997	Government transfers as a percentage of income (2006)
	Employment by Sector	Welsh National Assembly 2004; Department for Regional Development 2001; Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006; Scottish Executive 2004; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001	Percentage of labour force 15 years and over by industry

Source: Author

Table 18: Spatial connectivity indicators

	Indicator	Examples of previous uses	Data used in this research
Spatial Connectivity	Urban-Rural Boundaries and Transportation Infrastructure	Government of Ireland 2002; Welsh National Assembly 2004; Department for Regional Development 2001; Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006; Scottish Executive 2004; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001; Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs 2007; Lincoln Institute of Land Policy 2004	Urban area boundaries, 20km and 40km radius
	Interprovincial Migration	Government of Ireland 2002; Welsh National Assembly 2004; Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006; Scottish Executive 2004; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001; Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs 2007	Total number of migrants by province (2006)
	Airport Location, Passengers, and Growth	Government of Ireland 2002; Welsh National Assembly 2004; Department for Regional Development 2001; Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006; Scottish Executive 2004; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001; Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs 2007; Lincoln Institute of Land Policy 2004	Total number of annual passengers by airport (2007) & percentage airport growth (1997 – 2007)
	Port Locations and Tonnage	Government of Ireland 2002; Welsh National Assembly 2004; Department for Regional Development 2001; Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006; Scottish Executive 2004; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001; Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs 2007	Percentage of total annual processed tonnage by port (2007)
	Freight Movements	Scottish Executive 2004; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001	Total gross tonnage of all rail commodities between provinces (2001 & 2007)
	University Locations and Research Status	Welsh National Assembly 2004; Department for Regional Development 2001; Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006; Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning 2001	University locations and research score (2007)

Source: Author

'Spatial Inequality'; and those related to the location and flow of people, goods, and knowledge under the title 'Spatial Connectivity'.

An important consideration when presenting geographical data is spatial scale (Archibugi 1998). Table 19 shows the three different spatial scales utilised in this research: provincial, dissemination area, and site specific. For demographic data, the spatial scale utilised was at the lowest available spatial scale, the dissemination areas, though for population projections only provincial level data is available. Balancing between the

Table 19: Spatial scale of indicators

	Indicator	Spatial Scale	Source
Spatial Inequality	Population Projections	Provincial (Smaller scale data is unavailable)	Data: Statistics Canada 2010 Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2006
	Immigration	Dissemination Area	Data: Statistics Canada 2007b Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2007a
	Population Age	Dissemination Area	Data: Statistics Canada 2007b Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2007a
	Aboriginal Population	Dissemination Area	Data: Statistics Canada 2007b Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2007a
	Income	Dissemination Area	Data: Statistics Canada 2007b Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2007a
	Unemployment	Dissemination Area	Data: Statistics Canada 2007b Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2007a
	Government transfers	Dissemination Area	Data: Statistics Canada 2007b Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2007a
	Employment by Sector	Dissemination Area	Data: Statistics Canada 2007b Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2007a
Spatial Connectivity	Urban-Rural Boundaries and Transportation Infrastructure	Site specific	Data: Statistics Canada 2007c; Statistics Canada 2007d Boundary Files: Statistics Canada 2007b; Statistics Canada 2007c
	Interprovincial Migration	Provincial	Data: Statistics Canada 2008 Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2006
	Airport Location, Passengers, and Growth	Site specific	Data: Statistics Canada 1999; Statistics Canada 2009a Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2006
	Port Locations and Tonnage	Site specific	Data: American Association of Port Authorities, 2007 Boundary File: Statistics Canada, 2006
	Freight Movements	Provincial	Data: Statistics Canada 2009b Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2006
	University Locations and Research Status	Site specific	Data: Re$earch Infosource 2008 Boundary File: Statistics Canada 2006

Source: Author

appropriate spatial scale and the availability of data is always an issue of concern, as Wong notes: "there is a trade-off between the amount of data available and the use of more appropriately defined spatial units" (2006, p. 74). Dissemination areas are relatively stable geographic boundaries, each consisting of 400 to 700 people and represent the smallest geographical scale used for census data dissemination by Statistics Canada. This fine-grained spatial scale allows both small-scale and large-scale demographic trends to be identified. Additionally, for spatial connectivity indicators, the use of provincial scale data was necessary due to the unavailability of data, such as migration or freight flows, as smaller scale data was not available for all parts of Canada. The site-specific scale is utilised for geographically defined locational data, such as ports, highways, and universities.

Spatial Inequality

The eight indicators selected to explain spatial inequality are utilised to highlight the spatial differences that exist within Canada and to identify demographic trends that are emerging and which may result in new spatial pressures. These pressures represent spatially focused demographic issues that may result in the need for policy interventions, either now or in the future.

Population Projections

Population projections are a useful measure of future demographic pressures on particular regions as they demonstrate not only areas where future demand for resources may be most acute, but also areas where the maintenance of services and infrastructure may be difficult to justify because of a declining population. Population projections noted here are based on Statistics Canada's medium growth trend, a measure derived from historical data from 1981 to 2008 and based on medium projected levels of fertility, life expectancy and immigration (Statistics Canada 2010). The projections are only available at the provincial and territorial level. Overall, Canada's population is projected to increase from 33.7 million people in 2009 to 43.8 million by 2036, representing a 29.9% increase in population. While no provinces or territories in Canada are expected to see a decrease in population, there is a wide variation in the overall percentage population change (see Figure 5). Three Atlantic provinces, Newfoundland and Labrador (0.9%), New Brunswick (9.7%), and Nova Scotia (12.4%), are expected to see the lowest population increases. British Columbia, with 42.66%, is projected to see the greatest population increase, followed by Ontario (35.8%), Alberta (34.6%), and Manitoba (29.3%). A broad spatial trend emerges from the projections, showing slow Eastern population growth and a strong Western increase, apart from Ontario. While the Western provinces will need to plan for infrastructure and social service increase, the Atlantic provinces will need in most cases to manage low-growth policy scenarios. Although it is important to note that within these different provincial contexts there will of course be variability, with sub-
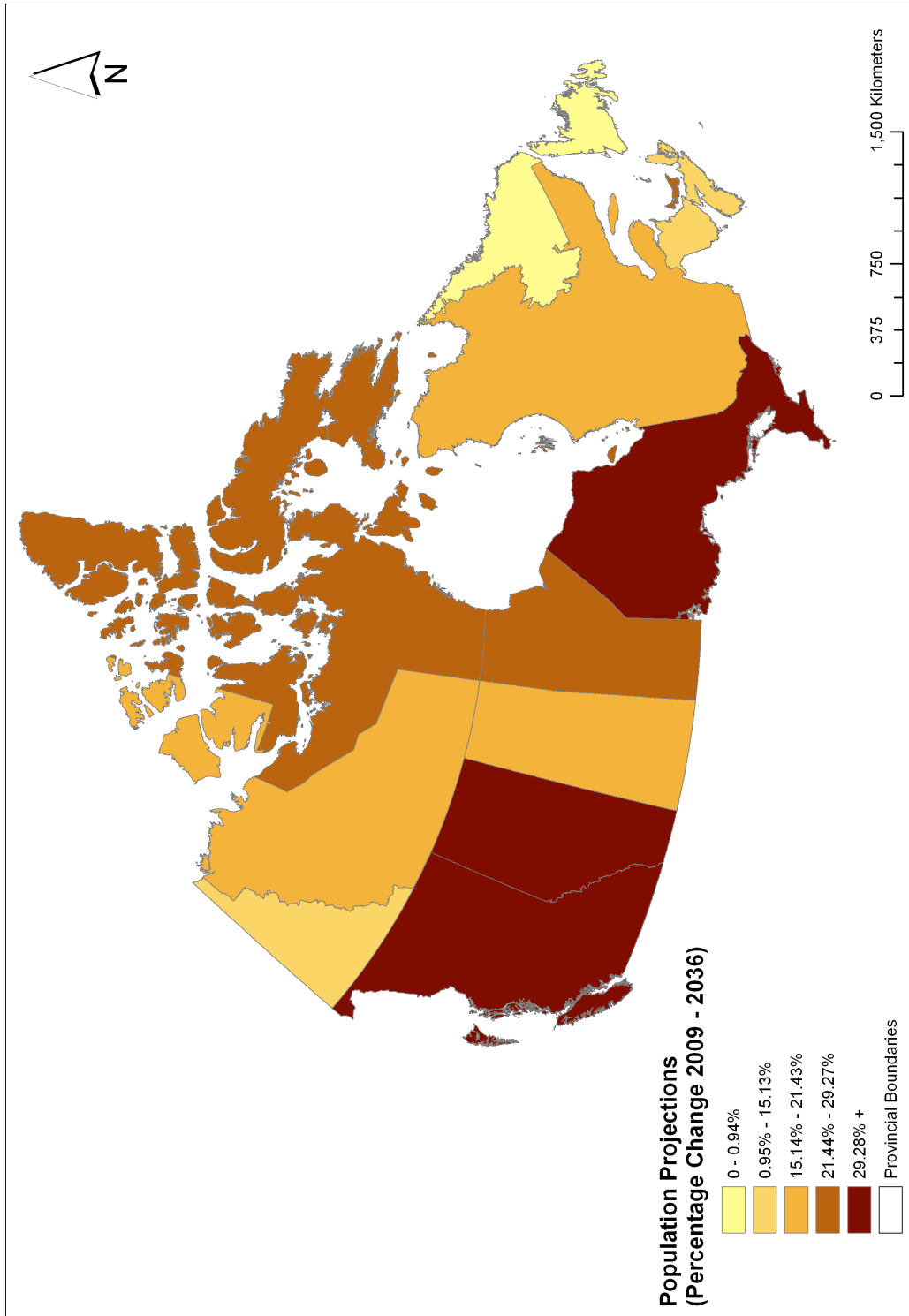
Figure 5: Population projections (percentage change 2009 – 2036)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system

areas of growth and decline (even if population projections are insufficiently disaggregated to pick them up).

Immigration

Immigration is one of the drivers of population growth, and immigrant populations may also require additional social services such as settlement and second language services. Between 2001 and 2006, 1.11 million people immigrated to Canada, representing 3.6% of the country's total population (Statistics Canada 2007e). These immigrants were mostly concentrated in four of Canada's thirteen provinces and territories: Ontario (52.3%), Quebec (17.5%), British Columbia (16.0%), and Alberta (9.3%). Ontario's share of immigrants has been gradually declining in recent years, dropping from approximately 60% during the 1996 to 2001 period while Alberta and Manitoba have conversely seen an increase in their share of overall immigrants (Statistics Canada 2010). The distribution of immigrants as a percentage of provincial population demonstrates a slightly different picture, with 4.8% of recent immigrants making up Ontario's population in 2006, followed by British Columbia (4.4%), Alberta (3.2%), Manitoba (2.8%), and Quebec (2.6%). Within Canada, immigration is almost exclusively concentrated in urban metropolitan areas, particularly in Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Calgary, and Edmonton (see Figure 6). The greatest concentration of recent immigrants was in the Greater Toronto Metropolitan Area, where 40.4% of recent immigrants chose to settle – dramatically higher than the next city regions of choice, Montreal (14.9%) and Vancouver (13.7%) (Statistics Canada 2009c). However, shifts in immigrant settlement patterns between the 2001 and 2006 censuses show a slow trend away from Toronto (-6.3%) and Vancouver (-22.2%) towards other urban areas such as Calgary (+36.8%), Edmonton (+31.8%), and Victoria (+100.0%), which saw large percentage changes in the number of recent immigrants. Immigration is a key component of population growth and, as such, the continued preference of new immigrants to settle in large urban areas results in particular stresses on these cities and may contribute

Figure 6: Recent immigrants as a percentage of total population (2001-2006)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system

to long-term declines in population in more rural areas and the traditional immigrant cities of Toronto and Vancouver.

Population Age

The percentage of persons aged 65 and over is a useful indicator for understanding the impact of an aging demographic on public finances, particularly those related to health care. According to figures from the Canadian Institute for Health Information (2010), provincial and territorial spending on health care consumes an average of 39.2% of total programme spending. The same report highlighted the impact of an elderly population on health care spending, noting that while Canadians aged 65 and over account for less than 14% of the population, 44% of total provincial and territorial health care dollars are spent on them, with spending in 2008 averaging CAN$10,742 per Canadian aged 65 and older but only CAN$2,097 per Canadian aged 1 to 64. As such, spatial concentrations of Canadians aged 65 and over may result in higher health care costs for governments, particularly if such concentrations are located in more rural or remote areas where access to hospitals and specialist clinics is limited. Within Canada higher proportions of persons aged 65 and older are generally located away from urban centres, although not always in the most northern remote parts of the country, which tend to have a very low percentage of persons aged 65 and older (see Figure 7). Rather high concentrations of elderly persons are located in smaller towns and villages. Overall, the lowest elderly concentrations tend to be located in Alberta and the territories, while the other provinces are characterised by more variable patterns.

Aboriginal Population

There are approximately 1.2 million people of aboriginal identity in Canada, comprised of the First Nations, Inuit and Metis peoples. Both on reserve and off reserve concentrations of aboriginal populations have been linked to increased levels of poverty, concerns of urban ghettoisation and extreme health and social variations compared to the non-aboriginal population in Canada (Bourne & Rose 2001; Hanselmann 2001; Lee 2000).
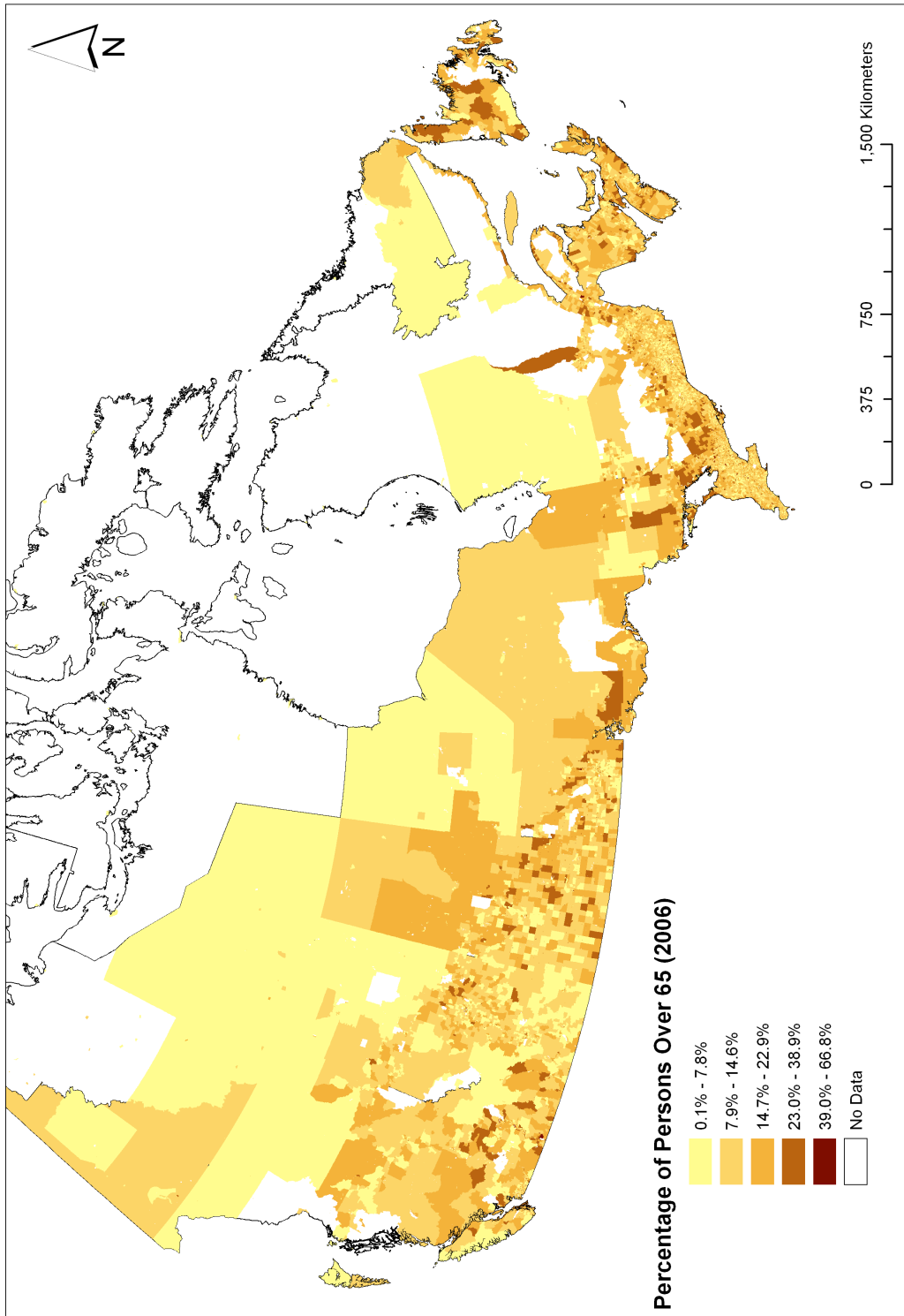
Figure 7: Percentage of persons over 65 (2006)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system

Coupled with these socio-economic issues are unique circumstances related to aboriginal self-government and land claims. Figure 8 shows the number of persons of aboriginal identity as a percentage of the total population, including on and off-reserve populations. The spatial distribution shows higher concentrations of aboriginal people in Western Canada, particularly the northern parts of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Smaller concentrations are present in Northern Ontario and Newfoundland and Labrador. These northern areas are extremely remote and rural, suggesting particular complications in the delivery of services (Lonsdale & Holmes 1981). The remaining regions show very low levels of aboriginal concentration.

Income

Median income in 2006 for the population 15 years and over allows the analysis of the spatial distribution of high and low-income Canadian neighbourhoods and regions (see Figure 9). In 2006 the average median income in Canada was CAN$26,964. Five of the top ten highest median income neighbourhoods are in Ontario, two in Alberta, and one in Manitoba, Quebec and British Columbia. The highest median income levels are typically located in the suburbs of Canada's major urban areas. Alberta has the most varied spatial distribution with high and low median levels of income scattered around the province compared to the other provinces which generally see the higher income areas located in the southern parts of the provinces and the lower income areas in the north. The exception to low levels of income in the north are regions that have strong resource bases, such as the oil sands region in Alberta, forestry regions in British Columbia and the Churchill Falls hydroelectric dam in Newfoundland and Labrador. Seven of the lowest income neighbourhoods are in Manitoba, two in Saskatchewan, and one in Ontario. The Atlantic provinces broadly have lower levels of median income compared to the rest of Canada.
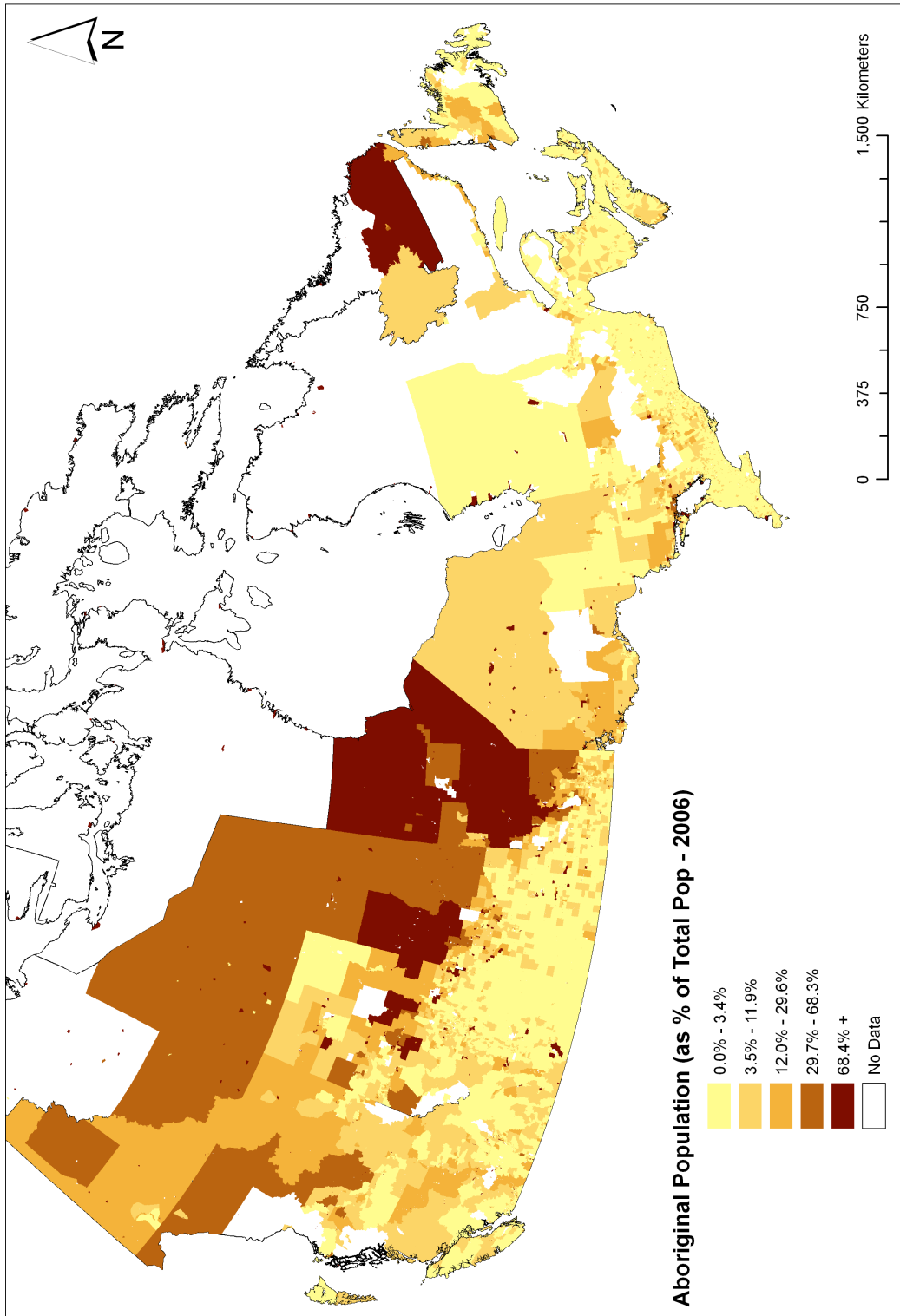
Figure 8: Aboriginal population (as a percentage of total population – 2006)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system
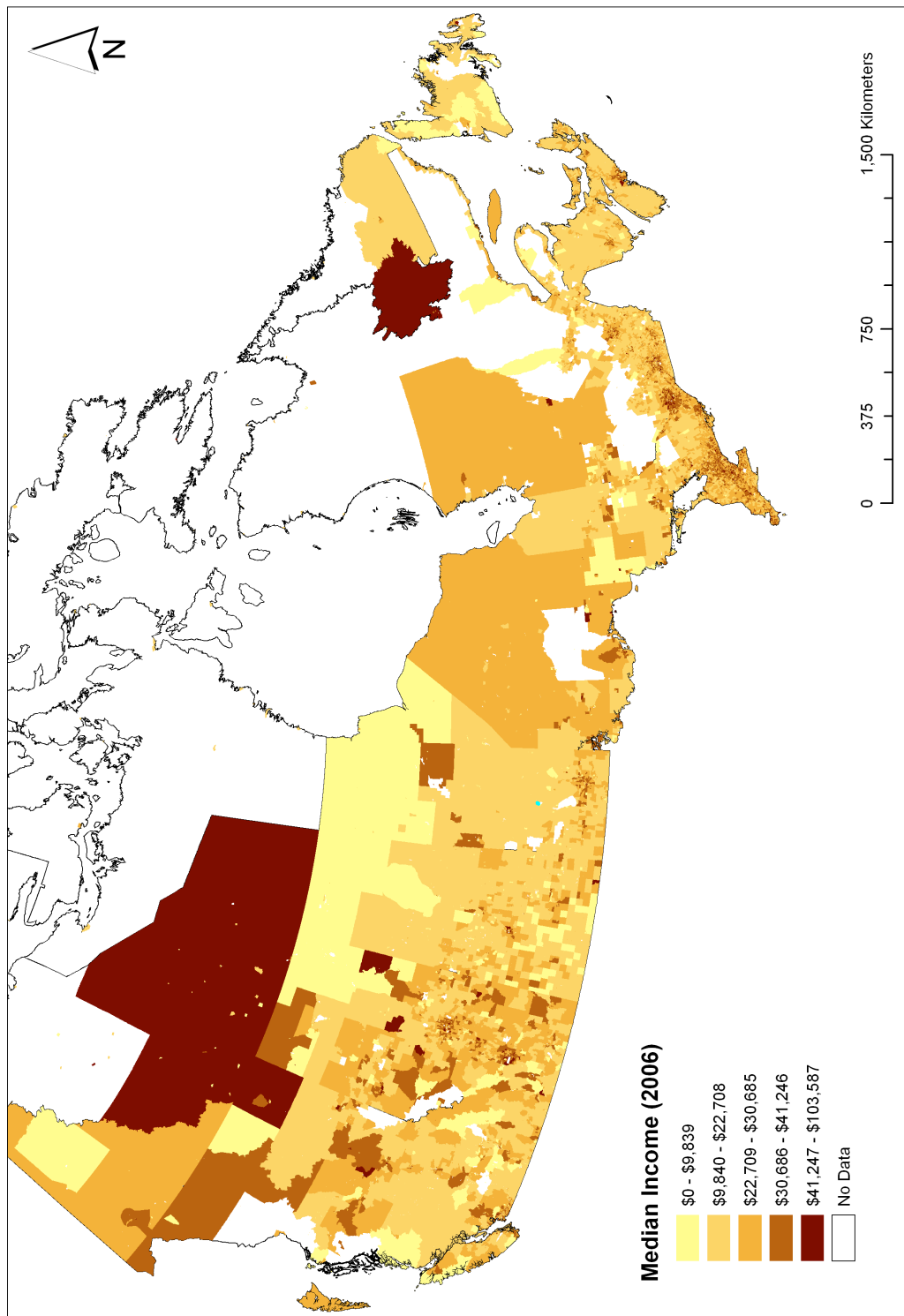
Figure 9: Median Income (2006)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system

Unemployment

The spatial distribution of the unemployment rate in Canada unsurprisingly mirrors areas of low median income. The unemployment rate for 2006 is calculated based on the level of unemployment (the labour force minus the number of people currently employed) divided by the labour force (the number of people employed combined with the number of unemployed people seeking work) and is displayed in Figure 10. Newfoundland and Labrador has the greatest concentration of unemployment in Canada and contains five of the top ten neighbourhoods with an unemployment rate greater than 75%. While the spatial distribution of unemployment is more varied in the Atlantic provinces and to some extent British Columbia, some northern parts of Alberta, along with most of the north of Saskatchewan and Manitoba have more concentrated levels of high unemployment. Lower levels of unemployment are found along the Quebec City-Windsor corridor in Quebec and Ontario as well as the southern parts of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

Government Transfers

Government transfers work to reduce the level of inequality across Canada by redistributing income from high-income families to low-income families through the tax system. The spatial distribution of government transfers as a percentage of family income in 2006 is shown in Figure 11 and works as a useful indicator for inequality. Urban centres show varying levels of government transfers as a percentage of income, with some areas highly dependent on government transfers compared to others. The more remote and rural areas also show variation, such as in Newfoundland and Labrador where there are extreme contrasts between areas with low levels of government transfers as a percentage of income, and those with high levels. Similar, albeit less extreme, patterns are seen throughout the Western provinces, particularly in Saskatchewan. The area most dependent on government transfers as a percentage of income is in a neighbourhood in Calgary, Alberta at 84.2%.
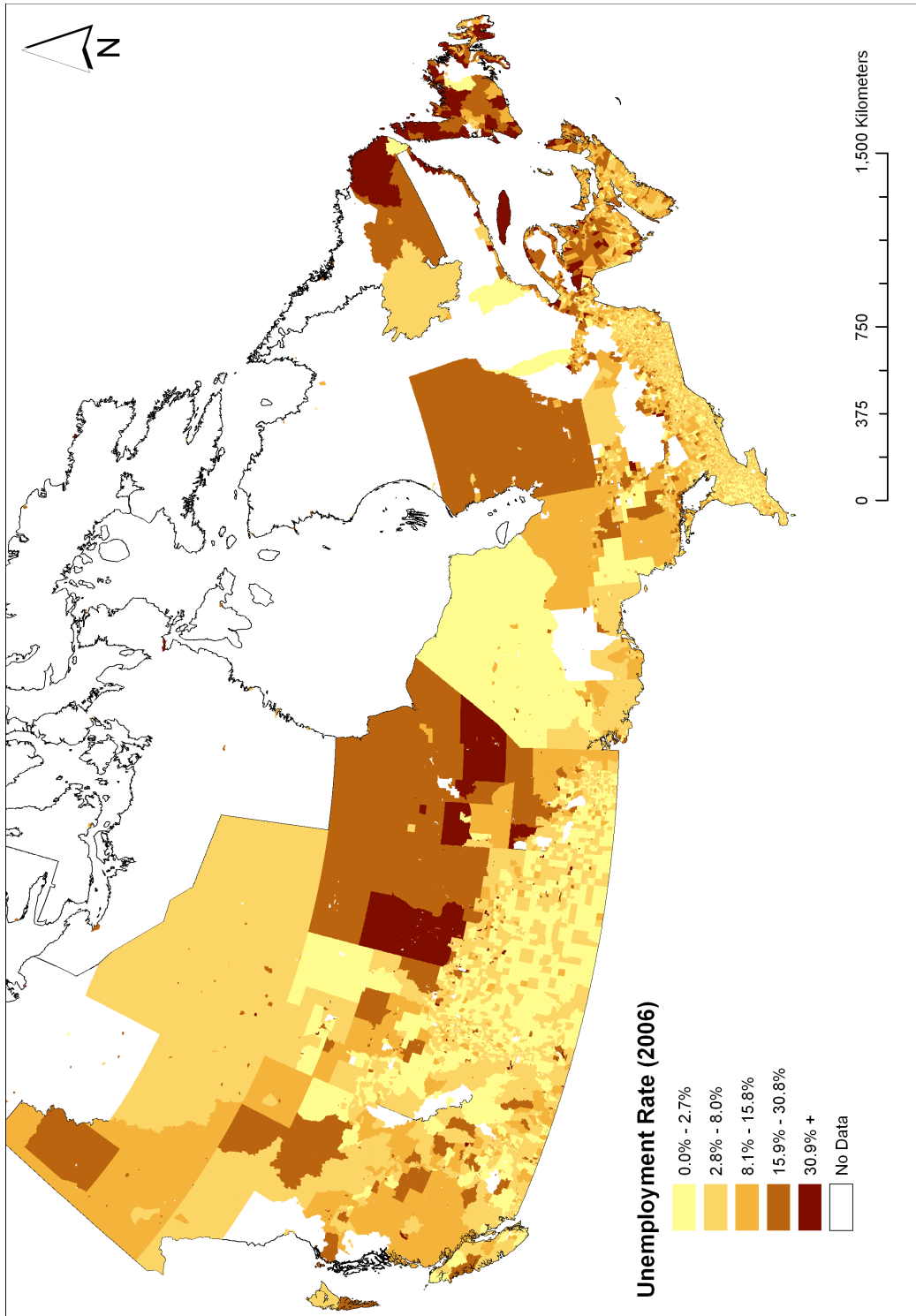
Figure 10: Unemployment rate (2006)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system
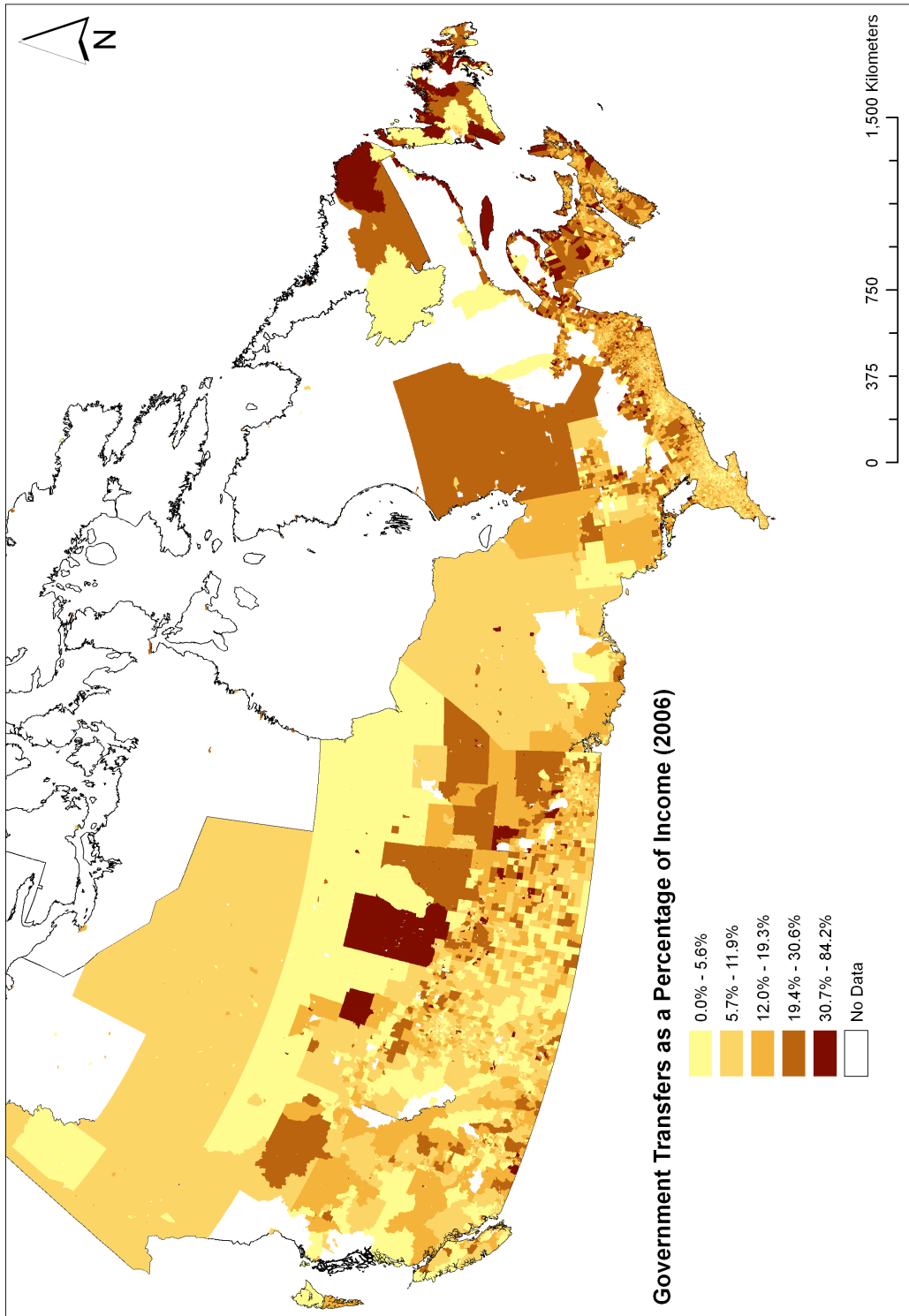
Figure 11: Government transfers as a percentage of income (2006)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system

Employment by Sector

Four employment sectors defined under the 2002 North American Industry Classification System were used in the analysis to explore industrial concentration patterns in Canada (Manufacturing; Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services; Mine, Oil and Gas; and Agriculture, Fishery, and Forestry) (see Figures 12-15). Each figure displays the percentage of labour force aged 15 years and over by industry. The spatial concentrations demonstrate the level of dependence on a particular industry for a community and province.

The highest concentrations of manufacturing are located in the Atlantic provinces, Quebec, and southern Ontario. Virtually no manufacturing industry is present in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, while British Columbia shows more variation compared to the other provinces. Professional, scientific and technical services, which are seen as industry drivers of the 'new economy', are located almost exclusively in Canada's largest cities, including Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa, Edmonton, Calgary and Montreal. Canada has two major resource based industry categories. The first, mine, oil, and gas, is largely concentrated in Alberta, and to a lesser extent Saskatchewan due to oil and gas deposits. Smaller concentrations of this industry are also seen in parts of northern Ontario and Quebec due to mineral deposits as well as in Newfoundland and Labrador. Agriculture, fishery, and forestry industries show a slightly more varied pattern, but they are also heavily concentrated in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

More broadly, the Western provinces are more heavily dependent on this industry, with forestry and fishery industries prevalent in British Columbia, and agriculture comprising a major staple of southern Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba's economies. To a lesser extent spatial concentrations of agriculture industries in southwestern Ontario and southeastern Quebec are also revealed under this category. Finally, smaller concentrations are seen in the Atlantic provinces resulting from a wide range of fisheries. The extreme spatial concentrations of resource-based
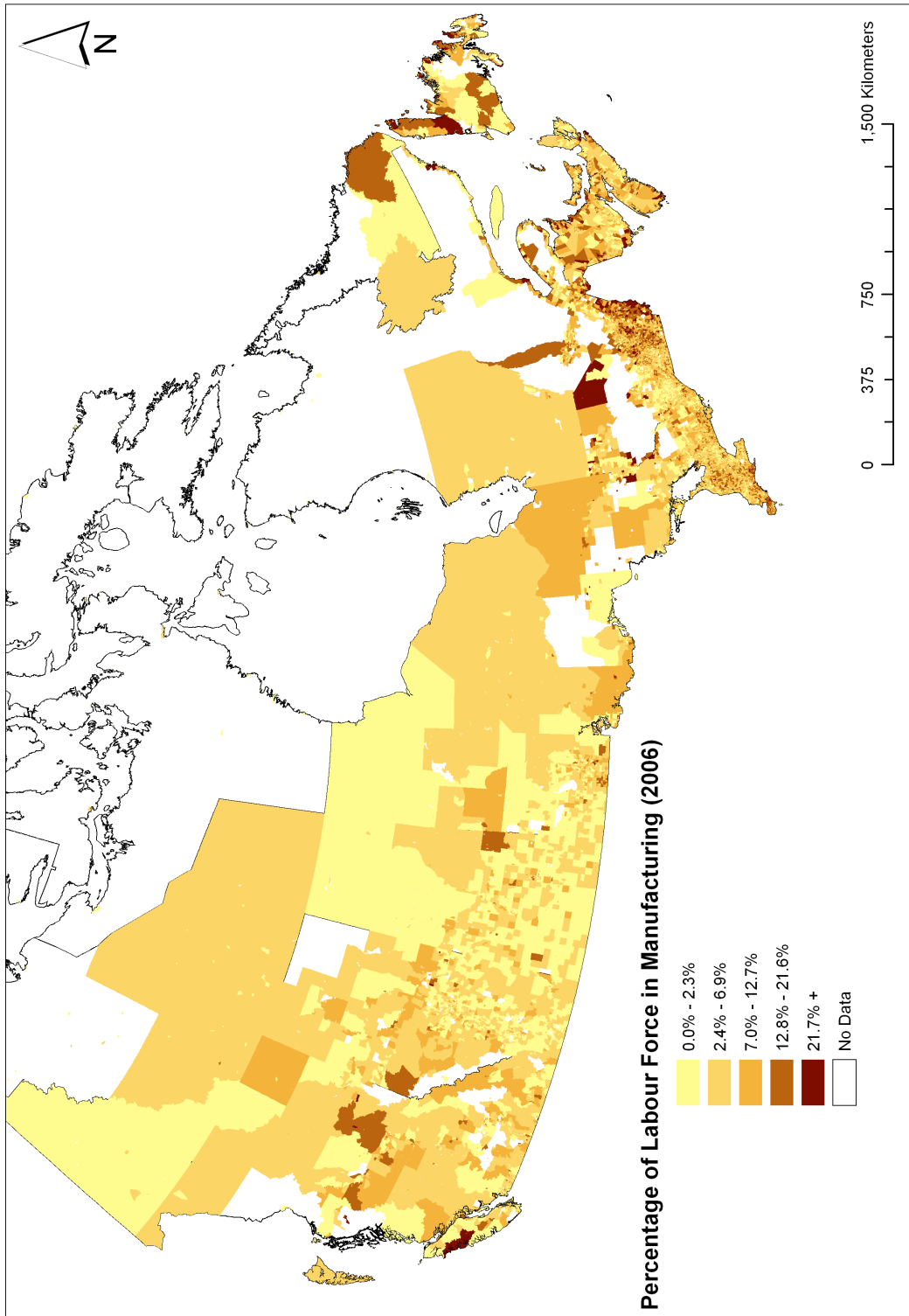
Figure 12: Percentage of labour force in manufacturing (2006)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system

Percentage of Labour Force in Professional,
Scientific, and Technical Services (2006)

0.0% - 2.2%
2.3% - 6.2%
6.3% - 10.5%
10.6% - 16.7%
16.8% +
No Data
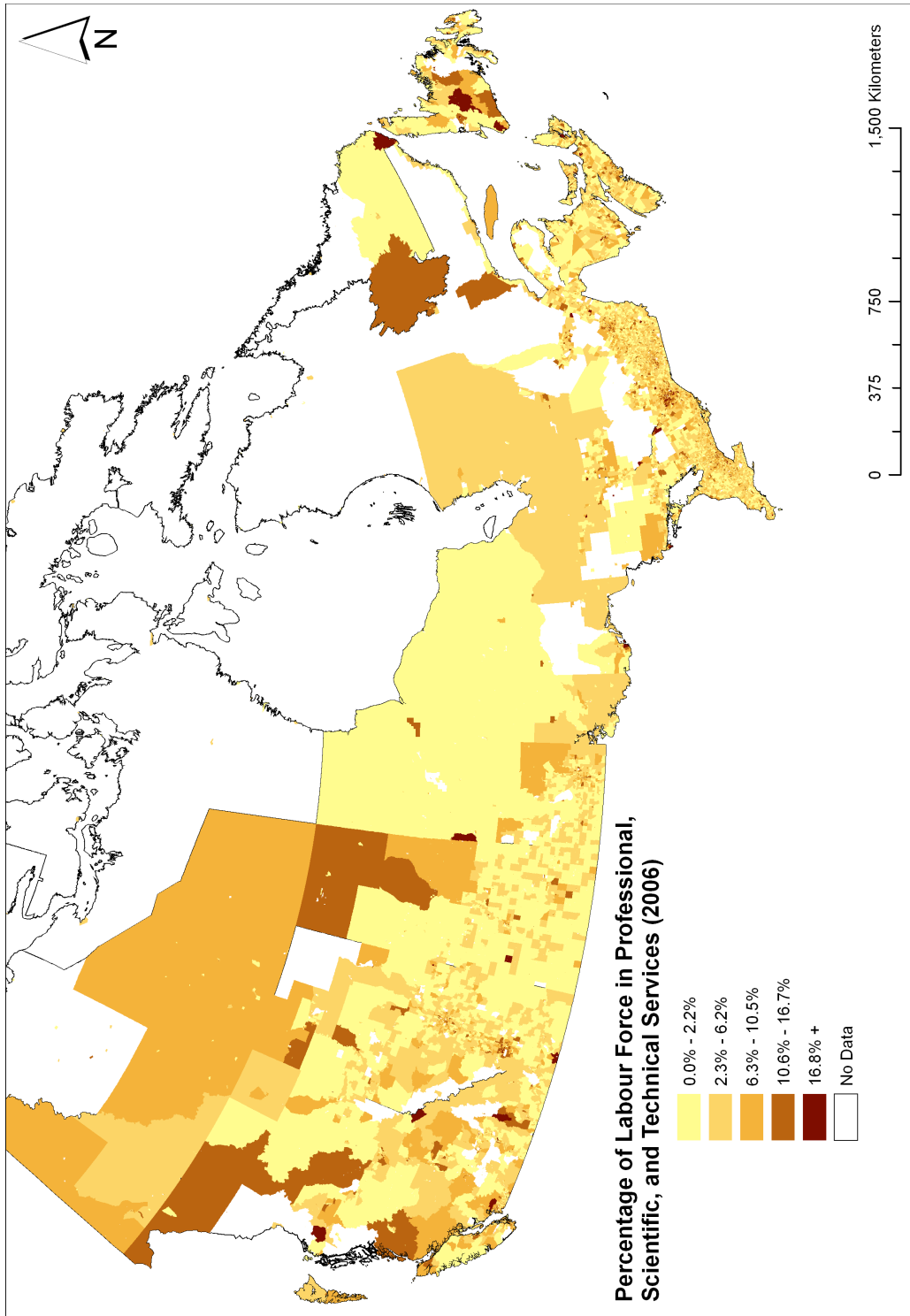
Figure 13: Percentage of labour force in professional, scientific, and technical services (2006)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system
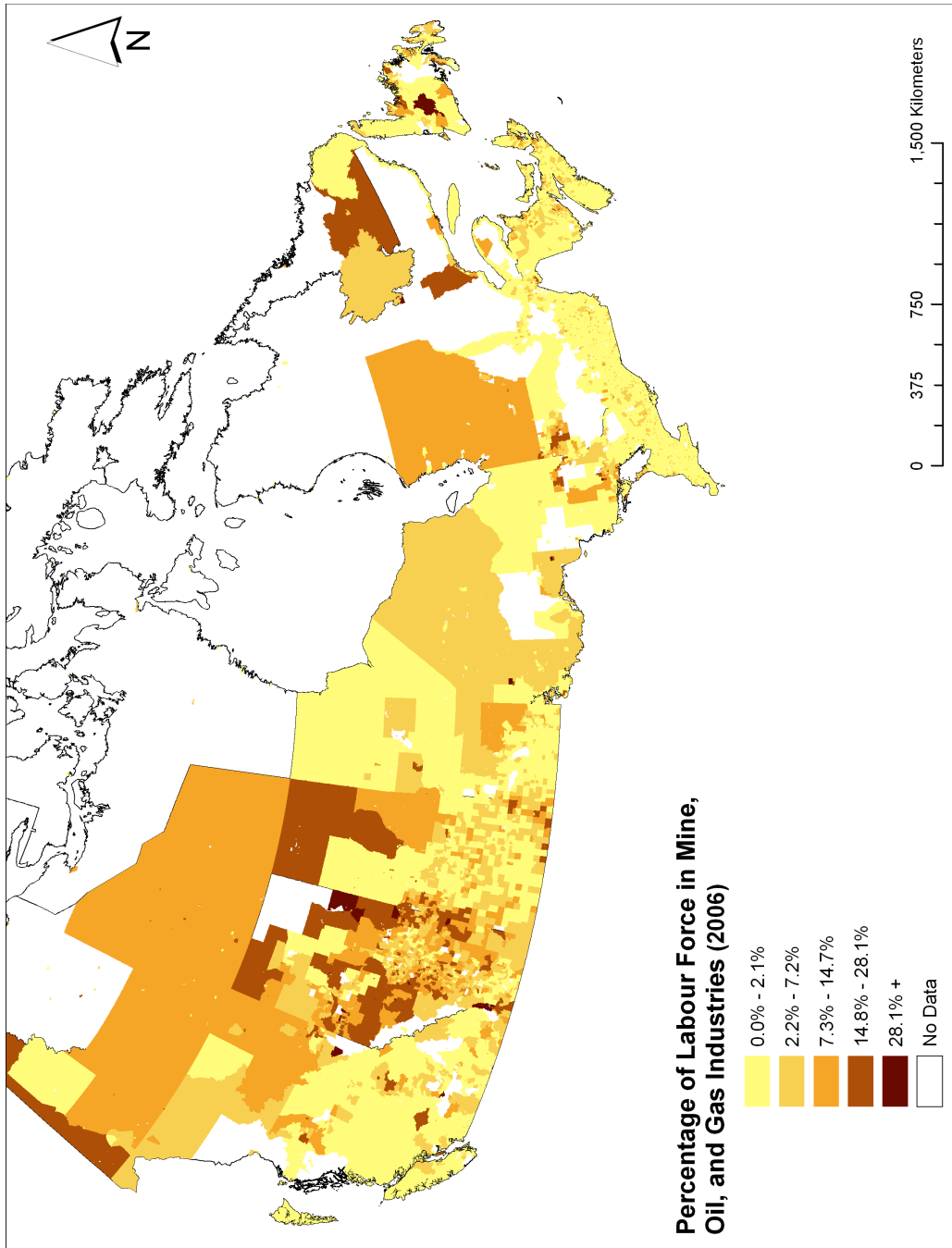
Figure 14: Percentage of labour force in mine, oil, and gas industries (2006)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system
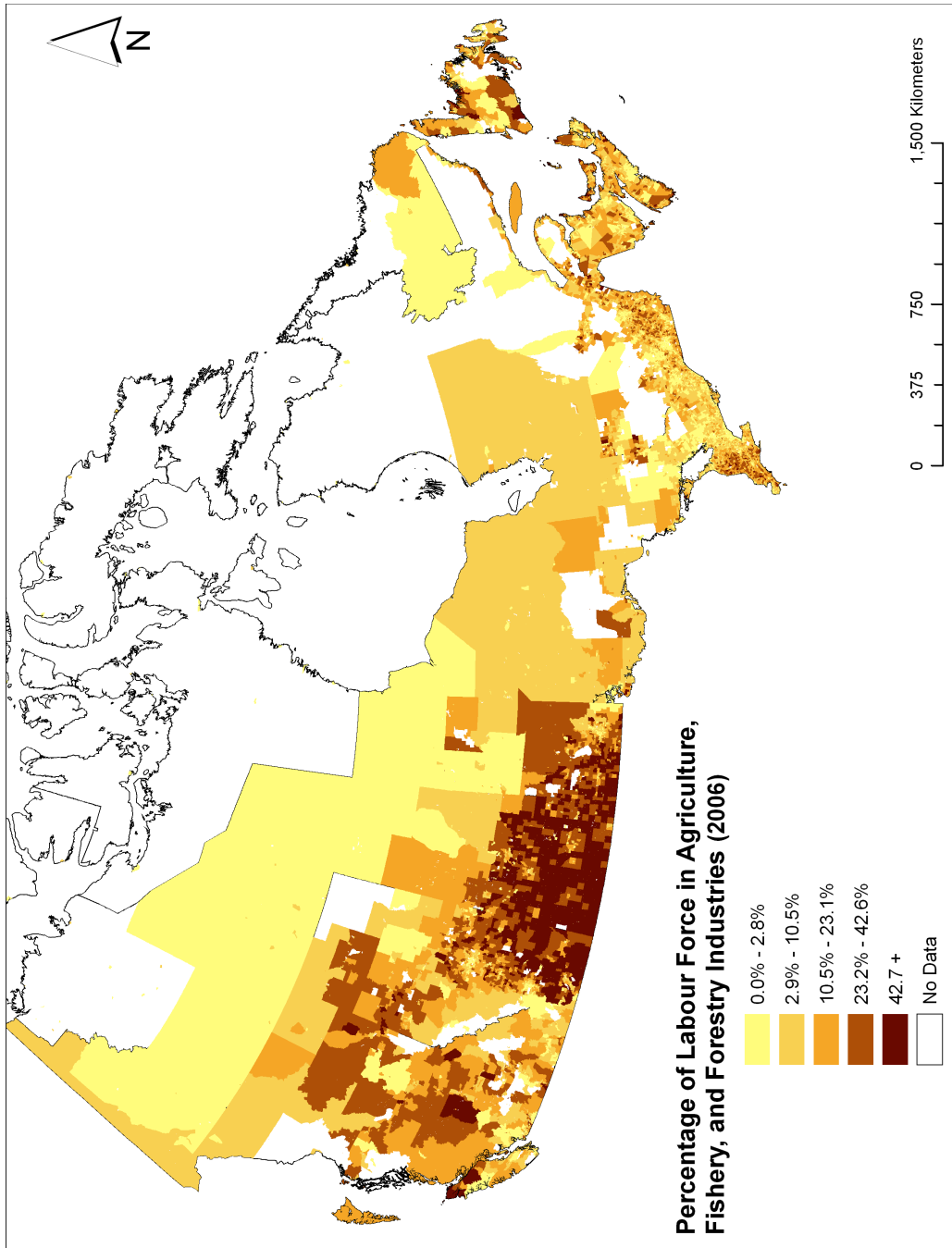
Figure 15: Percentage of labour force in agriculture, fishery, and forestry industries (2006)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system

industries in the Western provinces creates a high level of dependence on commodity markets and royalty payments that can shift suddenly with the demands of the global economy.

Spatial Connectivity

Spatial connectivity highlights the macro level spatial flows and concentrations of goods, people and services. The six indicators selected are useful for understanding the importance of particular places in Canada and their relationships to one another. These indicators provide perspective on the countrywide characteristics of space and place in Canada.

Urban-Rural Boundaries and Transportation Infrastructure

Canada is one of only four countries in the world, along with the United States, Australia and New Zealand, that are categorised as wealthy and are predominantly characterised as having low rural densities and long travel distances (Nutley 2003). Figure 16 highlights Canada's urban and rural boundaries and the extent to which provincial highway systems connect cities and towns. Urban areas are defined as municipalities with over 1,000 residents and with a density that is no less than 400 persons per square km. Given the geographic size of Canada and the tendency towards exurban settlement patterns, urban boundaries have been differentiated with 20km and 40km boundaries in order to highlight the spatial concentrations of urban areas (Talyor 2009). The highest urban concentrations are found in southern Ontario and Quebec, along with what is referred to as the Quebec City-Windsor corridor, comprising approximately 50% of Canada's population and three of its four largest metropolitan areas. Highly urban concentrations are also found around Vancouver on the West coast and along the Calgary-Edmonton corridor in Alberta. The urban centres within the Atlantic provinces are characterised by their seaside locations while the interior is predominantly rural. Major ports and airports are connected to the provincial highway system and
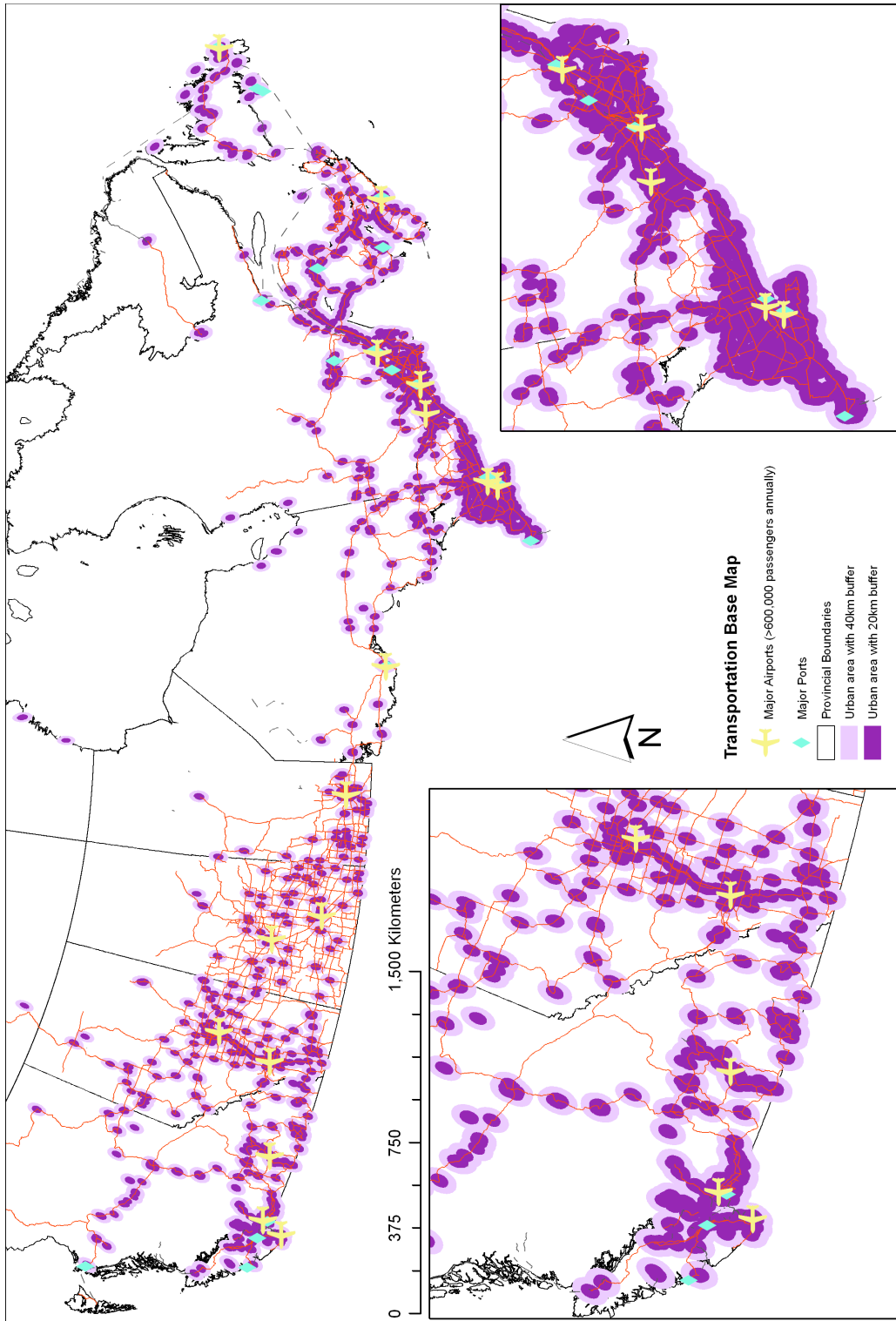
Figure 16: Transportation base map

located near urban centres. The provincial highway network connects the majority of urban areas in Canada apart from some of the urban areas in the northwest of Quebec and northeast of Ontario along James Bay. Despite a distinct lack of urban centres in the remaining northern parts of the provinces they are connected to the provincial highway system highlighting the importance placed on ensuring urban centres are accessible.

Interprovincial Migration

Interprovincial migration is a component of population growth and decline and is represented here as the net total number of migrants by province in 2006 (see Figure 17). Interprovincial migration is quite weak within the Atlantic provinces, with only 12,054 migrants flowing regionally between Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. This stands in stark contrast to the 31,273 migrants that moved out west. Particularly strong migrant flows existed from Newfoundland and Labrador to Alberta (6,827) as well as from Nova Scotia to Alberta (7,273). Ontario and Quebec both saw a net loss from interprovincial migration in 2006, with Ontario losing 32,339 more migrants than it received and Quebec losing 12,902. The majority of Ontario's migrants went to Alberta (39,486) and British Columbia (19,285). The lack of outward migration of Albertans to Ontario and Quebec led to a net gain in migrants for Alberta from Ontario and Quebec at 27,878 and 7,024 respectively. Overall, the Western provinces, particularly British Columbia and Alberta, received the greatest increase in migrants with British Columbia receiving a net total of 9,846 migrants from all provinces and Alberta receiving a net total of 57,327. The strong western interprovincial migration trends highlight the changing spatial population dynamics occurring within Canada.

Airport Location, Passengers and Growth

Airports are key components of a country's transportation system and
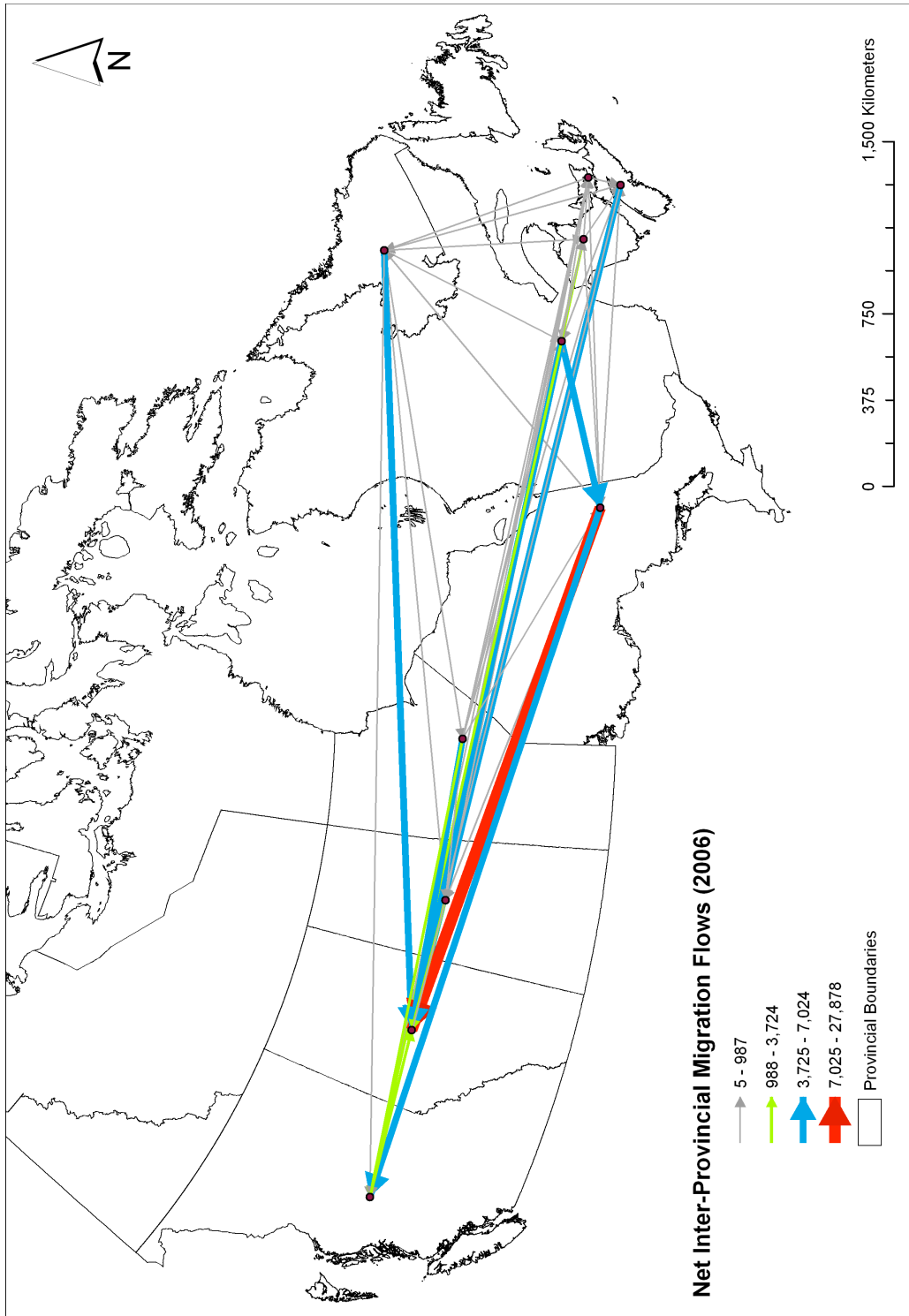
Figure 17: Net inter-provincial migration flows (2006)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system

increasingly act as major gateways capable of generating spatial concentrations of commercial activity and urban development (Kasarda 2001). Within a large and geographically diverse country such as Canada, airports also play a major role in connecting smaller and remote communities to the larger global transportation system. As such, the location of airports, the number of passengers they process and their growth patterns over time are useful indicators of changing spatial dynamics. Within Canada only a handful of airports process the majority of air traffic, with only five airports handling over 5 million passengers in 2007 (see Figure 18). Unsurprisingly these airports are located near Canada's major metropolitan areas, with Toronto handling the most passengers (29,673,319), followed by Vancouver (16,951,591), Montreal (12,308,792), Calgary (11,884,221), and Edmonton (5,817,558). Smaller airports are located in less populated provincial capital cities such as Regina, Charlottetown, and Quebec City. Airport growth between 1997 and 2007 shows a divergence from some of the larger international airports towards smaller regional ones (see Figure 19). The airports with the greatest growth include Abbotsford (+591%), Fort McMurray (+418%), and Hamilton (+369%) while the established international airports have seen more modest growth of 87% in Montreal, 63% and 60% in Calgary and Edmonton, and 21% and 20% in Vancouver and Toronto. Overall, airport growth is highly concentrated in the western provinces, particularly the greater Vancouver area, with seven of the nine airports experiencing over 100% growth located in British Columbia and Alberta. Only two airports saw declines in airport passengers between 1997 and 2007, Gander (-21%) in Newfoundland and Labrador, and Sept-Iles (-7%) in Quebec.

Port Locations and Tonnage

With the longest coastline in the world, Canada's ports are an important component of its transportation network and economy. Port traffic is predominantly located in three zones, around the Gulf of St.
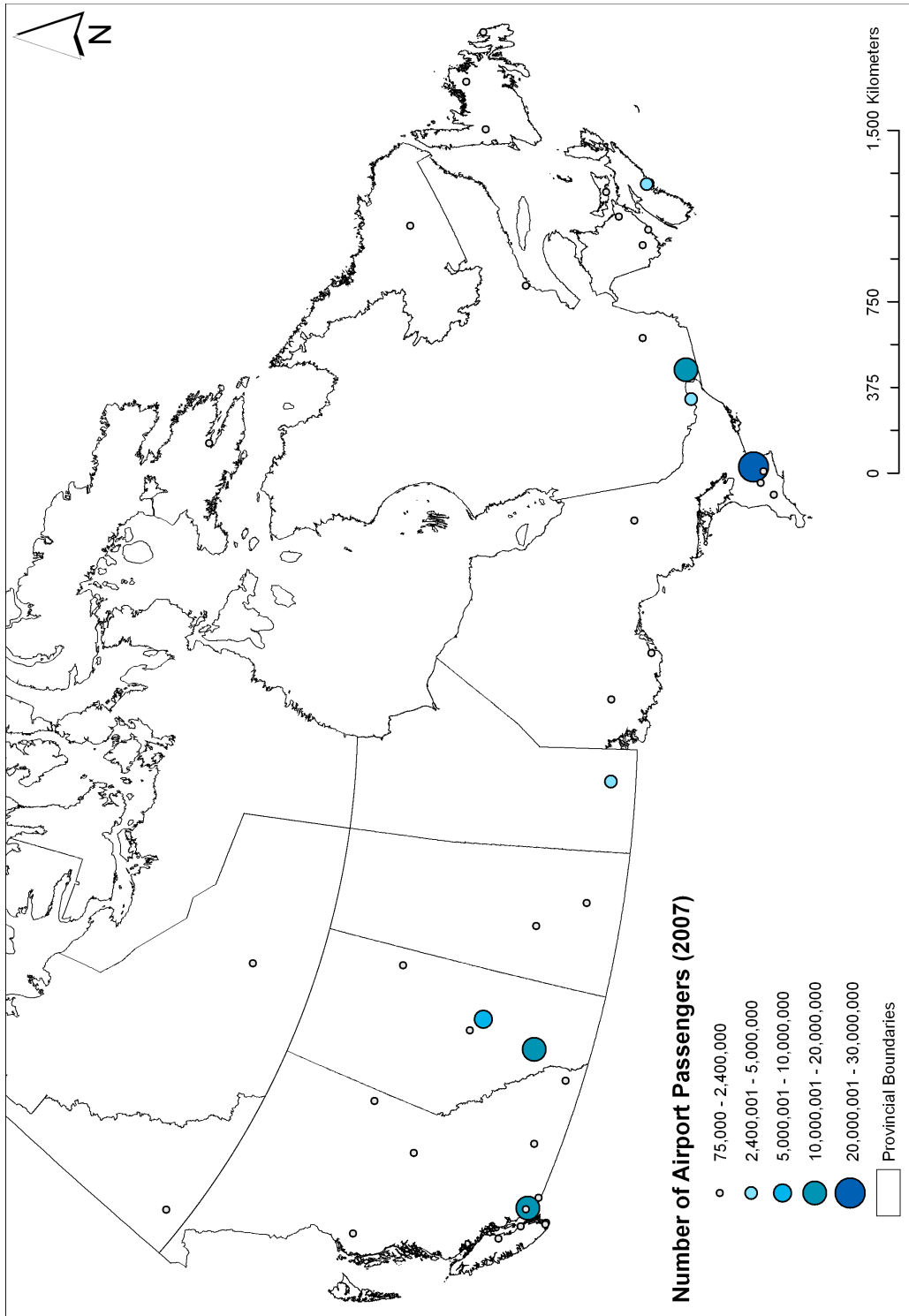
Figure 18: Number of airport passengers (2007)

Note: map symbolised using manual classification
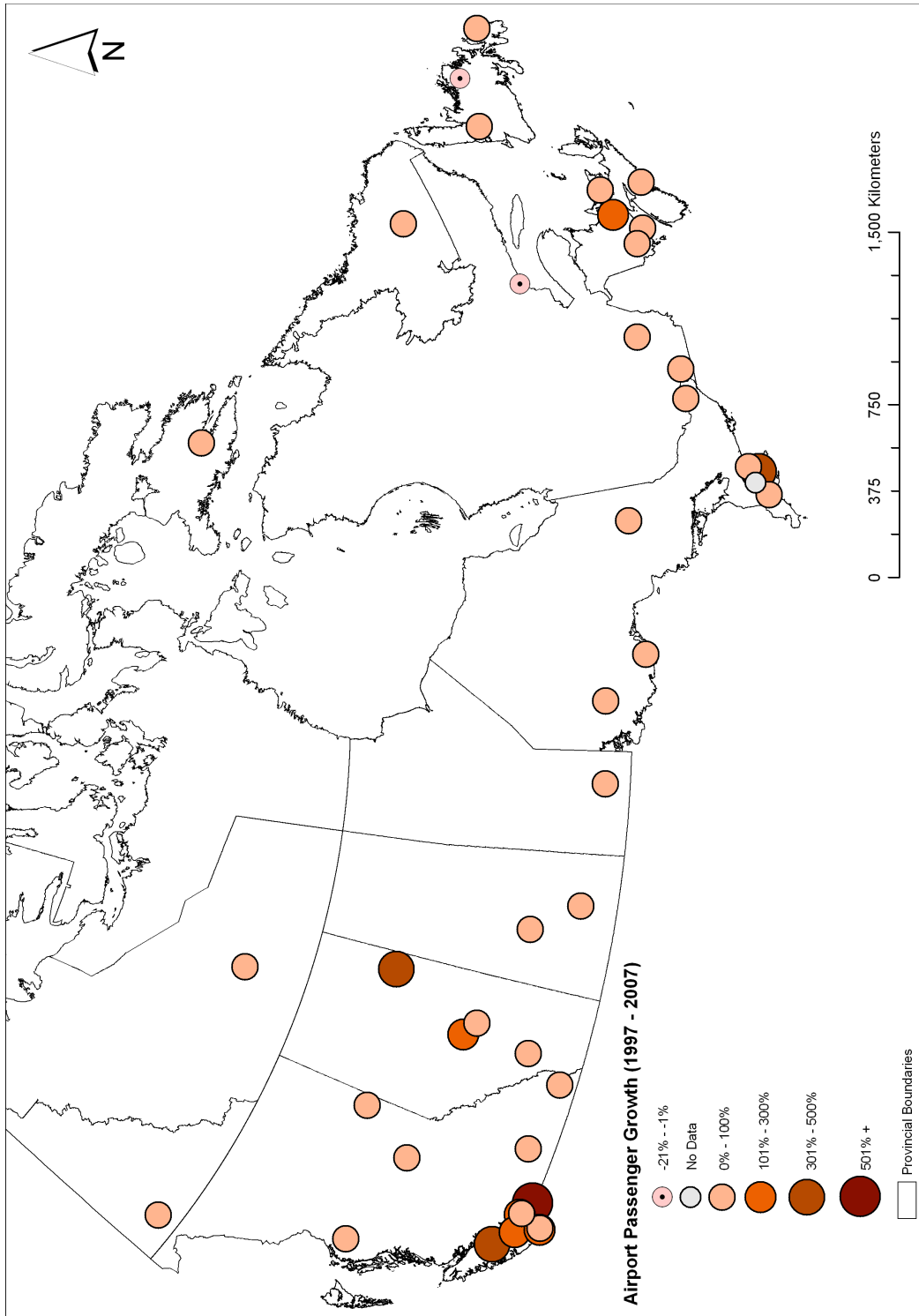
Figure 19: Airport passenger growth (1997-2007)

Note: map symbolised using manual classification

Lawrence on the East coast, the St. Lawrence River and Great Lakes around Quebec and Ontario, and the Lower Mainland near Vancouver (see Figure 20). By far the largest percentage of total port tonnage is concentrated at the Port of Vancouver, which handled 81.4 million metric tons of goods making up 18% of all port traffic in Canada in 2007. As trade with Asia grows, the importance of this port and its transportation connections to the rest of North America will become critical to maintaining economic competitiveness. The concentration of port activity around Vancouver allows the port to compete internationally for Asian trade against such other destinations as Los Angeles or Seattle. Despite being located in small population centres, ports in Come-by-Chance (Newfoundland) and Port Hawkesbury (Nova Scotia) handled the second and third most cargo at 34.3 million metric tons and 31.6 million metric tons respectively. Ten of the eighteen most active ports in the country are located in smaller urban or even rural areas, highlighting the importance of maritime trade for these more remote regions.

Freight Movements

Since the Canadian Pacific Railway connected the east and west coasts of Canada in 1885, rail has played an important role in the Canadian economy. Rail freight flows by origin and destination of gross tonnage provide a useful indicator of rail shipments and spatial connections between provinces (see Figures 21 and 22). Due to data limitations freight flows are shown by province apart from the four Atlantic provinces which are grouped together. In 2001, gross rail freight tonnage is particularly concentrated on Canada's East and West coasts, with 25.4 million tons of freight being transported between British Columbia and Alberta and 20.4 million tons of freight between Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces. This is most likely the result of the extensive port systems on both coasts. The Atlantic provinces have rather low levels of freight traffic with the remaining provinces, in contrast to the Western provinces which have strong freight traffic levels with not only themselves but also Ontario and to
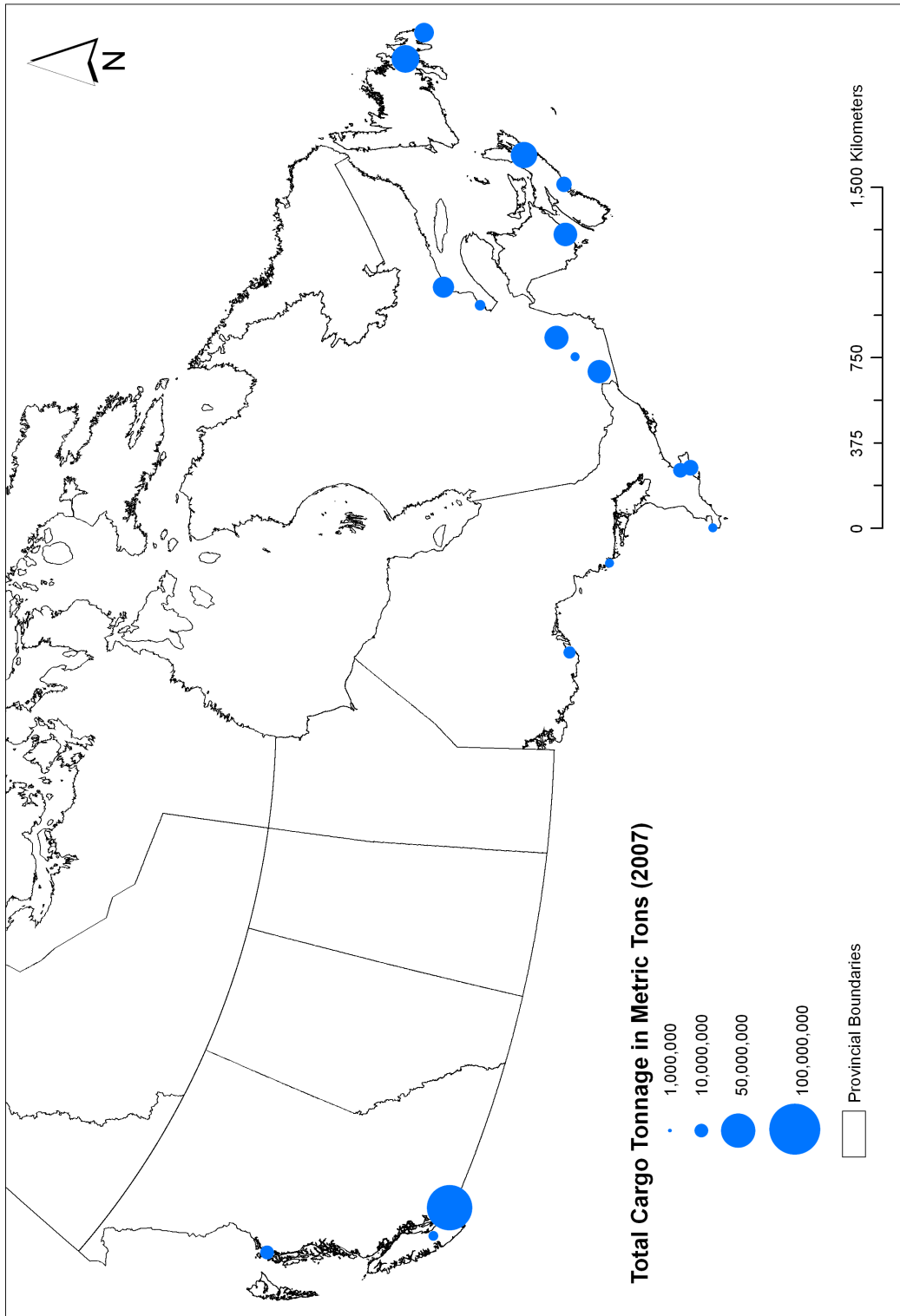
Figure 20: Total cargo tonnage in metric tons (2007)

Note: map symbolised using manual classification
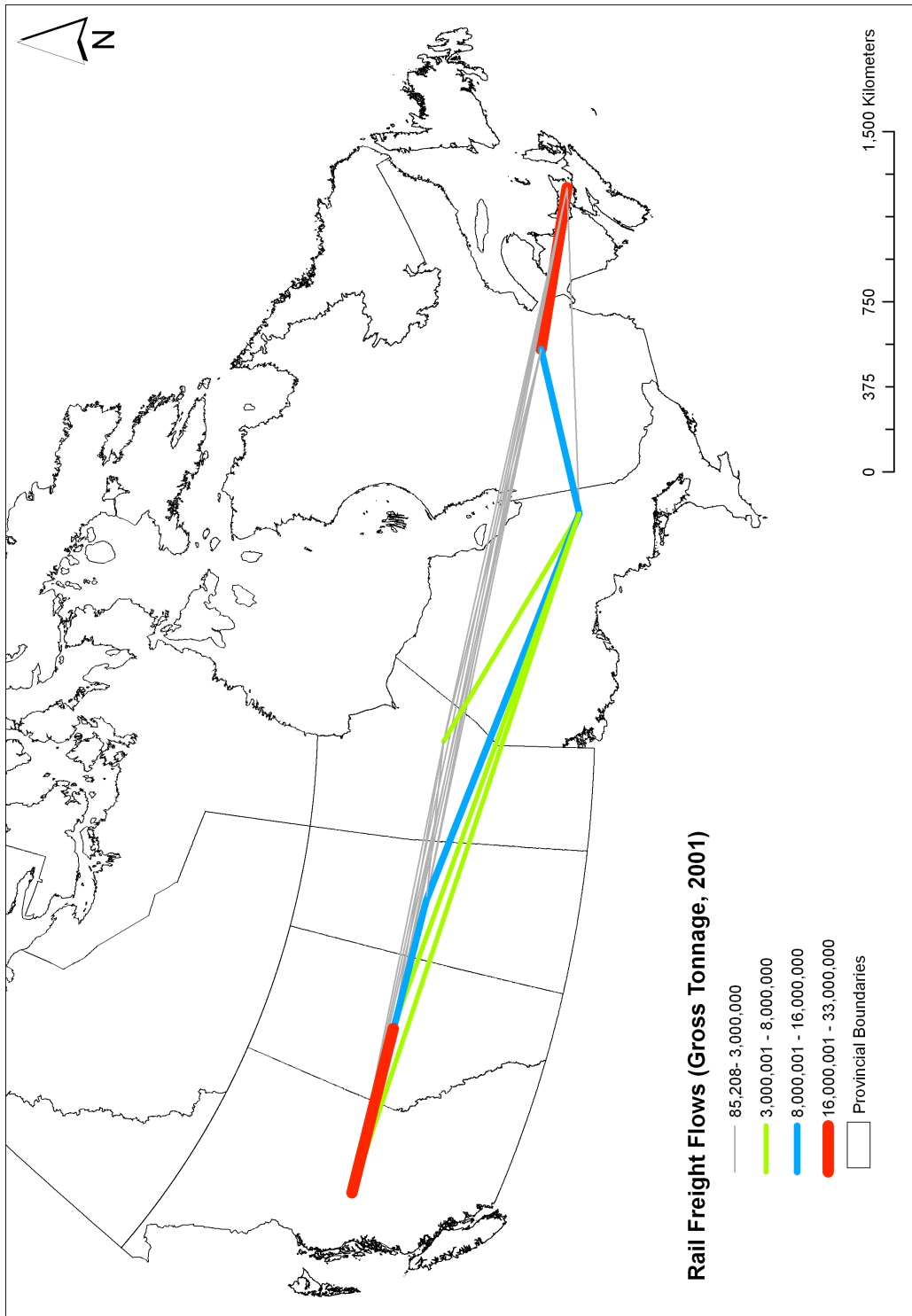
Figure 21: Rail freight flows (gross tonnage, 2001)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system
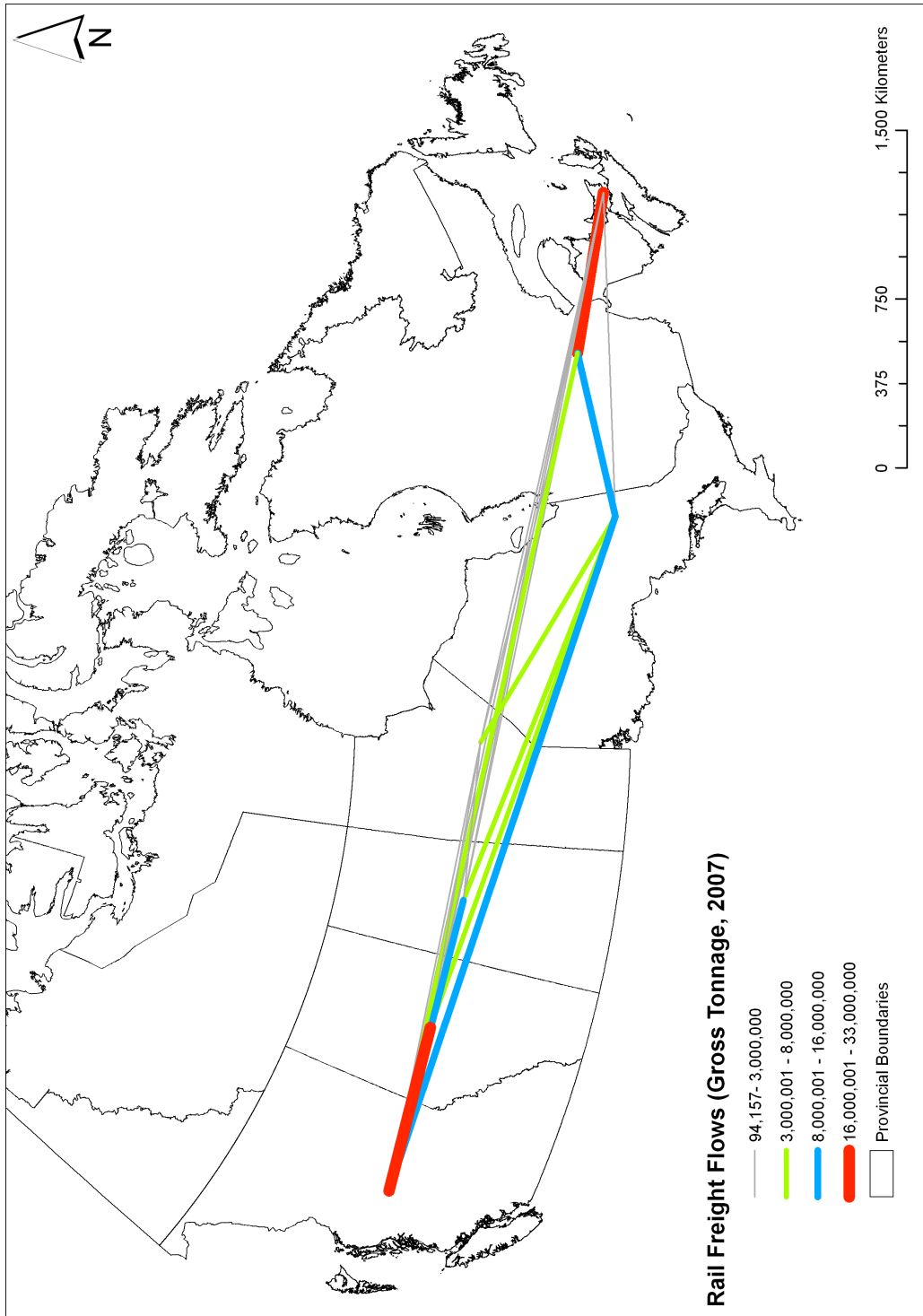
Figure 22: Rail freight flows (gross tonnage, 2007)

Note: map symbolised using the natural breaks classification system

a lesser extent Quebec. Despite their large populations Ontario and Quebec freight traffic is not particularly substantial in comparison to the coastal freight levels noted earlier, at 10.0 million tons. Freight rail patterns from 2001 to 2007 are relatively stable with one notable exception. Ontario and British Columbia freight levels increased from 5.9 million tons to 8.2 million tons, a 39% increase in freight trade suggesting increased trading levels between the two provinces.

University Location and Research Status

The proximity of universities and the quality of their research are increasingly seen as playing a major role in the innovation economy and the establishment of high-tech firms, with subsequent third party spill over research and development effects for the areas that they are located in (Audretsch & Feldman 1996; Audretsch, Lehmann & Warning 2005; Friedman & Silberman 2003). Figure 23 shows the location and research score of the 46 major universities in Canada (universities that have fewer than 50 annual publications are not included in the research score index). The research score is compiled by the consulting firm Re$earch Infosource and is composed of both financial and research measures (see Re$earch Infosource 2008 for more details). The financial measures are composed of total sponsored research income and faculty research intensity, while the research measures include the total number of publications, publication intensity and publication impact. It is understood that like all indicators, the measures selected will not be a fully accurate representation of the quality of university research, but within Canada they are one of the only such overall indices publically available. With a research score of 100, the University of Toronto in Ontario was the highest ranked research university and was used as the baseline for measurement of the remaining universities. McGill University in Quebec (69.5), the University of Alberta (68.4), the University of British Columbia (66.3), and McMaster University in Ontario (63.7) rounded out the remaining top five. Southern Ontario and Southern Quebec have the highest concentrations of universities, most likely due to
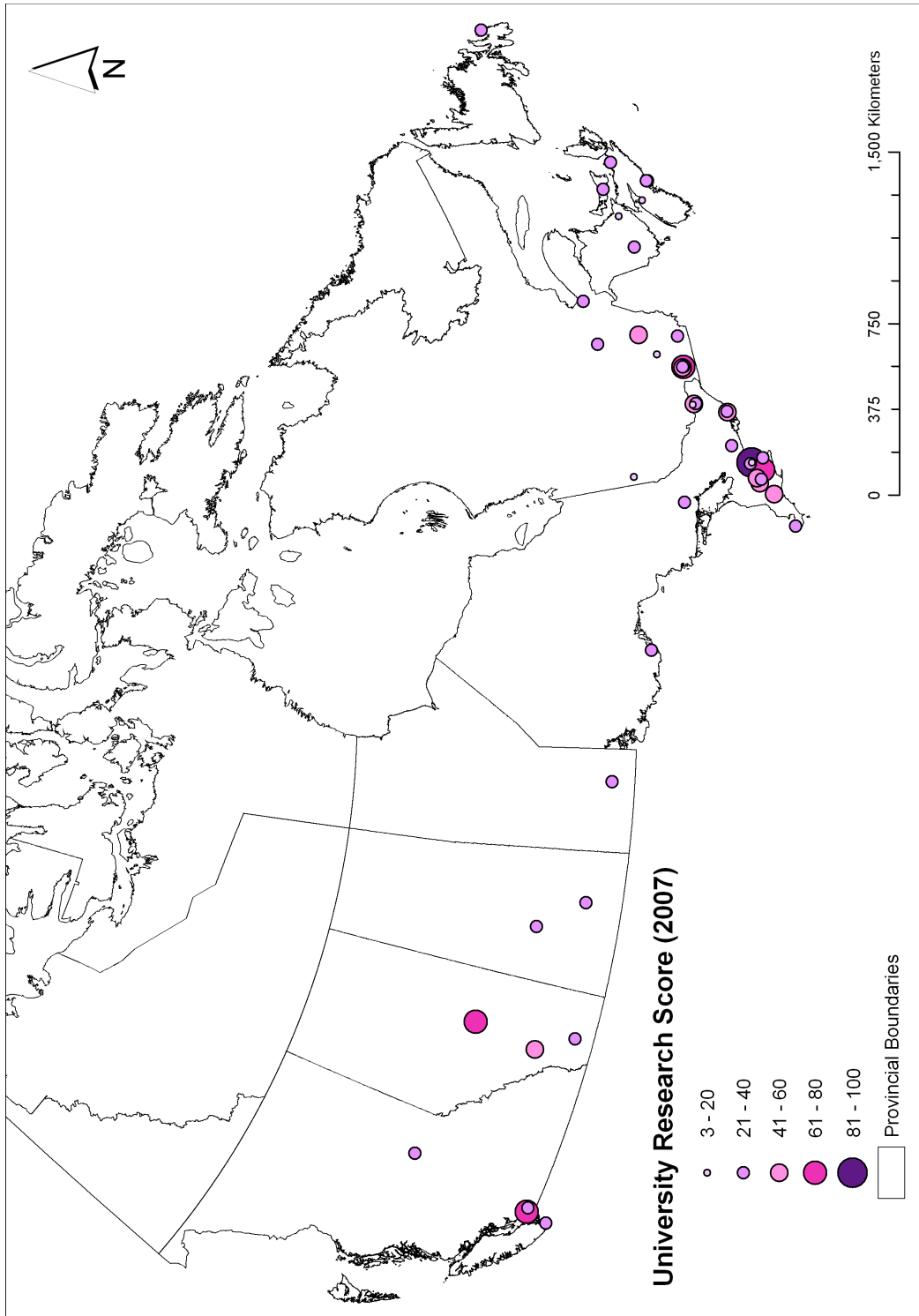
Figure 23: University research score (2007)

Note: map symbolised using manual classification

the high population levels present. The Atlantic universities generally have low research scores, but with only approximately 7% of Canada's population contain an abundance of universities, particularly in smaller towns, suggesting that they may play a much greater role in the region's local economy. Western Canada only has three major research universities in the top ten (University of Alberta, University of British Columbia and Victoria University); however, despite having approximately 20% of Canada's population they have relatively few research universities located in smaller cities and towns. The spatial concentration of research universities in Western Canada's major cities suggests that spillover effects from university research activity may be disproportionately concentrated in only a few urban areas at the expense of other smaller centres.

Defining Spatial Stress Regions

Based on the analysis of spatial inequality and connectivity, a typology of Canada's spatial structure has been devised based on the methodological approach utilised by Wong, Rae and Schulze Bäing (2006) and adapted to the Canadian context based on the availability of data and the goals of this research. This approach can be used in order to develop "conceptual maps to manifest the underlying functional spatial structure" (Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006, p. 60).

The methodological process involves :
- Mapping the trends and patterns of key drivers of socio-economic change by using a small bundle of indicators to develop a portrait of key drivers
- To understand functional spatial structure through the use of a number of indicators to demonstrate the distribution of key infrastructure and its spatial connectivity, and the dynamic movements of goods
- To compare and interpret the spatial patterns emerging from the different components in order to understand the relationship between the spatial structure and the key drivers of change

Source: Adopted from Wong, Rae & Schulze Bäing 2006, p. 60

This process resulted in four regions being defined by their common characteristics (see Figure 24 for boundary delineations). The four regions were derived based on the presence of similar characteristics for each indicator and then determining the most common spatial patterns between each indicator. These were then conceptually clustered into the four regions outlined in the remainder of this chapter.

Stagnant Atlantic

The Atlantic region, composed of Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, is characterised by its declining and stagnating nature. Population growth is relatively weak, with low levels of international immigration. Net interprovincial migration is largely limited to migration within the Atlantic region, while high levels of outward migration towards more western provinces is strong. Apart from a few exceptions median income is significantly lower than other Canadian provinces while unemployment and government transfers to individuals are significantly higher, highlighting substantial issues related to the economy of the region. Yet, the employment sectors within the Atlantic region are diverse, with varied concentrations of primary, secondary and tertiary industries present. The multiple research universities located throughout the province may help the diversity of industry and aid in the shift away from the region's traditional fishery based industries. In terms of transportation infrastructure, the region is well connected, with a highway network that connects the majority of urban centres and multiple airports serving smaller centres. While the only large-scale international airport is located in Halifax, this is not surprisingly given the low population levels of the region. Perhaps of greater concern is that the region contains one of only two major airports that saw a decline in passengers between 1997 and 2007. The region's strategic location on the Atlantic coast has resulted in five significant ports being established in the region. The importance of this port infrastructure can be seen in the amount of freight transferred between the region and Quebec. There is a need for the region to capitalise on its
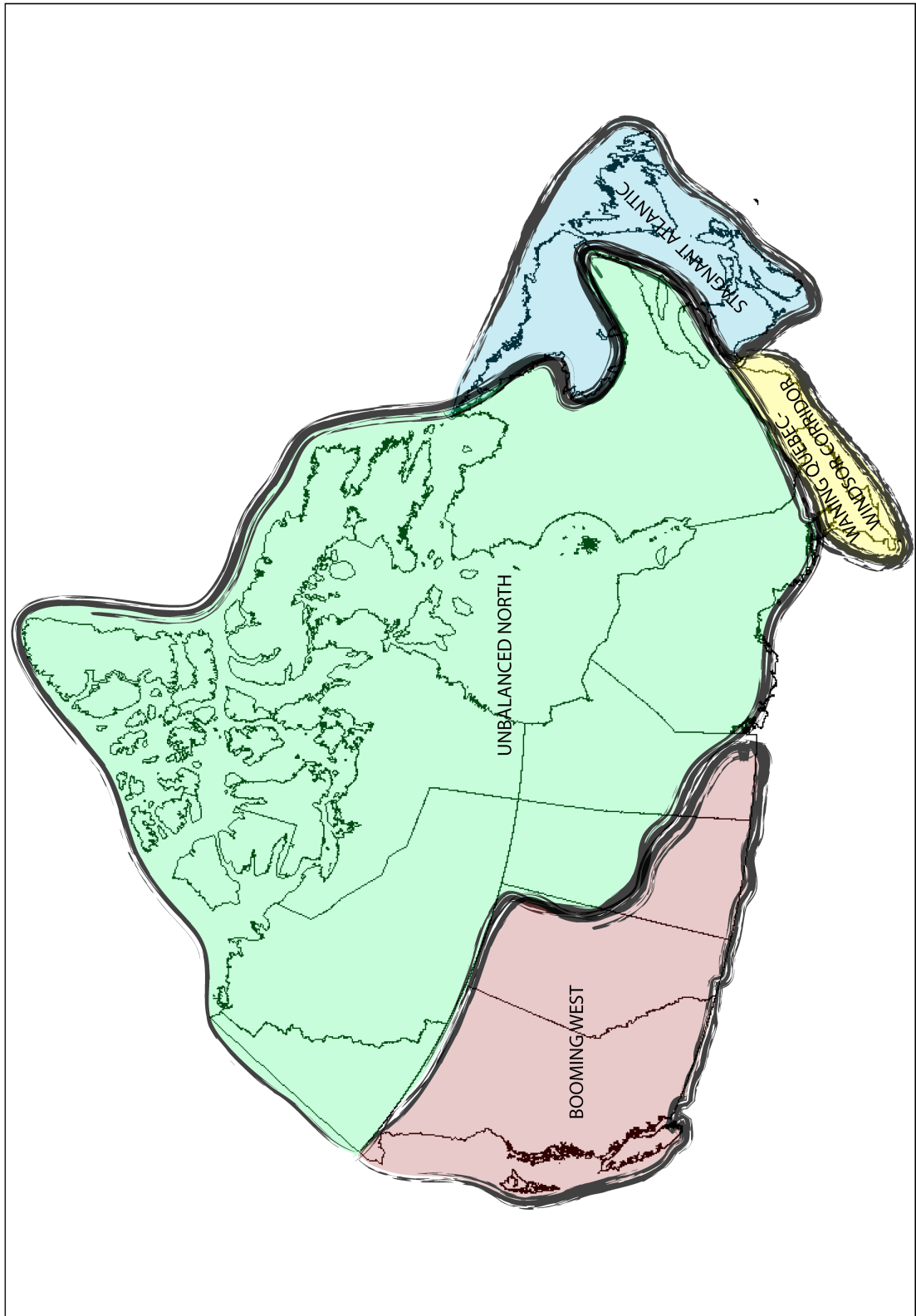
Figure 24: Canadian spatial typology boundaries

locational advantage, existing infrastructure and connections to improve the economic condition of the region and stem the tide of provincial migration in the west of the country.

Waning Quebec-Windsor Corridor

The Quebec-Windsor corridor broadly covers the southern regions of Quebec and Ontario, including the cities of Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa. As such, the region plays a major role in the Canadian economy. However, the spatial analysis noted above highlights a number of spatial stress points of concern. While immigration continues to be strong in the cities along the corridor, declines compared to previous years show that immigrant preferences are slowly shifting out west as jobs and cultural networks improve in those cities. The region is fairly young in terms of population, which bodes well for sustained economic growth and less pressure on managing health care related issues for an elderly population. While income around the major urban centres is quite high, there are distinct contrasts as the less urbanised areas and in some cities the inner urban areas show significantly lower levels of income, suggesting that issues of income equality are a rising concern. The unemployment rate is low in most parts of the corridor apart from higher levels in some of the inner areas of the larger cities, such as Toronto, Windsor, and Montreal. Manufacturing remains a major industry for the corridor. Recent declines in the automotive sector and the increased tendency to outsource manufacturing positions to other parts of the world increases pressure on the corridor to both diversify its economy as well as improve its economic productivity in the manufacturing sector to retain existing jobs. Some diversification already exists, with major concentrations of professional, scientific, and technical services present along with the maintenance of a traditional agriculture region in the south-western part of the corridor. The corridor is highly urbanised, with a strong highway system linked into major airports and ports. The high concentration of leading research universities along the corridor is beneficial and helps to maintain economic competiveness. Continued high levels of growth within the corridor are uncertain as immigration levels

136

begin to diminish, income inequality grows and manufacturing declines, however there is potential for sustained growth given the young population, strong universities, and significant transportation network.

Booming West

Many parts of the Western provinces are experiencing significant spatial pressures as a result of growth. These areas include some southern parts of Manitoba but primarily the southern half of Saskatchewan and the majority of Alberta and British Columbia. The region is characterised by higher than average levels of population growth and net in-migration. Several of the major urban centres in the region, such as Calgary and Edmonton, are also seeing significant increases in immigration. The region has a relatively young population, particularly around the major urban centres. Similarly, median income levels are strong around the major urban centres as well as in many of the more rural parts of the region. Unemployment is also low apart from some interior portions of British Columbia, most likely as a result of a declining forestry sector in this part of the province. The labour force is highly concentrated in two major primary sectors, fishery, forestry and agriculture as well as oil, mine, and gas industries. The reliance on primary industries has led to a recent boom for the region, however such commodity-based products are subject to major fluctuations in value and is potentially an area of instability in the future depending on global demand. While the region has two strong research universities, the lack of research centres in smaller urban centres is a matter of concern for the future diversification of this region. The region is well served by highway and transportation networks, with both major and minor airports serving the majority of large urban centres. Growth in airport passengers is particularly strong in the region. The Vancouver port as a gateway to the Pacific region is an important component of the region's transportation system and is shown in the high levels of freight traffic between the province and other parts of Canada. Overall, the region is facing particular spatial growth pressures, including a high level of inward provincial migration and international immigration, continued dependence

on primary industries that are globally in demand, and a transportation system that is orientation towards emerging Pacific markets.

Unbalanced North

The unbalanced north region is largely isolated and composed of the northern portions of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, along with the territories. Urban settlements are sparse and scattered across the landscape. The region has particular difficulties attracting new immigrants but has a relatively small proportion of people who are over the age of 65. In part, this may be due to the high level aboriginal population in these areas, as aboriginal Canadians have 1.5 times higher birth rates than non-aboriginal Canadians, as well as have five or more years lower life expectancy (Canadian Institute for Health Information 2000; Statistics Canada 2005). Areas with high levels of aboriginal population lack close proximity to research universities, with the majority of universities isolated in northern Quebec and Ontario. Income levels are variable, with extremes at both ends, depending on the location. Similar extremes are noticeable in the unemployment rate and level of government transfers. Airports are small and regional in nature, with mostly moderate levels of passenger growth between 1997 and 2007. Apart from northeastern Quebec, the region lacks large-scale port infrastructure, however discussions of a future deep-sea arctic port are on going as the Northwest Passage becomes a more active seaway. The varying extremes in the region are largely the result of the diversity of geography and the spatial concentration of the aboriginal population. Closing the inequality gap in this region is a particular concern.

Detailed Case Study Identification

Having explored Canada's regional dynamics and the spatial inequality and connectivity context in this chapter, case study governments can now be selected for the detailed empirical policy study and interview components of the research. Given the intergovernmental nature of the research, alongside the Government of Canada a limited number of provincial governments have been identified in order to allow for an appropriate degree of analytical

intensity.

Canada's three most Western provinces, British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan were selected, for a number of reasons. Firstly they border one another, with shared transportation and environmental cross-boundary issues. These issues would be largely lacking if disparate provincial governments were chosen, thereby improving the richness of intergovernmental spatial policy issues that can be explored. Secondly, the Western provinces share a similar political culture, as noted earlier in Chapter 3 and the beginning of this chapter. The influence that this shared political culture has on the policy environment in each province allows for comparisons and contrasts, as well as an assessment of the extent to which a similar political culture improves or reduces intergovernmental coordination. Thirdly, the fact that the Booming West region and the Unbalanced North overlap the three case study areas presents a number of provincially shared but contrasting spatial policy concerns, including varied demographic and infrastructure growth pressures, a resource dependent economy, and issues of spatial inequality in terms of income, reliance on government transfers, and higher than average levels of unemployment in the northern parts of the provinces. Understanding how each province deals with these common issues, as well as whether the similarities play a role in improved intergovernmental coordination, provides a useful platform for comparison. Finally, aspects of coordination are noticeable in terms of interprovincial Western cabinet meetings, the creation of a Western trade and labour mobility agreement, and joint efforts with the Government of Canada to advance the Asia-Pacific Gateway project. Taken together, these factors suggest that the Government of Canada and three selected provinces will provide meaningful platforms for an institutional analysis of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

SUMMARY

This chapter has explored the regional dimensions of federalism through the analysis of survey data of Canadians. This was followed by an

analysis of spatial inequality and connectivity of Canada in order to identify areas that may benefit from improved intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. The analysis identified a number of commonly utilised indicators useful for understanding spatial dynamics. These indicators were then adapted to take into account the availability of data and mapped for the Canadian context. The maps and accompanying analysis identified four regions characterised by various spatial pressures, the stagnant Atlantic region, the waning Quebec-Windsor corridor, the booming West, and the unbalanced North.

The booming West and unbalanced North highlighted contrasting spatial issues and, along with the regional context outlined in Chapter 3 and at the beginning of this chapter, was used to select the Government of Canada and the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan for a more detailed empirical study of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in the following chapters. Having identified the case study areas the next chapter explores how spatial policy is formally conceptualised by each case study government through a documentary analysis of government policies.

CHAPTER 5: SPATIAL POLICY AND COORDINATION

INTRODUCTION

The institutional and policy environment is a product of decisions made through negotiation and discussion between political actors and civil servants who work to define priorities, objectives and to frame the context in which they work (Wildavsky 1978). These actors are structured by a variety of forces, resulting in the unconscious values and predefined beliefs of policymakers being embedded in policy (Le Grand 2003). As such, the extent of spatial references in public policy can be seen as a result of choices that are contested and interest-based rather than derived through a neutral decision-making process. The importance of understanding how individuals construct space differently and how multiple concepts of space can often co-exist and overlap the same geographical space has been raised by Flyvberg and Richardson (1998). This chapter follows from this area of interest as it is concerned with the formally defined policy environment in which civil servants work and the extent to which spatial policy issues are present and how they are coordinated within the content of public policy documents.

In order to understand the nature of spatial references present within the Canadian public policy community and the potential that such a perspective may have for improving coordination in an intergovernmental environment, it is necessary first to assess the extent of spatial content currently present in federal and provincial public policy, as a means of determining the importance attached to spatial issues by policymakers. Such an analysis is useful as it "captures the representation of space in language, and reveals some of the power relations which contest these representations" (Jensen & Richardson 2001, p. 704). Harris and Hooper (2004, p. 150) have commented that while understanding how spatial issues are represented is a relatively new area of academic research, one of its major aspects "involves the analysis of the language of policy documents to establish the differential treatment of 'space'". Analysing the text of policy documents is considered a useful tool for understanding spatial constructions (Richardson & Jensen 2003). A variety of understandings of

space can be expected to emerge within a federalist context due to the high level of policy experimentation and unevenness that often exists as a result of a decentralised governance structure (Maioni & Smith 2003).

This chapter is organised into three sections. The first evaluates the content of the chosen policy documents (see Table 20) to determine the extent of spatial specificity present within the case study governments' policies. It does so through the use of a conceptually clustered matrix. This is followed, secondly, by an exploration of the extent to which coordination mechanisms feature in relation to spatial policy issues in the documents scrutinised. Throughout these two sections, the impact of federalism on Canadian spatial policy issues is explored by defining the level of spatial commonality and variation among different ministries and governments. The final section involves analysis of the ways in which spatial policy and coordination issues are constructed, with four approaches to formal intergovernmental spatial policy coordination discussed.

SPATIAL SPECIFICITY IN PUBLIC POLICY

The first variable identified in the conceptually clustered matrix is spatial specificity. This concept was selected in order to determine the extent of spatial detail in documents. Spatial specificity is categorised as being either 'specific' or 'general'. Specific references are noted when documents refer to particular geographic places, such as cities, individual highways, airports and ports, defined natural areas or external regions that have generally known boundaries such as countries or provinces. General references relate to more broad and undefined spatial references, such as communities, municipalities, rural areas, or non-spatially defined corridors and gateways. When analysing documents from a particular level of government, such as the Government of Alberta, references to Alberta as a whole are not included in the analysis as it is recognised that the document will primarily be concerned with the jurisdictional area for which the government is responsible. Spatial specificity is then categorised as 'high',

Table 20: Analysed policy documents by government and ministry

Government of Canada / Multi-Governmental	
Ministry/Department	**Document Title**
Western Economic Diversification	Corporate Business Plan 2009/2010 – 2011/2012
Transport Canada	Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative
Transport Canada	Building Canada: Modern Infrastructure for a Strong Canada
Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation	Corporate Plan 2009-2013
Environment	A Climate Change Plan for the Purposes of the *Kyoto Protocol Implementation Act*
Government of Canada, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba	Pacific Gateway Strategy Action Plan
Council of the Federation	
Council of the Federation	A Shared Vision for Energy in Canada
Council of the Federation	Looking to the Future: A Plan for Investing in Canada's Transportation Infrastructure
Government of British Columbia	
Transportation and Infrastructure	Service Plan Update
Economic Development	Asia Pacific Initiative
Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources	The BC Energy Plan
Community and Rural Development	Service Plan Update 2009/10 – 2011/12
Environment	Climate Action Plan
Housing and Social Development	Housing Matters BC
Small Business and Economic Development / Transportation	British Columbia Ports Strategy
Government of Alberta	
Environment	2008 Climate Change Strategy
Capital Planning	Alberta's 20 year strategic capital plan
Energy	Alberta's Provincial Energy Strategy
Secretariat for Action on Homelessness	A Plan for Alberta: Ending Homelessness in 10 Years
Sustainable Resource Development	Land-use Framework
Agriculture and Rural Development	A Place to Grow: Alberta's Rural Development Strategy
Government of Saskatchewan	
Energy and Resources	Plan for 2009-10
Highways and Infrastructure	Plan for 2009-10
Finance	Government Direction for 2009-10
Municipal Affairs	Plan for 2009-10
Social Services	Plan for 2009-10
Environment	Plan for 2009-10
Advanced Education, Employment and Labour	Plan for 2009-10

Source: Author

'medium' or 'low' based on an overall qualitative assessment of the documents. High levels of spatial specificity are characterised by numerous specific references to places and use of maps; medium levels are characterised by a mix of general and specific references to places with or

without maps; while low levels are characterised by a high volume of general references with very few specific references or use of maps.

The spatial specificity of policy documents of the governments studied is highly variable (see Table 21). The Government of British Columbia has the largest number of documents (5 out of 7) with a high level of spatial specificity. This stands in stark contrast to Saskatchewan with no high level documents at all. At the other end of the spectrum the Government of Saskatchewan has the largest number of documents with a low level of spatial specificity (5 out of 7) compared to the Government of British Columbia (1 out of 7). Overall, eleven of all the documents studied are classified as having a high level of spatial specificity, three as medium level, and the remaining half as low.

Of the documents studied that have a high number of specific spatial references, the focus is often on transportation or infrastructure, including energy infrastructure and capital investment in public facilities such as hospitals and universities (see Table 22). Such documents include references to connecting specific cities, inter-provincial or inter-national connections, and improving specific large-scale structures, transportation routes, ports and airports. The fact that the majority of these highly specific spatial references are related to physical structures suggest a more traditional, Euclidian, view of space exists among policymakers. Interestingly, housing-related documents generally tend to lack an abundance of spatially specific references (discussed in more detail later and Table 24).

Table 21: Number of policy documents by degree of spatial specificity

	High	Medium	Low
Federal Government / Multi-governmental	2	0	4
Council of the Federation	1	0	1
British Columbia	5	1	1
Alberta	3	0	3
Saskatchewan	0	2	5
Total	11	3	14

Source: Author

Table 22: Examples of documents with high spatial specificity references

Government / Department / Document	Reference	Spatial Specificity	Comment / Implication
Government of Canada / Transport Canada / Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative	Comments on private sector investments in transportation infrastructure	Specific reference to private sector investments in CN Railway, Canadian Pacific Railway, Vancouver Port, Fraser Port, Prince Rupert Port and Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Pearson International Airports	$5.4B private sector investment in transportation infrastructure
Government of British Columbia / Ministry of Transportation and Infrastructure / Service Plan Update	Pitt River Bridge and Mary Hill Bypass/Lougheed Highway Interchange capital project	Specific mention of highway and bridge sections	Reduced traffic congestion, improved bus commuting and improvements to environmentally sensitive areas
Government of Alberta / Ministry of Capital Planning / Alberta's 20 year strategic capital plan	Development of plans for eight key areas	Specific mention of Edmonton and Calgary ring-roads, Edmonton International Airport, Prince Rupert port, Alberta's Industrial Heartland	Specific objectives have been set to guide decisions about capital projects in each of the eight key areas included in the strategic plan

Source: Author

Overall, there is a high incidence of spatial references in the documents from the Government of British Columbia, which may be related to its goal-orientated evidence-based approach to policy. This approach tends to focus on directing public policy towards outcomes that are based on an evidence base (although the extent of evidence presented in many of the documents is relatively slight and frequently superficial). The evidence base often highlights areas of concern or opportunity through references to particular locations. The goal-orientated approach then directs funds and policies to address or take advantage of these opportunities. This evidence-based approach is largely lacking in the other levels of government studied which may explain the lower level of spatial specificity recorded in those cases.

This goal-orientated, evidence-based approach is most apparent when examining documents related to the Asia-Pacific Gateway Initiative, an

intergovernmental initiative between the Government of Canada and four most Western provinces in Canada. The programme is largely focused on British Columbia and improving its ports and transportation infrastructure. As a result of this, the Government of British Columbia is highly influential in the policy process related to the initiative. The goal-orientated approach is manifested in long-range statements setting out aspirations for 2020, including:

> *British Columbia is recognized internationally as North America's capital for Asia Pacific commerce and culture*
> *Asia Pacific Initiative*
> *(Ministry of Economic Development 2007, p. 11)*

> *British Columbia is the preferred gateway for Asia-Pacific trade and has the most competitive port system on the west coast of the Americas*
> *Pacific Gateway Strategy Action Plan 2006-2020*
> *(Ministry of Small Business and Economic Development & Ministry of Transportation 2005, p. 2)*

The two Government of Canada / Intergovernmental documents that have a high level of spatial specificity, are both related to the Asia-Pacific Gateway Initiative and incorporate a similar goal-orientated, evidence-base approach as the British Columbia policy documents. The documents seek to identify potential issues such as traffic congestion:

> *In developing an integrated long-term plan for Gateway and Corridor infrastructure, the Initiative aims to address emerging bottlenecks and multi-modal transfer points, and cement the reputation of the Gateway and Corridor as a reliable, efficient and secure connection between North America and Asia.*
> *Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor*
> *(Transport Canada 2006, p. 11)*

They also seek subsequently to develop policy and direct investments towards specific spatially defined initiatives designed to resolve the issue:

> *South Fraser Perimeter Road – Deltaport Connector, Federal share: up to $100 million: The construction of the South Fraser Perimeter Road Deltaport Connector will facilitate the movement of international goods while minimizing impacts on the local*

> *community. It will provide a designated east-west truck route that will bypass the municipal road networks to allow free flow road access between Deltaport and Highway 99.*
>
> *Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor*
> *(Transport Canada 2006, p. 12)*

The other four policy documents studied for the Government of Canada are classified as having low levels of spatial specificity, suggesting that the Government of British Columbia's policy approach may have resulted in increased levels of spatial specificity in the Government of Canada's policy documents which are exceptions to their general policy-making approach. The influence of British Columbia's approach is also apparent in the Council of the Federation document, 'Looking to the Future: A Plan for Investing in Canada's Transportation Infrastructure' (Council of the Federation 2005). The document is classified as having a high level of spatial specificity and was written cooperatively by policymakers from the governments of British Columbia and Nova Scotia. The document utilises maps and identifies criteria for investment, such as intercity passenger rail:

> *Criteria:*
> ■ *intercity rail passenger lines and terminals that serve a minimum of 50,000 people per year; or*
> ■ *accommodate $50 million in tourism value per year.*
> *Result: VIA Rail Service and key terminals in the following corridors: Québec City/Montréal, Montréal/Ottawa, Montréal/ Toronto, Toronto/Windsor, Québec City/Montréal/New York, and Montréal/Moncton/Halifax*
>
> *Looking to the Future: A Plan for Investing in Canada's*
> *Transportation Infrastructure*
> *(Council of the Federation 2005, p. 12)*

Meanwhile, the Council of the Federation's energy strategy, 'A Shared Vision for Energy in Canada' was written by policymakers in New Brunswick and is classified as having a low level of spatial specificity. Much of the document speaks of generalities such as the need to:

Improve access to existing transmission and transportation infrastructure by working to reduce jurisdictional barriers that limit the freer trade of electricity within Canada; and work with the private sector to ensure Canada's oil, petroleum products, and natural gas pipelines, gathering systems and infrastructure continue to meet domestic energy needs and supply export markets
A Shared Vision for Energy in Canada
(Council of the Federation 2007, p. 11)

By contrast, there are few instances of targeted spatial investments. It is understood that there may be additional or alternative explanations for the inclusion or lack of inclusion of spatial references in the Government of Canada and Council of the Federation documents, but the analysis provides an interesting point of reference for further exploration of differential policy-making approaches between different levels of government in later chapters.

The use of maps within the policy documents analysed was also highly variable, depending on the level of government and ministry studied. Of the six Government of Canada documents studied, three of them had maps. Two of the three documents with maps were those related to the Asia-Pacific Gateway Initiative which also contained multiple maps. The other document with a map was the 'Corporate Business Plan 2009/2010 – 2011/2012' for the Department of Western Economic Diversification. It depicted the four provinces for which the department has responsibility rather than having any specific spatial reference related to a policy or programme. The use of maps among the provincial governments studied is more varied, again particularly in British Columbia, with five of the seven documents analysed containing maps (see Figure 25). Maps were rarely used in the policy documents of the other two provincial governments, with Alberta having only two out of six documents containing maps and Saskatchewan only one out of seven containing maps (see Figure 26). The reasons for the general reluctance to use maps in public policy documents at the federal and provincial level are explored in more detail in Chapter 7.

For the vast majority of documents analysed, the use of spatial references tended to fall either in the high or low categories. The extreme contrast suggests a binary division between policymakers that tend to 'think

Figure 25: B.C port system multimodal network
Source: Ministry of Small Business and Economic Development & Ministry of
Transportation 2005, p. 6
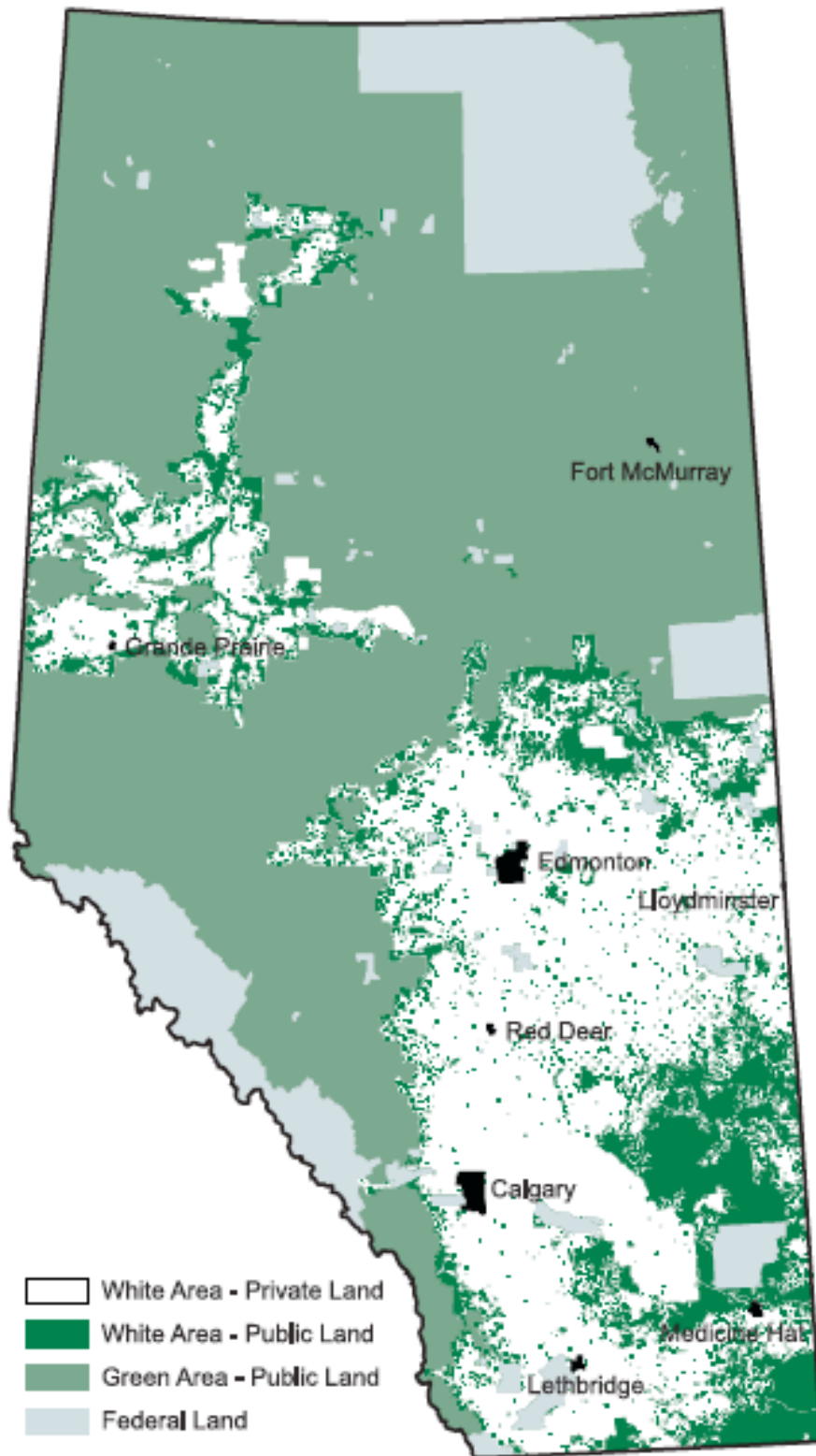
Figure 26: Current land-use designation system in Alberta
Source: Government of Alberta 2008, p. 10

spatially' and those who do not. British Columbia and Saskatchewan were the only two levels of government studied that had documents deemed to have a medium level of spatial specificity. In British Columbia, medium levels of spatial references were included in documents from the Ministry of Community and Rural Development Department and the Ministry of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources. It was expected that these departments would have a high level of spatial specificity given that they deal with areas that are geographically defined, either administratively in the case of rural areas or physically in terms of mines and petroleum resources. The fact that the level of spatial specificity was not high suggests that policymakers tended not to think spatially but were at times forced to, given the spatial nature of the department in which they worked.

> *BC Hydro owns the heritage assets, which include historic electricity facilities such as those on the Peace and Columbia Rivers that provide a secure, reliable supply of low-cost power for British Columbians. These heritage assets require maintenance and upgrades over time to ensure they continue to operate reliably and efficiently. Potential improvements to these assets, such as capacity additions at the Mica and Revelstoke generating stations, can make important contributions for the benefit of British Columbians.*
>
> *The BC Energy Plan*
> *(Ministry of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources 2007, p. 12)*

In cases of medium specificity (see Table 23), references were made to specific numbers of units built for things such as affordable housing or kilometres of highway, but with only a broad level of spatial detail as to where those units were distributed, such as within a province or the country as a whole. This may also be the case for Saskatchewan where policy documents from two ministries were classified as having medium levels of spatial specificity, the Ministry of Highways and Infrastructure and the Ministry of Finance. The need physically to locate highways and infrastructure and allocate funds to capital projects again often requires spatial references, but a hesitancy to fully embrace spatial thinking may have stifled the extent of spatial specificity in the documents.

Table 23: Examples of documents with medium spatial specificity references

Government / Department / Document	Reference	Spatial Specificity	Comment / Implication
Government of British Columbia / Ministry of Community and Rural Development / Service Plan Update 2009/10 – 2011/12	Rural wealth creation	General reference to resource rich communities and the equitable distribution of infrastructure funding	Improved economic development within communities
Government of Saskatchewan / Ministry of Highways and Infrastructure / Plan for 2009-10	Investment in an integrated strategic rural highway system	General mention of rural highways, municipal highways, and provincial highways	Expansion of the Primary Weight system by 5,000 km and continue and commence construction on 250 km of rural highways

Source: Author

Only half of the documents reviewed were classified as having a low level of spatial specificity. This is particularly surprising given that the documents chosen for study were deliberately biased towards ministries where spatial references were expected to be most prevalent. In Saskatchewan five out of the seven documents studied were classified as having a low level of spatial specificity, representing the greatest ratio of all the governments studied. This was in part related to the general lack of strategy documents that are publically available for the province. The majority of documents available in Saskatchewan were annual plans. These plans followed set 'strategy-action' templates that each ministry was required to use, thereby limiting the extent to which they could use maps and diverge from this method of reporting, such as this example:

> *Strategy: Assist municipalities in addressing critical infrastructure needs*
> *Key 2009-10 Actions: Provide capital funding through financial assistance programs to enable effective and efficient investments primarily for water, wastewater, solid waste, and local roads.*
>
> *Plan for 2009-10*
> *(Ministry of Municipal Affairs 2009, p. 3)*

Equally, there was still opportunity for specific spatial references to be included in the text and for maps to be included in appendices, both of

which the majority of documents did not include to any great extent. The Government of Canada also had a majority of documents (4 out of 6) classified as having low levels of spatial specificity. As with other cases, these documents were from ministries where spatial references would have been expected to be rather high, including economic development, housing and, to a lesser extent, the environment.

Housing documents for all the governments studied were classified as having low levels of spatial specificity, including British Columbia where the housing document was the only one classified in this category. This may be a result of the fact that the housing documents related mostly to social housing issues, such as affordable housing and homelessness as opposed to broader housing concerns. Yet this is still surprising given that social housing and homeless is a geographically variable phenomenon, with intense pressures in some areas and surpluses of stock in others. Low levels of spatial specificity were found within the more social focused ministries studied, such as British Columbia's Housing and Social Development, Alberta's Secretariat for Action on Homelessness, and Saskatchewan's Ministry of Social Services (see Table 24). The lack of spatial specificity may relate to the tendency for these social service ministry documents to focus

Table 24: Examples of documents with low spatial specificity references

Government / Department / Document	Reference	Spatial Specificity	Comment / Implication
Government of British Columbia / Ministry of Housing and Social Development / Housing Matters BC	Rental assistance program	General mention of 7,700 households that receive rental assistance	Increased access to market housing for low income households
Government of Alberta / Alberta Secretariat for Action on Homelessness / A Plan for Alberta: Ending Homelessness in 10 Years	Growth in homelessness	General reference to homeless population	With the status-quo homelessness will rise 7% per year
Government of Saskatchewan / Ministry of Social Services / Plan for 2009-10	Current and future pressures in child welfare	General mention of child care facilities	Development of 200 additional spaces for children and youth in care

Source: Author

policies and programmes on supporting individuals regardless of where they live. To some extent this removes the spatial element, with more emphasis being placed on equity concerns and the targeting of vulnerable populations regardless of location.

The previous discussion has demonstrated that there are both similarities in terms of the inclusion or exclusive of space in public policy as well as significant differences. This partly supports current understandings of federal systems and their ability to generate policy variations as well as transfer policy approaches between different governmental units (Greer 2004; Maioni & Smith 2003). The analysis reveals some interesting examples, showing not only policy variations but also the transfer of policy approaches from one level of government to another throughout the Canadian federation. The British Columbia approach to spatial specificity can be seen in the Government of Canada's documents related to the Asia-Pacific Gateway Initiative as well as in documents co-authored by the Government of British Columbia for the Council of the Federation. Yet whether this spatial approach results in an increase in the inclusion of coordination mechanisms in public policy is unknown. As a result, the extent to which this spatial approach to policymaking improves horizontal and vertical government coordination mechanisms will be explored in the following section.

SPATIAL REFERENCES AND COORDINATION MECHANISMS

The second variable analysed in the conceptually clustered matrix relates to the existence of coordination mechanisms, both within and between government, present in the same public policy documents discussed earlier. The potential positive role that spatial policy can play in coordinating sectoral policies by reducing tensions related to multiple institutional cultures is well documented (Davoudi & Strange 2009; Kidd 2007, Schout & Jordan 2007, Vigar 2009). The purpose of examining the presence of coordination mechanisms in relation to spatial policy is to determine whether specific spatial references by policymakers translate into broader understandings of the impact of policies on other departments

and levels of government. If such broader understandings exist, references to coordination mechanisms would be expected in the policy documents studied and such mechanisms would have regard to actors and policies outside of the departments' own policy field. It is, however, recognised that spatial policy coordination is heavily influenced by informal practices and that such practices often reinforce formal coordination mechanisms (Allmendinger & Haughton 2009; Baker & Hincks 2009; Salet, Thornley & Kreukels 2003). The following exploration focuses on the formal aspects of coordination and spatial policy in order to provide the foundation for a discussion of informal coordination mechanisms and spatial policy in Chapter 6.

When reviewing the documents, understandings of coordination mechanisms were noted in relation to spatial references. References include mention of coordination mechanisms in an informal sense, such as general reference to consultation with other government departments, either horizontally or vertically, or with external stakeholders, as well as mentioning the existence of, or need for, partnerships with government departments, the private sector, or non-profit groups. More specific coordination mechanisms, such as formal agreements between two or more departments or organisations, were also noted. The inclusion of both broad and specific coordination mechanisms was taken in order to capture the formal coordination processes as well as when arenas for more informal aspects of coordination are included in policy.

As with the spatial specificity analysis, an overall assessment of the level of spatial policy coordination was made of each document studied. The assessment rated each document as having either a 'high', 'medium' or 'low' level of spatial policy coordination depending on the frequency with which coordination mechanisms were mentioned in relation to identified spatial references. There was no distinction made between formal and informal coordination mechanisms as it is recognised that informal mechanisms can be just as effective at coordinating spatial policy as formal mechanisms (Allmendinger & Haughton 2009; Baker & Hincks 2009; Salet, Thornley & Kreukels 2003). As with the level of spatial specificity, the existence of

coordination mechanisms was highly variable, depending on the level of government studied (see Table 25). Of all the government documents studied, nine out of twenty-eight were rated as having a high level of spatial policy coordination, ten rated as having a medium level, and nine as having a low level.

The highest levels of coordination are found in policy documents from the Government of Saskatchewan, of which five out of seven of the documents studied have a high level of coordination. This was by far the highest level and is most likely related to the template format of policy documents used in Saskatchewan. While these documents appear to stifle spatial references, as noted earlier, they seem to encourage the inclusion of policy coordination by linking strategy statements to specific actions. Such a high rate is not seen in any of the other governments, with Alberta having the next highest ratio of two out of six, followed by the governments of Canada (one of six) and British Columbia (one of six). The two Council of the Federation documents studied were rated as not containing a high level of coordination. This may have to do with the consensus based decision-making approach used by the Council of the Federation, which may create a tendency to reject binding approaches to coordination in favour of allowing individual governments to determine how they wish to proceed with policy development.

Higher levels of spatial policy coordination would be expected from departments where jurisdiction is shared between other levels of government such as transportation, the environment or in some cases

Table 25: Number of policy documents by degree of spatial policy coordination references

	High	Medium	Low
Federal Government / Multi-governmental	1	2	3
Council of the Federation	0	0	2
British Columbia	1	4	2
Alberta	2	2	2
Saskatchewan	5	2	0
Total	9	10	9

Source: Author

housing. Transportation documents from the Government of Canada and the Council of the Federation had low levels of coordination while the governments of Alberta and Saskatchewan had medium levels, with only the Government of British Columbia having a high level of coordination with regards to transportation. Governments fared better in terms of environmental documents studied, with the Government of Saskatchewan having a high level of coordination, the governments of Canada and British Columbia medium levels, and only the Government of Alberta low levels. Documents relating to housing also do not show any overall pattern, with some governments having higher levels of coordination compared to others. The highly varied trends related to coordination demonstrate the diversity of policy approaches that exist not only between different levels of government in Canada, but also internally between departments. By far the most developed formal coordination approaches exist within the Government of Saskatchewan while the most underdeveloped exist at the federal level (see Table 26).

Table 26: Examples of documents with coordination specificity references

Government / Department / Document	Reference	Coordination Specificity	Comment / Implication
Government of Canada / Transport Canada / Building Canada: Modern Infrastructure for a Strong Canada	Highlights improvements needed to wastewater treatment in municipalities	Mention of the issue spanning all levels of government	Improvements to physical wastewater treatment infrastructure
Government of Alberta / Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development / A Place to Grow: Alberta's Rural Development Strategy	Promoting economic growth	Mention of need to coordinate through rural partnerships and other levels of government	Diversification and growth of rural economies
Government of Saskatchewan / Ministry of Municipal Affairs / Plan for 2009-10	Building bylaw	Mention of significant inter-ministry and agency coordination to facilitate the incorporation of government priorities and interests within local government	52% of municipalities lack a building bylaw as required by provincial legislation suggesting community safety may be at greater risk in these municipalities

Source: Author

Documents related to the Asia-Pacific Gateway are similarly varied in the extent of their coordination mechanisms despite the explicit intergovernmental intent of the initiative. The Government of Canada publication, the 'Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative' (Transport Canada 2006), has a high level of coordination, with many of the spatial references having a corresponding coordination reference. In many cases the coordination references relate to explicit coordination mechanisms, such as forums, agreements or intergovernmental funding mechanisms, such as a Lower Mainland Trucking Forum:

> *To improve logistics and operating efficiencies throughout the Lower Mainland, the forum, led by the province of B.C., will provide owner-operator truck drivers and others in the short-haul container trucking industry operating in the B.C. Lower Mainland an opportunity to discuss and review business practices and other issues. This is an important element of joint efforts to enhance the reliability of Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor.*
> *Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor*
> *(Transport Canada 2006, p. 15)*

The high number of coordination references may be a recognition by the Government of Canada that it lacks jurisdiction over many issues mentioned in the plan and, therefore, coordination with provincial governments is necessary for implementation.

Yet, surprisingly, the 'Pacific Gateway Strategy Action Plan' jointly published by the Government of Canada and four most Western provinces has virtually no coordination mechanisms mentioned in relation to spatial references. When references are made they are generalised and related more to third parties, such as private industry or port authorities. The lack of coordination mechanisms is unclear considering the document is related to an intergovernmental initiative. One of the major reasons may be that an Industry Advisory Group, made up of not only government representatives but also industry, were responsible for the content of the document with cooperation from two consulting firms rather then being entirely written by civil servants. The Government of British Columbia's 'Asia Pacific Initiative' also demonstrates a different approach to coordination. The references to

coordination in this document tend to be generalised and relate more to the need to consult, engage, or partner with various groups.

> *A sustained presence by B.C. is required in the Asia Pacific region to build long-term trading relationships and to promote trade and investment, cultural exchange and educational linkages*
> *Asia Pacific Initiative*
> *(Ministry of Economic Development 2007, p. 23)*

Less emphasis is placed on specific agreements or intergovernmental funding mechanisms. This suggests a more guidance-based approach to policy, rather than a plan based model of policy development.

The relationship between levels of coordination and spatial specificity is equally diverse. Of the documents studied, only one from each of the governments of Canada (Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative), British Columbia (Service Plan Update – Ministry of Transportation and Infrastructure) and Alberta (Land-use Framework) had high levels of both spatial specificity and coordination (see Table 27). It is not unsurprising that these documents are classified in this manner. All

Table 27: Number of documents studied by levels of spatial specificity and coordination and level of government

Level of Spatial Specificity	Level of Coordination		
Federal Government / Multi-governmental	High	Medium	Low
High	1		1
Medium			
Low		2	2
Council of the Federation	High	Medium	Low
High			1
Medium			
Low			1
Government of British Columbia	High	Medium	Low
High	1	4	
Medium			1
Low			1
Government of Alberta	High	Medium	Low
High	1	1	1
Medium			
Low	1	1	1
Government of Saskatchewan	High	Medium	Low
High			
Medium	1	1	
Low	4	1	

Source: Author

three are policy documents that are principally concerned with spatially focused investments and regulation that overlap other sectors, such as economic development or the environment. The fact that other policy documents do not have a similarly high level of spatial specificity and coordination suggests that in many cases the shift from an absolute policy development approach towards a more relative approach has not occurred.

The more guidance-based approach to policy development can be seen in the Government of British Columbia's documents, where four documents are noted as having high levels of spatial specificity and medium levels of coordination. This suggests that while many documents are spatially focused, the coordination aspect is left vague, perhaps to allow flexibility in how the policy is coordinated and implemented. Two of the Government of Canada's documents, one related to housing and the other to infrastructure, are rated as having both low levels of spatial specificity and coordination mechanisms. Both of these policy sectors are areas where constitutional jurisdiction is ambiguous, which may partly explain the lack of specificity in the documents. Overall, the analysis of the studied documents suggests that there is a lack of a formal relationship between spatial policy specificity and coordination mechanisms.

CONSTRUCTIONS OF FORMAL SPATIAL POLICY COORDINATION

The previously explained methods with which spatial policy coordination is formally undertaken in Canada have demonstrated that no singular approach is utilised. This is true both between and within governments, where the use of spatial references and coordination mechanisms often align to departmental needs rather than the wider strategic government direction. Yet within the documents studied four common approaches to the construction of formal spatial policy coordination can be identified.

Spatial Silo

This approach is affiliated with those sectors that traditionally use spatial approaches to map and identify specific locations to which investment can be directed or further research targeted. Examples of departments that use this approach include transportation, infrastructure and capital investment, energy, and resource development. However, having a long tradition of using spatial approaches has led to an aversion to change and a strong tendency for these departments to adhere to traditional Euclidian conceptions of space, and a corresponding aversion to more relative approaches, confirming a trend noted by Healey (2004, 2006, 2007). This more absolute understanding of space has also resulted in a tendency amongst these departments not to pursue policy coordination or to to make connections outside their particular departmental interests. This approach is particularly notable in Alberta, where coordination mechanisms are often poor and spatial references are constrained to particular policy fields.

Sectoral-Based

Lacking extensive use of spatial references, sectoral-based approaches are largely non-spatial and more concerned with the application of policy in a broad sense rather than targeting investments towards geographically specific areas or populations. Rather, the inclination is to target individual populations, ranging from all Canadians, down to more specific populations such as the homeless, the elderly or low-income residents without concern for their spatial concentration. Like the spatial silo approach, sectoral-based policy is often closed and limited to coordination between departments that share similar policy interests. Yet despite the closed policy process, coordination within those limited areas of departmental concern is quite high. References are made to partnerships and connections are often made between governments at all levels and consultation with stakeholders is particularly high. Such an approach is notable among the social policy departments at all levels of government studied, such as housing, social services and immigration.

Ambiguous Policy

On occasion policy is deliberately kept vague for a variety of reasons, such as to maintain maximum flexibility in decision-making, to achieve consensus or to encourage discussion or consultation on a particular policy approach. Such an approach extends to spatial references as well, where space is discussed only in broad abstractions if at all. Locations are generalised, such as Canada, the West or urban areas. The use of maps is rare and when they are used they are often 'fuzzy' with undefined borders, such as described by Allmendinger and Haughton (2009), and lack an explanation regarding the spatial implication of a particular policy. This ambiguous policy approach is most apparent within new policy initiatives that do not fall within any traditional policy sector and within joint intergovernmental documents. The approach leans towards an open policy method that often takes in wider concerns beyond a particular department or area of interest. Coordination mechanisms are equally open, with references to consultation and discussion, often between levels of government, but without any specifics as to what form of consultation, how many discussions or what the possible outcomes may be. The Council of the Federation and the Government of Canada use this approach most frequently in their policy process, with the former most likely utilising it for its ability to generate consensus, and the latter in order to demonstrate engagement in policy fields outside its constitutional jurisdiction and to satisfy diverse needs and demands that are present across the Federation.

Spatially Relative

The spatially relative approach attempts to move beyond Euclidean conceptions of space and develop policy in a more relative manner, making connections between space and place and across diverse policy sectors and levels of government. Within this approach spatial references are abundant and are either specific or fuzzy depending on the context. Maps are used to concentrate policy on and between particular places, resulting in defined spaces and the connections within and between spaces becoming the

162

primary focus of the various government departments' efforts. This policy method takes a goal-orientated approach. It results in policy networks that are relatively open, with connections not limited to a particular sector or departmental interest; instead, attempts are made to be inclusive towards those departments that can help to advance the overall goal of the initiative. Coordination is open, yet biased towards departments and stakeholders that are viewed as best able to contribute to the development and implementation of the policy, resulting in certain groups being marginalised or ignored. Coordination mechanisms tend to be more specific about who is to be involved and what the end result should be; however, implementation methods are often left open and flexible. This approach is most common in the documents related to the Asia-Pacific Gateway Initiative and to a lesser extent other departments within the Government of British Columbia that have adopted a more space-based, guidance approach to policy development.

SUMMARY

This chapter has explored the formal written aspects of spatial policy coordination, particularly related to the level of spatial specificity and extent of coordination within five different government environments. As expected, the federal system of government studied demonstrates a high level of diversity related to spatial policy coordination. High levels of spatial specificity are relatively rare, with the majority of governments and departments preferring to be spatially ambiguous, both textually and visually. The significant gap between high and low levels of spatial specificity also highlights the contrasts between policy approaches, resulting in policymakers either thinking spatially or not. The two extremes suggest the institutional cultures of each department and level of government may be highly entrenched, creating implications for institutional change towards new forms of policy development and implementation.

Coordination mechanisms are more variable than spatial policy references. There is no defined link between high levels of spatial specificity and coordination mechanisms, and vice versa. This suggests that formal

coordination mechanisms are independent from spatial references, with departmental and governmental institutional cultures, such as whether there is a tradition of hierarchical, market, or network coordination within each department (see Peters 1998, pp. 298-99), possibly having a stronger influence on whether coordination occurs.

Based on the conceptually clustered analysis, four types of spatial policy coordination approaches were identified: spatial silo, sectoral-based, ambiguous policy, and spatially relative. These four approaches are each driven by unique governmental and departmental institutional cultures that influence how policy is developed and implemented. The decentralised nature of a federal system of government further diversifies institutional cultures making spatial policy coordination more difficult due to the wide variations in policy approaches. At the same time this variety allows policy experimentation that is useful for advancing towards new and innovative forms of public policy and methods of coordination.

The above discussion, however, only deals with one side of the policy development process. The importance of the informal aspects of institutional cultures are equally, if not more, relevant to the success of spatial policy coordination. Formal and informal practices both influence and complement one another and therefore both contexts must be understood in order to develop a proper understanding of the issues related to spatial policy coordination. The next chapter deals with these informal issues of intergovernmental coordination and conceptions of space through an analysis of elite semi-structured interviews with senior policymakers.

CHAPTER 6: THE CONFLICTING DYNAMICS OF POLICY COORDINATION AND SPATIAL ISSUES

INTRODUCTION

The complexities of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination are explored in this chapter through an institutional analysis that examines the relationship between the structural circumstances that currently influence intergovernmental relations in Canada and the impact these circumstances have on the perceptions and actions of senior level government officials. The interplay between Canada's federal and provincial governments is explored through an examination of policy coordination and the extent to which spatial issues are understood and coordinated between governments during policy development. The discussion that follows begins from the conceptual premise outlined in Chapter 3, with each government functioning within its own unique institutional culture and acting within their own unique set of rules, procedures, and predominant social and cultural norms that work actively to constrain and guide the actions of government officials working within it while structuring emergent relationships (Jepperson 1991). To understand the variety of institutional constraints along with the extent of agency interventions and relationships related to intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, interviews were conducted with senior government officials from the Government of Canada and the governments of Canada's three most western provinces (British Columbia [BC], Alberta and Saskatchewan), representing a variety of departments.

The chapter concerns itself with examining the intergovernmental context, relationships and the attitudes of relevant actors in Canada towards policy coordination and spatial policy by seeking to answer four key research questions:

1) How do senior government officials interact with one another across governments?

2) What constraints does the present institutional environment place on interactions between senior level officials when

coordinating policy?

3)   How do senior level officials perceive the effectiveness of current policy coordination mechanisms?

4)   What are senior level government official's views on, and what role do they take in, the development of space-based policy within their department?

These questions are examined through an analysis of 33 semi-structured elite interviews with senior government officials that were undertaken between the months of May and July of 2009.

While each interview was designed around the four above mentioned research questions, the exact types of question asked were customised for each individual interview depending on the interviewee's position and department. Given the semi-structured nature of the interviews the questions were open-ended and there was no particular order assigned. Interviewees were often encouraged to expand on points beyond those in the interview matrix (see Appendix 4 for the interview matrix). Due to the inductive nature of the interviews, some specific questions were added as the interview process advanced. For example, the role of technology in promoting policy coordination was originally not considered in the interview questions; however, it was an issue that was flagged early on by interviewees and was subsequently included as a strand of inquiry in later interviews.

Interviews were undertaken with a wide range of government departments, with an emphasis on those that were most likely to have a spatial impact, including those departments with policy documents analysed in Chapter 5. When possible, individuals from different governments but within similar departments were interviewed, such as Transport Canada and the Alberta Ministry of Transportation (see Table 28).

Table 28: Government ministries/agencies interviewed

Federal Government	- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation - Infrastructure Canada - Privy Council Office (Office of the Prime Minister) - Transport Canada - Western Economic Diversification Canada - Council of the Federation Secretariat
Government of British Columbia	- Community and Rural Development - Advanced Education and Labour Market Development - Environment - Housing and Social Development - Transportation and Infrastructure - Intergovernmental Relations Secretariat - Small Business, Technology and Economic Development
Government of Alberta	- Agriculture and Rural Development - Environment - Housing and Urban Affairs - Infrastructure - International and Intergovernmental Relations - Transportation - Energy
Government of Saskatchewan	- Advanced Education, Employment and Labour - Energy and Resources - Environment - Highways and Infrastructure - Intergovernmental Affairs - Social Services

Source: Author

THE STATE OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL POLICY COORDINATION

Some effort has been made towards advancing intergovernmental policy coordination within the federal and provincial governments in the past ten to fifteen years, in part as a result of the shift towards a corporate management approach to government (Bourgault 2007; Johns, O'Reilly & Inwood 2007). A consistent comment among many of those interviewed was the noticeable, albeit small, positive change in intergovernmental consultation and cooperation, a point which will be discussed further in this

chapter and Chapter 7. Yet despite the acceptance of some progress, there is a recognition that more needs to be done on a number of fronts.

> *I would argue that in Canada as a whole, and there are certainty jurisdictions in Canada that are further ahead than others, we are only putting our big toe in the water.*
>
> *Senior Saskatchewan Official (c)*

Understandings of Policy Coordination

For both federal and provincial governments there are various mechanisms to ensure conflicting policies are not produced by departments, such as departmental electronic circulation lists, informal discussions, assistant deputy minister councils, deputy minister councils, and cabinet. Yet despite these inter-departmental councils, there is a general impression among interviewees that they exist more to ensure *conflicting* policy is not created rather than working collaboratively on policy development. This form of policy consultation is often equated with policy coordination, with many senior officials suggesting that policy consultation constituted policy coordination as opposed to the mutual establishment of goals and the development of policy outside of one's own ministry at the start of the process.

> *With different programs and different policy issues we've sat down with the other jurisdictions in a room and basically listened to them, tried to take into consideration what they have to say. So it's not a collaborative thing in that we're not working towards a decision, its not joint decision-making, but its kind of informed policy development through talking to other people.*
>
> *Senior Federal Official (b)*

While there is a general recognition of the need to coordinate policy initiatives between provinces and the Federal Government, when asked to what extent the impact of policy on other provinces or the country as a whole is considered when developing interventions, the vast majority of those interviewed commented that their role was to do what is best for their province. Senior officials note that they are there to serve their minister who is elected to represent the province's interests, not other governments.

Therefore, the senior officials of a province, by extension of the responsibilities of the minster they serve, are not primarily concerned with advancing an interest that does not directly benefit the minister and the people that the minister serves. This makes the advancement of coordinated intergovernmental policy more difficult as the policy development process may start from a position of conflicting opinion, albeit often with no intention of not coordinating when it is mutually beneficial.

> *Our mandate is to advance the interests of Albertans. It's an adversarial system in many ways and it's the Federal Governments job to look at the national interest. I mean we aren't out to undermine anybody nationally but it's not our job to make sure that healthcare is delivered appropriately in Prince Edward Island.*
>
> *Senior Alberta Official (e)*

> *Our primary responsibility is to serve the interests of British Columbia as is directed to us by our sector branch. We don't look after other provinces interests but that's not to say that by doing something in British Columbia policy wise we don't help Alberta.*
>
> *Senior BC Official (h)*

As such, intergovernmental policy coordination typically is not institutionally ingrained as the status quo during policy development, because the negotiating environment is often one of governmental self-interest as opposed to the broader interest of the country. This combative environment is an accepted part of Canadian federalism between governments. With a number of the interviewees acknowledging that the system often encourages conflict.

> *I'm here on behalf of Albertans. If I was working for the Canadian government I'd be in whatever office on behalf of all Canadians and if I worked for the city I'd be there on behalf of Edmontonians.*
>
> *Senior Alberta Official (a)*

As a result significant policy decisions taken between the federal and provincial governments are often done at a very high level through a

process of combative negotiation, such as infrastructure funding which is a highly political process that seeks to manage a variety of competing regional and urban/rural interests. The case of infrastructure funding will be explored later in this chapter.

The Impact of Technology on Actors' Policy Coordination Ability

In terms of high level federal-provincial policy development and coordination, it is suggested that technology such as the internet makes it more difficult for negotiators to "hide their cards" from each other, as it is easier to track down the positions of others on particular policy issues and whether they are complying with agreements.

> *You can instantaneously go to websites and find out exactly what the provinces or territories have been doing recently and you can even assess their compliance with FP [federal-provincial] agreements and, just reading some of their news releases, say they can't do that!*

> *Senior Federal Official (b)*

Yet by the same token, technology is also a major facilitator of a more coordinated approach to policy development. Email, SharePoint, video-conferencing, and the instantaneous sharing of information through the Internet are acknowledged as invaluable facilitation tools.

Despite these recognised advances, the extent to which technology has revolutionised intergovernmental policy coordination was debatable among those interviewed. While some suggest that it is an invaluable tool others note that if such tools did not exist they would simply find a different way to do their job. One interviewee lamented the role that technology has played in relation to demands for immediate action, suggesting that technology's ability to provide instantaneous communication places a reciprocal demand on individuals to respond with the same immediacy. Following from this, the interviewee suggested that policy decisions are undertaken too quickly and without full consideration due to the demands of technology users for immediate action and response.

In spite of all the benefits and drawbacks of technology, by far the

most universal comment of interviewees was the importance of face-to-face relationships, suggesting that no amount of technology can replace direct, personal interaction.

> *Relationships are foundational; if you don't have the relationships the technology isn't really going to matter.*
>
> *Senior BC Official (b)*

In one case an interviewee from the Federal Government noted that due to the information overload and lack of direct contact with individuals, when undertaking intergovernmental policy coordination, a face-to-face meeting "becomes the de facto signal that this is important" (Senior Federal Official e). Therefore, due to personal interaction becoming particularly limited in the everyday intergovernmental policy coordination environment, mere face-to-face interaction elevates the importance of an intergovernmental issue.

INSTITUTIONAL CONSTRAINTS ON POLICY COORDINATION

Institutional structures influence the actors involved in policy coordination. There are a variety of structural factors that constrain and shape the extent to which policy coordination is and can be effective. The following outlines senior officials' understanding of these factors and to what extent they can be controlled and altered to benefit intergovernmental policy coordination.

Culture Shifts and Institutional Change

Political leadership can have both a positive and negative impact on intergovernmental policy coordination. Dupré (1989) has demonstrated that political intervention can politicise issues between like-minded officials and strain personal trust ties that might already exist. Yet interviewees suggest that when intergovernmental policy coordination does not exist, such as when departments that traditionally have little interaction with one another must work together, political intervention is often necessary to force officials to break down departmental silos and interact with one another. This in part stems from the interaction between government

officials and their political ministers. The vast majority of government officials in Canada attempt to follow the traditional Weberian conceptions of bureaucratic neutrality and direct subservience to their political minister. When asked his personal perspective on an issue, one civil servant noted:

> *I don't get paid to have personal views, so I'll try not to give a personal view because it would have no particular standing.*
>
> *Senior Federal Official (a)*

While senior officials maintain a high level of professionalism, many interviewees have noted that the civil service is increasingly moving away from advising government and towards a process where they are asked to implement political will. Many interviewees commented that such a process is a change from the past where they previously used to develop policy on issues that were seen as problems that needed to be addressed and suggested various options on how to solve them. Now, they note, it is more likely that politicians will identify an issue to be solved and request that government officials suggest ways to solve it or simply implement a programme stemming from the political level.

> *We've gotten very Americanised in the policy process. I say Americanised, in the United States in particular the policies are driven off the legislative floors, so the bureaucracy is more apt to be asked to deliver a program or project rather than to seek out options or even identify what the blinking problem is, and that was quite different than what my experience was. I'd say up to the mid-90s is where the fluxing point came in, and that was certainly the case in here and the mid-90s onward, particularly when the Federal Government took a very serious initiative to decouple a lot of the funding that occurred with the Federal Government and the provinces.*
>
> *Senior Saskatchewan Official (c)*

This process creates a more combative environment for policy coordination between other governments as policy development becomes less about jointly determining how to solve a particular common problem. Instead, it moves towards implementing a political decision that may not be in line with the political will of politicians from other governments or based on extensive forms of intergovernmental consultation. In the same vein, however, there is a general consensus that policy coordination initiatives

172

must come from the highest political office for them to be most effective. As one senior civil servant noted with a hint of sarcasm, he and his colleagues often take the view that:

Anything that interests a minister fascinates me.

Senior Alberta Official (a)

As such, when policy coordination is deemed to be of importance to the policy development process by a minister, the impetus for initiating that change is most effective when it comes from the political level.

In part, the resistance to increase intergovernmental policy coordination stems from concerns of accountability. From a political perspective, policy coordination conflicts with the constitutional convention of ministerial responsibility, making some politicians nervous. As one official commented:

You end up with shared accountability but the Westminster system is silo-ed accountability that leads up to the minister. The minister needs to say that's my narrow silo of responsibility, yeah I want to work with my colleagues but at the end of the day there are a lot of forces within government that make me behave in the silo.

Senior BC Official (e)

Those interviewed note that they can develop policy coordination mechanisms and consult with colleagues on joint-policy initiatives at the official level. But if one of their ministers is unsure about the process, has no interest in such activities or is having a political battle with a minister in another government all the work at the lower level to achieve policy coordination is largely futile.

Historical Institutional Constraints

Such conflicts, whether political or personal, are often intimately linked to the past. The importance of history was highlighted as a major factor in policy coordination and a contributing factor to the lack of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination within the Canadian federation. Officials interviewed note the extreme importance of relationships to coordination, and they comment that historical issues work

173

to structure these personal relationships and can either help to reinforce them or can create tensions between them resulting in either successful or poor coordination. In terms of the role that history plays in structuring relationships, one official noted:

> *I think sometimes people don't understand how much it actually plays into the position they are given and I think corporate memory and provincial memories are really important to understand how you got to the position you got to because if you don't understand that you will not necessarily be able to affect and make the changes you need to make.*

> *Senior Saskatchewan Official (e)*

Other officials note that history often impacts political dynamics more than the bureaucracy. In so doing though, they neglect the role that politicians play in setting the policy agenda. As such the historical issues present at the political level feed into the bureaucracy, impacting their ability to further certain policy agendas.

All those involved in the policy coordination process are further impacted by the historical legal framework that they must work within as both the constitution and previous policies, such as equalisation, define current relationships. The concept of subsidiarity is a common element in most federal systems and as such this too affects policy coordination in both positive and negative ways. While the concept suggests that the level of government best able to deliver a service be the one to deliver it, conflicts of constitutional jurisdiction have in some ways created a combative environment for certain policy arenas such as through the use of the federal spending power outlined in Chapter 3.

Demographic, economic and social trends also place particular pressures on policy coordination. There is a general consensus by interviewees that the past decade has seen a greater recognition of the inter-related nature of various ministerial mandates along with more transparency and an increased sharing of information. Demographic shifts that have seen Canada become a more urbanised country have resulted in increased coordination and investments across governments. Shifts in manufacturing and agriculture have similarly resulted in officials

recognising that departments increasingly cannot single-handedly achieve policy goals but must act in concert with other departments and governments.

External Shocks and Institutional Change

While such gradual demographic and social shifts have slowly altered the views of all policy coordination actors, external shocks, such as the recession, are generally seen by those officials interviewed to work to promote better policy coordination by bringing about structural shifts within both the provincial and Federal Government, with the provincial and federal finance ministers meeting frequently to ensure financial arrangements were smoothly implemented and funding disbursed. There is general agreement that this was due to the recognition of a common cause that needed to be addressed and identification of an issue that was seen to be larger then just a single ministry or government. One senior official noted this about the impact of the economic downturn:

> *I think it brings people together ... to be honest I haven't seen the Federal Government in terms of HRSDC [Human Resources and Skills Development Canada] move as quickly as they moved with the stimulus funding that they are pushing out to the different jurisdictions.*

> *Senior Saskatchewan Official (e)*

Many officials comment that part of the reason policy coordination occurred on the issue of the 2009/10 recession is due to politicians taking a leadership role on the issue. They suggest that if politicians had not seen the issue as critical there would have been less impetus for the ministries to work together and they may have in fact retreated towards focusing on their own ministerial mandates in order to manage the internal effects of the crisis on their individual departments. In this way, political leadership and oversight work to focus ministries on developing joint methods for dealing with an issue that has the potential for wide ranging implications for all governments.

External shocks are also highlighted by many as a useful catalyst for

jolting ministries out of their traditional institutional culture of functioning, noting that it does sometimes take a shock or significant event to bring about real, substantial change. It is during such a process that path dependency can be broken as the external shocks work to restructure relationships and open up new ways of working and communicating.

Constructing Strategic Objectives Across Varying Institutional Cultures

Decisions and policy are often not formalised into long-term plans at the levels of government studied. Rather short-term time horizons are used, often not going beyond three year rolling strategic plans. In many cases policy is opportunity driven and reactive as opposed to premeditated. As one interviewee commented:

> *Well, to be really honest with you right now I would say it's mostly opportunity driven. We don't have a long-term plan, whether it's three, or five or ten or twenty years, to say here are the priority areas that we need to address, homelessness in the downtown eastside of Vancouver, the inner city of Victoria. We don't have a kind of guiding document or a guiding plan.*

Senior BC Official (b)

When dealing with long-range strategic goals at the federal level, it is suggested that they are very difficult to actualise due to the Federal Government's lack of constitutional jurisdiction. This has led to an increased role as a distributor of funds to provincial governments. For example, Infrastructure Canada has no mandate to propose strategic countrywide infrastructure plans; rather they are limited to evaluating and funding only the projects that provinces and or municipalities bring forward to them. Such a system fragments infrastructure investment, making it difficult to construct a comprehensive long-range plan for infrastructure provision in Canada.

While some long-range plans do exist, such as the ones related to energy resources and the environment, the majority of officials interviewed are more concerned with the short-term ramifications of policy development and delivery. This largely stems from the political and financial

176

environment that they work within, as one senior federal official challenged when asked about why long-range plans are not used by his ministry; "You find me the politician that has a 20-year time horizon" (Senior Federal Official d).

The vast majority of officials interviewed comment that short-term policy development is necessary due to the political demands present within government and that they often find it difficult to plan for extended time horizons given the vast number of unknown factors that can alter, or render useless, long-term plans. Having said this, it is important to note that there is sectoral variation in the temporal cycles which inform policy. Policy on economic development, for example, is more strongly influenced by both electoral and economic cycles, both of which tend to be of much shorter timeframes than the kind of cycles which dictate decision-making about transport planning or energy and resource development where time horizons might span several decades. So while short-termism, linked in particular to electoral considerations and latterly performance management pressures, applies across most areas of public policy-making, it varies across the different 'silos'. Generally however the pervasive institutional culture across the government departments studied demonstrated a tendency towards short-term planning, which makes policy coordination more difficult as individual ministries are constantly changing policy priorities, creating a lack of certainty as to joint goals and decision making. Despite this, many of those interviewed lament the fact that long-term policy planning is not done while recognising its importance as a necessary tool to ensure comprehensive policy development:

> *If you do have a longer-term vision then what you are able to do is try and tailor the response in the way that serves the longer term. If you don't have the longer-term vision you are just doing ad hoc response and in the long term it may not knit itself together into something that's kind of pretty.*
> *Senior Saskatchewan Official (e)*

This lack of long-term planning within government has, along with other factors, resulted in a pullback from evidence-based policy-making according to some of those interviewed. Interviewees commented that

evidence-based policy development has been on a decline since the mid to early nineties within Canada. This stems in part from the increased influence of politics on policy development as noted earlier in this chapter, but also as a result of a decrease in financial resources. There is a lack of research as government is less inclined to spend money on data collection, with some suggesting that this makes it far more difficult to make informed policy decisions. When evidence-based policy is undertaken, it is mostly formulated from secondary data as the collection of primary data is too costly and takes too much time. Some noted that this does not only have short-term but also long term ramifications on the effectiveness and impact of policy. In some cases the existence of policies and programmes becomes more difficult to defend, particularly when needs and goals are not properly defined.

> *At this point there are so many programmes operating at the same time that it becomes very confusing for people to try and come up with the logic and rationale for them … there is so much money now relative to what it used to be that project selection is much less treasured. In the past when we did a project it was something that was, there was relative scarcity, so it was very important to pick the right projects, now relative scarcity doesn't exist anymore. In one sense it's the opposite, that doesn't sound right to a municipality that got turned down, but at this point almost if you are getting turned down, you are doing something really wrong, like you can't fill out an application form!*

> *Senior Federal Official (e)*

Officials interviewed also expressed concern at their inability to break away from the defined hierarchies of their departments. Many note that ministerial protocols restrict their ability to communicate with individuals in other departments or governments directly, making the establishment of good relationships with colleagues difficult. Officials that work within ministries that are described by interviewees as 'less bureaucratic', note that the ability to communicate with others at their discretion led to greater cooperation and improved policy coordination. One interviewee that recently transferred out from a large ministry to a smaller one noted:

178

Coming from a huge department where the hierarchies are so rigid … this department works, it's small, it's agile, it's flexible and it's people based… it's really results orientated.

Senior Federal Official (c)

This increased communication also allows them to better understand other ministerial concerns and gain an appreciation of what other ministerial departments do through the mutual discussion of issues and goals. Being able to break through government hierarchies also helps officials deal with issues of timing that are recognised as a factor in policy coordination amongst those interviewed.

Actors' Perceptions of Time

The rigidity of bureaucratic hierarchy also feeds into issues of timing when undertaking policy coordination as it affects the ability of different ministries and governments to provide timely responses when consulted on a policy or issue. Provincial officials often note that the Federal Government is extremely difficult to work with because they are often very slow at moving forward during the policy development stage, particularly in terms of the approvals process. Provincial interviewees suggest that they are more flexible and nimble at dealing with issues in a timely manner, perhaps in part due to the relatively smaller size of the provincial governments coupled with the need for the Federal Government to balance a wider range of regional interests then provincial governments. This disconnection leads to a great amount of frustration for provincial officials and in the long-term erodes confidence and lessens the desire among those involved to advance future policy coordination initiatives. Ultimately, time was seen by many as an 'x' factor that can be difficult to manage on a number of levels and result in a barrier to policy coordination.

One of the frustrating things about government is you design in one era, with one set of imperatives, and you deliver in another era where those very same design imperatives that were so brilliant a year and a half ago look ridiculous and redundant today. Time is the unknown thing in the future that will either be whacking the heck out of what you built or will be supporting it

and moving it forward. So time is the great unknown.

<div align="right">*Senior Federal Official (e)*</div>

Spatially, a number of officials note that plans with explicit policy objectives and specific spatially defined investments work to keep those involved, across all governments, focused on delivering a particular outcome by a defined period of time. Having a plan that is spatially defined removed ambiguity in the policy coordination process noted earlier in this chapter. With goal-orientated, spatially focused policy the negotiations were less about 'what' and 'where' and more about 'how' to achieve policy goals, reducing the time costs associated with the 'what' and 'where' of policy coordination.

The intergovernmental relationships noted throughout the first half of this chapter highlight a number of the complexities related to policy coordination in Canada. While many of the elements are not directly related to spatial issues of policy coordination, they set the stage for the remaining discussion by demonstrating the current intergovernmental dynamics present within Canada. The remaining portions of this chapter explore the institutional barriers to policy coordination in more detail while highlighting effective methods for overcoming them along with an analysis of the inherent difficulties of advancing intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in Canada.

POLICY COORDINATION EFFECTIVENESS

The achievement of policy coordination is often elusive, particularly within an intergovernmental environment in which the challenges of constitutional conflict, geographical scale and differing institutional cultures loom large. Various factors play a role in the success or failure of intergovernmental policy coordination, and while there are many challenges, the senior officials interviewed in this research have provided a number of key findings for advancing successful policy coordination.

Developing New Forms of Policy Coordination

As mentioned, it is very rare for new forms of policy coordination to

succeed without the political will and leadership to see the process through. The provision of political support is often only the beginning and must also be backed up with a clear goal and through the provision of financial resources to departments, which is a useful incentive for maintaining interest in an intergovernmental initiative. When no clear goal is present and no such financial incentives are offered, the policy is not seen to be important by senior officials. As one interviewee explained the process of an initial intergovernmental meeting:

> *They might kick these things off at the level of lets say assistant deputy ministers. So they put out a call to the whole system and a cast of thousands shows up for an initial meeting and most of them are just sniffing around to see if there is anything tangible here or if there are any prospects for money for me, and if they don't sense that it has a very high place on the government agenda or low prospects for money, then the next meetings will be attended by a lower functionary almost down to the level of secretaries!*

> *Senior Federal Official (b)*

There is often intense political pressure to achieve an objective without providing the adequate resources or time to achieve it amongst the various departments. As such, sustaining intergovernmental policy coordination requires a shift in bureaucratic culture and such a shift must be championed and supported from the highest levels of government and filtered down throughout the public service.

This shift in institutional culture is further facilitated through the establishment of formal agreements on who-does-what. A lead ministry is vital to the achievement of policy coordination despite the fact that it reduces mutual collaboration by biasing policy towards the lead ministry, at times resulting more in policy consultation as opposed to coordination. Yet one of the greatest concerns in policy coordination is a lack of understanding of goals, a method to maintain control over the wide variety of interests present, and the need for someone to be accountable.

Bureaucratic Institutional Legacies

The bureaucratic institutional structure of government, inherited from decades of working within ministerial silos, can often stand in the way of intergovernmental policy coordination. Inflexible hierarchies and bureaucracies that do not allow officials to look beyond their own ministry, department or even managerial unit concerns limit the achievement of broader policy goals.

> *I would make the argument that when you have a bureaucracy which is very comfortable or has been around for a lot of years they have a different view and a different attitude towards policy and a lot of them are running on past experiences rather then looking at future needs and the future scenarios that may be facing us because its changing at a very rapid rate and for us to be effective at what we do and ensure that we have choices that are certainly well described and the risks well quantified we have to be able to be broad based.*
>
> *Senior Saskatchewan Official (c)*

Such a rigid hierarchy does not support officials of one government interacting easily with those of another government, as permissions and bureaucratic etiquette stand in the way of establishing communication with counterparts. Similarly, legal restrictions can work to constrain the actions of individuals and the achievement of goals, though if there is enough will to solve a problem such restrictions can often be overcome. As such, flexibility must exist within departmental mandates in order to facilitate communication across governments.

A number of those interviewed comment that the nature of government makes it risk averse. Such an aversion can lead to an incremental approach to intergovernmental policy development as those involved work to obtain consensus. Unfortunately, some of those interviewed noted that this often leads a watering down of policy.

One of the things that just drives me nuts, is how there is a knee jerk reaction to go to the lowest common denominator, or pick the low hanging fruit when we are doing multiple jurisdiction stuff, that drives me nuts!

Senior BC Official (a)

Having too many people involved in the decision-making process can further exacerbate these issues, leading to a shift away from a narrow goal towards a broader, undefined goal. In this way there is a need to be strategic about who is involved as too many unnecessary players complicate policy coordination. One interviewee continued this line of thought by noting that often in the name of coordination the number of people involved is widened to be inclusive, but in the process this leads to a shift from policy development towards a more generic brainstorming process. The brainstorming process is often unfocused, lacks rigour, and results in little use of an evidence-base. This lack of evidence-base in policy development in general is an issue of concern among those interviewed. Those who have been involved in successful policy coordination comment that the use of an evidence-base is often critical in resolving power struggles that can develop, as evidence can help to shift the conversation from conflicting personalities and towards resolving problems and the establishment of common goals.

Actor Understandings of Process and Outcome

Often though, intergovernmental policy development is more about process then outcome. It is therefore vital to have a particular goal that needs to be achieved, not just coordinating for the sake of coordinating which, according to many of those interviewed, happens surprisingly often within Canada. Too often government officials are invited to meetings or consulted on coordinating a policy without any real understanding of the issue or policy goal that coordination is seeking to achieve. This lack of direction is extremely frustrating for those involved in the process. As one interviewee noted in relation to inter-ministerial coordination:

You also hear people say 'jeez we have too many of these cross-ministry things!' That is an issue, it causes us to think what are the highest priority cross-ministry things, issues, that need more

183

of the formal mechanisms and you can leave the others to more
of the informal connecting because we keep trying to create yet
another cross-ministry mechanism to deal with this new issue.

<div align="right">*Senior Alberta Official (f)*</div>

Even when there is a valid issue to be achieved a certain level of ambiguity remains, which often results in too much time discussing what the goal is rather then how to reach it.

Communication and Trust Between Actors

The sharing of information becomes extremely important when developing goals and establishing relationships as failure to communicate and share information can create particular intergovernmental tensions. Information cannot be held back between intergovernmental partners as it leads to distrust and a weakening of the relationship. The issue of trust feeds back into the importance of relationships. How information is shared is just as important as the sharing of information. Within intergovernmental policy coordination, those involved need to be aware of what everyone is doing and this information should be shared with those involved first. Unfortunately, a number of interviewees note that far too often they become aware of policy developments through the media or a personal contact rather then directly from the source, despite having a stake in the process. This perpetuates trust issues and influences the working relationship in a negative manner. While the sharing of information is considered more common now compared to a decade ago there is still hesitation towards complete sharing of information. As one interviewee noted:

> *I think that ten years ago you would have more of the casual discussions and less formalised communication. Now it has evolved, the culture of sharing information is better, but I wouldn't necessarily say that everyone is showing their complete hand, maybe they'll have five cards in their hand and they are showing three, but that's just the nature of business in some ways too.*

<div align="right">*Senior Alberta Official (c)*</div>

Often the lack of complete information sharing relates to concerns that officials are weakening their bargaining power if they give too much away.

Information remains a key tool for exerting power within the intergovernmental coordination process. Yet, the sharing of information is a necessary building block for the establishment of personal relationships and vice versa.

> *I believe that you need to develop those people relationships, because if I don't, sometimes its difficult to phone, well, it's not difficult to phone and ask for some information, but whether or not that person on the other side wants to give you it and how much they want to give you, you know, if they'll really have an open and frank discussion with you really is based upon relationship building.*
>
> *Senior Saskatchewan Official (a)*

As such information sharing works to establish a better understanding of differing points of view and can lead to a recognition of common issues, while providing a means to convince others of a particular course of action. Regardless of the level of information sharing that exists, nearly every interviewee commented that the need to establish personal relationships within the policy coordination environment was the most important factor in successful policy coordination.

> *You want to be able to deal with people appropriately on a personal level, gain trust, gaining understanding, all that kind of stuff in order to effectively develop the policies, if you don't have that then its going to be very difficult to ultimately succeed.*
>
> *Senior Saskatchewan Official* (d)

Formal and Informal Institutional Arrangements

Personal relationships are often vitally important because the formal mechanisms that exist between governments are often inadequate. Interviewees commonly noted that more gets done informally than at the formal intergovernmental policy coordination table. This is particularly true the higher up the civil bureaucracy one goes, as one interviewee explained:

> *When you get to the deputy ministers council, then it's very formalised, they have simultaneous translation, its minutes verbatim records kept for goodness knows how many years, and you are sitting in this room where its very structured and everyone sits in place of when they joined the federation. So*

you've got the Federal Government down there, and because Alberta came in in 1905 towards the end, we are at the back end of this great big room and you've got this room and you've got this table where the deputy minister and the ADM [Assistant Deputy Minister] can sit, behind that you've another row of supporters and behind that you've got a whole bunch of more flunkies and stuff like that, ahhh!!! It just means the meetings go on for days. Very little gets achieved. It's a pretty bizarre way of doing business.

Senior Alberta Official (b)

While these formal committee structures do not work well for policy development, what they do provide is a forum for high-level officials to meet one another and interact. This provides the foundation for the establishment of personal relationships and informal interactions that last well beyond the formal meetings. The difficulty throughout this process stems from the extremely high turnover rate of government officials within departments that according to one interviewee is "just stunning". High turnover rates make the long-term maintenance of personal relationships complicated. Several interviewees note that after significant investment is made in building intergovernmental links, they often find it disheartening when an involved official transfers or leaves government as the relationship building process has to then start over again. Yet the process of transferring high-level civil servants among departments and ministries is a deliberate administrative policy that is designed to improve coordination by breaking down departmental silos, providing civil servants with a comprehensive perspective of government and to build networks across ministries (Peters 1998). While such a policy is designed to improve horizontal coordination, it also has the negative and unintended effect of destroying other important networks and relationships that are necessary to advance individual projects and policies between governments.

Alternatively, a few officials interviewed welcome, to some extent, the turnover as it provides new views and ways of doing things. These new officials are seen as being more open to innovative ideas and less defensive of sacred cows. One interviewee noted that many of these new officials are use to thinking more comprehensively and are less concerned about silos

and more concerned about networks. There is a need for caution though as the resulting loss of institutional memory can bring about additional risks for government.

Shared Institutional Culture

Difficulties in policy coordination can be in part lessened when there is a shared institutional culture present among those involved. While a shared institutional culture is not necessary for successful coordination, it often makes it easier to achieve because there are fewer barriers to break down, the establishment of mutual goals becomes simpler due to the presence of common cause, and the establishment of personal relationships quicker. One federal official working in a regional office in Alberta notes that his intergovernmental work, and that of his staff, is more successful because there is a shared institutional culture between them and the Western provincial government officials that he interacts with regularly compared to federal officials who work in Ottawa. As he put it:

> *We live and work here. This is both the subject and object of our work and what we are trying to accomplish.*
>
> *Senior Federal Official (d)*

In this case location and space matter due to the shared informal institutional culture that develops within a given geographic space, thereby impacting the development of personal relationships, intergovernmental tensions, and ultimately the success of intergovernmental policy coordination.

SPATIAL POLICY AND SPATIAL EQUALITY WITHIN GOVERNMENT

Within the four case study governments, there are varying levels of understanding regarding the role of space within the development of public policy. In many cases, policy that takes differing spatial circumstances into account is quite rare. There was often confusion with the idea of space-based policy at the start of interviews, with one official equating such policy with forcing businesses to locate in particular areas. The idea that policy

might be specifically designed to solve a particular region's issues was in many cases a foreign concept and often required that particular examples of how such a space-based policy process might function be presented.

Actors' Understanding of Spatial Policy Development

A large number of the senior officials participating in this study view their policy environment through the eyes of the level of government that they serve, whether that is the provincial or the Federal Government. In the view of provincial officials they are there to serve all the people of their province and any policy can be made broad enough that specific geographic circumstances do not need to be taken into account.

> *From a policy perspective, we tend to look at BC as a whole, so we don't make policy particularly on a regional basis. We try to make policy for the entire province, although we sometimes tweak programs to meet exceptional circumstances.*
>
> *Senior BC Official (b)*

This tweaking of government policy is quite often reactive and not deliberately thought through at the initial policy development stage resulting in less comprehensive policy development.

The most common departments that do develop long-range spatial policy are those related to the environment and to some extent energy and other natural resource focused departments where resources are geographically concentrated. The other exception is provinces that have rural affairs departments, but even officials in these departments admit to thinking in terms of all rural areas, without distinguishing between rural regions. While certain departments have regional offices, they are largely there to act as implementing agents rather then to develop region specific policy.

At the federal level of government there are regional economic development agencies with individual mandates based on particular broad regions including Atlantic Canada (encompassing the provinces of Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), Quebec, Southern Ontario, Northern Ontario and Western

Canada (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba). At the federal level, interviews with senior officials at the Western Canada economic development agency, Western Economic Diversification Canada, note that they while they develop policy to suit the unique circumstances of Western Canada's provinces, when possible, they try to design policy broadly so as to allow enough latitude for their numerous regional offices to interpret and implement the policy to accommodate different local circumstances. In this way they attempt to provide policy flexibility while at the same time maintaining the same policy framework for each regional office.

During interviews senior officials were often pressed to explain why they did not develop region specific, place-based policy. Provincial officials suggested that it was not their place to create region specific policy and to define where investments are directed; rather it was up to local municipalities to deal with such local matters, the provincial role was only to provide the general policy direction and regulation. When asked about externalities related to transportation policy, such as highway construction on urban growth or house prices, one interviewee commented that:

> *I would say we just don't know very much about what's going on in that front. That would probably get picked up more at a local level. So you'd have local governments dealing with the impact of highways, or road development or what have you through their official community plan ... it's reactive, rather than proactive.*

Senior BC Official (b)

Likewise, at the federal level officials suggested that it was not their place to define lower-level policy and investment; rather it was up to individual provinces. One interviewee from the Government of Canada explained the issue by contrasting the need to balance provincial equality within the Canadian federation with the needs of individual citizens by noting:

> *When dealing with provincial governments you want to treat them all the same. When you are delivering directly to people I think it's more needs based.*

Senior Federal Official (c)

189

The preference here is to develop policy that deals with a particular individual need regardless of the place concerned in an effort to ensure fairness and avoid the impression of both federal favouritism towards particular regions as well as interference in provincial affairs.

The Constraints of Equality on Actors

The difficulty with such an individual, needs-based approach is that it often does not take into account the linkages between multiple individual needs and circumstances. Instead the programme or policy focuses exclusively on one specific need, such as the provision of a child-tax benefit to solve the issue of a parent not having the necessary income to support their child as opposed to what might be linked needs related to the lack of provision of affordable child care in the area, high unemployment levels and high housing costs.

Various methods are used at the federal level of government to balance individual needs and issues of provincial equality throughout the policy and programme development process. Such methods now pervade the federal bureaucracy and have led to a withdrawal from space-based policy. For example, federal infrastructure funds are now dispersed through three methods that seek a balance to issues of fiscal fairness. The first and largest amount of infrastructure funding is allocated on a per capita basis to all provinces. The second amount of funding is through the 'equal per jurisdiction funding program' that provides infrastructure funding to every province in the amount of $25 million per year in 2008. While such funding is relatively insignificant for the province of Ontario or Quebec it is a large amount for smaller provinces such as Prince Edward Island. The third amount of infrastructure funding is competitive bid-based with no set allocation to any province, yet senior officials note that even within these competitive based programmes, there is a 'my fair share' sense of provincial entitlement.

Everything the Federal Government does, regardless of whether it is in infrastructure, or health or in any field, when it deals with provinces there is the expectation that there will be an equitable distribution of those resources.

Senior Federal Official (e)

The interplay of this equitable distribution of federal resources was mentioned at the provincial level as well, such as in relation to the Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative. The Federal Government, convinced of the merits of the need to invest in the project, deemed it necessary also to devise plans for similar gateway and corridor initiatives in Central Canada, Ontario/Quebec and Atlantic Canada. Some interviewees suggested that this federal multi-gateway and corridor strategy was not entirely undertaken due to the need for such an initiative in these jurisdictions, but rather in order not to be seen to be favouring BC and the other Western provinces that would benefit most from the Asia Pacific Gateway and Corridor. One senior BC official commented that these "wanna-be gateways" appeared as a result of the need to balance provincial investment, thereby leading to an ignoring of potential to some extent, with one federal official suggesting that funds were inappropriately allocated to satisfy federal concerns of provincial favouritism. In this way the distribution of investments is seen as a matter of spatial equality and affects the extent to which spatial policy is incorporated into public policy in Canada.

Reactive Spatial Policy Development

When such concerns are not taken into account, a reactive policy environment can often result. During the Martin years of government (2003-2006), the Prime Minister championed a 'new deal' between cities and the Federal Government. The so called 'new deal' originally had a specific urban agenda but was subsequently altered to satisfy the more rural provinces, with funding originally allocated for public transit being shifted to allow funds to be used for more general municipal infrastructure amongst all municipalities in Canada. One interviewee described how this cities agenda led to discontent among a number of members of parliament and alienation of smaller towns and cities throughout the country.

Very quickly the government realised that what it thought was somewhat of a winner from a public policy perspective actually had turned into a wedge and before the program really got rolled out the door it got changed to the cities and communities, and communities were defined broadly so that they encompassed all sides … which then really diluted the focus and made what was a custom built policy for large urban, something that had to fit other sides. So there is an example of a policy that was probably well targeted, well defined, and well labeled [but] did not sell politically for fear of political backlash, or for fear of something else, the parameters were changed.

Senior Federal Official (a)

Within individual provinces senior officials interviewed suggest that the issue of equality is not as highly charged. However, this research does not include interviews on municipal-provincial relations, and as such cannot make any conclusive comments as to whether such viewpoints are shared by municipal officials.

The above discussion highlights the tensions regarding spatial policy. In Canada, the dynamics of federalism work to create a cautious intergovernmental policy environment where territorial equality in resource allocation is deemed paramount, making specific geographically focused policy and investment difficult. Yet given Canada's immense geography and diverse population, spatially tailored policy and investment may be acutely necessary to deal with crosscutting, spatially concentrated issues.

SUMMARY

This chapter has contributed to a greater understanding of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination within Canada through an examination of the perceptions of senior government officials towards the structural policy coordination issues that define their working relationships with their peers and influence their actions. This institutionalist view of the structural forces that influence the individual action of policymakers has demonstrated the impact that the multiple components of federalism have on intergovernmental policy coordination. Senior government officials

perceived a mild improvement in intergovernmental policy coordination over the past ten to fifteen years. While some of these advances have been as a result of technological innovations and political leadership, the role of personal relationships remains key to improving the intergovernmental policy coordination environment. Multiple issues remain to be addressed within this environment, specifically in relation to bureaucratic and political power relations and constitutional jurisdictional issues that continually influence the ability of senior officials to coordinate.

The nature of Westminster government, combined with the combative structure of Canadian federalism, severely limits senior officials' capacity to act and bring about institutional structural change. In some cases external shocks such the economic downturn have forced structural changes resulting in improved coordination, allowing actors to break down some previous barriers. Yet tensions related to accountability, a lack of shared institutional culture, disconnections between timing, an aversion towards risk, and underlying historical concerns related to regionalism weigh heavily on senior officials.

These tensions force senior officials to carefully navigate the policy coordination landscape resulting in hesitancy towards spatial policy. This hesitancy has resulted from concerns of equality that are intimately linked to the political environment that senior officials must operate within. This environment has resulted in an over-reliance on process versus outcome and an evolution towards a pragmatic management culture that places more emphasis on short-term policy objectives over long-term goals. In order to manage some of these forces, formal mechanisms of policy coordination have been established. These formal mechanisms, while important, remain inadequate to address many of the policy coordination concerns of senior officials as they often create an environment constructed for negotiation versus the establishment of trust, personal relationships and an open exchange of information.

The inclusion of spatially focused policy into the intergovernmental coordination environment exacerbates many of the above noted issues. Equity issues cause particular stress due to spatial policy's specific

delineation of unique intervention and investment towards one space over another. For this reason crosscutting spatially focused policy at the provincial and federal levels of government is rare, with officials preferring to create non-spatially specific policy that can be later tweaked to account for spatial variation should circumstances warrant.

The lack of spatial policy at the provincial and federal levels of government has, to a large extent, led officials to abandon it as a method for facilitating coordination between jurisdictions when developing public policy. Yet, as will be explored in the next chapter, when intergovernmental spatially focused policy has been developed it has been a catalyst for improved coordination.

CHAPTER 7: INTERGOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONAL CONCEPTIONS OF SPATIAL POLICY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to understand how perceptions of spatial policy vary depending on the institutional culture in which policymakers work and the type of intergovernmental relationship that exist. Institutional culture is shaped by both external structural factors outside policymakers' control, as well as individual agencies; understandings of these factors and their abilities and roles within government. This chapter explores these issues of intergovernmental institutional conceptions of spatial policy within the Government of Canada and the three selected provincial governments of British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan.

This research utilises a crosscutting institutional perspective in order to understand the impact of institutions on intergovernmental spatial policy coordination within a federalist system of government (Thelen 1999). Within this approach individual actors are structured by and influence the development of predominant institutional cultures within their organisations based on historical, sociological and rational choice factors. These predominant institutional cultures influence the decision-making process of government policymakers, defining their understanding of spatial policy and their relationships with other government departments and levels of government. As this research is concerned with not only the institutional culture of individual levels of government, but also the interaction between governments, the research continues the perceptual approach to studying intergovernmental relations utilised in Chapter 6. This provides insight into not only the formal functions of government, as well as the informal day-to-day perceptions of policymakers. Interview data is drawn from the same sample of 33 elite interviewees whose observations informed the analysis in Chapter 6.

This chapter begins by providing a separate examination of each of the four levels of government, with a discussion on the predominant institutional characteristics of each in relation to spatial policy issues. Consideration is then given to the role of federal-provincial institutional

relationships and their impact on perceptions of space, followed by a similar examination of inter-provincial relationships. The chapter then concludes by identifying common components of spatial policy coordination and summarising how structural and agency factors present within the four case study governments influence spatial policy.

UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONS ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL SPATIAL POLICY

The development of institutional cultures over time is dictated by a mixture of historical decisions, informal culture and external shocks, sometimes resulting in organisations evolving in unique ways (Hall & Taylor 1996; Koelbe 1995; Peters 2001). Within Canada, the federal and provincial governments have developed particular predominant institutional cultures due to a wide variety of factors. These predominant institutional cultures influence the decision-making processes of policymakers. The following discusses the major institutional cultures of four governments within Canada, with a particular focus on how these institutional cultures have impacted upon policymakers' understandings of spatial policy coordination.

The Government of Canada

Equity

Issues of equity within the federation heavily influence spatial policy considerations within the Government of Canada. The Federal Government cannot be seen to be favouring one province over the other in their policies and programmes. Many Government of Canada interviewees noted that this leads to a difficult balancing act when developing policy as federal policies must be specific enough to solve a particular problem or fulfil a certain need, while at the same time be broad enough to address the unique geographic, demographic, economic and social needs of each province. This balancing of policy is a constant concern of the Federal Government; however, some

interviewees noted that this is how they feel a federation should function.

In Western Canada, issues of equity are particularly sensitive. There is a constant underlining concern related to what is referred to as western alienation, a term used to describe Western Canada's concerns that the Government of Canada ignores their interests, does not understand their unique culture, and at times favours the provinces of Ontario and Quebec in their policy and programme delivery due to two-thirds of the country's population being located in the two provinces as well as other political factors. Western alienation stems, in large part, from the National Energy Program, a policy undertaken by a Liberal Federal Government in 1980 that many in Western Canada feel severely economically advantaged Ontario and Quebec at their expense (Brock 2008; Lawson 2005). When asked about the impact of western alienation on government policy development, one senior federal official noted:

> *It's latent. It's always just under the surface. The National Energy Program will never be forgotten in Western Canada, or that Winnipeg contract [where a maintenance contract for CF-18 fighter jets was awarded to a perceived inferior bid in Quebec at the expense of Winnipeg]. Those things are just under the surface. If you were to throw the word equity into a group of Western Canadians at a party, not that you should, but that would just be cruel!*
>
> *Senior Federal Official (d)*

In this way, interviewees suggest that while concerns of spatial equity are most often not explicitly stated as Government of Canada policy, they are often implied and must be addressed when developing a policy or a programme.

Spatial Scale and the 'National Interest'

For the Federal Government the geographic size and diversity of Canada can cause difficulties. There is an understanding by senior federal officials that each province is unique and that policy will be interpreted differently and with varying levels of acceptance based on their individual policy agenda and political environment.

Each province is very different and there is a different culture in each province and it really does affect decision making in interesting ways.

Senior Federal Official (c)

As a result of this diverse institutional environment, federal public policy evolves in unique ways depending on the province being engaged, their geography, their size, their socio-economic conditions and their historical evolution. Furthermore, spatial issues are often viewed through not only a highly province specific institutional lens, but some of those interviewed commented that the policy agenda is also affected in large measure by the specific concerns of the relevant ministerial department at the federal level. One senior official expanded on this by noting:

One of the things I've observed over the years is that there is no such thing as federalism per say. But in public policy federalism plays out a hundred times a day in different policy fields. There is a health care federalism, there is an agriculture federalism, there is a transportation federalism, there is a justice federalism and now there is an infrastructure federalism.

Senior Federal Official (e)

Despite these individual strands of federalism, there is an understanding that the Federal Government has to act in what some interviewees referred to as the 'national interest'. There is recognition that the Federal Government will view its policy lens from a perspective that must work in the interest of the larger federation versus the more spatially limited concerns that the provinces work within. As a result there is a tension between accommodating individual provincial demands and advancing a larger federal policy agenda applicable to the entire country. This tension is often managed at the officials' level through a shared sense of professionalism and 'common sense', leaving the political level the freedom to express frustrations more publically, safe in the knowledge that the officials' communication between the two levels of government remains undisclosed.

Pragmatic Federalism

The diverse federalist environment in Canada has further generated a culture of pragmatism in senior officials' understandings of spatial policy. While most senior federal officials interviewed recognised that ministerial policies had long-term spatial impacts, they were very reluctant to plan for these future impacts, particularly beyond five years.

> *By the nature of our business and our presence the pressure is to be reactive and responsive. So we have tried pretty consciously through various mechanisms to look at the long-term. I'm not sure about the plus five year horizon ... the practical person in me, the non-planning person, maybe the policy developer or the person that has to deliver programmes, I tend to think five or seven years out is about as far out as professionally I can reasonably take people.*
>
> *Senior Federal Official (d)*

This reluctance is in part a result of difficulties in ensuring stability in terms of long-range plans and agreements within a fragmented federalist environment. The federal ability to develop, implement, maintain and monitor ten, fifteen or twenty year plans amongst ten provinces with drastically different and constantly changing financial, social and political landscapes is remarkably difficult, according to those interviewed. Even short-range intergovernmental spatial policy is difficult to achieve, with one senior federal official noting that the successful implementation of such a policy agenda "takes a lot of discipline and it's easy to get off the mark" (Senior Federal Official d).

Despite these difficulties and a reluctance to look long-term, some interviewees suggested that a gradual shift is occurring, particularly in areas where policy is limited to federal ministries thereby resulting in additional consideration of long-range planning concerns.

> *As an institution the public service is now focusing on [long-range planning], and I think Deputy Ministers are now focused on that.*
>
> *Senior Federal Official (c)*

This shift towards long-range planning, while gradual, is a significant change

from past practices, highlighting the steady institutional change occurring within the federal bureaucracy and the pressures of functioning within a pragmatic institutional environment.

Influence on Spatial Policy

The predominant institutional culture associated with spatial policy development within the Federal Government is defined by issues of equity, spatial scale and pragmatism. The combined effect of these three issues has unique consequences for intergovernmental spatial policy in Canada.

The federal emphasis on ensuring equal distribution of spatial financial resources to provinces regardless of locational needs, while deemed politically necessary, ensures that some areas which need the resources the most are ignored (such as poverty stricken inner-city areas within rich urban areas) (Bradford 2005; OECD 2002, p. 45-63; Seidle 2002), but also areas that have potential for a high return on investment (such as high-speed rail corridors). As such, consideration of the spatial interconnections between regions is ignored to some extent as the debate is shifted towards ensuring regional balance rather than encouraging functional interconnections between regions. Focusing on spatial equity to too great an extent can have the side effect of creating tensions, particularly at the political level, between the Federal Government and certain provinces that do not believe they have received their 'fair share' given the subjective nature of the concept of equity. In this way debates on the spatial distribution of resources between the two levels of government tend to be premised on conflict rather then cooperation.

Conversely, the spatial diversity of Canada has led to the need for flexibility in the development of intergovernmental ministerial policy. The combined result of varied institutional provincial cultures, bilateral federal-provincial agreements and blurred conceptions of constitutional jurisdiction has resulted in a lack of an overall federal spatial vision for Canada. As a result the de facto spatial vision is a hodgepodge of intergovernmental agreements and inter-actions with no clear, defined overall understanding of the spatial policy direction of the country. The federal dynamics of

individual ministerial policy agendas results in difficulties in establishing and comprehending federal spatial interconnections. Yet despite these factors, relations between the federal and provincial governments advance, albeit at a rather glacial pace.

This complicated web of agreements and interactions has created an institutional structure defined by pragmatism. Long-range plans are abandoned for short-term, incremental steps. Due to this culture of pragmatism the larger issues are at risk of being ignored. The establishment of policy based on immediate opportunity or in reaction to sudden policy issues, while politically expedient, risks further entrenchment of reactionary policies ultimately leading to the development of conflicting spatial policy. While there are some indications amongst officials interviewed that a shift has begun towards long-range policy development, additional efforts are necessary to alter the institutional culture of reactionary incrementalism that now pervades the Government of Canada's political and civil service.

The Government of British Columbia

Goal-orientated

The election of Gordon Campbell's government in BC in 2001 resulted in substantial institutional change within the provincial civil service. Campbell's election brought a goal-orientated approach to programme and policy development. As one interviewee described it:

> *When this government came in in 2001, they said that they wanted to move towards an outcome-based, results based, performance based governance model, not the prescriptive thou must do this and this and this to achieve this.*
> *Senior BC Official (d)*

Over time this outcome-based approach has become entrenched within all aspects of the civil service. As a result it has shifted the development of spatially focused policy within the province. An example provided was that of rural community policy development, with one interviewee describing the change:

> *We go into the community and we say we want to work with you on your priorities, so we need you to tell us what's holding you back, what's in your way, what are the four or five key things that need to happen, whether it's an infrastructure project, an economic development project, it could be the level of community services, it could be changes to policy... you tell us what it is you need to do, we'll push back a little bit if we think there isn't hope to get anything done, but for the most part we are saying you guys decide what you think you need and we'll try and help you get there.*
>
> *Senior BC Official (e)*

This approach has made policymakers in BC more aware of the spatial variations that exist throughout the province. By exploring issues in a goal-orientated manner in conjunction with other policymakers at different levels of government, spatially more diverse policy considerations emerge. Many of those interviewed in BC commented that while this approach is not yet as fully developed as it should be, significant progress had been made. This goal-orientated spatial policy approach was taken forward with the development of the intergovernmental Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative, which will be further explained later in the chapter.

Political Encouragement

The drive towards a goal-orientated approach to policy development was championed at the highest level of government, the Premier's Office. Key to this goal-orientated approach was viewing policy outside of traditional ministerial silos and focusing on the overall objective.

> *This administration since it came and formed government in 2001 it has made a concerted effort to break down those silos. There is horizontal integration and what I'm finding is, what eight years into it, that the culture shift has happened and now it's just a part of how we do business. It's basic policy 101.*
>
> *Senior BC Official (d)*

The breaking down of silos created new ways of seeing the interconnected nature of provincial policies and their impact on space. It allowed civil servants the freedom to look beyond their own ministerial mandates and explore issues of concern from the bottom-up. As two officials commented:

In BC what I've noticed is the ideas can flow up or down and we just accommodate everything we can.

Senior BC Official (h)

We're challenged by Premier Campbell and others, what more can we do, what else am I not thinking of, come back to me with some new ideas!

Senior BC Official (a)

This type of policy environment, where policy is developed simultaneously from the top-down and bottom-up, creates a very pragmatic working environment. There is a need for give and take among senior officials, something that certain interviewees noticed in relation to a maturing of the civil service within BC over the past decade. A common criticism of the Premier's leadership by those interviewed was that it was too focused on economic policy and more recently environmental policy, with far less support for inter-ministerial collaboration on social policy. This highlights the drawback of politically focused support mechanisms, in that they can be limited in their perspectives based on singular areas of interest. Yet leadership, and the legitimacy it brings to initiatives, remains a key component of driving institutional change and re-orientating individual policy actors towards particular goals.

Evolving Perceptions of Space

The interviews discussed an evolution in senior officials' thinking about space within BC. Perhaps most interesting, this evolution was present at a variety of spatial scales: regionally, inter-provincially and globally. At the regional level, there has been a new understanding of the interconnections that exist between towns and cities and the need to transcend formal boundaries. For example, despite having formal boundaries created for economic development regions within the province officials encourage communities to think regionally at the scale that works for them. As one official commented,

> *We are also out there telling communities to think regionally. So if you have a small regional centre and you have small communities outside that, it's not an official region necessarily because we have development regions that have officially created boundaries based on boundaries that make sense, so there are some natural regions of course based on the regions, but we tell them to think about regions within those regions.*
>
> *Senior BC Official (e)*

BC's view of its role within the Canadian federation has also significantly shifted since the election of the Liberal government in 2001. Greater cooperation with the other Western provinces has created a more nuanced Western bloc agenda within the federation resulting in a shift in power relationships within the country.

> *I mean we are always the bastard children out here in the west and we don't have the population, we don't have the numbers and our pleas are lost in the wilderness! So it was, ok if we band together, British Columbia and Alberta, we'll have a chance and also the balance of the economy was shifting, we were becoming and Alberta was becoming the most important province in the country.*
>
> *Senior BC Official (d)*

When dealing externally with the Federal Government or other Provincial Governments, it was suggested that BC's understanding of space and relationships is pragmatic. As one senior official said the BC government now takes the approach when dealing with other governments that "we have a great idea, come along with us, if you don't agree with us that's fine, just get out of our way" (Senior BC Official g). This approach has resulted in the deconstruction of boundaries within the BC government in how it deals with issues. No longer does it rely on the Federal Government to advance its agenda with the United States or globally. Instead it has undertaken a more concerted effort to establish its own linkages with the rest of the world that were previously unexplored ten years ago.

Influence on Spatial Policy

The government in BC has successfully undertaken an institutional change within the civil service by advancing a policy agenda that is focused

on outcomes rather than process. With the full support of the highest political office in the province, it has successfully altered perceptions of space among senior officials and how they function and interact with one another.

BC's goal-orientated approach to policy development has resulted in a more nuanced understanding of spatial policy. The impacts of individual policies are better understood due to the increased interconnections that result from a goal-oriented process of policy development. The results based approach has an impact on spatial policy as it can at times focus discussion towards solving an issue that is spatially unique as opposed to broadly based.

Political leadership was necessary to advance the goal-orientated approach in order to overcome resistance from existing ministerial departments that often jealously guard their policy spheres. It was also required due to nervousness related to spatially defining investments that can at times result in both 'winners' and 'losers'. A political champion was able to overcome these two issues by instilling senior officials with the power to advance a goal-orientated, and at times spatially focused agenda when such a process was deemed necessary, such as the Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative or the introduction of a carbon tax that disproportionately negatively impacted rural areas. Having political accountability backing up senior official's decisions provided them with the confidence to aggressively advance these agendas.

Advancing policy agendas that had spatial consequences resulted in a new awareness of policy impacts on space, both positive and negative. This awareness resulted in a more detailed understanding by senior officials of the diversity of space and the impact of policies spatially. Coupled with this new understanding of space, barriers were broken down related to BC's place within the world. Understandings of interconnections within Canada, the United States and the world and the necessity to advance a policy agenda that sought to capitalise on geographic advantage. As a result institutional barriers related to BC's external relationships were reduced as senior officials were urged to re-orientate and position their policy agenda

within a more global environment.

The Government of Alberta

Constitutional Imperative

The Government of Alberta's institutional culture is heavily influenced by the need to maintain a clear constitutional separation of powers between the province and the Federal Government. This insistence is defined by the perception of a power struggle between the province and the Federal Government whereby the Government of Alberta perceives the Government of Canada as intruding on their internal affairs. As one Alberta official commented:

> *The real challenge here is that the Federal Government actually denies that there is a division of powers, a separation of powers. You read the constitution, its clear that it sets up what it says are exclusive areas of responsibility. The Federal Government though through a variety of means, both constitutional and sort of ex-constitutional through the spending power, essentially asserts that there is no policy area that it can't influence directly.*
> *Senior Alberta Official (e)*

The imperative to maintain the separation of powers structures intergovernmental relationships and the negotiation of spatial policy, particularly in relation to the field of energy. As a result of this, senior officials within the Government of Alberta actively seek to limit federal-provincial intergovernmental negotiation to areas that are constitutionally specified as shared jurisdiction, such as agriculture and the environment, while actively avoiding intergovernmental discussion of policy areas that are constitutionally assigned to the provinces. An Alberta official highlighted this by noting:

> *Our primary intergovernmental objective is to maintain our policy flexibility.*
> *Senior Alberta Official (e)*

For Alberta officials, intergovernmental coordination leads to reliance on and a level of integration with the Government of Canada that limits their ability to independently develop policy. The intense desire to ensure

provincial capacity in developing policy is strongly related to the perception that the officials within the Federal Government do not understand the needs of Alberta and are ill equipped from a policy point of view to develop public policy that meets the needs of Albertans. Federal intergovernmental initiatives are further seen as piecemeal or responsive rather than fully developed and lacking in consultation with the provinces. This complicates provincial plans and ultimately commits the province to a programme that it had little input in designing. As one official commented:

> *The Federal Government will come to the table at the last minute and expect matching dollars and so you mess up what were nicely arranged provincial finances. You also invariably sign up to accountability structures and reporting requires and programme design determined by the Federal Government to one degree or another which limits and hampers the ability to develop programmes in Alberta to meet the needs of Albertans as determined by the officials here!*
>
> *Senior Alberta Official (e)*

This culture of constitutional jurisdictional separation has evolved over time due to historical conflicts between Alberta and the Federal Government, particularly in relation to energy resources and under-representation in Parliament and the Senate (Lawson 2005). As a result, Alberta's preference in public policy creation remains one of distance from the Federal Government, with consequent difficulty for spatial policy coordination between the two levels of government. From the federal perspective, there is a recognition of how sensitive the issue of the separation of powers is in Alberta (and certain other provinces), and as a result federal interviewees have suggested that while they are aware of such sensitivities, they cannot allow them to become the primary consideration when developing policy. Rather federal officials comment that they need to plan for "flexibility" while also balancing federal goals:

> *Our preference as the Government of Canada is to support a more holistic than a narrow agenda.*
>
> *Senior Federal Official (e)*

The more holistic approach, therefore, limits the extent to which policy can be customised to meet the concerns of individual provinces.

Historical Circumstances

Historical issues continue to structure federal-provincial relations in Alberta. The National Energy Program in 1980 was seen as an intrusion into provincial affairs by the Federal Government and led to a lot of animosity between the two levels of government. While friction between the two levels of government has subsided to some extent, it remains an underlying structural factor that creates tension between the two parties. The impact of the National Energy Program was explained by one official in this way:

> *It was very strong when I first got here, in fact that was just after the National Energy Program . . . so it was a critical factor in how we worked with the Federal Government. Again over time we have had either close or less close working relationships.*
>
> *Senior Alberta Official (a)*

The working relationship that the above senior official speaks to ebbs and flows depending on the style of federalism that the Federal Government adopts.

The preference in Alberta continues to be for a Federal Government that recognises the independence of the provinces and constitutional separation of powers. Yet even though the current Conservative Federal Government maintains a far less intrusive level of intergovernmental policy engagement with the provinces than the previous Liberal government, suspicions continue among Alberta officials as to the motives of the Federal Government.

> *I would say there is still a hesitancy working with the Federal Government. On a lot of things, a lot of suspicion.*
>
> *Senior Alberta Official (b)*

This mistrust impacts on personal relationships and creates a dynamic based on conflict between officials at both levels of government that makes the establishment of long-term public policy coordination difficult. Furthermore, this mistrust extends to doubts about the motives of the Federal Government when engaging with Alberta. Concerns are raised about the federal commitment to cost shared federal-provincial programmes and

policies.

> *There is a lot of wanting to be seen to be doing the right thing in Ottawa that transcends long-range planning because it can be very ephemeral which we get the other end of because they build up schemes and then when the political interest moves on they want to take that money and re-task it and we are stuck with the structures that have been built and the expectations.*
>
> *Senior Alberta Official (e)*

These concerns are based on previous historical cost-shared issues that have resulted in Alberta, and other provinces, being left with managing and paying for cost shared programmes. As a result an institutional mistrust of the Federal Government is engrained within the Alberta bureaucracy.

Movement Towards Spatial Integration

Independent of the Federal Government, the Government of Alberta has recently begun to place more emphasis on regionally-based land use strategies, representing a shift towards spatial thinking about policy more generally. While not yet fully developed, the regional strategies are seeking to integrate ministerial policy from a number of departments in relation to land use, including energy, the environment, housing and transportation. This has resulted in officials beginning to think more about long term strategies compared to the traditional, more incremental plans that ministries are use to advancing.

> *I think when you get to this whole notion of regional planning and the role of government, I mean depending on the level, I think certainly at the provincial level by and large it is strategic directions for the most part. I mean you look at Alberta and any other jurisdictions, these set of regions, and what's happening with those regions in the context of the whole province from a land use point of view, from an economic point of view, from a social point of view, government should set that direction and set that leadership and so ten, twenty years plans are critical.*
>
> *Senior Alberta Official (c)*

The acceptance of the need for long-term strategies among officials interviewed was most prevalent among those involved in the land use framework, highlighting how understanding of space among policymakers is

a useful tool for the encouragement of more integrated and long-term thinking. Undertaking such an institutional change within government is not easy, however, as one senior official acknowledged:

> *[We are] generally looking more long term now. This is a change, habits don't die easily and people would rather react then plan but we generally try and look long range because there is a recognition that reactive planning can lead to poor outcomes in the future.*
>
> *Senior Alberta Official (d)*

Despite this shift, the integration of spatial / regional policy with the Federal Government remains largely absent. This is not particularly surprising given the amount of mistrust and disconnects between these two levels of government.

Influence on Spatial Policy

More advanced understanding of spatial policy by Alberta officials have recently emerged through the development of regional land use frameworks, but this is a recent, and provincially localised, phenomenon. The integration of spatially relevant policies with the Federal Government continues to be weak due to concerns regarding constitutional jurisdiction and historical relationships between the two levels of government.

Constitutional jurisdictional issues limit spatial policy coordination between Alberta and the Federal Government. With Alberta's constitutional imperative focused on limiting federal intrusion into provincial jurisdiction, discussions related to spatially significant policy is restricted to those areas of shared jurisdiction. Intergovernmental interactions between the two levels of government further suggests that should a federal policy or programme seek to impact spatially upon Alberta's territory, the Government of Alberta would attempt to ensure its independence in deciding where and how such a policy or programme be implemented.

Furthermore, historical tensions between the two governments continue to undermine intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. In this context, negotiation of spatial policy interventions begin from a perspective of mutual distrust and suspicion, resulting in a lack of

commitment from both levels of government on the implementation of long-term spatial policy. Rather intergovernmental spatial policy interventions are ad hoc so as to maintain as much decentralisation as possible, if spatial interventions are initiated at all.

The Government of Saskatchewan

Pragmatic Tradition

Senior officials within the Government of Saskatchewan have developed an intergovernmental institutional culture based around a pragmatic tradition of give and take with the Federal Government. There is recognition among senior officials that Saskatchewan, given its relatively small economic and demographic capacities, has had to rely on the Federal Government to varying degrees in its past in order to deliver services to its population.

> *We are more then happy to collaborate with the Federal Government in order to meet the needs of Saskatchewan people and we wouldn't necessarily walk away from fed-prov arrangements simply because it was our jurisdiction rather than theirs. We are now in a position where we have a fairly strong economy but for a good long time we relied on federal transfers in order to actually be able to mount and deliver social programmes so we tend to try and work as collaboratively as possible with the Federal Government.*
>
> Senior Saskatchewan Official (e)

These previous positive partnerships with the Federal Government have removed some of the suspicion that is historically rooted within the institutional culture of other provinces such as Alberta. Historical issues of concern are less relevant to Saskatchewan officials; rather they tend to be more concerned with present day policy concerns and how those issues can be solved or advanced. As one senior official commented:

> *For us it's looking at what needs to be done now and what makes sense to be done. So how do we address the issues that are in front of us today?*
>
> Senior Saskatchewan Official (a)

The greatest concern for Saskatchewan officials when dealing with the Federal Government is the lack of communication. While officials are open to negotiation of shared federal-provincial programmes and financing arrangements, a lack of communication regarding federal initiatives strains relations between the two levels of government. While emphasising the strong bilateral relationship with the Federal Government, such concerns were raised in interviews by a number of Saskatchewan officials, as one commented:

> *The Federal Government knows that the provinces have that jurisdictional responsibility and they still will go off and do things that they should have communicated!*
>
> *Senior Saskatchewan Official (a)*

The pragmatic institutional culture of Saskatchewan officials results in federal-provincial negotiations that are initially based on trust rather than suspicion. This removes one of the barriers to successful intergovernmental policy coordination, creating a positive negotiation environment. Despite the recent economic success of Saskatchewan, the culture of mutual dependence and respect remains intact at the provincial level, although some tensions related to communication and the exchange of information remain.

Proactive Partnership

The relatively small demographic and economic profile of Saskatchewan has led senior officials to explore potential partnerships with other governmental partners as a matter of practice. There is recognition that in order to advance Saskatchewan's policy agenda, it is necessary to work collaboratively with other provinces and the Federal Government. Officials understand the need to advance their government's intergovernmental policy agenda through bartering of support with larger provinces and the Federal Government, as discussed by one senior official:

> *What you end up doing is you end up finding alliances, and or maybe taking leadership roles in some areas that might assist another jurisdiction to gain some advantage. So they'll either step aside or support you in the next initiative you might have.*

We're a minority player in the whole scheme of things.
Senior Saskatchewan Official (c)

In this way Saskatchewan attempts to punch above its weight in intergovernmental policy discussions due to the strategic approach of senior officials to governmental relationship building. Regional forums such as the New West Partnership with British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan play an important role in countering the demographic and economic dominance of Ontario and Quebec within the Canadian Federation. The importance of regional forums was described by one official in this way:

> *Certainly in the West, and I'm assuming in Atlantic Canada, there is a perception that the federal politicians are primarily, by virtue of the demographic weight of Ontario and Quebec, will pay quite a bit of attention to these two provinces, hence the need to use these regional forums to articulate regional interests.*
> *Senior Saskatchewan Official (f)*

Saskatchewan's recent economic boom, largely as a result of primary resource extraction, does not appear to have shifted senior officials' views on the importance of these regional forums and the need to work cooperatively to advance intergovernmental policy agendas. Rather Saskatchewan officials have the opportunity to use the economic growth of the province to further strengthen these governmental and regional relationships by taking the lead on additional intergovernmental policy development.

Transparency and Accountability

Despite the small size of the provincial civil service within Saskatchewan, there is a distinct lack of information sharing. A common theme among many of those interviewed was the importance of transparency and accountability for the advancement of inter-ministerial and intergovernmental policy coordination. There was recognition among interviewees that inter-ministerial and intergovernmental policy development within the province and between its governmental partners

could be drastically improved:

> *Some people across government, or governments I should say, are less open and they hide or horde some information that ultimately would be beneficial to share and when you do that people may think that they are actually winning the day but they aren't. You need to be able to openly discuss and encourage open discussion of what may or may not be a pivotal issue point and decision.*
>
> Senior Saskatchewan Official (d)

There remains a level of secrecy amongst officials within ministries that holds back the development of rigorous inter-ministerial policy coordination. The terms openness and transparency were mentioned over and over again amongst interviewees in Saskatchewan. Too often officials lamented not being provided with the necessary information to make informed inter-ministerial policy decisions because information was held back by individual ministries or was heard from a third party rather than directly from the source.

> *You have to have a group of individuals, and I speak to policy groups within different ministries in this case and policy coordination, you have to have an open and transparent policy process within government. In other words I can get on the net using technology to understand what's happening, in AG and Enterprise SASK and its not off the media, I want to know what they are writing, I want to know who they are writing, I want to know who their stakeholders are.*
>
> Senior Saskatchewan Official (c)

The need for such openness by those interviewed extended outside government as well, with officials commenting that policy discussions and consultation must be brought forward not only to individual ministries but also outside stakeholders and the public so that it can be criticised and debated. The same official continued this line of thought:

> *You have to have written material that can be criticised by peers, so you have to be publically available, publically exposed, and publically debated. I think that's critically important. So it provides credibility, integrity and respect in the public.*
>
> Senior Saskatchewan Official (c)

The concerns about accountability and transparency were largely restricted to inter-ministerial discussions as opposed to similar concerns regarding intergovernmental policy coordination. However, some of those interviewed highlighted the importance of access to information regardless of whether policy coordination was occurring between ministries or between levels of government.

Influence on Spatial Policy

A flexible institutional culture has allowed Saskatchewan to navigate federal-provincial relations. This flexibility extends to intergovernmental understandings of space by provincial officials, where there is recognition of the need to be accommodating of federal spatial interventions even if these infringe on provincial areas of jurisdiction. As a result, intergovernmental spatial policy is more often developed through negotiation and with a greater understanding of the broader concerns of the Canadian federation.

Due to this well developed pragmatic tradition of intergovernmental policy development, Saskatchewan officials' approach to space is conceptualised in a multifaceted manner that views regional inter-connections with other provinces as important to fulfilling provincial strategic goals. In this way the impact of spatial policy on Saskatchewan's territory is a minor concern compared to larger provincial strategic goals.

One of the major issues limiting the ability of senior officials to improve spatial policy coordination within Saskatchewan is an institutional culture that continues to withhold information from not only other levels of government, but also from other internal provincial ministries. This lack of transparency and accountability between ministries creates a disconnection that continues to ensure spatial policy is poorly coordinated within the province and considered a low priority.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL SPATIAL POLICY COORDINATION

The Emergence of Space in the Federal-Provincial Relationship

Since the mid-1950s, Canada's intergovernmental relationships have been defined by varying levels of piecemeal coordination and a struggle over jurisdictional responsibility (Painter 1991). Yet there is still an undeniable need for the federal and provincial tiers of government to interact and communicate given the level of overlapping public policy issues that each seeks to address on a daily basis (Lazar 2004). As Bandura (2001) notes, agents that work within institutions do not work in isolation. In order to solve collective issues he suggests that self-interests must be reconciled and agency actions mobilized towards the achievement of a collective goal. The following case study explores how spatially focused policy acted as a catalyst to improve intergovernmental policy between the Federal Government and, predominantly, the Government of British Columbia.

The Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor

Spatial Conceptions as a Driver for Intergovernmental Policy Coordination

In 2001 a new Liberal government came to power in BC headed by Gordon Campbell. As Premier, Campbell pushed for greater trade ties with Asia to take advantage of BC's strategic geographic location within Canada. In doing so, the government recognised that much of the critical infrastructure necessary to facilitate greater trade links with Asia, such as ports, inter-provincial railways and airports, was outside of the provincial government's constitutional jurisdiction. In 2002 bi-lateral discussions with the Federal Government began on identifying ways to leverage BC's potential for improving Canadian trade links with Asia. At the federal level there was an acknowledgement that BC had a different international profile than other provinces and as such it warranted specific investments. Yet at

the same time federal officials had concerns that the benefits of their investments would not extend outside BC. To this end officials in BC, both bureaucratic and political, sought support from the other Western Canadian provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and to a lesser extent Manitoba. The Western provinces all saw the potential benefits of increased trade with Asia and as a result worked with BC and private industry to put pressure on the Federal Government for a comprehensive Asia-Pacific strategy.

A significant tool in the conversation was the use of an evidence base to demonstrate issues and the potential of government infrastructure investment to economic growth. BC began research on its ports systems, fully recognising that it was an area of exclusive federal jurisdiction, but one that was seen as too important to the province's economy to ignore. This resulted in the creation of a BC ports strategy based on a 2020 vision, with existing main trading ports as preferred areas of investment. This long-term vision began to proliferate throughout the government with the full backing of the Premier, who pushed for more goal orientated policy outcomes across the public service. The strategy began a process of departmental consultation that had been previously lacking. As contact was made with port authority agencies and other ministerial departments the project gained legitimacy and expanded to include the identification of other infrastructure and necessary policy changes. This process and the resulting vision and support for the project helped to convince the Federal Government of the need to invest in the strategy. In 2006 the federal ministry Transport Canada published 'Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative', setting out the strategic investment plan for port, air, rail and road improvements across BC, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba and comprising an initial budget of CDN$591 million (Transport Canada 2006).

The Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative highlights the global economic movement towards Asian trade and the issues and potential for improved Canadian trade with Asia. The strategy is premised on BC's strategic location as the shortest sea and air route to North America from Asia (see Figure 27). In order to capitalise on this, an integrated gateway

Figure 27: BC efficient market access to Asian ports
Source: BC Ministry of Economic Development (2007)

and corridor approach to infrastructure development was proposed, with the Port of Vancouver as the primary node in the distribution network. The strategy highlights infrastructure improvements not only to the Port, but also the three rail lines to which it is connected, the Trans-Canada Highway system and Vancouver International Airport. This location is coupled with the port located in the northern city of Prince Rupert, which takes advantage of its currently low volume rail line connection that leads to the Chicago area (see Figure 28). The strategy seeks to take a comprehensive spatially specific view of infrastructure investment and related government policy and governance arrangements.

In 2009 the Federal Government expanded on the concept of the gateway and corridor strategy and published the *National Policy Framework for Strategic Gateways and Trade Corridors* (Transport Canada 2009). The National Policy Framework defined how the CDN$2.1 billion of infrastructure funds were to be distributed throughout Canada for investment in strategic gateways and corridors. Along with the Asia-Pacific Gateway, an additional gateway in Ontario and Quebec (the Ontario-Quebec Continental Gateway and Trade Corridor) was created along with an Atlantic gateway for the Eastern provinces. The funding scheme was designed to be merit based, highlighting the need for an evidence base and partnership approach to infrastructure investment, though in reality 'merit' is rather vaguely defined in policy terms. This represented a shift away from the traditional approach of equal federal funding for provinces, particularly

Figure 28: Northern gateway and corridor access map
Source: BC Ministry of Transportation and Infrastructure (2010)

in relation to infrastructure funding. Despite this merit-based system, some of those interviewed noted that project selection continued informally to include an aspect of equitable resource distribution throughout Canada.

Towards a New Understanding of Intergovernmental Coordination

The Asia-Pacific Gateway represents the emergence of a multi-governmental, multi-partnership spatial approach to infrastructure investment in Canada. The provinces along with local municipalities and other private sector partners such as Canadian Pacific Railway matched or partly contributed to much of the investment funding provided by the Federal Government. The strategy resulted in the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Government of Canada and British Columbia that committed the two levels of government to coordinated development of the Gateway (Canada-British Columbia 2007). The MOU committed the governments not only to work collaboratively on defined infrastructure initiatives, but also to work towards a range of areas including: improved skills training to improve the Gateway's competiveness; collaboration on improving the timeliness of provincial and federal environmental assessment processes; aspects of information sharing; improved consultation with First Nations communities that may be affected

219

by the Gateway; Gateway related environmental mitigation; coordination of international marketing promotion of the Gateway; and a process of long-term evaluation of project effectiveness.

The MOU further created a committee to provide coordination on the Gateway. The Canada-BC Gateway Coordinating Committee comprises senior federal officials of Transport Canada and International Trade along with provincial BC senior officials of the Ministry of Transportation who engage with other ministries when necessary. A wide variety of working groups were established followed by marketing initiatives and individual implementation plans. Within BC the project had support at the highest levels of government creating a sense of urgency and priority for all involved, with the MOU mandating the Ministers involved to meet at least twice a year to discuss the committee's progress.

Interviewees involved in the initiative continually highlighted the strong level of collaboration and engagement among ministries, other levels of government, non-profit organisations and the private sector. Those at the provincial level noted that the initiative represented a shift in federal-provincial dynamics, as the Federal Government's use of the federal spending power to advance federal interest was much less apparent. Projects were chosen collaboratively between the federal and provincial governments rather than directly selected by the Federal Government as occurred with the 2009-10 economic stimulus infrastructure funding.

The MOU acted as the main point of agreement between the two levels of government on collaboration. The Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative document is far more vague on coordination mechanisms and collaborative practices. While the publication makes reference to some specific coordinating functions such as between the Vancouver Metro Port Authority and the Prince Rupert Port Authority, it is far more general in relation to 'engagement with stakeholders' and only broadly discusses the need to work with the public and private sector on the implementation of the Gateway and for government departments to work together. The general nature of the publication highlights the role of the strategy as a guide or

vision based approach rather then prescriptive document, thereby providing a high level of flexibility in its implementation and interpretation.

Introducing Spatial Visions into Public Policy in Canada

The Impact of Spatial Specificity

The use of spatial references within Canadian public policy, particularly at the federal level, is quite rare. Documentary analysis from Chapter 6 of this thesis highlights the lack of spatially defined policy. Policy documents from a variety of ministries quite often utilised general phrasing related to large spatial scales, such as provinces, the North, aboriginal communities, or urban and rural areas and are written in abstractions. When specific spatial references are made, such as specific cities or regions, they are often related to previous investments rather than to future ones.

A large number of the senior officials interviewed viewed their policy environment through the eyes of the level of government that they served, whether that is at the provincial scale or the federal scale. In their view they were there to serve all the people of the province or country and any policy could be made broad enough that specific geographic circumstances did not need to be taken into account. Some officials admitted that at times broad policy needed to be tweaked to suit particular circumstances, but this was almost always done in a piecemeal fashion and after the fact.

During interviews senior officials were often pressed to explain why they did not develop region specific, place-based policy. Provincial officials suggested that it was not their place to create region specific policy and to define where investments are directed; rather it was up to local municipalities to deal with such local matters, the provincial role was only to provide the general policy direction and regulation. Likewise, at the federal level officials suggested that it was not their place to define lower level policy and investment; rather it was up to the individual provinces. The preference for the federal level of government was often to develop policy that deals with a particular individual need regardless of the place concerned in an effort to ensure fairness and avoid the impression of federal

favouritism towards particular regions as well as interference in provincial affairs.

The Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative represents a strong shift away from this form of non-spatially specific policy development in Canada. While some aspects of the strategy include more vague references to the BC Lower Mainland, US border crossings and Canadian airports, the vast majority of the references are spatially specific, particularly when examining provincial policy from other ministries involved in implementing specific aspects of the Gateway strategy. References are made to specific airports, such as Vancouver International Airport, Calgary International Airport and even as far east as Toronto Pearson International Airport, along with specific ports, such as what is now called the Vancouver Metro Port Authority and the Prince Rupert Port Authority. These references are often connected to specific infrastructure funding investments or in relation to their importance towards achieving the overall goals of the strategy. Specific reference is further made to locations of investment through the use of a map along with general reference to important individual cities and transportation routes (see Figure 29).

This level of spatial specificity has proved to be vitally important in establishing and maintaining the high level of coordination within the Gateway initiative. Participants have noted that the spatial references and funding commitments provided policy certainty, creating a strong level of trust among participants that their investments of time and resources would not be abandoned in the short term. The spatial specificity of the strategy further helped to identify stakeholders and keep them engaged. Interviewees noted that the private sector saw the strong political commitment and spatial specificity as a stabilising force, allowing them to make long-term business planning decisions that they would have otherwise been unable or nervous about undertaking. Despite the specific nature of the spatial interventions, the goal-orientated nature of the document allowed flexibility in the exact implementation of the spatial investments.

Figure 29: Transportation infrastructure investments in the Asia-Pacific gateway and corridor
Source: Transport Canada (2006)

Shifting Perceptions of Intergovernmental Coordination

New Ways of Seeing

Those senior officials interviewed and involved in the Gateway strategy highlight that the inter-ministerial and intergovernmental interactions that have been established to move forward the initiative have resulted in expanded collective understandings of the challenges faced by each department. The silo mentality among those interviewed has been

223

partially broken down as they gain an appreciation for the benefits of collaboration and a greater understanding of the broader issues and concerns at stake. The breaking down of ministerial silos was in large part attributed to the goal orientated approach of the strategy which, to use Healey's (2006) term, generated a collective way of seeing. This new way of seeing worked to keep the wide range of stakeholder interests focused, galvanising those involved to move the initiative forward. Collective understandings of issues were further advanced through the use of evidence based research that helped to explain and define common problems, moving the conversation beyond smaller issues of process and towards the identification of larger issues of mutual concern.

Space and Pragmatic Federalism

The Gateway strategy has developed a heightened awareness of space among those interviewed. The crux of the initiative is premised on utilising BC's geographic advantage toward Asia, thereby forcing spatial issues to the forefront of public policy making. As a result, spatial equity was to some extent removed from consideration as the strategy explored how to take advantage of opportunities. For many, being able to define boundaries and discuss spatially focused investments worked collectively to focus stakeholders on achieving the goals of the strategy. This opportunity based approach led to a new understanding of inter-jurisdictional cooperation between the federal and provincial governments. A pragmatic conceptualisation of the constitutional separation of powers was utilised as opposed to one based on ideological constitutional concerns.

Leadership

The more pragmatic approach to intergovernmental relations was in large part the result of political leadership. Both the Premier of BC and the federal Minister of International Trade and Minister of Transport, Infrastructure and Communities saw the Gateway as a strategic priority. Those interviewed commented that government officials were not only provided with the resources they needed to carry out their jobs, but also

strong political support which provided the strategy with a sense of gravitas that allowed them to create a sense of collective purpose among all the stakeholders involved. Constitutional issues regarding the separation of powers has shifted concerns of who did what towards working together to solve the problem, regardless of what level of government had constitutional jurisdiction.

Information Sharing

The Gateway strategy has resulted in new levels of information sharing both at the inter-ministerial level and between levels of government. At the inter-ministerial level sharing information between ministries has now become common practice among those involved in the Gateway. More importantly, many of those interviewed have recognised that information sharing is a necessary tool for successful policy development and coordination. As a result interviewees involved in the Gateway are also likely to be more open with information during other inter-ministerial policy development processes. At the intergovernmental level, information sharing is still not as well developed. Broadly senior government officials still recognise the importance of holding back information during intergovernmental negotiations in order to advance policy agendas. Yet the goal orientated approach of the Gateway strategy in large part removed this intergovernmental hesitancy as the desired end result was already defined rather than being continually negotiated.

Trust and Relationships

The sharing of information has also generated new levels of trust between stakeholders at the federal and provincial levels of government. Working collaboratively to advance a common agenda has helped to establish personal relationships between officials who are more accustomed to working within their individual departmental silos. While interviewees noted that a silo mentality remained, there is a greater awareness of the issue and the problems that resulted from closed departmental silos and the barriers it created in regards to the creation of strong relationships. Critical

to the establishment of these relationships was a particular understanding of individual expectations. The Gateway strategy created a collective understanding of who does what, thereby defining responsibilities and partially eliminating issues of conflict. Early successes of the initiative helped further to cement these relationships and remove barriers. By removing these issues of conflict, stronger personal relationships have emerged based on trust, resulting in a more open and collaborative policy environment.

Impact of the Gateway on Conceptions of Space

The Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative represents a significant turn in intergovernmental understandings of spatial policy within Canada. Through the use of a goal oriented spatial approach, the strategy has been successful in galvanising intergovernmental support and coordination among a variety of stakeholders towards the achievement of a long-term initiative. In doing so the Gateway strategy has developed a new conceptualisation of Canadian federalism and altered the perceptions of inter-ministerial and intergovernmental coordination among those senior government officials that have been directly involved in the policy.

Compared to many other bilateral federal-provincial programmes in Canada, the Asia-Pacific Gateway has been developed as a partnership between the two levels of government with very little of the usual constitutional and fiscal jockeying associated with intergovernmental negotiations. This may in part be due to the initial provincial initiative taken on the project, thereby defining in some ways the parameters of the strategy from the start. As a result the impact of the federal spending power has been less noticeable.

This joint federal-provincial strategy represents a shift towards new understandings of space and equity within the federation. The strategy outlines clear spatially specific investments, thereby defining both fiscal 'winners' and 'losers'. Yet there appears to have been a lack of considerable resistance to this approach among other provinces despite the long tradition

of fiscal equity. In many ways, the only compensatory process has been the establishment of similar gateway and corridors in Ontario-Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. These two other gateways have not, however, been as well developed and successful as the Asia-Pacific Gateway. Little noticeable progress has been made in terms of long-term policy development due to the gateways being imposed by the Federal Government rather then collectively generated in cooperation with the provinces.

The advancement of the strategy is greatly helped by its goal orientated nature and long-term time horizon. This goal orientated approach has been predicated on broad based economic growth prospects, perhaps helping to make the strategy more palpable to those who are not included in the specific investment areas of the strategy. The political support for the initiative at both levels of government has further benefited the process as senior officials develop and implement the policy within an environment of political agreement versus conflicting political opinions.

Despite the Gateway's successes, its unabashedly economic focus largely neglects the advancement of broader social goals, such as environmental stewardship and public health. While attempts have been made for the strategy to be inclusive, its central committee structure continues to bias itself towards a select group of primary stakeholders, leaving broader consultation processes to the more specific individual Gateway projects.

Overall, the Gateway strategy has greatly influenced senior officials at both levels of government who are involved in the project. The initiative has altered their conceptions of intergovernmental coordination by advancing a collective way of seeing. The spatial nature of the strategy collectively focused them towards the advancement of specific goals and removed traditional federal-provincial tensions related to equity that can sometimes affect personal relationships and trust. Ultimately the establishment of strong personal relationships resulted in greater freedom related to the sharing of information and helped to form new understandings of inter-ministerial and intergovernmental cooperation.

THE RISE OF THE WESTERN REGION WITHIN CANADA

The Province-building Agenda Revisited?

The Evolution of Inter-provincial Relationships

Given the vast amount of influence that provinces within Canada have on the social, economic and physical landscape of the country, until recently there has been a distinct lack of discussion regarding inter-provincial relationships within Canadian federalism studies (Fafard & Rocher 2008). These inter-provincial relationships directly affect the spatial structure of the country and, as will be argued, have recently become important factors in determining the direction of Canadian federalism. The following discusses the emergence of regional institutional structures within Canada and the potential impact of more coordinated inter-provincial relationships on the spatial structure of Canada.

Since the end of World War Two, provinces within Canada have been advancing what many academics in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s described as a 'province-building' agenda (see Black & Cairns 1966; Chandler and Chandler 1982; Stevenson 1980). The concept relates to the emergence of the welfare state within Canada in the 1950s and 1960s. The welfare state in turn increased the role of the provinces in the daily lives of Canadians, resulting in increased provincial financial capability and a larger and more competent provincial civil service along with greater provincial demands towards the Federal Government and a resistance to federal intrusion in provincial affairs. The use of the concept has been criticised by some for its vagueness (Young, Faucher & Blais 1984), but it is generally agreed that "province-building emboldened provincial governments to compete with the central government in an attempt to move into, occupy, and shape those public policy areas which neither level of government could claim exclusively for itself" (Bernard 2004, p. 8). This province-building agenda resulted in the development of new provincial ministries, stronger institutional structures to manage increased responsibilities and the emergence of more diverse institutional provincial cultures throughout

Canada as each province developed their own means of dealing with their unique provincial issues and concerns.

The vast majority of provincial intergovernmental efforts during this time were focused on the federal-provincial relationship, while inter-provincial relationships were weak at best and confrontational at worst as they sought to advance province specific concerns (Bernard 2004). Due to this ongoing focus on the Federal Government, inter-provincial coordination and discussion was minimal and, when undertaken, was done in a piecemeal and largely disjointed manner. As each province sought to demonstrate its ability to manage its own jurisdictional responsibilities, province-specific regulations and policies were developed, from pesticides to professional certifications to road allowances to environmental assessments. This had generated dramatic variations in regulations across the country, yet until the 1990s the wealth of province specific regulations were to a large extent not seen as a significant problem or hindrance, with most provinces content to maintain distinct regulatory and policy environments.

Regions United: The Council of the Federation

Provincial concerns drastically changed in the mid-1990s as the Federal Government significantly cut provincial transfer payments in an effort to tame the federal budget deficit. The loss of federal transfers created new financial stresses for the provinces. Concerns regarding the stability of the Canadian federation were also arising due to the near secession of Quebec from Canada in the 1995 referendum. Despite these concerns, the provinces made few advances in their lobbying efforts towards the Federal Government into the early 2000s. A more united provincial voice was deemed necessary as the provinces sought to elevate their position within the Canadian federation, ultimately resulting in the formation of the Council of the Federation.

The Council included all the Canadian provinces and territories and operated at a highly political level with very minimal bureaucratic support staff. A senior official with the Council of the Federation explained that the organisation was formed in 2003 and largely championed by the newly

elected federalist Premier Jean Charest in Quebec. It was recognised that there was a need to promote national unity between the provinces. In part it was also designed to maintain provincial communication and an institutional memory of issues and initiatives of concern among all the provinces. The Council was originally proposed to be much larger in scale, with a dedicated bureaucracy, but the idea was scaled back over time due to the resistance of some Premiers. In part the council was also formed following a recognition that the federal Senate was not doing its job representing the interests of the provinces and regions at the federal level and that there was a need for a stronger, unified voice to lobby the Federal Government. There was acknowledgment, particularly in provinces such as Quebec, that the Council could work to strengthen the federation without being seen as 'in league' with the Federal Government.

Premiers head the Council that meets annually and is chaired by a different province or territory every year. Each province and territory is seen as an equal partner regardless of their economic impact, population, or geographic size and the way the council functions is designed to maintain that equality, such as in allowing any province or territory to take the lead on projects regardless of their economic or political clout. The Council functions based on consensus and a member of the Council can veto any issue. When issues are vetoed due to regional or political circumstances it is often understood and there is very little push back from other Council members. The regional and political circumstances are also understood among the Premiers' officials as they work to ensure that contentious issues are removed from the agenda early on.

This consensual approach has helped to maintain the longevity of the Council despite regional differences. It has also helped to promote inter-provincial/territorial initiatives, such as climate change agreements, development of an energy strategy, improvement of internal trade, and a transportation strategy. The informal political discussions that occur at the meetings have also helped to strengthen personal relationships, create trust, improve inter-provincial/territorial communication, and increase

information sharing practice. As a result a more coordinated and strategic provincial/territorial policy environment has emerged.

Building the New West

A Meeting of Minds: Western Cabinet Meetings

The same year that the Council of the Federation was created, the British Columbia and Alberta governments held their first bilateral cabinet meeting where they signed a 'Protocol of Cooperation' that committed the two provinces to greater cooperation and coordination. Since the two provinces' first bilateral cabinet meeting in 2003, the provinces have agreed to cooperate on a wide range of issues (see Table 29) including spatially significant MOUs and agreements on communities, rural development, interprovincial parks, post-secondary education, water management, energy, and the environment.

The success of these annual BC-Alberta meetings in part resulted in Alberta and Saskatchewan undertaking bilateral cabinet meetings in 2008. Joint cabinet meetings between British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan in 2009 have continued to strengthened western cooperation. Similar joint cabinet meetings have also occurred between Ontario and Quebec in recent years, highlighting the renewed interest in interprovincial issues and the benefits of cooperation and coordination.

From Neighbours to Partners: The Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement

Previous attempts by the federal and provincial governments to remove provincial barriers to internal trade throughout Canada failed, as numerous provinces did not implement the Agreement on Internal Trade (AIT). There was a sense among certain interviewees that the Federal Government and a number of provinces were dragging their feet on implementation. This led to frustration among certain provinces that economic growth was being jeopardised by provincial indifference and malaise due to the AIT lacking an implementation plan with deadlines and

231

Table 29: Bilateral British Columbia- Alberta agreement and memorandums of understanding

Year	Agreements and Memorandums
2003	- Alberta-British Columbia Protocol of Cooperation - MOU on Acquisition and Delivery of Learning Resources - MOU on Tourism Initiatives - MOU on Child Welfare - MOU on Joint Use Vehicle Inspection Stations
2004	- MOU on Cooperation and Collaboration on E-Learning - MOU on Energy Cooperation and Regulatory Harmonization - MOU on Environmental Cooperation and Harmonization - MOU on Public Health Emergencies - MOU on Highway Traveller Information Sharing - Internal Trade Framework Agreement - MOU on Cooperation in Labour Market Programming
2005	- MOU, Alberta – British Columbia Protocol for a Partnership in Support of Assistive Technology and Other Specialized Services to Students with Special Needs - MOU on Sharing of Olympic Training and Competition Facilities - MOU on Bilateral Water Management Negotiations - Memorandum of Agreement on Controlling Mountain Pine Beetle Infestations
2006	- Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement - MOU on Joint Access to Interprovincial Charter Bus Markets - MOU on Energy Research, Technology Development and Innovation - MOU Declaration on Interprovincial Parks - MOU on Kakwa-Willmore Interprovincial Parks - MOU on Post-Secondary Education
2007	- MOU on Capital Program Development - MOU on Access to Radiation Therapy - MOU on Joint Procurement of Pharmaceuticals and Medical Devices - MOU on Interprovincial Emergency Management Assistance
2008	- MOU on Safe and Liveable Communities - MOU on Rural Development
2009 (including Saskatchewan)	- Western Economic Partnership - Memorandum of Understanding on Collaboration on Carbon Capture and Storage Technology and Policy

Source: Government of Alberta (2010)

no penalty for failure to implement it. The lack of progress led to one of the most significant advances to come out of the British Columbia–Alberta bilateral cabinet meetings, the Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement (TILMA) signed in 2006. The bilateral cabinet meetings created an environment of cooperation and stimulated discussions on the removal of barriers to trade. There was a general sense that if a Canada-wide trade agreement was not possible in the near future that the two provinces could instead take their own initiative and create a seamless western economic region.

As a result, TILMA broke down the multitude of individual provincial regulations and internal barriers to the free movement of goods, people and services between British Columbia and Alberta resulting in the creation of the second largest economy in the country (TILMA Secretariat 2009). Unlike the AIT, TILMA included deadlines for implementation and penalties. Most importantly perhaps is that TILMA started from the point that all aspects of provincial regulation of trade and mobility are included for harmonisation except for those explicitly mentioned in the agreement. This differed from the AIT in that only regulations that were included in the agreement were subject to harmonisation. At the political level, there was a receptive leadership environment that was supportive of TILMA, thereby opening up a policy window. TILMA is now being used as an example of what the provinces can achieve if they work together for a common goal. The agreement created a new way of seeing within the two provinces. No longer were they two distinct economies, but rather issues, concerns and prosperity were interconnected to a far greater extent than was previously so, which redefined perceptions of borders and influenced public policy decisions across both governments.

This new level of cooperation and integration exposed structural institutional differences between the two provinces that affect how officials cooperate with one another and share information, particularly for Alberta officials who were much less comfortable with the harmonisation of regulations and sharing of information. As one official explained,

> *It's a culture shift. With us there isn't so much of a problem. Alberta is really struggling with that.*
> *Senior BC Official (i)*

In April of 2010 an expansion to TILMA was agreed to that resulted in the inclusion of the Government of Saskatchewan, creating what is being referred to as the New West Partnership. The New West Partnership has the potential to redefine Western Canada, as provincial barriers to trade and mobility are removed public policy decisions will be shaped by this new regulatory environment resulting in new spatial pressures and opportunities.

CROSSCUTTING SPATIAL POLICY COORDINATION ELEMENTS

Despite the diversity of institutional cultures, there are a number of common spatial policy coordination elements, albeit with different forms of implementation, that can be identified across each level of government. These themes cut across the levels of government studied and highlight how intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is viewed as being composed of four primary considerations by policymakers.

Planning

Intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is very much seen as a necessary component of long-range governmental planning. There is an acceptance by policymakers of the need to coordinate spatial policy within and between government in order to manage long-term concerns related to duplication and policy conflict. Yet despite this acceptance, political concern, resources and more pressing present day issues often result in a more reactionary policy environment.

Perceptions

The perception of spatial policy issues varies considerably among policymakers. There is, however, an acknowledgement that a common understanding, by all those involved, is an essential component of establishing coherent spatial policy coordination. In order for successful spatial policy coordination to occur, there is a need for a problem to be identified, perceived as important, and something that cannot be solved internally within a department or level of government. The importance of the spatial aspect of the policy coordination process is variable, with some policymakers seeing the spatial component as a relatively minor element in the policy coordination process and others seeing it as the central focus of the process depending on the issue and the policymaker's individual institutional culture.

Relationships

By its very nature, coordination requires the establishment of a relationship. A relationship between two or more departments or governments is therefore necessary and can exist at a variety of levels when undertaking spatial policy coordination. Formal and informal aspects of the relationship come into play and can be composed of either written formal agreements, funding mechanisms, and memorandums of understanding, or more informal agreements that facilitate communication, such as working groups or information sharing forums. The most effective form of relationships depend on a formal foundation being established between governments in the form of written agreements as well as the flexibility for officials to engage one another in order to create personal relationships that help to establish trust, dampen longer-term historical tensions, and ease contemporary political disagreements between governments.

Transparency

The spatial policy coordination process requires a level of trust between the involved parties. As a result, an understanding as to what information is to be shared, and by whom, must be established. There is a need to ensure that information is shared and the agreed to individuals are kept informed during the policy development process. A lack of transparency can result in the disintegration of relationships and lead to the development or implementation of conflicting spatial policy. The establishment of transparency is particularly useful for overcoming historical conflicts and bringing about institutional change.

SUMMARY

The predominant institutional cultures found within the four levels of government studied in this chapter have worked to structure how officials view spatial policy issues and how they interact with other levels of government. What becomes apparent is that many of the institutional cultures have developed due to historical circumstances that have either worked to develop or reinforce both positive and negative relationships

between the levels of government studied. The pragmatic and incremental aspects of federal institutional culture have developed due to the need to be regionally sensitive and recognise varying historical differences within the provinces. These regional sensitivities are not only something that senior federal officials perceive, but as the interviews suggest, are also very much a reality at the provincial level.

Spatially specific policy issues, meanwhile, remain rather low on the radar of most senior officials, with most having a very narrow understanding of how their particular policy sphere relates to spatial issues and impacts other departments and levels of government. Rather spatial policy issues, particularly at the intergovernmental level, are influenced by complicated institutional structures that by default impact senior officials' understandings of spatial policy. In this way spatial issues are a minor characteristic in a larger interdepartmental and intergovernmental game in the view of many senior officials where issues of sovereignty, politics, and regionalism reign.

There is an overarching acceptance of the need to pay more attention to spatial and long-term strategic issues; however, the realities of government often limited senior officials' ability to advance such an agenda. In addition, openness, accountability and transparency also remain goals that have yet to be fully achieved but which are accepted as necessary for successful intergovernmental relationships. Interviewees expressed much frustration that more has not been achieved in these two areas.

The diversity of institutional cultures and issues noted in this research is not particularly surprising given that federalist systems of government, at least formally, embrace diversity as a desired outcome and are designed to try to accommodate them. Within Canada, such diversity can be seen in how varied institutional cultures have structured senior officials' views of intergovernmental spatial policy. In some cases these institutional cultures have had a positive impact on advancing spatial policy at a governmental level, such as in Alberta. Conversely, the institutional culture in Alberta works to limit intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. As a result of such institutional diversity, the advancement of spatial policy

issues in federalist systems requires new methods capable of bridging institutional divides, while allowing the flexibility to adapt to and overcome the historical and ingrained institutional cultures that limit the advancement of intergovernmental spatial policy.

Yet despite the structural forces that work to influence senior officials, governmental institutions are also evolving. Senior officials at all levels of government commented on how the institutional environment is changing to place more emphasis on coordination, goal orientated policy, increased sharing of information and the need to plan for the longer term. The federal-provincial Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative and the inter-provincial New West Partnership detailed in this chapter have demonstrated how some spatial considerations are playing an increasing role in intergovernmental discussions and working to improve coordination and cooperation among different levels of government. The process is not simply one way either, as intergovernmental cooperation and coordination work to develop new ways of understanding spatial issues within Canada.

This chapter has demonstrated how institutional cultures influence senior officials' development of spatial policy within an intergovernmental environment. The next chapter will explore how spatial policy can be utilised to further improve intergovernmental coordination through the development of an institutional framework and exploration of the complexities of spatial policy within federal systems of government.

CHAPTER 8: INTERGOVERNMENTAL SPATIAL POLICY COORDINATION IN CANADA: A THEORETICAL AND POICY DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

This research has explored intergovernmental spatial policy coordination through a crosscutting institutionalist conceptualisation of actor relations and the process of spatial policy formulation. A crosscutting institutionalist approach was utilised in order to understand both the formal and informal structural factors that influence senior policymakers' perceptions of space and policy and to identify the most appropriate methods to overcome the barriers to intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. An embedded case-study approach of Canada was used to explore these issues with Chapters 5-7 discussing the institutional intergovernmental spatial policy coordination environment present within and between the Governments of Canada, British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan.

Drawing on this research, this chapter returns to the intergovernmental spatial policy coordination framework posited in Chapter 3, reflecting on the influence of formal and informal structure and agency. The framework is then developed further to identify the strength of association and influence of structure and agency on intergovernmental spatial policy coordination from the perspective of senior policymakers. Finally, the framework is discussed within the Canadian context in order to identify context specific policy recommendations about how to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

REVIEWING THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The Crosscutting Institutionalist Approach

The crosscutting institutionalist approach provides the conceptual foundation for the study of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination within this research. The approach stems from the need to balance the three main established practices of researching intergovernmental relations –

constitutional, decision-making and perceptual (Entwistle 2010) – in order to obtain a more complete understanding of how spatial policy is coordinated within an intergovernmental context. The crosscutting institutionalist conceptualisation is used to examine how intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is both formally and informally structured and understood by senior policymakers by incorporating rational choice, historical and sociological institutional components (Thelen 1999). This conceptualisation was based on the premise that neither institutional strand was individually capable of adequately explaining the intergovernmental spatial policy coordination process due to limitations in underlying assumptions.

Rational choice institutionalism focused on the decision-making process of senior government officials, probing the extent to which institutions limited their ability to make decisions that best furthered their individual and departmental goals and influenced coordination between senior officials within other governments. This research confirmed and updated Hunter's (1993) conclusions that rational-choice processes are at work during intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, as senior government officials seek to protect and advance their own policy interests with coordination largely being used only when it furthered their departmental or government's interests.

The use of path dependency within historical institutionalism was used to explain how current institutions have come to exist, how previous decisions continue to influence senior policymakers and how certain institutional structures have been maintained over time despite a wide range of external forces (Arthur, Ermoliev & Kaniovski 1983). Historical factors have been shown within this research to have a dramatic impact on the current institutional structure within which intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is undertaken. Past political and official decisions have been shown to limit the ability of senior officials to make decisions and influence the effectiveness of coordination processes while at the same time constraining the degree to which geographical understandings of policy solutions have been proffered or spatial policy approaches employed.

The sociological perspective was incorporated in order to expand the line of inquiry not just to the formal institutional structure but also the more informal cultural norms and procedures that influence structure and agency (Jepperson 1991). These broader definitions of institutions provided a basis for exploring how concepts of space were constructed and influence the policy-making process as well as how informal methods of coordination interact with the more formal institutional structure of government. Such informal structures were shown to exert a strong influence upon the intergovernmental spatial policy coordination process, structuring personal relationships between senior policymakers while also explaining wider cultural differences and conceptions of space that exist between governments.

Together the three institutionalisms were used to compose a more comprehensive understanding of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination than might have been possible if the conceptual framework had relied on a single strand of new institutionalism. The crosscutting approach was used within a conceptual framework that utilised formal and informal structure and agency to construct an understanding of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination (see Figure 30). The influence of informal and formal structure and agency on each other is discussed in the following section with reference to the case study research findings presented in Chapters 5-7.

Government Institutions

The framework discusses the formal structures and rules that govern an individual's actions in the context of the multiple government institutions involved in the development and delivery of spatial policy. The research has demonstrated that these institutions are the least susceptible to change. The long-running influence of the Constitutional separation of powers, the intergovernmental negotiation structure of the ministerial councils, and the influence of ministerial responsibility and the federal spending power are all examples of the enduring nature of formal structures and the pervasiveness of their influence.
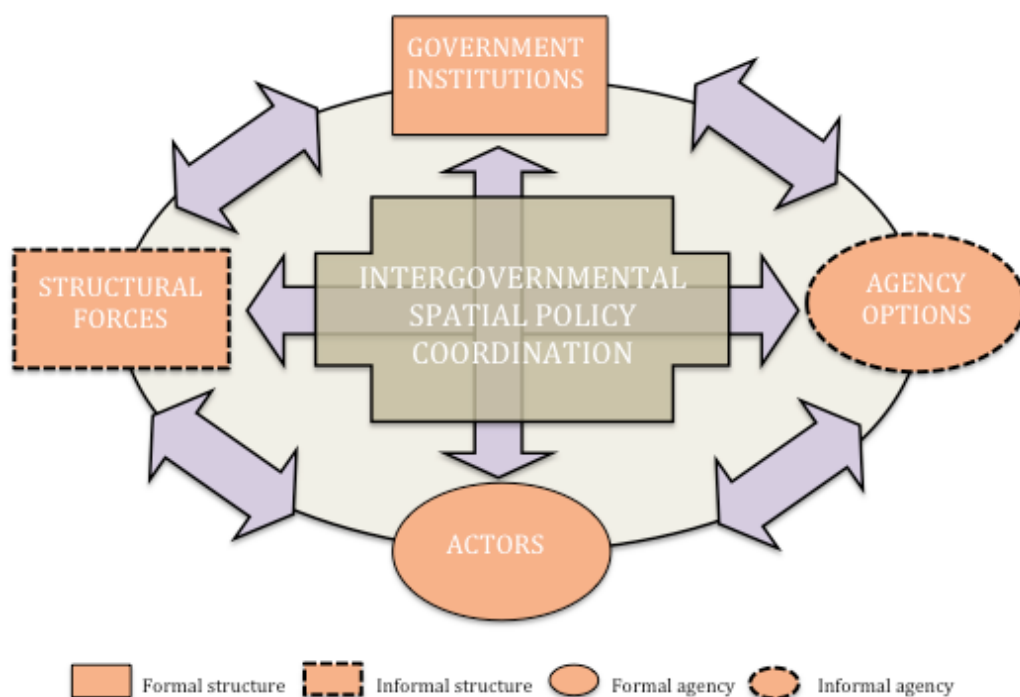
Figure 30: Intergovernmental spatial policy coordination conceptual framework
Source: Author

Within an intergovernmental structure, multiple government entities formally exist and routinely interact with one another, such as the provinces and Federal Government. Each of these governments has their own set of formal institutions, rules and procedures that influence the informal institutional structure, the composition of the formal agency actors, and the informal actions of actors.

Government institutions within Canada have the most direct impact on the formal actors that develop and coordinate intergovernmental spatial policy – in the case of this research, the senior policymaker. The strongest influence is the role government institutions play in setting out the rules under which actors must function. Legislation partly defines the actors' operating procedures and the hierarchy they must follow. These restrictions remain predominant throughout the intergovernmental spatial policy coordination process as they restrict the ability of senior policymakers to make decisions in their own self-interest; instead, actors must work to

satisfy both the institutional structural demands placed on them as well as their own personal and professional desires. The formal design of Canadian government institutions partly restricts the ability of actors to establish trust and personal relationships, as meetings and other interactions are rule based and individuals are not provided much latitude to alter these formal procedures. Government institutions are therefore primarily designed to ensure actions taken by actors under their jurisdiction advance the priorities of the individual government. The mechanisms of coordination are focused on written rules and procedure related to policy creation and implementation as opposed to mandating actors give consideration to spatial concerns, such as the requirement of a strategic spatial plan.

Rather than mandating spatiality, Canadian government institutions provide opportunity for spatial components to be developed by actors via a neutral but permissive standpoint which does not dictate whether (or how far) spatial issues can be the focus of strategic or corporate delivery plans. Depending on the government and department, this research has shown that the inclusion of spatial considerations into policy is highly variable. When policy has been developed with a spatial component, such as the Asia-Pacific Gateway Initiative, senior officials involved perceive that intergovernmental coordination has improved. Yet most government institutions do not mandate such spatiality; rather it has been informally developed by actors as a method to achieve broader government objectives. Within some governments the addition of space into policy is more developed, such as British Columbia, where an institutional change towards goal-orientated policy development, brought about by political influence and geographic circumstance, has resulted in a greater inclusion of spatial policy within departments. Such inclusion saw spatial policy considerations filter to intergovernmental partners at the federal level as well as within the Council of the Federation as an additional mechanism for improving intergovernmental policy coordination.

Politicians, who are empowered with the ability to alter the structure and function of the bureaucracy, ultimately control formal government institutions, although it should be noted that civil servants can in some

instances subvert political directives (Savoie 2003). As such, political leadership, such as in British Columbia, a reluctance to undertake long-term spatial policy development, as well a penchant for spatial issues to become highly political, leads to politicians playing a strong role in the coordination of intergovernmental spatial policy. This research has shown that politicians play a crucial role in structuring how senior policymakers function and how they go about developing intergovernmental spatial policy coordination when existing mechanisms for 'joining-up' are poorly developed.

Actors: The Senior Policymaker

Senior policymakers are the predominant set of actors on which this research focuses. While they are by no means the only actors that play a role in intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, their undoubted centrality legitimises the emphasis on them in this research. Previous chapters have shown that they play one of the most vital roles in intergovernmental spatial policy coordination as the predominant agents involved in policy development and intergovernmental policy negotiations.

Senior policymakers within Canada are highly professional and generally work effectively under the government institutions that structure their jobs. While being influenced by formal government institutions they also reciprocally influence these same institutions. As advisors to politicians who ultimately control these institutions they are in a position to influence their structure. Senior officials interviewed for this research have commented on the increase in intergovernmental meetings and higher levels of formal coordination that have taken place in the last decade as a result of institutional changes. While these changes have not fundamentally shifted how government functions, they have resulted in additional levels of communication that work to foster improved intergovernmental policy coordination. The inclusion of spatial policy considerations into Canadian government institutions is not particularly strong, however. Interviews suggest that many senior policymakers see a role for long-term planning that involves intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, but they are

often limited in their ability to advance such a cause due to the existence of a highly reactive policy environment.

Senior policymakers are heavily influenced by informal structural factors. On a personal level, their individual cultural and historical backgrounds are recognised indirectly to influence their jobs. Interviewees commented that Western Canadian culture often clashed with that of policymakers from the East. This influenced the ability to generate trust across governments, particularly federally, and long-term working relationships. Conversely similar cultural backgrounds were seen as an important component of strong working relationships that are considered key to successful intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. From a professional perspective, considerations of historical political and social sensitivities manifested themselves in intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, such as concerns related to equity and urban-rural conflict. These cultural sensitivities limited the decision-making options of actors and restricted their ability to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

While senior policymakers are limited in their ability to make decisions they have developed methods for overcoming some of the formal structural barriers that limit intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. The development of strong personal relationships is considered the most important informal component. These personal relationships foster trust and establish a collegiality that allows a variety of differences to be worked out while at the same time generating a strong sense of mutual respect. Canadian officials strongly value these personal relationships and use them to advance policy concerns even when formal relationships between governments are strained due to political stresses, expanding and confirming similar conclusions by Johns, O'Reilly and Inwood (2007) in their study of officials working exclusively within and between intergovernmental affairs agencies.

Informal Agency Options

Informal agency options represent the various options available to actors when making decisions on how to advance intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. The numbers of options are constrained by the government institutions, broader structural forces, and the role of the actors making the decisions. As decisions on how to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination are developed those decisions in turn influence the very forces that constrain actors' decision-making processes.

Interviewees for this research continually commented on how intergovernmental coordination has gradually been improving throughout the first decade of 2000. These improvements stem from various decisions made by actors that in turn altered how government institutions function, such as the creation of the Council of the Federation, joint cabinet meetings, increased institutionalisation of cross-governmental deputy minister meetings, and the signing of the Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement. Spatially, intergovernmental policy coordination decisions have not had as much influence on government institutions. This research has shown that cross-governmental spatial policy development in Canada is not common practice and only since the early 2000s been used as a method for improving intergovernmental coordination in a limited fashion.

Yet the benefits of incorporating space in policy to improve intergovernmental coordination has not gone unnoticed by some senior policy officials. The success of the Asia-Pacific Gateway as well as the increased emphasis on spatial policy by the Government of British Columbia in general has helped to 'spatialise' officials involved in such projects. These officials commented on how the use of space in policy worked to improve intergovernmental coordination and how those linkages across governments were maintained and expanded to other aspects of intergovernmental coordination. In particular, a spatial focus helped to remove departmental silos, as issues were not seen to be as sectorally focused as they use to be, but rather place-based. This in turn improved

relationships between actors that would not normally have been interacting with one another.

However, broader structural forces are the most significant factor in restricting the inclusion of spatial considerations into policy in Canada. Concerns of equity, particularly at the federal level, have led to nervousness towards spatial considerations within policy. In some cases, such as the New Deal for Cities, spatially focused policy efforts clashed with larger political and societal concerns. In other cases, such as the Asia-Pacific Gateway, spatially focused policy was not seen as a major obstacle, in part because a broader case relating to the benefits of specific spatial improvements was made and because similar initiatives were created for other regions of Canada, in part silencing equity concerns raised by some provincial governments. At the same time the Asia-Pacific Gateway's focus on Asia resulted in a new way of seeing the role of the province within the Canadian federation. Rather than as a province within Canada, British Columbia asserted itself as a larger player on the global stage, similar in manner to global city regions which are increasingly playing an assertive role at the global level, in some cases seemingly bypassing the nation-state (Scott et al. 2001). In this way the inclusion of space into policy helped to cement the government's long-term approach to investment and partly shifted the wider structural forces that influence actors and government institutions.

Informal Structural Forces

Informal structural forces play a significant role in influencing intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. The strong link between regional culture and space (Paasi 2003) ensures that spatial policy development is not undertaken in a vacuum devoid of historical context. These informal structural forces are unique not only to each government, but also to each individual depending on their upbringing and personal experiences. Having said that, wider societal conventions also work to structure the formation of government institutions, actors, and the types of decisions they make.

Much of the decision making by senior officials related to the process of intergovernmental coordination of spatial policy is shaped by a path dependent timeline, whereby decisions taken in the past become locked in and manifest themselves into various institutional cultures, influencing and constraining choices. This process can be seen in how the Federal Government deals with the Western Provinces, particularly Alberta, as a result of the fall out from the 1980 National Energy Program and the resulting sense of alienation and suspicion felt by Western Canadians. Officials consider the perception of favouritism a constant underlying factor when developing federal policy. Similarly, Saskatchewan's pragmatic approach to intergovernmental relations is predicated on a give-and-take approach that balances an understanding of the province's previous dependence on Federal Government subsidies with its current strong economic status within the federation.

Evidence from interviews suggests that while informal structural forces influence the decision-making process of senior government officials, they also affect officials in a broader manner. An ageing population has resulted in a high percentage of senior officials retiring, which has in turn created a refreshing of the civil service across Canada at the senior level. This turnover in the upper echelons of the civil service has influenced how intergovernmental spatial policy coordination is undertaken. One consequence has been to make the maintenance of personal relationships difficult, thereby reducing the level of trust between governments. Another has been the appointment to senior positions of younger officials who are more open to cross-sectoral thinking, new networked ways of working, and who do not carry the same level of historical concerns that still largely permeate the senior civil service.

Although considered the most stable component of the conceptual framework, informal structural forces also influence government institutions, albeit more gradually. The blurring of the constitutional separation of powers, in part brought on by the federal spending power, has necessitated greater intergovernmental interactions. Changing political views of Canadians, and especially the diminishing support for the

maintenance of the welfare state in the post-war years and the
accompanying rise of market-orientated neo-liberal approaches since the
1980s, has resulted in a weakening of many government institutions as
policymakers shift from being advisors of government towards being
implementers of government priorities due in part to the privatisation
processes noted previously but also due to the centralisation of power
towards the executive level that has occurred throughout the late 1990s and
2000s. This has also resulted in a retreat from a more evidence-based policy
environment, as budgets are restrained. The lack of resources available for
the collection of evidence has ramifications for intergovernmental spatial
policy coordination, as a strong evidence-base was seen as a major
foundational component of the Asia-Pacific Gateway. Interviewees
commented that an evidence-base was useful in motivating stakeholders
into action as well as to calm tensions between governments as it could
demonstrate that long-term benefits would flow to regions outside of the
Gateway investment areas in the long-term.

**The Canadian Intergovernmental Spatial Policy Coordination
Framework**

The earlier discussion in this chapter provided an evaluation of the
applicability of the intergovernmental spatial policy coordination
framework in the Canadian context. The previous discussion demonstrated
that while the framework provides a useful basis for analysis, the reciprocal
nature of the four strands of structure and agency are not of equal
significance, as originally conceptualised, but rather are more dynamic,
depending on the unique context within which the research is conducted.
Figure 31 demonstrates the degree of influence of each of the four strands
on each other within Canada. The larger the arrow head the greater the level
of influence.

The framework shows that while informal structural forces have a
strong influence on the informal agency options and actors, the reciprocal
relationship is not as strong. Rather it is government institutions that
gradually have the greatest impact on informal structural forces over time
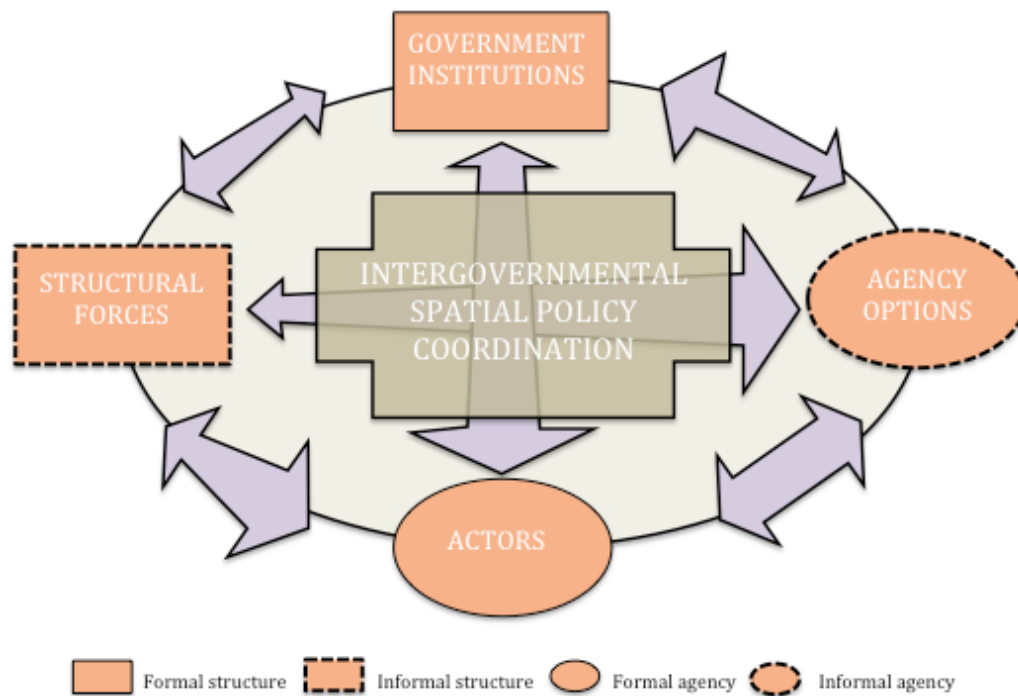
Figure 31: The Canadian intergovernmental spatial policy coordination framework

Source: Author

as well as strongly influencing the formal actors compared to its relatively weak influence on agency options. Conversely agency options have a stronger influence over government institutions as policy options that are effective are slowly reinforced within government. Formal actors, meanwhile, are strongly influenced by all three strands, forcing them to balance a wide range of factors when making decisions on intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

What must be accepted, however, is that the above framework is a generalisation of Canadian intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, at a static point in time and for only four governments. Chapter 7 has demonstrated how each government is individually impacted by structure and agency and, as such, more nuanced frameworks can exist for each government. For example the Government of Alberta places more emphasis on the formal constitutional separation of powers then the other provinces, therefore government institutions within the framework would have influence over the types of agency options available to policy makers then is illustrated in the generalised Canadian intergovernmental spatial policy

framework. Senior policy actors in British Columbia, meanwhile, have slightly more policy options available to them given the wider goal-orientated approach within which they develop policy compared with other governments that still maintain more siloed policy making approaches.

SETTING THE STAGE FOR IMPROVED INTERGOVERNMENTAL SPATIAL POLICY COORDINATION IN CANADA: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This section provides a number of recommendations to improve Canadian intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. This research has demonstrated that there is scope for improvements in this field, but that particular barriers must be removed and opportunities taken advantage of before advancements can be made. This section discusses eight policy recommendations to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination within Canada. It highlights the importance of continuing to encourage diversity, strengthen first ministers and joint cabinet meetings, the need to ingrain coordination and increase legislative flexibility, improve the evidence-base, think spatially, develop strategic spatial documents, shift the focus of policy towards the future, and ensure equity through fairness in funding.

Continue to Encourage Diversity

Federations exist to manage and encourage diversity (Elazar 1979). This is an institutional reality that should not be ignored when considering methods to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination within a federal context. Intergovernmental conflict in Canada is a common theme within this research, resulting from a variety of historical and cultural factors which must be recognised and managed. Spatial policy diversity should therefore be encouraged as a tool to promote inter-provincial equity, minimise territorial conflict and (in some cases) facilitate the development of regional identity.

Yet it is not entirely possible, nor necessarily desirable, to remove all forms of equity concerns and conflict (Fleiner et al. 2002, pp. 205-07). The high level of concern placed on equity ensures that equilibrium is

maintained in order to reduce extremes, such as those related to concentrated poverty, economic reliance, and the homogenisation of culture. Conflict benefits the federation by allowing ideas to be expressed and debated and for minority voices to be heard and represented. What is required is balance in order to ensure that particular regions do not become over-represented or under-represented.

Equity and conflict are well represented through the political dimensions of federalism. Politicians promote and push for particular interests both for their own constituents as well as their party. As such, they play a major role as both agents of conflict and change as well as advocates for defined regional interests that civil servants must often then work to address. This research has demonstrated that senior officials are key players in maintaining strong intergovernmental relationships, despite politicians from different governments at times being in intense conflict with one another over policy approaches.

While the reduction of equity concerns and conflict is important, policy diversity should be encouraged as it is useful as a means for encouraging innovation, as different policy approaches are developed within a wide variety of contexts. When this policy innovation culture is extended to include greater interaction between different governments it will assist in the transfer of successful policy ideas and also challenge more reticent government departments to be more open to different policy approaches.

Strengthen First Ministers and Joint Cabinet Meetings

Politicians play an important role in advancing intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in their capacity as leaders and rule creators. Yet, strong political leadership does not always exist and is highly dependent on the individual. Better engagement with political leaders from other governments can, however, be encouraged by formalising First Ministers meetings. The Council of the Federation does this at the provincial and territorial level, producing strategic documents on a variety of crosscutting issues, such as energy and transportation. These documents are often jointly

produced by two governments, resulting in an exchange of ideas between institutional cultures. However there is little engagement with the Federal Government at these meetings. Rather the Council of the Federation acts as a means to lobby the Federal Government for funding instead of trying to collaborate with them. More regular engagement, such as annual meetings, between the Prime Minister and the other First Ministers would help establish personal relationships and advance high-level issues that civil servants have been unable to overcome.

Such relationships are key to creating trust and reducing the inherent tensions resulting from historical regional concerns. Interviewees discussed the amount of engagement across governments that occur before, during, and after Council of the Federation meetings, which in turn also helps senior officials to establish personal relationships with colleagues across governments. Regular First Minister meetings would allow the political leaders to consider their federal/provincial concerns within the broader context of the Federation and in doing so make spatial connections between their jurisdictional territory and that of their counterparts.

In a similar vein, joint cabinet meetings between provinces have been shown in this research to be effective at considering territorial connections and reducing intergovernmental barriers. Convening such meetings between territorially contiguous provinces on an annual basis could help to institutionalise cross-border cooperation, allowing long-term issues to be considered and progress to be measured. Regular joint cabinet meetings also have the advantage of reinforcing, for senior officials, the need to think about external territorial considerations. Too often senior officials think exclusively within the confines of the government they serve and neglect to consider the wider context of the Federation. As a result, joint cabinet meetings help to bring policy issues of mutual concern between two governments to the fore and promote the exchange of ideas, and work to bring about institutional change.

Institutional change can be seen in relation to the TILMA agreement between British Columbia and Alberta that was a direct product of joint cabinet meetings between the two governments. This agreement brought

about an institutional change for both governments, which saw a new level of transparency and information exchange develop between them. Joint cabinet meetings between British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan saw an expansion of TILMA and the creation of the New West Partnership. Meanwhile, Ontario and Quebec have held annual joint cabinet meetings since 2008, resulting in the creation of their own Ontario-Quebec Trade and Cooperation Agreement. Like the Council of the Federation, these joint cabinet meetings do not extend to engagement with the Federal Government. Although joint cabinet meetings between the Federal Government and each individual province are unrealistic given the numerous interests the Federal Government must balance within the Federation there is certainly scope for more formalised high-level engagement between the First Ministers and advantage to be gained in terms of greater cooperation.

Ingrain Coordination and Increase Legislative Flexibility

Legislation for ministries sets out the rules under which the various actors function. At the political level legislation details the powers of the minister and their duties. The duties of ministers vary depending on the ministry under their control; as a result the duty to coordinate both within and between government is fragmented. Some legislation, such as the Government of Canada's *Western Economic Diversification Act* includes a clause that states the Minister *shall* "lead and coordinate the efforts of the Government of Canada to establish cooperative relationships with the provinces constituting Western Canada, business, labour and other public and private organizations for the development and diversification of the economy of Western Canada" (Minister of Justice 1985, p. 2). This compares to the Government of Canada's *Department of Human Resources and Skills Development Act* that refers to coordination with the clause that the minister *may* "cooperate with provincial authorities with a view to coordinating efforts for human resources and skills development" (Minister of Justice 2005, p. 3). The difference between shall and may is noticeable in relation to commanding a minister to do something and providing them the option.

Legislation should be altered to include a requirement for Ministers to coordinate across government in order to improve policy outcomes and work to avoid negative coordination consequences caused by redundancy, lacunae and incoherence (Peters 1998).

In some provinces, such as Alberta, a requirement to coordinate is included in the ministers' mandate letters. That requirement, however, is limited only to coordination within government rather than with other governments. Including a requirement to coordinate, when possible, with other governments in ministerial mandate letters would create an understanding that intergovernmental coordination should be a key concern for the minister and as such a key concern for civil servants working under him or her. There is still a concern related to the uneasiness that ministerial responsibility creates for coordination. These concerns require that memorandums of understanding detail precisely who does what in terms of intergovernmental policy development in order to avoid ministerial conflicts related to the duties of responsible government.

The political dimension does not end with leadership, however. As the political masters of civil servants, there is a need for politicians to alter the rules under which civil servants function in order to allow them greater flexibility to engage with their colleagues. However, the past few decades have in fact seen the opposite trend, with a centralisation of powers towards the executive and less delegation of authority to senior officials. Legislation governing ministries should be altered to include a requirement to cooperate when possible during the policy development process and civil servants should be provided with the privileges necessary to engage their counterparts in other governments. Less prescriptive legislation would allow flexibility in policy development and foster experimentation and innovation that can generate new ways of thinking about programme delivery and strategic issues. At the moment many senior officials feel overly restricted in how they can perform their duties, stifling creativity. As such, there is a need for politicians to rediscover the civil servant. The role of the civil servant has been gradually eroded within Canada, with a shift from advisor to implementer. Politicians need to place more faith in the abilities

of civil servants to provide policy options and help to solve policy dilemmas.

Improve the Evidence-base

In order for civil servants to properly do their jobs they need the necessary resources to make sound recommendations and decisions. Senior officials interviewed for this research commented that they are often forced to provide advice based on limited information and without adequate time to consider alternatives. The secondary data that officials often rely on may also become less reliable due to the recent cancellation of the mandatory long-form census, which previously acted as a major data resource on demography for policymakers during policy formulation.

A lack of rigorous primary and secondary data creates tensions for intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. An evidence-base is viewed as a necessary component of partnership (Powell & Moon 2001), as it allows coordination to be undertaken from a supposedly neutral foundation with less emphasis on conjecture and ideology and more placed on solving an identified problem or meeting a particular need. While the neutrality of an evidence-base is questionable it is considered more reliable during policy formulation than after the fact policy evaluation, where it is more likely to be manipulated to justify past decisions (Healy 2002).

The use of an evidence-base in the Asia-Pacific Gateway Initiative was seen by those interviewed as a key tool for coordination across diverse stakeholders. It was first used to identify specific problems, thereby framing the goals and reducing the number of stakeholders to only those necessary to solve the problem. Identified stakeholders were then engaged by using the evidence-base to highlight how the problem impacted upon them. It was also used to make the case for investment, spelling out the potential benefits of involvement by stakeholders. In this way evidence played a key role in defining the goals, stakeholders and investments undertaken for the Asia-Pacific Gateway Initiative. Spatially, the Asia-Pacific Gateway Initiative utilised an evidence-base to offset concerns about targeted spatial investments in particular ports, roads and rail infrastructure. Concerns

about equity were dampened because the evidence existed to show that such investments would have a wider spatial benefit.

The funding for the creation of an evidence-base was provided by the Government of British Columbia and subsequently augmented by the Government of Canada. A similar financial commitment to the production of evidence appears to be lacking for other policy initiatives according to those interviewed. This, combined with a move towards senior policy officials as implementers rather than advisors, results in problems for intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. The role of senior officials as implementers can result in tensions in the establishment of consensus as they seek to argue their policy alternative rather than use the evidence available to construct a policy approach suitable to everyone.

Increased funding for the better establishment of an evidence-base is necessary for governments in Canada to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. Such an increase would allow primary and secondary data to be collected and shared across governments in order to better identify priorities and target funding and policy initiatives where needed. Such funding for evidence may also help to reorient the role of senior officials back towards advisors to government as they have a better foundation upon which to base policy relevant advice. An improved evidence-base also allows intergovernmental discussions to be formulised based on data rather then the more stark contrasts of political ideology.

Think Spatially

Currently, this research has demonstrated that spatial policy is not widely utilised in policy development within the governments discussed. Yet, a spatial policy approach has been shown to be an effective tool for improving coordination, as it can successfully establish a common point of discussion amongst diverse stakeholders and keep them focused on the improvement of a well-defined area. Within the Canadian governments studied, spatial policy is poorly developed largely due to concerns related to the equitable spatial distribution of funding.

Spatially defining investment implies winners and losers as areas are included or excluded from maps. Equity concerns are particularly acute for the Government of Canada as it tries to balance the various interests of the provinces when developing policy. Internally at the provincial level equity concerns are not as stark, although urban and rural contrasts have been demonstrated to exist. In order to alleviate these concerns, spatial policy in Canada would need to ensure that the investments are spatially dispersed but policy specific. Such an approach would see an evidence-base used to define, in a spatial sense, unique policy problems for all regions of a province or the country at large, rather than focusing exclusively on one space. This approach would recognise that policy challenges are not uniform and allow policy to be developed that meets the need of a particular area.

Currently many of those interviewed for this research at the provincial level do not design policy to suit the needs of individual areas; rather they attempt to make policy broad enough to apply to all areas. Individual tailoring is done after the fact where necessary rather than proactively. A shift towards spatial thinking would see a more proactively tailored policy approach taken. This would represent a more asymmetrical approach to policy but at the same time would allow each region to make improvements and investments as needed.

In order for intergovernmental spatial policy coordination to be improved there is a need for senior officials to think more spatially. There is therefore a need to increase its use in policy circles within Canada. In order to do this the spatial considerations need to be better institutionalised within government.

Develop Strategic Spatial Documents

Public policy in Canada remains largely siloed, both within departments and across governments. While some attempts have been made to break down barriers to intergovernmental coordination throughout the 2000s, interviewees noted a lack of policy coordination continues to pervade as policy consultation is often mistaken for policy coordination. A goal-orientated approach has been a useful tool in achieving

intergovernmental policy coordination. This goal-orientated approach is less concerned with process and more interested in outcomes.

While goals can be slightly nebulous in nature, the lack of specificity creates a welcoming environment to diverse interests while at the same time keeping the process side of the policy focused, created by a filtering down of objectives stemming from the goal. Within Canada there is a tendency for officials in government to become too focused on process or when goals are set they are too broad, resulting in difficulty in determining how to achieve the goal, measure progress or who should do what.

The inclusion of a spatial element to the goal-orientated approach helps coordination further by focusing those interests on the improvement of a defined space that stakeholders can identify with rather then a spatially abstract area. The spatial component helps to narrow the goal making it easier to define evaluation criteria and determine which stakeholders should be involved based on their interests in the defined space.

Governments in Canada can improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination by embracing the goal-orientated approach. Although widely used departmental process-orientated corporate plans ought to be retained, additional strategic spatial documents could be developed in partnership between the Government of Canada and the provinces as well as between territorially contiguous provinces that focus on cross-sectoral and cross-border issues. This research has demonstrated that strategic spatial documents are not heavily used within Canada but when used they are often goal-orientated and include coordination elements.

Strategic spatial documents can inform corporate plan development, which often have a rolling three-year timeframe. Corporate departmental plans would have a requirement to have regard to the strategic plans during their development, where linkages between departments can be understood within a wider intergovernmental policy context. Linking strategic spatial documents to corporate plans makes the connection between short-term outputs and longer-term outcomes. The strategic spatial documents would be goal-orientated and developed with government departments that have the potential to contribute to the goal.

By making connections and establishing relationships between governments and their respective departments, strategic spatial documents would increase communication between officials and allow them to develop better personal relationships, which are key to improved coordination. Increased joint cabinet meetings and First Ministers meetings, something which was originally proposed by the MacDonald Commission (Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada 1985, p. 265), would allow the wider goals to be established at the highest political levels and then filtered down through the plans and then to the departmental corporate plans. The Council of the Federation currently includes certain aspects of this approach, where issues are discussed at their annual meeting, governments assigned to lead the development of strategic documents that are goal-orientated and issue focused, and then followed up on during future meetings. The above would be an expansion of this approach that would include the Government of Canada and also make a stronger link between strategic outcomes and departmental corporate outputs. Caution is needed however to ensure that such an approach does not overly institutionalise unilateralism (Painter 1991); instead, issues to be discussed would have to be limited only to those of universal consensus between all governments.

Shift the Focus Towards the Future

The dominance of the corporate planning approach in Canada also creates difficulties for long-term planning. As discussed previously, corporate planning generally operates on a rolling three-year plan that does not take into account longer-term issues or concerns. This, coupled with the pragmatic demands resulting from shifting political concerns, has resulted in a more reactive rather than proactive institutional culture in many government departments. A reactive institutional culture is not particularly conducive to intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, as goals and objectives constantly change, creating uncertainty between intergovernmental partners.

This reactive environment leads to a lack of policy emphasis on meeting future demand and challenges. An improved evidence-base and wider strategic approach would allow longer term issues such as demographic change, migratory flows, infrastructure maintenance, economic diversification and environmental impacts to be examined in greater detail and dealt with in a more holistic manner. The need for a longer-term outlook is an important factor for spatially focused initiatives, as spatial impacts are often not immediately obvious. Interviewees in this research consistently lamented the lack of long-term policy focus while simultaneously stressing the need to work in a short-term pragmatic manner.

For this longer term approach to be institutionalised, however, would require a greater and more stable allocation of resources. While individual programmes and departmental budgets are subject to change, governments would need to commit to funding initiatives included in the agreed strategic spatial documents over a longer time period, such as five to seven years. This can be achieved by negotiating MOUs between the governments related to each strategic spatial document. The MOUs would commit long-term stable funding to the initiatives and allow the strategic spatial documents to be developed with an upfront understanding of the funding available. Such an upfront understanding would allow senior officials to temper expectations of stakeholders and develop project budgets from the start of the process rather than negotiating the funding at a later stage, which can cause delays in policy development as funding is negotiated between partners and information is withheld in order to maintain a strong bargaining position.

The MOUs would also outline responsibilities between governments and departments. Who does what would be established at the start of the process in order for leadership roles to be defined and accountability to be assigned so that officials and ministers would be aware of their respective responsibilities. MOUs have been successfully used in the past for intergovernmental agreements, including the three gateway initiatives and

funding related to the transfer of gasoline taxes to the provinces/municipalities for infrastructure development.

Stable funding would demonstrate that the strategic documents and associated initiatives were being taken seriously at a political level and provide government departments with an incentive to work together. Such a commitment would generate the top-down political recognition needed to make senior officials comfortable with shifting towards a more long-term perspective on policy development. A consequence of long-term partnerships between government departments is a corresponding increase in the level of communication and trust between officials, as personal relationships are developed leading to greater sharing of information and understanding of the impact of departmental policies on other governments departments.

Ensure Equity Through Fairness in Funding

Given the historical sensitivities towards equity that have been discussed in this research, any funding agreement attached to the MOUs between the Government of Canada and provinces must ensure fiscal fairness in funding in order to avoid resentment and tension at the level of both politicians and officials. Issues of equity within Canada remain a sensitive subject, creating reluctance by politicians and senior officials to engage with intergovernmental spatial policy coordination activities. Yet, based on this research, this concern can be offset in part if principles of fairness are adequately incorporated into intergovernmental spatial policy coordination. While it may be optimal to dedicate an overly large amount of financial resources to one province or project in order to reflect patterns of need, the realities of federalism make such an approach, if used as the norm, difficult. Rather, a funding approach that is transparent and seen as 'fair' can go a long way towards relieving concerns related to the equitable spatial distribution of financial resources. It is important to note however that even apparently neutral funding formulae to distribute financial resources are inherently political, reflecting value-laden choices about the chosen criteria for selection and indicators used for evaluation.

A funding approach similar to that currently used by Infrastructure Canada for calculating infrastructure funding to the provinces should be used. This approach would see a per capita level of funding committed to each province by the Government of Canada for strategic spatial initiatives within a province's boundaries. This funding would be topped up with a base level of funding that would be the same for each province in order to provide a minimum level of funding. Additional per capita funding would also be provided for cross-border provincial initiatives. All funding would require matching funds from the provincial governments. The initiatives to be funded through the strategic spatial documents would have to be jointly approved by designated ministers for the governments involved based on the understanding that the initiatives represent an equal partnership between governments.

The funding system would differ from the current infrastructure funding approach in that there would not be a competitive funding stream. The competitive funding stream is not suggested because it creates an imbalance in the federal-provincial relationship. Having provinces bid for money puts the Government of Canada in a superior negotiating position as it would have exclusive control over what initiatives are funded and which are not. This is a noticeable difference from the majority of currently cost-shared funding streams between the Government of Canada and the provinces. Provincial interviewees for this research expressed resentment at the use of the Government of Canada's superior financial power to define initiatives, rules, and accountability mechanisms without input from the provinces. This approach creates a 'take it or leave it' funding environment that immediately shifts the balance of power within the federal-provincial working relationship and is not conducive to improved coordination.

Having said this the discretionary award of funds might be considered to allow for maximum flexibility by providing the government with the ability to respond rapidly to ever changing and/or unanticipated problems, might be considered less unwieldy than formula-based funding and may allow for more experimentation in policy. Furthermore, it may also be argued that it's legitimate for the centre to try to control and manage sub-

central government approaches, on the grounds that it's federal money and because provincial areas are inefficient or lack policy know-how. However this research has proved otherwise, as provincial governments have demonstrated a high level of policy maturity, that the constitutional division of powers does not provide for the federal level of government to intervene in a wide area of provincial responsibilities and attempts to do so unilaterally creates a great deal of animosity between the provinces and federal government. Policy flexibility still exists in the process as funding can be used to individually design policy to meet the needs of each province and while formula-based funding may not be as flexible as competitive-based, interviews suggest that competitive funding processes still maintain an informal level of equity-based funding selection and as such a formula-based process is seen as a more transparent approach.

While there is nothing to stop provincial governments from instituting strategic spatial initiatives on their own between one another, any funding allocated by the Government of Canada should contain a requirement that initiatives demonstrate a net benefit to Canada outside of the individual province or provinces involved. This would demonstrate additional equity in the use of federal money, as allocated funds achieve a wider benefit for the Canadian federation. The 'net benefit' condition would also ensure that funding programmes do not overlap existing infrastructure funding streams that place more emphasis on smaller scale infrastructure associated with provincial municipalities, such as sewage treatment upgrades, bridge repairs and road widening.

SUMMARY

This chapter has reviewed the applicability of the conceptual framework for the study of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination and the use of a crosscutting institutionalist approach. It has demonstrated that government institutions are structurally rigid but open to gradual change over time in interaction with external forces, other governments, politicians and civil servants. Senior policymakers are major actors in intergovernmental spatial policy coordination who work to manage and

negotiate between structural forces while also being actors for institutional change. Improvements in intergovernmental spatial policy coordination are limited by these structural factors, reducing the types of decisions senior policymakers can take. Yet, some decisions have been made that work gradually to improve intergovernmental coordination throughout the past decade. The use of a spatial component in the improvement of intergovernmental coordination still remains largely absent, however – in part due to informal structural factors linked to historical events. These informal structural factors create path dependent circumstances that continue to influence how actors conceive intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

The intergovernmental spatial policy coordination framework was then critiqued for the Canadian context. This research has shown that the influence of interaction between the structure and actor elements is not equal, but rather is variable and context specific. A Canadian intergovernmental spatial policy coordination framework was generated based on the research of this thesis that showed the current interaction of structure and agency within Canada based on the four governments studied.

Policy recommendations to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in Canada were then discussed, leading to eight recommendations. These can be organised into three categories: those that influence informal structural; those which affect formal structure; and agency options (see Figure 32). Actors enact each of the recommendations, whether they are senior officials or politicians, some of which can be implemented in the short-term through specific actions and others that are longer term and need time to become properly institutionalised.

Shorter-term recommendations can be implemented through direct action taken by actors, including mandating coordination and increasing legislative flexibility, improving the evidence-base, developing strategic spatial documents, and ensuring equity through fairness in funding. Longer-term recommendations relate to the institutionalisation of particular recommendations throughout governments. These include the need for senior officials to think spatially, to look to the future, to encourage diversity
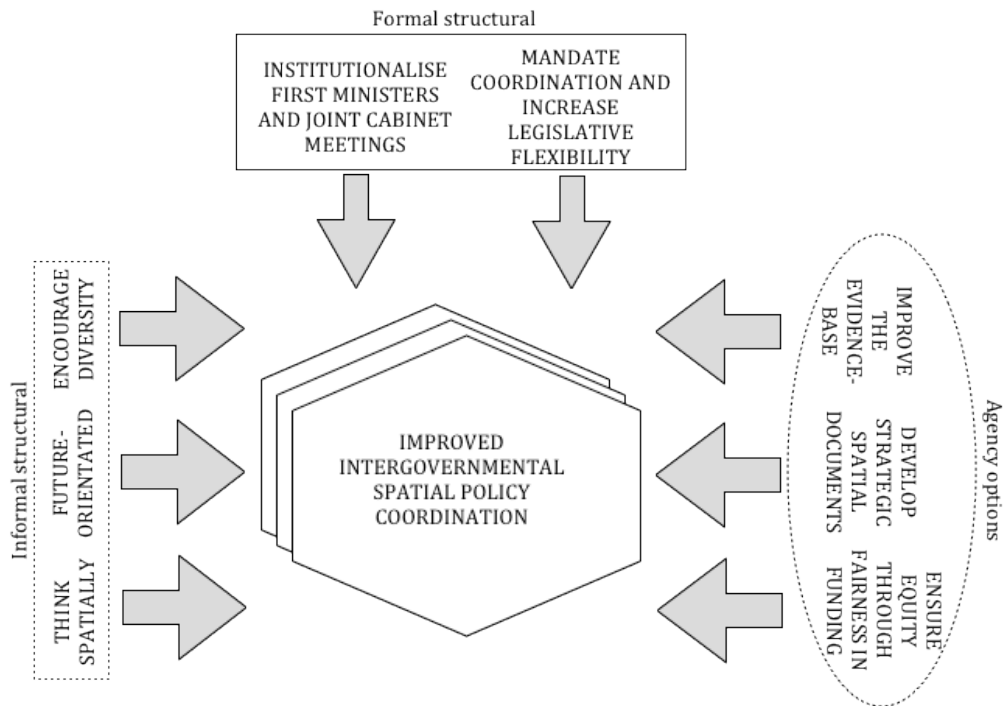
*Figure 32: Components for improved intergovernmental spatial policy
coordination*
Source: Author

in policy development, and the need to institutionalise first ministers and
joint cabinet meetings.

    In doing so, this chapter has discussed how the conceptual framework
can be used in this thesis to study intergovernmental spatial policy
coordination and how recommendations can be developed for the Canadian
context. The next chapter reflects on the thesis, its aim and objectives,
research implications and limitations, as well as areas for future research.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research was to understand how institutional dynamics structure the formulation and coordination of intergovernmental spatial policy in order to construct a framework for the study and generate recommendations about how best to improve policy in future. This was achieved first through an examination of the current theoretical and practical understandings of spatial territorial development, analysis and policy coordination within an intergovernmental environment, and specifically Canada, in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 4 then discussed issues of regionalism and analysed the current spatial inequality and connectivity that exists within Canada in order to identify the case study regions. This was followed by an analysis of policy documents in Chapter 5, highlighting the extent of formal institutionalised intergovernmental spatial policy coordination between the Federal Government and three case study provincial governments of Canada. Chapters 6 and 7 then examined the informal institutional context, relationships, and the attitudes of senior policymakers in Canada towards intergovernmental spatial policy. Finally, Chapter 8 refined the conceptual framework for the study of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination based on the analysis of all data collected and recommended context specific policy approaches to improve intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in Canada.

This chapter discusses the research contribution that this thesis has made to the academic literature. It first discusses the deeper connection established between organisational studies, federalism studies, and spatial planning. This is followed by a discussion related to contemporary understandings of Canadian regional spatial inequality and connectivity. The formal expression of spatial content and intergovernmental coordination is then discussed and explained to be mostly lacking and highly variable within governments and what this means for broader understandings of spatial policy discourse and analysis. The variability of informal

institutional understandings of spatial policy and intergovernmental coordination within the governments studied is then discussed within the context of current literature on institutionalism and federalism. Finally, the lack of equilibrium between structure and agency in Canada is discussed within the context of the crosscutting institutionalist approach taken within this research. This is followed by a discussion on areas for further research and final thesis conclusions.

RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION

ORGANISATIONAL STUDIES, FEDERALISM AND SPATIAL PLANNING

This research has sought to contribute to three distinct fields of research: organisational studies, federalism and spatial planning. It has done so through the study of intergovernmental policy coordination and conceptions of space. The crosscutting institutionalist approach used in this research has been demonstrated to be useful at explaining the process of change within path dependent systems. This confirms Greener's theoretical statements that through a combination of institutionalist approaches both institutional permanency and change can be better explained than if studied independently, as the best mechanism is considered to be one that is "located not in the cultural or structural spheres, nor in human agency, but in the interactions between all three" (Greener 2005, p. 16). At a more practical level, this research has demonstrated that the corporate management approach now largely used by governments in Canada (Peters 1998), and associated with the organisational literature on New Public Management, has been partially effective at improving intergovernmental coordination according to senior officials, as improvements in coordination correspond to the introduction of this method within the civil service. However this research has highlighted an unexpected consequence of transferring senior officials between departments in order to provide them with wider perspectives on the interaction of government departments, in that such transferring of individuals destroys well-established personal relationships that are seen to be key drivers of intergovernmental policy

267

coordination. This highlights a consequence of utilising the corporate management approach in government that was not identified by Bourgault (2007) in his study of coordination at the deputy minister level, in part perhaps because the research participants in this research were below the deputy minister level. Given that an analysis of corporate management was not the main focus of this research, this topic requires additional study.

The study of federalism is a well-established academic practice within Canada, yet a 2008 report for the Intergovernmental Affairs Secretariat, Government of Canada, highlighted a number of gaps in Canadian federalist research to which this research has sought to contribute. The areas on which existing research evidence is scant include the limited amount of federalist research from non-traditional fields, the need for greater research based on institutional analysis that focuses on the inner workings of intergovernmental relations, and the need for more extensive use of quantitative data within federalist studies (Fafard & Rocher 2008). This research has discussed intergovernmental coordination within federalism by considering spatial policy, highlighting how spatial issues are understood by policymakers working within an intergovernmental environment and exploring the influence these issues have on the development of policy. Most institutional intergovernmental studies of federalism in Canada focus on the political/constitutional (see, for example, Bolleyer 2006; Bolleyer & Bytzek 2009; Cameron & Simeon 2002; Painter 1991; Radin & Boase 2000) or financial dimensions (see, for example, Bakvis & Brown 2010; Bernard 2004; Boadway & Watts 2000; Lecours & Béland 2009) of how the Federation functions. Less attention has been paid to the institutional dimensions of federalism present among civil servants, although recent work has begun in this area (see for example Bourgault 2007; Fafard, Rocher and Côte 2010; Johns, O'Reilly & Inwood 2007) upon which this research builds. The informal institutional dimensions have also been augmented by the use of quantitative demographic data to inform a discussion of regionalism and federalism in order to connect issues of space with the institutional dynamics influencing civil servants.

The use of spatial planning as a possible mechanism for coordination is well documented, particularly in relation to its use within European countries (Davoudi & Strange 2009; Faludi 2004; Haughton et al. 2010; Kunzmann 2001; Nadin 2007). Yet, with the exception of Germany, there is a distinct lack of research exploring the use of spatial planning as an intergovernmental coordination tool between federal and sub-state governments. This research has, in part, explored the tensions between space and constitutional jurisdictional issues that are present in federal systems of government and how conceptions of space influence intergovernmental policy coordination. The institutional factors that influence the use of, and resistance to, spatial policy in an intergovernmental environment have also been examined, highlighting how issues of space and long-term planning interact with the wider concerns and priorities that civil servants have to balance within government.

A CONTEMPORARY UNDERSTANDING OF CANADIAN SPATIAL INEQUALITY AND CONNECTIVITY

The development of spatial policy requires an understanding of the policy problem. Spatial policy problems within Canada were identified in this research and used not just to define the case studies, but also to gain a greater understanding of the current spatial structure of Canada. Two collections of indicators were used to assess spatial structure, inequality and connectivity. The analysis highlighted the regional characteristics present within Canada and the tensions that exist as a result of changing demographic circumstances. While regional inequality is a fairly well studied subject in Canada, it is largely focused on income inequality, government assistance, or other economic measures of inequality (see for example Bayoumi & Masson 1995; Kaufman et al. 2003; McLeod et al. 2003; Picot & Myles 2005). Similarly, regional spatial analysis of flow data is largely isolated to economic flows of goods or flows of people (see for example Coulombe 2006; Newbold & Bell 2001). This research has sought not only to update data on spatial inequality and connectivity by using the

most current census data, but also to discuss the interaction between the two.

The four regions identified in this research - Stagnant Atlantic, Waning Quebec-Windsor Corridor, Booming West, and Unbalanced North - are each discussed, with a focus on the interaction between inequality, space and flows, rather than in isolation. The resultant contemporary understanding of spatial structure was then operationalised by an evaluation of the spatial content and level of coordination present in government policies within the Western provinces and discussing identified issues with senior policymakers. The purpose of this was to understand to what extent government policy and, more specifically, senior civil servants take into consideration concerns of spatial inequality and connectivity, as well as the impacts of overlapping policies on space when developing policy.

SPATIAL CONTENT AND COORDINATION ARE LACKING IN GOVERNMENT POLICY

Among the governments studied in this research, a distinct lack of spatial content and coordination is evident in both policy documents and in the views of policymakers themselves. On the surface this may suggest that Le Grand's (2003) contention that policy reflects the unconscious values of policymakers is accurate given the similar conceptions of space present in policy documents and among policymakers. However, the interviews with policymakers reveal a more complicated interrelationship between policy development and the policymaker. This echoes the concerns raised by Richards and Smith (2005, p. 7) in their analysis of British policymakers, where they argue "that the 'unconscious values or unarticulated beliefs' policy-makers hold are themselves in part shaped by the Westminster model". Rather it is not just the unconscious values of policymakers that influence policy development, but a wider set of external influences, including the more formal mechanisms of government as well as informal values, such as regional culture, discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. The discussion in these chapters would suggest policymakers are also influenced

by historical conditions and more rational concerns related to satisfying the needs of their managers and political masters.

Jensen and Richardson's (2001) discussion of the construction of spatial visions highlighted the need to understand how space is conceptualised within the language of policy. At the same time, given the importance placed on coordination within spatial policy (Schäfer 2005), there is a need to understand the interaction between the multiple sectoral policies that impact upon space given the identified role that spatial policy can play in coordinating sectoral policies (Kidd 2007, Schout & Jordan 2007, Vigar 2009, Davoudi & Strange 2009). Chapter 5 attempted to connect the language of spatial policy to the language of coordination through an analysis of government policy. Extremes were the norm in terms of both spatial references and coordination, with departments largely utilising either a high level of references or a low level. Moderate levels of spatial references and coordination were lacking. When spatial references and coordination mechanisms were explored together there was a weak correlation between the two, suggesting that spatial references are not particularly well utilised as tools for coordination and vice versa.

This ultimately led to the identification of four common approaches to the construction of formal spatial policy coordination within the governments studied: spatial silo, sectoral-based, ambiguous policy, and spatially relative. Each of these approaches is a reflection of the unique institutional cultures present within the government departments studied, confirming that intergovernmental spatial policy coordination within Canada is diverse. At the same time, this also suggests that policy experimentation and diversity are occurring in regard to intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in a similar manner as Canadian health care policy (Maioni & Smith 2003).

INSTITUTIONAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL SPATIAL POLICY COORDINATION ARE HIGHLY VARIABLE

The variability in understandings of spatial policy and coordination identified in the analysis of policy documents was later confirmed through

interviews with senior officials, albeit with contrasting results between intergovernmental coordination and spatial policy. In terms of intergovernmental coordination, the use of interviews expanded on the influence of the informal dimensions of intergovernmental coordination on civil servants that is rather limited in the literature. Beyond Johns, O'Reilly, and Inwood's (2007) study of intergovernmental affairs officials, the use of interviews with civil servants to gain an understanding of intergovernmental coordination processes is poorly developed in Canada. Through interviews with a wider range of civil servants outside intergovernmental affairs departments, this research has confirmed some of Johns, O'Reilly, and Inwood's (2007) conclusions that informal structures play a strong role in intergovernmental dynamics, even among those officials who are not chiefly concerned with intergovernmental issues. This adds to the growing amount of literature that highlights the influence of informal structures, alongside the formal government structures on which most previous research has focused when attempting to understand macro government policy issues (Allmendinger & Haughton 2009; Baker & Hincks 2009; Salet, Thornley & Kreukels 2003).

While still variable depending on the government and department studied, intergovernmental coordination concerns were more consistent than views on the uses of spatial policy among officials. This may be the result of a longer-term institutionalisation of coordination processes throughout both the provincial and federal government of Canada. Given the decentralised nature of the country, intergovernmental coordination has been a long established issue of concern for governments within the Federation (Johns, O'Reilly & Inwood 2007). Despite this long-established concern, this research confirms Cameron and Simeon's (2002) conclusions that it is still a highly fluid and ad hoc process. It adds to their research by identifying key concerns for senior officials related to intergovernmental coordination, including a tendency to lean towards consultation as opposed to coordination, the inherent tension in advancing and protecting individual governmental interests with the desires of other governments, the

importance of personal relationships, the influence of politics and history, and the pressures of time.

The understanding of the spatial impact of policy development by federal and provincial officials in Canada is far less established than the study of coordination. A literature review undertaken as part of this research revealed no studies of the subject on Canada, with studies of spatial policy and governance in Canada focusing at either the municipal scale or the interaction between the federal and municipal governments (Bradford 2005; Wolfe 2003). Chapter 7 discussed the high degree of variability in understandings of spatial policy among selected federal and provincial officials depending on their institutional culture. It highlighted how officials within individual governments frame their understanding of spatial policy issues based on the formal and informal structural forces present.

The widespread use of spatial policy across departments is more established in certain governments, such as BC, than in others, where it continues to be limited to certain departments, such as Transportation, Energy, or Economic Development. For the vast majority of officials interviewed, the 'spatial' in policy is seen within a wider policy environment and is not something that is a primary consideration in most policy development; rather the spatial influence of policy is a secondary, albeit constant, concern. The nature of Canadian federalism ensures that spatial considerations have an underlying influence on policy decisions, particularly for the Government of Canada and during intergovernmental negotiations due to historical tensions related to spatial equity.

THE INSTITUTIONAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL SPATIAL POLICY COORDINATION ENVIRONMENT IS NOT IN EQUILIBRIUM

This research has taken a crosscutting institutional view of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination processes. It has discussed historical, rational-choice and sociological understandings of institutions with a particular emphasis on path dependency and how historical factors influence rational-choice decisions and informal sociological norms. The more traditional approach to path dependency favours explanations of

punctuated equilibrium, whereby a particular event results in movement towards a defined path which becomes locked in as a result of positive feedback mechanisms and which is only broken as the result of a dramatic external shock that disrupts the institution (Pierson 2000). In this understanding of institutions they remain in a locked, self-reinforcing cycle of equilibrium where change is difficult to instigate unless the institutional environment becomes so rigid that it either collapses entirely or an external element is introduced that disrupts the feedback cycle.

While this research has identified the influence of external shocks, such as the recession, on intergovernmental spatial policy coordination, they do not necessarily result in the wholesale collapse or change within the present institutional environment. Rather, external shocks can best be described as gently steering the institutional environment in a new direction. As such, this research better aligns with an alternative view of historical path dependency that focuses "on institutional development, not equilibrium, and the image is one in which institutions embodying different logics interact and collide in ways that alter the trajectories of each" (Thelen 2000, p. 104). The institutional environment discussed in this research is comprised of multiple formal institutions that interact with each other as well as informal institutions, resulting in a complicated institutional environment where institutions are not in equilibrium but rather influence one another, contributing "simultaneously to institutional continuity and change over time – though change of a variety that is perhaps not easily captured in a sequence of institutional creation, reproduction, and breakdown" (Thelen 2000, p. 105). In this way institutions are not seen as deterministic with a beginning, middle and end, but rather are constantly evolving, with particular institutions being more stable then others depending on context, history, and the actors influencing them.

The Canadian intergovernmental spatial policy coordination environment exists in a constantly evolving state of institutional interaction as discussed in Chapter 7 of this thesis. The decentralised nature of federalism ensures that the institutions represented within each level of government are equally capable of influencing the other as a result of their

constitutional independence. Conversely, this decentralisation creates an environment where intergovernmental interaction is necessary to ensure policy coherence, creating the conditions for a high level of institutional interaction where various established institutional structures evolve through mutual interaction with other institutional structures that may be long established or newly emerging.

AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The research on which the thesis reports is necessarily exploratory in nature, and as such reveals a number of potential areas on which future work could profitably focus. The scale of Canada necessitated a decision at the outset to limit the interview process to the Government of Canada in Ottawa, Ontario and a subset of Canadian provinces, in this case the Western Canadian provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan rather than undertake interviews with officials in all provinces in Canada. This means inevitably that there are opportunities for further research in order to complete the picture of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination across Canada. This thesis documents the dynamics of intergovernmental relationships and understandings of spatial policy within a geographically contiguous region, and in doing so sets the scene for further research in other parts of Canada. Future research on intergovernmental spatial policy coordination in Canada should explore other regions of Canada in order to determine if the results are comparable or whether differential results occur. In a similar vein there is a need to understand whether the research discussed in this thesis is unique to the Canadian federal system or whether other federal systems, where constitutional jurisdiction is shared, display similar institutional intergovernmental spatial policy coordination dynamics, such as the United States or Australia.

This study was limited to the two constitutionally recognised orders of government in Canada, the Government of Canada and the provincial governments in order to provide a more in-depth investigation of the interactions between these two levels of government and to better understand their constitutional arrangements and conflicts. The municipal

level of government, which constitutionally exists at the pleasure of the provincial level of government, is often informally recognised as another level of government. The municipal level of government is often delegated with a wide variety of planning powers, although planning legislation is unique in each province, such as the creation of official or municipal plans, zoning control, and many aspects of transportation planning. In this way the work of municipal officials is strongly related to spatial planning. Further research on the municipal level of government in relation to intergovernmental spatial policy coordination would add an additional dimension to what has been discussed in this research by including officials who often deal with spatial policy but who are subservient to the provincial level of government rather then constitutional equals. Understanding this tension would provide more detail on the issues related to the lower level implementation of intergovernmental spatial policy.

The study of long-term spatial trends in Canada will most likely become more difficult given the decision by the current Government of Canada to cancel the mandatory long-form census. The change from a mandatory long-form census to a voluntary one means that data potentially limits the scope for comparison over time due to inconsistency in the data collection methods. This has particular implications for spatial planning as the long-form census allows countrywide data to be gathered at multiple spatial scales, from the country level down to the small dissemination area. The implications of this for policy development, particularly in light of comments made by some interviewees on the lack of resources available for primary data collection, highlights how a lack of secondary data will make spatial policy development more difficult for officials in the future as the amount of information at their disposal is reduced and comparisons over time made unreliable.

The targeting of senior officials led to some problems related to access. While acceptable, the response rate to interview requests was variable depending on the government and ministry targeted. The political climate within the Government of Canada at the time of the interviews led to difficulties in gaining access to officials due to the instability of the minority

government situation and the urgency placed on implementing the economic action plan to combat the recession. These two factors may have been reasons some officials were hesitant to accept interviews given time pressures and workloads. At the same time, these two relatively unique situations proved to be quite useful in explaining the intergovernmental spatial policy coordination process, particularly related to the political dimensions of federalism and the role that external shocks play in changing institutional mindsets.

Senior officials were the actors chosen for study in this research, however it is recognised that a wide variety of other actors, such as politicians, lower level 'on the ground' officials, and actors external to government such as activist, non-governmental organisations and regular citizens all have the ability to influence and be influenced by the institutional environment. As such, further studies that explore any of the above mentioned actors in relation to intergovernmental spatial policy coordination would be useful in order to identify commonalities and divergent opinions related to this research. While this research focused on government, rather then governance, it highlighted the need for additional research on the interaction between government and governance in relation to the impact of new public management approaches on intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

FEDERALISM AND THE INSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL SPATIAL POLICY COORDINATION

This research has discussed intergovernmental spatial policy coordination through a crosscutting institutional lens. Through the use of a Canadian case study it has highlighted the interactive institutional dynamics present between four governments. The research has found that unique institutional environments exist within each government studied, and to a lesser extent each department, and that these structure understandings of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

The crosscutting institutional framework developed for this research proved to be a useful method of analysis. The integration of the three

approaches provided for a comprehensive understanding of institutional interactions that allowed connections to be established between historical events, the development of institutional arrangements and the decision-making processes of actors. The framework also provided a means by which to assess the level of influence of each component on the other in order to develop a better understanding of the subtleties of intergovernmental spatial policy coordination.

Overall, a dichotomy has been found to exist in relation to coordination and spatial policy in the Canadian intergovernmental context. While in Europe the spatial planning approach has a long tradition of being associated with the need to promote coordination (CEC 1997; Farinós Dasí 2007; Koresawa & Konvitz 2001; Kunzmann 2001; Nadin 2007), the use of spatial planning for intergovernmental coordination is largely absent in Canada. Where a spatial planning approach has been used in Canada, it has been considered to be an effective method of intergovernmental policy coordination by senior officials that results in a greater exchange of information, more transparency, increased personal interaction, and clearly defined goals.

The spatial planning approach is a relatively new method for intergovernmental coordination due to longer-term institutional resistance as a result of the variety of issues highlighted in Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis, such as concerns related to spatial equity and a limited understanding of the geographical implications of policy by senior officials. As such it is still establishing its legitimacy among senior officials as a tool for coordination; however, the approach is beginning to see institutional transfer between governments through forums such as the Council of the Federation and the New West Partnership.

Having said this, in the short term the use of the spatial planning approach will most likely remain limited to specific government initiatives that have no longer-term established institutional frameworks, and for which existing policies and processes are not yet well-established due to it still being seen as a relatively new approach to intergovernmental policy coordination. Yet despite the explicit lack of spatial consideration in

intergovernmental policy coordination in Canada, spatial concerns remain a persistent underlying issue for policymakers who must balance the political and regional tensions inherent in federal systems of government with the need for effective coordinated policy development.

REFERENCES

Agnew, J. (2005) 'Space: place' in Cloke, P. & Johnson, R. (eds), *Spaces of Geographical Thought*. London, Sage.

Agranoff, R. & McGuire, M. (2003) *Collaborative public management: New strategies for local governments*. Washington, Georgetown University Press.

Albrechts, L. (2004) 'Strategic (spatial) planning reexamined' *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 31, 753-758.

Albrechts, L., Alden, J. & Da Rosa Pires, A. (eds) (2001) *The changing institutional landscape of planning*. Ashgate, Aldershot.

Albrechts, L., Healey, P. & Kunzmann, K. (2003) 'Strategic spatial planning and regional governance in Europe' *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 69 (2), 113–129.

Alden, J. (2006) 'Regional planning: An idea whose time has come?' *International Planning Studies*, 11 (3-4), 209-223.

Allmendinger, P. (2002) *Planning theory*. Basingstoke, Palgrave.

Allmendinger, P. & Haughton, G. (2009) 'Soft spaces, fuzzy boundaries, and metagovernance: The new spatial planning in the Thames Gateway' *Environment and Planning A*, 41, 617–633.

Alterman, R. (2001) *National level planning in democratic countries: An international comparison of city and regional policymaking*. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press.

American Association of Port Authorities (2007) 'Canadian ports - Ranking by cargo tonnage (2007)' (Online).
Available at: http://aapa.files.cms-plus.com/Statistics/PORTSOFCANADA2007.pdf
[Accessed on 24 January 2011]

Amin, A. (2002) 'Spatialities of globalisation' *Environment and Planning A*, 34 (3), 385–399.

Anderson, C. (2010) 'Regional heterogeneity and policy preferences in Canada: 1979-2006' *Regional & Federal Studies*, 20: 4, 447 — 468

Archibugi, F. (1998) 'Measuring urban life quality: some methodological warnings' in proceedings of the *First International Conference on Quality of Life in Cities*, 4-6 March, University of Singapore, Volume 3, 23–40.

Arthur W. B., Ermoliev, Y. M., & Kaniovski, Y. M. (1983) 'On generalized urn schemes of the polya kind' *Kibernetika*. 1 (19), 49-56.

Audretsch, D & Feldman, M. (1996) 'R&D spillovers and the geography of innovation and production' *The American Economic Review,* 86 (3) 630-640.

Audretsch, D., Lehmann, E., & Warning, S. (2005) 'University spillovers and new firm location' *Research Policy*, 34 (7), 1113-1122.

Bache, I. & Flinders, M. (2004) *Multi-level governance.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Baker, M. & Hincks, S. (2009) 'Delivering spatial planning: Implementation and infrastructure delivery in the English local development frameworks' *Town Planning Review*, 80 (2), 173–199.

Bakhshi, S., Shakeri, M., Olfert, M., Partridge, M. & Weseen, S. (2009) 'Do local residents value federal transfers?: Evidence from interprovincial migration in Canada' *Public Finance Review*, 37, 235-268.

Bakvis, H. & Brown, D. (2010) 'Policy coordination in federal systems: Comparing intergovernmental processes and outcomes in Canada and the United States' *Publius*, 40 (3), 484-507.

Balme, R. & Jouve, B. (1996) 'Building the regional state: Europe and territorial organization in France' in Hooghe, L. (ed.) *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multi-Level Governance.* New York, Oxford University Press, 219–255.

Bandura, A. (1986) *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall.

Bandura, A. (2001) 'Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective' *Annual Review of Psychology.* 52, 1–26.

Banting, K. (2006) 'Social citizenship and federalism: Is a federal welfare state a contradiction in terms' in S.L. Greer (ed.) *Territory, Democracy, and Justice: Regionalism and Federalism in Western Democracies.* New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 44–66.

Bayoumi, T. & Masson, P. (1995) 'Fiscal flows in the United States and Canada: Lessons for monetary union in Europe. *European Economic Review,* 39 (2), 253-274.

BC Ministry of Economic Development (2007) *Asia pacific initiative*. Victoria, Government of British Columbia.

BC Ministry of Transportation and Infrastructure (2010) *2009/10-2010/11 Service plan update*. Victoria, Government of British Columbia.

Benz, A. (2002) 'How to reduce the burden of coordination in European spatial planning' in Faludi, A. (ed.) *European Spatial Planning: Lessons for North America.* Cambridge (Mass), The Lincoln Institute, 139-158.

Benz, A. (2007) 'Accountable multilevel governance by the open method of coordination?' *European Law Journal*, 13 (4), 505-522.

Bernard, P. (2004) 'Third option revisited: An institutional analysis of Canadian industrial adjustment in the 1970s and early 1980s' *Paper presented in the Canadian Political Science Annual Meeting*, Winnipeg Manitoba, 5 June, 2004.

Birch, A. H. (1955) *Federalism, finance and social legislation in Canada, Australia and the United States*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Bird, R. M., & Tarasov, A. (2004) 'Closing the gap: Fiscal imbalances and intergovernmental transfers in developed federations' *Environment and Planning C*, 22 (1), 77–102.

Cairns, A. C. (1986) 'The Embedded state: State-society relations in Canada' in Banting, K. (ed) *State and Society: Canada in Comparative Perspective*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Boadway, R. & Watts, R. (2000) *Fiscal federalism in Canada.* Kingston, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations.

Bolleyer, N. (2006) 'Federal dynamics in Canada, the United States and Switzerland: how sub-states internal organization affects intergovernmental relations' *Publius*, 36 (4), 471–502.

Bolleyer, N. & Bytzek, E. 'Government congruence and intergovernmental relations in federal systems' *Regional & Federal Studies*, 19 (3), 371-397.

Bolton, N. & Leach, S. (2002) 'Strategic planning in local government: a study of organisational impact and effectiveness' *Local Government Studies*, 28 (4), 1–21.

Boudreau, J. (2003) 'The politics of territorialization: Regionalism, localism and other isms . . . the case of Montreal' *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 25 (2), 179-199.

Bourgault, J. (2007) 'Corporate management at top level of governments: the Canadian case' *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 73, 257-274.

Bourne, L.S. & Rose, D. (2001) 'The changing face of Canada: the uneven geographies of population and social change' *Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien*, 45, 105–119.

Bradford, N. (2005) 'Place-based public policy: Towards a new urban and community agenda for Canada' *Research Report F/51*, Ottawa, Canadian Policy Research Networks.

Breau, S. (2002) 'Globalization and inequality in Canada: Trends in the 1990s' *Paper presented in the 2002 Graduate Conference on "Globalization: Governance and Inequality*, Center for International Business Education and Research, 31 May – 1 June, Ventura, California.

Brehemy, M. (1991) 'The Renaissance of strategic spatial planning?' *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 18, 233-249.

Brenner, N. (1999) 'Globalisation as reterritorialisation: The re-scaling of urban governance in the European Union', *Urban Studies*, 36 (3), 431–52.

Brenner, N. (2004) *New state spaces: Urban governance and the rescaling of statehood*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Breton, R. (1964) 'Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants' *American Journal of Sociology*, 70 (2), 193–205.

Brock, K. (2008) 'The politics of asymmetrical federalism: Reconsidering the role and responsibilities of Ottawa' *Canadian Public Policy* 34 (2), 143-161.

Brugmans, H. (1956) *Panorama de la pensée fédéraliste*. Paris, La Colombe.

Brugmans, H. (1969) *La pensée politique du fédéralisme*. Leyden, A.W. Sijthoff-Leyde.

Bryman, A. (1988) *Quantity and quality in social research*. London, Unwin Hyman.

Bruszt, L. (2008) 'Multi-level governance - the Eastern versions: Emerging patterns of regional developmental governance in the new member states' *Regional & Federal Studies*, 18 (5), 607-627.

Cameron, D. & Simeon, R. (2002) 'Intergovernmental relations in Canada: The emergence of collaborative federalism' *Publius*, 32 (2), 49-71.

Canada-British Columbia (2007) 'Memorandum of understanding: Asia pacific gateway and corridor' (Online)
Available at:
http://www.pacificgateway.gc.ca/media/documents/Canada-BC-MOU.pdf
[Accessed on 2 February 2011]

Canadian Chamber of Commerce (2008) *Moving the Canadian economy: Four pillars for a national transportation strategy*. Ottawa, Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

Canadian Institute for Health Information (2000) *Health care in Canada 2000: A first annual report*. Ottawa, Canadian Institute for Health Information.

Canadian Institute for Health Information (2010) *National health expenditure trends*. Ottawa, Canadian Institute for Health Information.

Canadian Urban Transit Association (2007) *Issue paper 22*. Toronto, Canadian Urban Transit Association.

Castells, M. (1996) *The rise of the network society*. Oxford, Blackwell.

CEC (1997) *The E.U. compendium of spatial planning systems and policies*. Luxembourg, Office for the official publications of the European Communities.

Chandler, M. & Chandler, W. (1982) 'Public administration in the provinces' *Canadian Public Administration,* 25, 585.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2006) 'A newcomer's introduction to Canada' (Online) Available at:
http://www.cic.gc.ca/EnGLIsh/resources/publications/guide/section-07.asp
[Accessed on 12 February 2009]

Clarke, H., Pammett, J. & Stewart, M. (2002) 'The forest for the trees: Regional (dis)similarities in Canadian political culture' in L. Young and K. Archer (eds) *Regionalism and Party Politics in Canada*. Toronto, Oxford University Press.

Coccossis, H., Economou, D. & Petrakos, G. (2005) 'The ESDP relevance to a distant partner: Greece' *European Planning Studies*, 13 (2), 253-64.

Cohen, A. (1996) 'Personal nationalism: A Scottish view of some rites, rights, and wrongs' *American Ethnologist*, 23 (4), 802–815.

Cole, R. L., Kincaid, J. & Rodriguez, A. (2004) 'Public opinion on federalism and federal political culture in Canada, Mexico, and the United States' *Publius*, 34 (3), 201–221.

Collier, D. & Collier, R. (1991) *Shaping the political arena*. Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press.

Colman, A. (1982) *Game theory and experimental games.* Oxford, Pergamon.

Coulombe, S. (2006) 'Internal migration, asymmetric shocks, and interprovincial economic adjustments in Canada' *International Regional Science Review*, 29 (2), 199-223.

Council of the Federation (2005) *Looking to the future: A plan for investing in Canada's transportation system*. Ottawa, Council of the Federation.

Council of the Federation (2007) *A shared vision for energy in Canada*. Ottawa, Council of the Federation.

Council of the Federation (2009) 'About the Council' (Online)
Available at:
http://www.councilofthefederation.ca/aboutcouncil/aboutcouncil.ht
ml
[Accessed on 12 February 2009]

CRIC, Centre for Research and Information on Canada, (2004) *Portraits of Canada 2003*. Ottawa, Centre for Research and Information on Canada.

Cutler, F. (2004) 'Government responsibility and electoral accountability in Federations' *Publius*, 34 (2), 19–38.

Davidoff, P (1965) 'Advocacy and pluralism in planning' *Journal of American Institute of Planners,* 31, 331–338.

Davoudi, S. (2006) 'Evidence-based planning. Rhetoric and reality' *disP*, 42, 14–24.

Davoudi, S. & Strange, I. (eds), (2009) *Conceptions of space and place in strategic spatial planning*. London, Routledge (RTPI Library Series).

Dawes, R., McTavish, J., & Shaklee, H. (1977) 'Behavior, communication, and assumptions about other people's behavior in a commons dilemma situation' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35, 1-11.

Denscombe, M. (2003) *The good research guide: For small-scale research projects, (2nd Edition)*. Maidenhead and Philadelphia, Open University Press.

Denzin, N. K. (1970). *The research act in sociology.* Chicago, Aldine.

Denzin, N. K. (1978) *The research act, 2d ed*. New York, McGraw-Hill.

Department of Regional Development (2001) *Shaping our future: Regional development strategy for Northern Ireland 2025*. Belfast, Corporate Document Services.

Dewar, M. & Epstein, D. (2007) 'Planning for "Megaregions" in the United States' *Journal of Planning Literature*, 22 (2), 108-124.

Dunsire, A. (1978) *Implementation in bureaucracy: The execution process*, Volume 1. London, Martin Robertson.

Dupré, S. J. (1987) 'The workability of executive federalism in Canada' in H. Bakvis and W.M. Chandler (eds), *Federalism and the Role of the State*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 236–258.

Eagles, M. (2002) 'Political geography and the study of regionalism' in L. Young and K. Archer (eds), *Regionalism and Party Politics in Canada*. Toronto, Oxford University Press, 9-23.

Eisenhardt, K.M. (1989) 'Building theories from case study research' *Academy of Management Review*, 14 (4), 532-550.

Elazar, D. J. (1979) *Federalism and political integration.* Ramat Gan, Israel, Turtledove Pub.

Entwistle T, 2010, 'Organising intergovernmental relations: insights from cultural theory' *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 28 (4), 630–645.

Etzioni, A. (1967) 'A 'third' approach to decision-making' *Public Administration Review*, 27 (5), 385-392.

Fafard, P. & Rocher, F. (2008) *The current state of federalism studies in Canada (2000-2007): A quantitative and qualitative review of the scholarly literature.* CPRN Research Report, Ottawa, Canadian Policy Research Networks.

Fafard, P., Rocher, F. & Côté, C. (2010) 'The presence (or lack thereof) of a federal culture in Canada: The views of Canadians', *Regional & Federal Studies*, 20, 1, 19-43.

Faludi, A. (2004) 'The open method of co-ordination and 'post-regulatory' territorial policy' *European Planning Studies*, 12 (7), 1019-1033.

Faludi, A. (2006) From European spatial development to territorial cohesion policy, *Regional Studies*, 40 (6), 667–678.

Farinós D. J. (ed.) (2007) *Governance of territorial and urban policies from EU to local level.* Final Report of ESPON Project 2.3.2. Esch-sur-Alzette, ESPON Coordination Unit.

Federal Minister of Transport, Building and Urban Affairs (2000) *Spatial development and spatial planning in Germany*. Bonn, BBR

Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2007) *National transit strategy*. Ottawa, Federation of Canadian Municipalities.

Fergusson, I. (2008) *United States-Canada trade and economic relationship: prospects and challenges.* Washington, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress.

Fleiner, T, Kalin, W., Linder W. & Saunders, C. (2002) in 'Federalism in a changing world: learning from each other' in Blindenbacher, R. and Koller, A. (eds.) proceedings of plenary speeches of the *International Conference on Federalism.* McGill-Queen's Press.

Flyvberg, B. & Richardson, T. (1988) 'In search of the dark side of planning theory' *Paper presented in the Planning Theory Conference*, Oxford, April.

Foot, D. K. (2006) 'The polity implications of provincial demographics' in C. Dunn (ed.), *Provinces.* Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Friedmann, J. (1993) 'Toward a non-Euclidean mode of planning' *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 59 (4), 482-485.

Friedmann, J. (2004) 'Strategic planning and the longer range' *Planning Theory & Practice*, 5 (1), 49-67.

Friedman, J. & Silberman, J. (2003) 'University technology transfer: Do incentives, management, and location matter?' *The Journal of Technology Transfer*, 28 (1), 17-30.

Furgal, C. & Seguin, J. (2006) 'Climate change, health, and vulnerability in Canadian northern aboriginal communities' *Environmental Health Perspectives*, 114 (12), 1964 – 1970.

Gaertner, L., Iuzzini, J., Guerrero Witt, M., & Oriña, M. M. (2006) 'Us without them: Evidence for an intragroup origin of positive ingroup regard' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 426–439.

Gibbins, R. (1982) *Regionalism: Territorial politics in Canada and the United States*. Toronto, Butterworths.

Goodchild, B. & Hickman, P. (2006) 'Towards a regional strategy for the North of England: An assessment of the 'Northern Way' ' *Regional Studies*, 40 (1), 121-133.

Gottmann, J. (1951) *La politique des Etats et leur géographie.* Paris, Armand Colin.

Government of Alberta (2008) *Land-use framework*. Edmonton: Government of Alberta.

Government of Alberta (2010) 'British Columbia – Alberta joint premiers and ministers' Meetings Archive' (Online)
Available at: http://www.international.alberta.ca/782.cfm
[Accessed on 30 August 2010]

Government of Ireland (2002) *National spatial strategy for Ireland*. Dublin, Stationary Office.

Grant, M. (2001) 'National-level planning institutions and decisions in the federal republic of Germany' in Alterman, R. (2001) *National level planning in democratic countries: An international comparison of city and regional policymaking.* Liverpool, Liverpool University Press. 127-147.

Graute, U. (2002) 'Kooperation in der Europäischen Raumentwicklungspolitik: Mehrebenenkooperation' in *komlexen Politikprozessen alanysiert am Beispiel der Formulierung und Implementierung einer Politik zur integrierten Entwicklung des europäischen Raumes*. Dresden, Institut fur okologische Raumentwicklung e.V.

Green, D. P. & Shapiro, I. (1994) *Pathologies of rational choice theory: A critique of applications in political science*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Greener, I. (2005) 'Historical institutionalism, critical realism and morphogenetic social theory – towards a synthesis of explaining why history matters in organisations?' *Paper presented in the Critical Management Studies Conference*, University of Cambridge.

Gretschmann, K. (1986) 'Solidarity and markets' in Kaufmann, F.-X., Majone, G., Ostrom, V. (eds.) *Guidance, control, and evaluation in the public sector.* Berlin, de Gruyter.

Hajer, M. (2003) 'Policy without polity? Policy analysis and the institutional void' *Policy Sciences*, 36, 175-195.

Hajer, M. & Wagenaar, H. (eds) *Deliberative policy analysis*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hall, P. A., (1986) *Governing the economy: The politics of state intervention in Britain and France.* London, Polity Press.

Hall, P. A. & Taylor, R. (1996) 'Political science and the three new institutionalisms' *Political Studies.* 44, 936-57.

Hanselmann, C. (2001) *Urban aboriginal people in Western Canada.* Calgary, Canada West Foundation.

Hardin, Cf. G. (1968) 'The tragedy of the commons' *Science.* 162, 1243-1248.

Harmes, A. (2006) 'Neoliberalism and multi-level governance' *Review of International Political Economy*, 13 (5), 725-749.

Harris, N. (2001) 'Spatial development policies and territorial governance in an era of globalisation and localisation' in *Towards a new role for spatial planning*. Paris, OECD. 33-58.

Harris, N. & Hooper, A. (2004) 'Rediscovering the 'spatial' in public policy and planning: an examination of the spatial content of sectoral policy documents' *Planning Theory & Practice*, 5 (2), 147–169.

Harvey, D. (1973) *Social justice and the city.* London, Edward Arnold.

Haslam, S. A. (1997) 'Stereotyping and social influence: Foundations of stereotype consensus' in R. Spears, P. J. Oakes, N. Ellemers, & S. A. Haslam (eds.) *The social psychology of stereotyping and group life* (pp. Oxford, Blackwell. 119–143.

Haslam, S. A., Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., Reynolds, K. J., Eggins, R. A., & Nolan, M. (1998) 'When do stereotypes become really consensual? Investigating the group-based dynamics of the concensualization process' *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28, 755–776.

Hatfield, M. (1997) 'Concentrations of poverty and distressed neighbourhoods in Canada' *Working Paper No. W-97-1E*. Ottawa, Applied Research Branch, Human Resources Development Canada.

Haughton, G., Allmendinger, P., Counsell, D. & Vigar, G. (2010) *The new spatial planning: Territorial management with soft spaces and fuzzy boundaries*. London, Routledge.

Healey, P. (2002) 'Place, identity and governance: Transforming discourses and practices' in: J. Hillier & E. Rooksby (eds) *Habitus: A sense of place* Aldershot, Avebury. 173–202.

Healey, P. (2004) 'The Treatment of space and place in the new strategic spatial planning in Europe' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 28 (1), 45-67.

Healey, P. (2006) 'Relational complexity and the imaginative power of strategic spatial planning' *European Planning Studies*. 14 (4), 525-546

Healey, P. (2007) *Urban complexity and spatial strategies: Towards a relational planning for our times*. Oxon, Routledge.

Healy, A. (2002) 'Commentary: Evidence-based policy – The latest form of inertia and control' *Planning Theory and Practice*, 3, 97–98.

Henderson, A. (2010) 'Why regions matter: Sub-state polities in comparative perspective' *Regional & Federal Studies*, 20 (4), 439-445.

Henderson, G. & Sheppard, E. (2006) 'Marx and the spirit of Marx' in Aiken, S. & Valentine, G. (eds), *Approaches to human geography*. London, Sage.

Hillmer, N. (2005) 'Canada world view – Issue 24' *Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada*. (Online)
Available at: http://www.international.gc.ca/canada-magazine/issue24/01-title-en.asp.
[Accessed on 03 November 2009]

Hirt, S. A. (2005) 'Toward postmodern urbanism? Evolution of planning in Clevand, Ohio' *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 25 (1), 27-42.

Hoch, C. (2007) 'Making plans: Representation and intention' *Planning Theory*, 6 (1), 16–35.

Hogg, P. (1985) *Constitutional law of Canada*, Second Edition. Toronto, Carswell Company.

Hooghe, L. (1996) *Cohesion policy and European integration: Building multi-level governance.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Hooghe, L. & Marks, G. (2001) *Multi-level governance and European integration*. Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Hooghe, L. & Marks, G. (2003) 'Unraveling the central state, But how? Types of multi-level governance' *Political Sciences Series*. Vienna, Institute for Advanced Studies.

Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R. & Valentine, G. (2004) 'Editors' introduction', in Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R. & Valentine, G. (eds) *Key thinkers on space and place*. London, Sage.

Hunter, J. (1993), *The employment challenge, federal employment policies and programs 1900–1990*. Ottawa, Government of Canada Public Affairs.

Innes, J. E. (1990) *Knowledge and public policy*. New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers.

Jensen, O. & Richardson, T. (2001) 'Nested visions: New rationalities of space in European spatial planning' *Regional Studies*, 35 (8), 703-717.

Jepperson, R. L. (1991) 'Institutions, institutional effects, and institutionalism' in DiMaggio, P. J. & Powell, W. W. (eds.) *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 143-163.

Jick, T. (1979) 'Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action' *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24 (4) 602-611.

Johns, C. M., O'Reilly, P. L. & Inwoo, G. J. (2007) 'Formal and informal dimensions of intergovernmental administrative relations in Canada' *Canadian Public Administration*, 50 (1) 21-41.

Jordan, A., Wurzel, R. & Zito, A. (2005) 'Policy instrument innovation in the European Union' in G. Winter (ed.) *The multi-level governance of global environmental change*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Kasarda, J. D. (2001) 'From airport city to aerotropolis' *Airport World,* 6, 42-47.

Kaufman, M., Dunaway, S. & Swagel, P. (2003) 'Regional convergence and the role of federal transfers in Canada' *IMF Working Paper*, 1-14.

Kershaw, P. (2006) 'Weather-vane federalism: reconsidering federal social policy leadership' *Canadian Public Administration*, 49 (2), 196-219.

Kidd, S. (2007) 'Towards of a framework of integration in spatial planning: An exploration from a health perspective' *Planning Theory and Practice,* 8 (2), 161-181.

Kilduff, M. & Tsai, W. (2003) *Social networks and organizations*. London, Sage Press.

Kingdon, J. (1995) *Agendas, alternatives and public policies*. New York, Harper Collins.

Kingdon, J. (1996) 'The policy window and joining the streams' in *Agendas, alternatives and public policies*. London: Longman. 165-195.

Kneebone, R. (2008) *National stabilization policy and its Implications for Western Canada*. Calgary, Canada West Foundation.

Kochen, M. & Deutsch, K.W. (1980) *Decentralization. sketches towards a rational theory*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain Publishers.

Koelbe, T.A. (1995) 'The new institutionalism in political science and sociology' *Comparative Politics*, 27 (2), 231–243.

Koresawa, A. & Konvitz, J. (2001) 'Towards a new role for spatial planning' in OECD, *Towards a new role for spatial planning*. Paris, OECD, 11–32.

Kunzmann, K. (1998) 'Planning for spatial equity in Europe' *International Planning Studies*. 3 (1), 101-120.

Kunzmann, K. (2001) 'State planning: A German success story?' *International Planning Studies*. 6 (2), 153-166.

Lawson, R. (2005) 'Understanding alienation in Western Canada: Is 'western alienation' the problem? Is Senate reform the cure?' *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39 (2), 127–155.

Lazar, H. (2004) 'Cooperation and conflict in the workings of the federation' in CRIC, *Portraits of Canada 2003*. Ottawa, Centre for Research and Information on Canada

Le Galés, P. & Lequesne, C. (1998) *Regions in Europe*, London, Routledge.

Le Grand, J. (2003) *Motivation, agency, and public policy: of knights and knaves, pawns and queens.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Lecours, A. & Béland, D. (2009) 'Federalism and fiscal policy: The politics of equalization in Canada' *Publius*, 40 (4), 569-596.

Lee, K. K. (2000) *Urban poverty in Canada: A statistical profile*. Ottawa, Canadian Council on Social Development.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The production of space*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Ley, D. (1974) 'The black inner city as frontier outpost: Images and behavior of a Philadelphia neighborhood' Paper presented in *Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting*, Washington, DC.

Lincoln Institute of Land Policy (2004) *Toward an American spatial development perspective*. Cambridge, MA, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Lindblom, C. (1965) *The intelligence of democracy*. New York, Free Press.

Lindblom, C. (1979) 'Still muddling through' *Public Administration Review*, 39 (6), 517-526.

Lithwick, N. H. (1970) *Urban Canada: Problems and prospects*. Ottawa, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Lloyd, W.F. (1833) 'A lecture on the notion of value as distinguishable not only from utility but also from value in exchange.' Reprinted in 1927, *Economic Journal*, Supp. Economic History. 1, 168-83.

R. Lonsdale & Holmes, J. (1981) *Settlement systems in sparsely populated regions. The United States and Australia*. New York, Pergamon.

Lotz-Sisitka, H. & Raven, G. (2004) 'Learning through cases: adopting a nested approach to case-study work in the Gold Fields participatory course initiative' *Environmental Education Research*, 10 (1), 67-87.

Low, N. (1991) *Planning politics and the state*. London, Unwin Hyman.

Luce, R.D. & Raiffa, H. (1957) *Games and decisions*. New York, Wiley.

Maioni, A. & Smith, M. (2003) 'Health care and Canadian federalism' in Rocher, F. & Smith, M. (eds) *New trends in Canadian federalism*. Peterborough, ON, Broadview Press. 375-395.

Marcou, G. (2001) 'National-level planning institutions and decision-making in France' in Alterman, R. *National level planning in democratic countries: An international comparison of city and regional policymaking.* Liverpool, Liverpool University Press. 168-196.

Marks, G. (1992) 'Structural policy in the European Community' in Sbragia, A. *Europolitics: Institutions and Policymaking in the "New" European Community*. Washington, The Brookings Institute. 23-74.

Massey, D. (2004) 'Geographies of responsibility' *Geografiska Annaler*, 86, 5–18.

McIntosh, T. (2004) 'Intergovernmental relations, social policy and federal transfers after Romanow' *Canadian Public Administration*, 47 (1), 27-51.

McLeod, C., Lavis, J., Mustard, C., & Stoddart, G. (2003) 'Income inequality, household income, and health status in Canada: A prospective cohort study' *American Journal of Public Health*, 93 (8), 1287-1293.

McRoberts, K. (1985) 'Unilateralism, bilateralism and multilateralism: Approaches to Canadian federalism' in Simeon, R. (ed.) *Intergovernmental Relations.* Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Metcalfe, L. (1994) 'International policy co-ordination and public management reform' *International Review of Adminstrative Sciences.* 60, 271-290.

Meyer, J. & Rowan, B. (1977) 'Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony' *American Journal of Sociology*, 83, 340-363.

Miles, M. B. & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis (*2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

Minister of Justice (1985) *Western Economic Diversification Act.* (R.S.C., 1985, c. 11 (4th Supp.)).

Minister of Justice (2005) *Department of Human Resources and Skills Development Act* (S.C. 2005, c. 34).

Ministry of Economic Development (2007) Asia-Pacific initiative. Victoria, Government of British Columbia.

Ministry of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources (2007) *The BC energy plan.* Victoria, Government of British Columbia.

Ministry of Finance (2010) 'Federal support to Provinces and Territories' (Online)
Available at: http://www.fin.gc.ca/fedprov/mtp-eng.asp
[Accessed 12 February 2010]

Ministry of Municipal Affairs (2009) *Plan for 2009-10*. Regina, Government of Saskatchewan.

Ministry of Small Business and Economic Development & Ministry of Transportation (2005) 'British Columbia Ports Strategy' (Online)
Available at:
http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs/375137/sbed_ma r_18_05.pdf
[Accessed 03 February 2011]

Mintz, A. (1951) 'Non-adaptive group behaviour' *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 46 (2), 150-159.

Morgan K. (2007) 'The polycentric state: new spaces of empowerment and engagement?' *Regional Studies*, 41, 1237–1251.

Mosher, J. & Trubek, D. M. (2003) 'Alternative approaches to governance in the EU: EU social policy and the European employment strategy' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41 (1), 63-88.

Mulford, C.L. & Rogers, D.L. (1982) 'Definitions and models' in Rogers, D.L., Whetton, D.A. (eds.) *Inter-organisational coordination: theory, research and implementation*. Ames, Iowa State University Press.

Murdoch, J. (2006) *Post-structuralist geography*, London, Sage.

Nadin, V. (2002) 'Visions and visioning in European spatial planning' in Faludi, A. (ed.) *European spatial planning: Lessons for North America*. Cambridge (Mass), The Lincoln Institute. 121-137.

Nadin, V. (2007) 'The emergence of the spatial planning approach in England' *Planning, Practice & Research*, 22 (1), 43-62.

Natural Resources Canada (2006). 'CoastWeb: Facts about Canada's coastline' (Online)
Available at: http://gsc.nrcan.gc.ca/coast/facts_e.php.
[Accessed July 13 2008]

Newbold, B. (1998) 'Problems in search of solutions: Health and Canadian aboriginals' *Journal of Community Health*, 23 (1), 59–74.

Newbold, K. B. & Bell, M. (2001) 'Return and onwards migration in Canada and Australia: Evidence from fixed interval data' *International Migration Review*, 35, 1157–1184.

Newman, P. & Thornley, A. (1996) *Urban planning in Europe*. London, Routledge.

Nutley, S. (2003) 'Indicators of transport and accessibility problems in rural Australia' *Journal of Transport Geography*, 11 (1), 55-71.

Obinger, H., Leibfried, S. & Castles, F. G. (2005) *Federalism and the welfare state: New world and European experiences*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

OECD (2002) *Territorial reviews: Canada*. Paris, OECD Publications Service.

Ornstein, M. & Stevenson, M. (1999) *Politics and ideology in Canada*. Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press.

Ostrom, E. (1990) *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Paasi, A. (2003) 'Region and place: regional identity in question' *Progress in Human Geography*, 27, 4, 475–485.

Painter, M. (1991) 'Intergovernmental relations in Canada: An institutional analysis' *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique*. 24 (2), 269-288.

Papadopoulos, Y. (2007) 'Problems of democratic accountability in network and multi-level governance' *European Law Journal,* 13 (4), 469-486.

Peck, J. (2002) 'Political Economies of Scale: Fast Policy, Interscalar Relations, and Neoliberal Workfare' *Economic Geography*. 78 (3), 331-360.

Peel, D. & Lloyd, G. (2007) 'Civic formation and a new vocabulary for national planning' *International Planning Studies*, 12 (4), 391-411.

Perry, D. (1997) *Financing the Canadian federation, 1867 to 1995: Setting the stage for change*. Toronto, Canadian Tax Foundation.

Peters, B. G. (1998) *Managing horizontal government: The politics of coordination*. Ottawa, Canadian Centre for Management Development.

Peters, B. G. (2001). *Institutional theory in political science. The 'new' institutionalism.* London, Continuum.

Peters, E. (2003) 'Geographies of urban aboriginal people in Canada: Implications for urban self-government' in Murphy, M. (ed) *Canada: The state of the federation, reconfiguring aboriginal state relations*. Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press. 39-76.

Picot, P. & Myles, J. (2005) 'Income inequality and low income in Canada: An international perspective' *Catalogue 11F0019MIE*, No. 240. Ottawa, Minister of Industry.

Pierre, J. (2000) 'Introduction: Understanding governance' in Pierre, J. (2000) *Debating Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1-10.

Pierre, J. & Peters, B. G. (2000) *Governance, politics and the state.* Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Pierson, P. (2000) 'Not just what, but when: Timing and sequence in political processes' *Studies in American Political Development*, 14, 72–92.

Pierson, P. & Skocpol, T. (2002) 'Historical institutionalism in contemporary political science' in Katznelson, I. & Milner, H. (eds.) *Political science: The state of the discipline.* New York, Norton. 693-721.

Powell, M. & Moon, G. (2001) 'Health action zones: The third way of a new area based policy?' *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 9, 43–50.

Priemus, H. (1999) 'Four ministries, four spatial planning perspectives? Dutch evidence on the persistent problem of horizontal coordination' *European Planning Studies*, 7 (5), 563-585.

Priemus, H & Zonneveld, W. (2004) 'Regional and transnational spatial planning: Problems today, Perspectives for the future' *European Planning Studies*, 12 (3), 283-297.

Provan, K. & Milward, H.B. (1995) 'A preliminary theory of network effectiveness: a comprative study of four community mental health systems' *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40, 1-33.

Provan, K.G, Isett, K. R., & Milward, H. B. (2004) 'Cooperation and compromise: A network response to conflicting institutional pressures in community mental health' *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 33, 489-514.

Radin, B. & Boase, J. (2000) 'Federalism, political structure, and public policy in the United States and Canada' *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice,* 2, 65–89.

Re$earch Infosource (2008) 'Research universities of the year' (Online) Available at: http://www.researchinfosource.com/media/2008RUYAllUniversities.pdf [Accessed on 2 April 2009]

Richards, D. & Smith, M. (2002) *Governance and public policy*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Richards, D. & Smith, M (2005) 'Institutional reform for political control: Analysing the British Labour Government's approach to the pathologies of governance' Paper presented in *A Scancor Workshop in Collaboration With SOG*, April 1 - 2, 2005, Stanford University.

Richardson, T. & Jensen, O.B. (2003) 'Linking discourse and space: towards a cultural sociology of space in analysing spatial policy discourses' *Urban Studies*, 40 (1), 7–22.

Riker, W. (1962) *The theory of political coalitions*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Rodríguez-Pose, A. (2008) 'The rise of the "City-region" concept and its development policy implications' *European Planning Studies*, 16 (8), 1025-1046.

Rowley, J. (2002) 'Using case studies in research' *Management research news*. 25 (1), 16-27.

Royal commission on the economic union and development prospects for Canada (1985) *Report, 3 volumes*. Ottawa, Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada.

Salet, W. & Faludi, A. (2000) *The revival of strategic spatial planning.* Amsterdam, Edita Knaw.

Salet, W. & Thornley, A. (2007) Institutional influences on the integration of multilevel governance and spatial policy in European city-regions. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 27 (2), 188-198.

Salet, W., Thornley, A. & Kreukels, A. (2003) *Metropolitan governance and spatial planning: Comparative studies of European city-regions.* London, E&FN Spon.

Savoie, D. (2003) *Breaking the bargain: public servants, ministers, and Parliament.* Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Schäfer, N. (2005) 'Co-ordinating European sectoral policies against the background of European Spatial Development' Paper presented in the *45th Congress of the Regional Science Association*, Amsterdam, 23-27 August.

Scharpf, F. (1997) *Games real actors play: Actor-centered institutionalism in policy research.* Boulder Colo., Westview Press.

Scholz, R. & Tietje. O. (2002) *Embedded case study methods: Integrating quantitative and qualitative knowledge*. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Schout, A. & Jordan, A. (2007) 'From cohesion to territorial policy integration: exploring the governance challenges in the European Union' *European Planning Studies*, 15 (6), 835–851.

Scott, A. J., Agnew, J., Soja, E. W. & Storper, M. (2001) 'Global city-regions' in A. J. Scott (ed.) *Global Cityregions.* Oxford, Oxford University Press. 11–30

Scottish Executive (2004*) National planning framework for Scotland.* Edinburgh, Scottish Government.

Sécrétariat aux Affaires intergovernmentales canadiennes (1998). *Quebec's historical position on the federal spending power, 1944-1998.* Quebec City, Government of Quebec.

Seidle, F. L. (2002) 'The Federal Role in Canada's Cities: Overview of Issues and Proposed Actions' *Research Report F/27*, Ottawa, Canadian Policy Research Networks.

Sellers, J. M. (2002) *Governing from below: Urban regions and the global economy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Shanks, C., Harold, J., & Kaplan, J. (1996) 'Inertia and change in IGOs, 1981–1992' *International Organization*, 50, 593–627.

Sholte, J. A. (2000) *Globalization: A critical introduction*. Basingstoke, Palgrave.

Simeon, R. (1972) *Federal-provincial diplomacy; the making of recent policy in Canada*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Simeon, R. (1980) "Intergovernmental relations and the challenges to Canadian federalism" Canadian Public Administration, 23: 14–32.

Smiley, D. (1970) 'Cooperative federalism: An evaluation' in *Constitutional adaptation and Canadian federalism since 1945, Volume 4 of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, reprinted in J. Peter Meekison (ed.) *Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality?* 2nd ed. Toronto, Methuen. 371-378.

Smiley, D. (1987) *The federal condition in Canada.* Toronto, McGraw-Hill Ryerson. 94-99.

Smith, M.J. (1998) *Social science in question: Towards a postdisciplinary framework.* London, Sage.

Smith, M. (1999) 'Transnational urbanism' in Beauregard, R. & Body-Gendrot S., (eds). *The urban moment: Cosmopolitan essays on the late 20th century city,* London, Sage.

Soja, E. W. (1989) *Postmodern geographies: The reassertion of space in critical social theory*. London, Verso.

Statistics Canada (1999) 'Air carrier traffic at Canadian airports, 1999'. *Catalogue no. 51-203-XIB*. Ottawa, Industry Canada.

Statistics Canada (2005) 'Canada's aboriginal population in 2017' *The Daily* (Online)
Available at: *http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/050628/dq050628d-eng.htm.*
[Accessed on August 08 2008]

Statistics Canada (2006) 'Boundary files, 2006' *Catalogue no. 92-160-XWE/XWF*, Ottawa, Industry Canada.

Statistics Canada (2007a) 'Dissemination block boundary files' *Catalogue no. 92-163-XWE*. Ottawa, Industry Canada.

Statistics Canada (2007b) '2006 census' *CANSIM (database),* Using CHASS (distributor) (Online)

Available at: http://datacenter2.chass.utoronto.ca/chasscansim/
[Accessed on 18 October 2009]

Statistics Canada (2007c) 'Urban area boundary files' *Catalogue no. 92-164-XWE*, Ottawa, Industry Canada.

Statistics Canada (2007d) 'Road network and geographic attribute file' *Catalogue no. 92-155-XWE*, Ottawa, Industry Canada.

Statistics Canada (2007e) 'Population by immigrant status and period of immigration, 2006 counts, for Canada, provinces and territories - 20% sample data (table)' *Immigration and Citizenship Highlight Tables - Catalogue no. 97-557-XWE2006002*, Ottawa, Industry Canada.

Statistics Canada (2008) 'Canadian demographics at a glance' *Catalogue no. 91-003-x2007001,* Ottawa, Industry Canada.

Statistics Canada (2009a) 'Air carrier traffic at Canadian airports, 2007' *Catalogue no. 51-203-X,* Ottawa, Industry Canada.

Statistics Canada (2009b) 'Table 404-0021 - Rail transportation, origin and destination of commodities, annual (tonnes) (table)' *CANSIM (database), Using E-STAT (distributor)*, Ottawa, Industry Canada.

Statistics Canada (2009c) 'Distribution of total population, total immigrant population and recent immigrants, Canada and census metropolitan areas, 2006 and 2001 censuses' *Censuses of population, 2001 and 2006.* (Online)
Available at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-557/table/t3-eng.cfm
[Accessed on 22 February 2010]

Statistics Canada (2010) 'Population projections for Canada, provinces and territories' *Catalogue number 91-520-X*, Ottawa, Industry Canada.

Stephenson, K. (2004) 'Towards a theory of government' in *Network logic: Who governs in an interconnected world?* McCarthy, H., Miller, P., & Skidmore, P. London, Demos. 37-48.

Stevenson, G. (1980) 'Political constraints and the province-building objective' *Canadian Public Policy / Analyse de Politiques*, 6, 265-274.

Stoker, G. (1998) 'Governance as theory' *International Social Science Journal*, 155, 17–28.

Swaab, R., Postmes, T., Beest, I. & Spears, R. (2007) 'Shared cognition as a product of, and precursor to, shared identity in negotiations' *Pers Soc Psychol Bull,* 33, 187-199.

Swaab, R., Postmes, T. & Spears, R. (2008) 'Identity formation in multiparty negotiations' *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 47, 167–187.

Sykes, O. (2008) 'The importance of context and comparison in the study of European spatial planning' *European Planning Studies*, 16 (4), 537–555.

Taylor, L. (2009) 'No boundaries: exurbia and the study of contemporary urban dispersion' *GeoJournal,* 10.1007/s10708-009-9300-y, 1-17.

Telford, H. (2003) 'The federal spending power in Canada: Nation-building or nation-destroying?' *Publius*, 33 (1), 23-44.

The Council of Canadians (2008) 'Five reasons why Canada needs a national energy strategy now' (Online)
Available at:
http://www.canadians.org/energy/issues/energy_strategy/index.ht
ml
[Accessed on 5 April 2011]

The Star (2008) 'Canada lacks housing strategy' (Online)
Available at: http://www.thestar.com/comment/article/309365
[Accessed on 3 April 2011]

Thelen, K. (1999) 'Historical institutionalism in comparative politics' *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.,* 2, 369-404.

Thelen, K. (2000) 'Timing and temporality in the analysis of institutional evolution and change' *Studies in American Political Development*, 14, 101–108.

Thelen, K. & Steinmo, S. (1992) 'Historical institutionalism in comparative analysis.' in Steinmo, S., Thelen, K., & Longstreth, F. (eds.) *Structuring politics: Historical institutionalism in comparative analysis*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Thompson, G., Frances, J., Levacic, R. & Mitchell, J. (1991) *Markets, hierarchies and networks: The co-ordination of social life*. London, Sage.

Thrift, N. (2004) 'Intensities of feeling: Towards a spatial politics of affect' *Geografiska Annaler*, 86, B, 57–78.

TILMA, Trade, Investment and Labour Mobility Agreement (2006) 'The agreement' (Online)
Available at:
http://www.tilma.ca/pdf/TILMA_Agreement_April2006.pdf
[Accessed on 6 May 2011]

TILMA Secretariat (2009) 'TILMA – The agreement' (Online)
	Available at: http://www.tilma.ca/the_agreement.asp
	[Accessed on 5 August 2010]

Transport Canada (2006) *Canada's Asia-Pacific gateway and corridor
	initiative*, Ottawa, Transport Canada.

Transport Canada (2009) *National policy framework for strategic gateways
	and trade corridors,* Ottawa, Transport Canada.

Trudeau, P.E. (1969) *Federal-provincial grants and the spending power of
	parliament*, Ottawa, Government of Canada.

Tuan, Y-F. (1977) *Space and place.* Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota
	Press.

Vigar, G. (2009) 'Towards an integrated spatial planning' *European Planning
	Studies,* 17 (11), 1571-1590.

Webb, M. (1995) *The political economy of policy coordination: International
	adjustment since 1994.* Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press.

Weick, K. (1985) 'Cosmos vs. chaos: Sense and nonsense in electronic
	contexts' *Organizational Dynamics*, 14, 50-64.

Welsh National Assembly (2004) *People, places, futures: The Wales spatial
	plan.* Welsh Assembly, Cardiff.

Western Economic Diversification Canada (2009) 'Western economic
	partnership agreements' (Online)
	Available at: http://www.wd.gc.ca/eng/4909.asp
	[Accessed on 12 February 2009]

Wildavsky, A. (1978) 'A budget for all seasons? Why the traditional budget
	lasts' *Public Administration Review*, 38, 501-509.

Wolfe, J. (2002) 'Reinventing planning: Canada' *Progress in Planning,* 57,
	207-235.

Wolfe, J. (2003) 'A national urban policy for Canada? Prospects and
	challenges' *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 12 (1), 1-21.

Wong, C. (2002) 'Is there a need for a fully integrated spatial planning
	framework for the United Kingdom?' *Planning Theory & Practice*, 3
	(3), 277-300.

Wong, C. (2006) *Indicators for urban and regional planning:
	The interplay of policy and methods.* London, Routledge.

Wong, C., Rae, A. & Schulze Bäing, A. (2006) *Uniting Britain: The evidence base – spatial structure and key drivers*. London, Royal Town Planning Institute.

Yates, J. S. (2004) *Doing social science research*. London, Sage Publications in association with the Open University Press.

Yin, R. (1994) *Case study research: Design and methods* (2nd ed.). Beverly Hills, CA, Sage Publishing.

Young, R., Faucher, P. & Blais, A. (1984) 'The concept of province-building: A critique' *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique*, 17 (4).

APPENDIX 1: CONCEPTUALLY CLUSTERED DATA ANALYSIS MATRIX

Table 1

Document		Corporate Business Plan 2009/2010 – 2011/2012	
Government		Government of Canada	
Department		Western Economic Diversification	
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Identifies management over four specific regions, with liaison office in Ottawa	Specific reference to British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba as the area of jurisdiction for the department and the requirement for the main headquarters of the department to be in Edmonton	Mention of horizontal coordination through management offices in each of the four provinces and with other Federal priorities through liaison office.	Department is explicitly concerned with Western Canada and specific regional priorities
Policy sphere of influence	Map of the four Western provinces covered by Western Economic Diversification	-	Department is explicitly concerned with Western Canada and specific regional priorities
Reference to utilising corridors and gateways to improve trade and investment	General reference to Western Canada	-	Explicit potential of corridors and gateways to act as nodes of wealth and knowledge creation
Highlights need for more rural diversification	General reference to rural areas	Mention of working in partnership with Community Futures Development Corporations and rural-based economic development organisations	Implicit shift from current primary industry to secondary and tertiary industries that may not be as land intensive
Identifies provinces and municipalities as partners in the distribution of infrastructure funds	General reference to provinces and municipalities	Mention of vertical and horizontal partnerships are noted among Transport, Infrastructure and Communities portfolios at the Federal and Provincial levels	$335.6M allocated to improve infrastructure in the Western Provinces
Administration of initiatives focused on mitigation of the Mountain Pine Beetle	Specific mention of British Columbia	-	Implicit understanding that initiatives are designed to ensure the continued viability of the forestry sector in British Columbia

The United States is recognised as a major trading partner	Specific mention of the United States	-	80% of all Western trade is with the United States, implicit affects on infrastructure, flow and settlement patterns along with land-use are present
Organisational reliance on regional departments to deliver programs and initiatives	General mention of regions	Mention of the need to coordinate regional programs and initiatives with broader goals and outcomes of the Federal government	Programs and initiatives are designed based on regional needs and concerns
Deterioration of Western trade with the United States	Specific mention of United States, Mexico, and the Asia-Pacific and Latin America regions	-	Support Western business initiatives that target new international markets
Recognition of economically depressed communities	General mention of communities	-	Specific goal of encouraging community growth and economic development
Maintain of economies in Western communities	General mention of communities	Mention of national programs to be delivered to local communities and aboriginal governments	$1.5B in funds directed to communities to improve infrastructure and create jobs during the global downturn
Recognition of unique economic characteristics and priorities of individual provinces	General mention of provinces	Mention of inter-governmental partnership agreements	More coordinated investment in provincial and federal priorities
Identification importance of trade corridor initiatives	Specific mention of Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridors and Mid-Continent Trade Corridor	Mention of stakeholders involved in the gateway and corridors initiative	Increased trade and investment in strategic transportation infrastructure
Number of maps: 1 Number of pages: 30			
Low level of spatial specificity / Medium level of coordination specificity			

Table 2

Document	Canada's Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative		
Government	Government of Canada		
Department	Transport Canada		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Identifies the goal of creating a global trade network to connect Asia and North America	Specific reference to B.C. Lower Mainland and Prince Rupert ports along with the main transport connections across Canada and to the U.S., including border crossings and airports	Mention that it is an integrated strategy. There is an implied element of coordination among a wide-variety of governments and stakeholders with explicit mention of the need for federal partnership with provincial governments and the private sector	Increased trade between Asia-Pacific and Canada resulting in an increase in overall container traffic within the Gateway as a percentage of North American traffic through an investment of $591M
Destination and quantity of imports and exports by province through the Asia-Pacific Gateway are highlighted	General reference to all provinces although Atlantic Provinces are grouped together	-	Forecast of increased exports from all provinces through the Asia-Pacific Gateway
Reference to rapid growth of Chinese imports and exports in Canada	Specific reference to Canada and China	-	Forecast increase in Chinese economy resulting in increased trade flows
Gateway approach is defined with reference to multiple forms of transit infrastructure within a defined geographic zone along with related non-infrastructure issues	General reference to a defined geographic zone	Mention of partnership by multiple public and private sectors	Particular emphasis on maximizing public sector investments through private sector partnership
Identifies the immediate infrastructure investments being made in the Asia-Pacific Gateway	Specific reference is made to locations of investments along with general reference to important individual cities and transportation routes	Mention of cost-sharing of investment among provincial and municipal governments in combination with private sector investment	Development of an integrated marine, road, rail and air network spanning four provinces with connections to the United States
Identifies investments in a traffic management centre for the British Columbia Lower Mainland	General mention of Lower Mainland	Mention of the use of the management centre to improve international and interprovincial traffic flows	$2M investment in traffic management centre
Comments on private sector investments in transportation infrastructure	Specific reference to private sector investments in CN Railway,	Mention of need for a defined public sector regulatory environment to	$5.4B private sector investment in transportation infrastructure

	Canadian Pacific Railway, Vancouver Port, Fraser Port, Prince Rupert Port and Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Pearson International Airports	promote private sector investment	
Identifies current public sector investments in border security designed to improve efficiency	Specific reference to Vancouver International Airport, Port of Vancouver and Prince Rupert Port Authority	Mention of consulting with stakeholders	$28M investment in border services and new terminal for Prince Rupert Port Authority resulting in a forecast 300,000 containers of traffic processed in its first year of operation and 1 million containers by 2012
Identifies the need to integrate 3 Lower Mainland Ports	Specific reference to Fraser River, North Fraser and Vancouver Port Authorities	Mention of coordinating the three port's activities	A single integrated port for the Lower Mainland resulting in improved transportation and land-use efficiencies
Comments on the need for improved logistics and operating efficiencies within the trucking industry	General reference to the B.C. Lower Mainland	Mention of provincially led forum to engage stakeholders in trucking improvements	Improved trucking capacity within the broader transportation infrastructure of the Asia-Pacific Gateway
The importance of cargo container movements throughout the supply chain	General reference to the Prairie provinces	Mention of examining regulatory issues related empty cargo containers moving back West	$7 million study to determine the potential use of empty cargo containers moving West
Comments on continued efforts towards air liberalisation within Canada	Specific reference to China, India and the United States as well as Canadian airports	Mention of need to improve partnerships with Asia and the need for Federal departments to work towards increased air movement	Goal of increased capacity and flexible flight movements related to both passenger and cargo planes
Number of maps: 4 Number of pages: 22			
High level of spatial specificity / High level of coordination specificity			

Table 3

Document	Corporate Plan 2009-2013		
Government	Government of Canada (Arms-length agency)		
Department	Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Multiple case studies are highlighted throughout the document	Specific reference to the cities and neighbourhoods of the case studies	Mention of various partners	Broad programs and policies can be effective at the micro scale
Two year limited funding provided for renovations and development of social housing in the North	General reference to the North	-	$200 million in funding for housing renovations and development in the North, focused on Aboriginals
Low-cost loans to municipalities to build affordable housing	General reference to municipalities	-	$2 billion in low-cost loans to build affordable housing
Identifies extreme housing need of Aboriginal Canadians living on reserve	General reference to reserves	-	The estimated shortage of on reserve housing is between 20,000 and 35,000 units. 4,500 units are needed per year to keep the backlog from growing.
Identifies funding for renovations and new social housing in First Nations communities	General reference to First Nations communities	Mention of other housing funding provided by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada	$128 million annually provided to assist 27,000 households, new additional two year funding of $250 million for on reserve housing development and renovation provided
Identifies construction of housing in the north as difficult due to high costs of construction and low incomes	General reference to the North	Mention of large amounts of housing stock owned by the territorial governments	High operational costs require that energy efficient housing be a construction priority
Identifies Granville Island as a unique CMHC development in need of infrastructure updating	Specific reference to Granville Island	-	Long-term plan for the renewal of the Island's infrastructure and facilities is underway
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 49			
Low level of spatial specificity / Low level of coordination specificity			

Table 4

Document	Building Canada: Modern Infrastructure for a Strong Canada		
Government	Government of Canada		
Department	Transport Canada		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Identifies the importance of the Canada-US border	General reference to cross border corridors and border crossings, as well as highways, ports, rail lines and waterways	Mention of bi-lateral Canada-US relationship	$1.8 billion per day is traded in goods between Canada and the US, averaging six percent annually increases in trade over the last decade
Identifies the cost of traffic congestion in Canada's cities	General reference to nine major urban areas	-	$2.3 billion and $3.7 billion in lost productivity (2002)
Identifies importance of infrastructure to the attraction of skilled workers in urban areas	Specific reference to Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver	-	Lack of skilled workers and investment can have a major impact on Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver which generate 35% of Canada's GDP
Highlights a number of specific case study examples of infrastructure	Specific reference to individual municipalities and regions	-	Broad programs and policies can be effective at the micro scale
Notes wastewater affluent from municipalities is a major cause of pollution to Canadian waters	General reference to municipalities with a distinction between inland municipalities and coastal municipalities	-	The cost of treating health related problems due to water pollution is $300 million annually
Identifies boil-water advisory issues	General reference to small and rural communities	-	Every year in Canada 700 boil-water advisories are issued in communities
Notes the issues related to and potential of brownfield sites	General reference to cities and communities	-	There are approximately 30,000 brownfield sites in Canada with the potential to generate up to $700 billion in public benefits
Identifies Canada's gateways, border crossings and multi-modal transportation nodes as national priorities for investment	Specific mention of the Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor, two new gateways in eastern and central Canada	-	Plans developed will guide future federal investment in three specific gateway and corridor initiatives
Highlights efforts to create an Ontario-	Specific mention of Ontario and	Mention of a memorandum of	Plans designed to reduce congestion,

Quebec Continental Gateway	Quebec	understanding between Ontario, Quebec and the Federal Government to establish the gateway	improve border crossing times, optimise and development inter-modal nodes, improve long-range transportation planning and minimise environmental impacts
Identifies the need to improve the National Highway System	General reference to the needs of both urban and rural communities	-	Improvements to the core of the highway system resulting in improved safety, efficiency, state of good repair, the reduction of bottlenecks and minimisation of environmental impacts
Highlights need for improvement to short-line rail and short-sea shipping	General reference to major markets, coastal waterways, mainline corridors and rural economies	-	Improvements needed to upgrade the integration of the transportation system, reduce bottlenecks, and minimise the environmental impacts
Identifies importance of regional and local airports	General reference to airports	-	Improvements needed for increased efficiency, access and security
Notes importance of broadband to rural communities	General reference to rural and remote communities	-	Over 2,000 rural and remote communities are in need of broadband access
Identifies the importance of the tourism industry to Canada	General reference to Canadian cities	-	Direct investments towards construction and expansion of convention and exhibition spaces
Highlights improvements needed to wastewater treatment in municipalities	General reference to municipalities	Mention of the issue spanning all levels of government	Improvements to physical wastewater treatment infrastructure
Notes importance of public transit to cities and communities	General reference to cities and communities	-	Support investments that improve mobility, reduce travel times, increase public transit safety, expand access and affordability, reduce GHG emissions, and contribute to sustainable municipal land-use planning
Discusses issues of solid waste management across Canada	General reference to the problem being particularly acute in large cities	-	Support investment in innovative solid-waste management

Drinking water and water conversation issues are noted for cities in regard to potable water and rural areas in terms of water quality	General reference to cities and rural areas	-	Improved safety, management and efficiency of water systems in Canada
Redevelopment of brownfield sites	General reference to cities and communities	-	Increased redevelopment of property and more intensive use of land
Roads and bridges throughout Canada in need of repair	General reference to municipal and regional roads, highways and bridges	-	Improved transportation safety and efficiency and improved mobility
Sports infrastructure for regional centres	General reference to key regional centres and Canadian communities	-	Provide increased opportunities for hosting major amateur sports events
Cultural infrastructure to help communities encourage cultural engagement	General reference to cities and communities	-	Help communities express, preserve, develop and promote their culture and heritage through support for arts and heritage facilities
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 32			
Low level of spatial specificity / Low level of coordination specificity			

Table 5

Document	Pacific Gateway Strategy Action Plan		
Government	Government of Canada, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba		
Department	Multiple		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Asian trade linkages	Specific mention of China trade linkages with Canada and BC	-	Improved trade with Asia
Port traffic comparison	General mention of the Americas west coast ports, and Northwest ports	-	Competitive advantage for Asian trade with British Columbia
Vancouver International Airport	Specific mention of Vancouver International Airport	-	Increased airline passenger numbers
Western infrastructure improvements	General mention of infrastructure	-	Improved infrastructure to support

	improvements related to Western trade flows		increased goods movement
BC container capacity and demand	Specific mention of BC ports	-	Port improvements to meet container traffic demand
Vancouver port capacity expansion	Specific mention of Vancouver Port Authority and associated container locations	-	Port improvements to meet container traffic demand
Prince Rupert terminal expansion	Specific mention of Prince Rupert port and associated container locations	-	Port improvements to meet container traffic demand
Fraser Surrey terminal expansion	Specific mention of Fraser Surrey port, the Fraser-Richmond port and the Massey Tunnel	Mention of the Fraser River Port Authority	Integrated port operations and expansion
Canada-Chinese coal exports	Specific mention of Canada and China	-	Fluctuating port traffic caused by resource prices affects container traffic
BC port container traffic by type of import/export	Specific mention of individual ports and traffic demand	-	Heavy increase in resource based container traffic predicted
Prince Rupert / Kitimat bulk oil exports	Specific mention of Prince Rupert / Kitimat	-	Heavy projected increase in bulk oil exports
Lynnterm conversion	Specific mention of the Lynnterm container port	-	Potential conversion of Lynnterm to a container terminal could create a breakbulk capacity shortfall.
Container traffic movement	General mention of Lower Mainland ports and Prince Rupert	Mention of CN and CPR rail	Four fold increase in rail traffic associated with the port system by 2020
CN / CPR co-production agreement	Specific mention of railways from Boston Bar to Vancouver's south shore terminals, and to crew coal trains for both railways to Roberts Bank	Mention of agreement between the two companies	Coordinated rail transportation to achieve operational efficiencies
Truck route capacity	Specific mention of individual highway's at or near capacity near ports along with specific	-	Reduced road congestion associated with truck port traffic

	improvements		
Vancouver International Airport	Specific mention of Vancouver International Airport	-	Increased passenger numbers reaching 28.4 million passengers by 2020
Canada Line Rapid Transit	Specific mention of Canada Line	-	Direct connection from airport to downtown Vancouver
Western Canadian airports	Specific mention of Edmonton, Calgary, Regina and Winnipeg airports	-	Long term plans to expand airport capacity in each city and attract additional flights from Asia
Supply chains	Specific mention of five individual supply chain regions	-	Integrated long-term plans to manage projected growth
Port Vancouver (Roberts Bank) supply chain initiatives	Map of specific initiatives	-	Integrated long-term plans to manage projected growth
Fraser Port supply chain initiatives	Map of specific initiatives	-	Integrated long-term plans to manage projected growth
Port Vancouver (Burrard Inlet) supply chain initiatives	Map of specific initiatives	-	Integrated long-term plans to manage projected growth
Prince Rupert Port supply chain initiatives	Map of specific initiatives	-	Integrated long-term plans to manage projected growth
Vancouver Airport supply chain initiatives	Map of specific initiatives	-	Integrated long-term plans to manage projected growth
Cross-provincial initiatives	Map of specific initiatives	-	Integrated long-term plans to manage projected growth
Supply chain infrastructure and process initiatives index	Specific mention of individual initiativies being undertaken in relation to the port strategy	-	Integrated long-term plans to manage projected growth
Detailed action plan initiatives	Specific mention of individual detailed investments being undertaken in relation to the port strategy	-	Integrated long-term plans to manage projected growth
Number of maps: 6 Number of pages: 54			
High level of spatial specificity / Low level of coordination specificity			

Table 6

Document	A Climate Change Plan for the Purposes of the *Kyoto Protocol Implementation Act*		
Government	Government of Canada		
Department	Ministry of the Environment		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Signatory countries to Kyoto	General mention of 118 countries	-	Represent over 83% of global greenhouse gas emissions (GHG)
Implementation	Specific mention of the United States	Mention of working in partnership with the US	Canada's GHG policies are to be aligned with the United States
Clean energy research and demonstration projects	General mention of provinces and territories	Mention of collaboration with provinces and territories	Pilot demonstration projects to test technology to reduce GHG
UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol	General mention of 194 countries	Mention of cooperation on GHG reductions	Proposed global GHG reductions
Kyoto Protocol requirements	General mention of 38 industrialised countries	-	Proposed reduction during 2008-2012, with the goal of cutting collective emissions of greenhouse gases by 5.2% from 1990 levels
Copenhagen Accord	General mention of 118 countries	-	Move towards a new legally-binding GHG reduction regime for the post-2012 period
International shipping sector	General mention of other countries	Mention of working with other countries	Reduction of GHG emissions in the international shipping sector
Regulating renewable fuels content	General mention of provinces and territories	Mention of working with provinces and territories	Increased renewable fuels content
Production of next-generation renewable fuels	General mention of large-scale facilities	-	$500 million investment in private sector for the production of next-generation renewable fuels
Pulp and paper green Transformation program	General mention of pulp and paper mills	-	24 companies representing 38 mills across Canada received credit allocations

Renewable power	General mention of renewable power projects	Mention of contribution agreements	1.35 Mt of emissions reductions
Renewable heat	Specific mention of Ontario, British Columbia and Saskatchewan	Mention of information sharing agreements	Coordination of complementary solar thermal programs
Buildings and houses	General mention of 400 commercial buildings	Mention of engaging in ongoing dialogue and co-operation with provincial and territorial programs	Almost 400 commercial buildings received energy labels as part of a pilot energy management labelling and benchmarking program
Buildings and houses	Specific mention of Ontario and British Columbia	-	Improved building code standards reduced GHG emissions
Retrofit initiative	General mention of homes, home owners and small and medium-sized organizations	-	$805 million over 5 years in incentives for energy efficiency improvements
Aboriginal and Northern Communities	General mention of Aboriginal and northern communities	-	$15 million over 4 years to support renewable energy projects, improve energy efficiency, and encourage the adoption of alternative energy sources in Aboriginal and northern communities
ecoMobility	General mention of municipalities	Mention of extensive national consultations	$10 million ecoMobility program aims to reduce emissions from the urban passenger transportation sector by helping municipalities attract residents to less polluting forms of transportation
Marine Shore Power Program	General mention of Canadian ports	-	$6 million Marine Shore Power Program to allow the use of shore-based power for marine vessels in Canadian ports to reduce air pollution from idling ship engines in urban centres

Marine Shore Power Program	Specific mention of the Vancouver Fraser Port Authority	-	$6 million Marine Shore Power Program to allow the use of shore-based power for marine vessels in Canadian ports to reduce air pollution from idling ship engines in urban centres
Provincial and Territorial Collaboration and Action	General mention of provinces and territories	Mention of strong collaborative relationship between the Government of Canada and provincial and territorial partners	Improved coordination with provincial and territorial governments control
Provincial and Territorial Collaboration and Action	Specific mention of individual provinces and territories	-	Actions taken by provinces and territories contribute to GHG reductions
Clean energy fund	General mention of carbon capture and storage	-	$795 million over five years for research, development and the deployment of new, clean energy technologies
Dedicated Investments towards Carbon Capture and Storage	Specific mention of Saskatchewan, University of Calgary and Nova Scotia	Mention of collaboration between government and industry	Commercial demonstration projects on carbon capture and storage
GHG emissions from electricity and heat generation	Specific mention of Ontario	-	Reduction in Ontario in reliance on coal-fired electricity generation
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: unknown, web-based text			
Low level of spatial specificity / Medium level of coordination specificity			

Table 7

Document	A Shared Vision for Energy in Canada		
Government	Council of the Federation		
Department	N/A		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Energy resources throughout Canada	Specific mention of offshore British Columbia, eastern Canada and the North	-	Development of energy resources
Energy transmission and pipeline networks	General reference to north-south pipelines and east-west transmission lines	-	Improved east-west transmission grid
Network of research centres of excellence	Specific mention of provincial and territorial fields of research but not on locations within provinces	Mention of greater inter-governmental collaboration being needed	Investments in specific research intensive fields within universities
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 24			
Low level of spatial specificity / Low level of coordination specificity			

Table 8

Document	Looking to the Future: A Plan for Investing in Canada's Transportation Infrastructure		
Government	Council of the Federation		
Department	N/A		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Transportation infrastructure deficits in urban areas	Specific reference to urban centres as well as population concentration in Canada's eight largest cities	-	Traffic congestion and a decrease in quality of life within urban centres
Rural areas dependence on reliable transportation systems	General reference to rural areas	-	The remote nature of some rural areas leaves them without sufficient transportation infrastructure
Identification of a national network	General reference to rural, remote and northern communities and	Mention of the need to strengthen partnerships involving governments	Improve the movement of people and goods through investments in

	densely populated and high volume provinces and territories	and to respect jurisdictions priorities	transportation infrastructure
Aboriginal communities transportation needs	General reference to aboriginal communities	-	Improve transportation to improve economic strength
Varying forms of ownership of national infrastructure throughout the country	Specific reference to Class 1 rail lines, national airports, and 19 ports in six provinces that are independently operated.	-	Reduce legislative barriers to allow private enterprise to flourish, with priority funds given to transportation infrastructure that is unable to self-finance
Issues of urban transportation infrastructure	Specific reference to Canada's cities along with specific transportation funding issues in Ontario, Quebec, Western Canada, Atlantic Canada and the Territories	Mention of need for Federal government investment with implied coordination between all levels of government	Demand to increase investment by $23 billion in urban transportation and $66 billion in urban roads and bridges
Notes needed investment in the National Highway System	General reference to National Highway System	Mention of need for Federal government investment	Identified need for investment of $17 billion in the National Highway System from 1998
Airport investments	Specific mention of airports where investment is needed	-	Specific airports are noted for investment
Marine port investments	Specific mention of ports where investment is needed	-	Specific ports are noted for investment
Freight rail investments	Specific mention of freight rail lines where investment is needed	-	Specific freight rail lines are noted for investment
Intercity passenger rail investment	Specific mention of intercity passenger rail where investment is needed	-	Specific intercity passenger rail lines are noted for investment
Highways investments	Specific mention of highways where investment is needed	-	Specific highways are noted for investment
Canada-US border investments	Specific mention of Canada-US border investments	-	Specific Canada-US border areas are noted for investment
Urban road investments	General mention of urban roads	-	General mention of urban road

	that connect to intermodal nodes, the NHS and Census Metropolitan Districts		investments
Urban transit investments	Specific mention of urban transit investments by city	-	Specific urban transit investment by city
Ferry investments	Specific mention of ferry routes for investment	-	Specific ferry investments are noted
Notes the need to recognise the provincial diversity in infrastructure needs	Specific mention of regional documents that provide additional guidance on transportation infrastructure need	-	The diverse transportation needs of regions are outlined along with region specific policy frameworks
Map outlining investment strategy	Specific mention of spatial areas of investment	-	Map highlights both current and future transportation expansion potential
Number of maps: 1 Number of pages: 34			
High level of spatial specificity / Low level of coordination specificity			

Table 9

Document	Service Plan Update		
Government	British Columbia		
Department	Ministry of Transportation and Infrastructure		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Gateway strategy investment to encourage trade with Asia	General mention of BC's ports, rail and supporting road network	-	Additional goods movement and investment in infrastructure resulting in rise in economic prosperity
Public transportation in urban areas	Specific mention of Metro Vancouver	-	Denser communities
Rural economies dependence on aging infrastructure	General reference to rural areas, specific mention of the North-East region	Mention of partnerships with First Nations	Improvements to transportation infrastructure to provide greater economic opportunity
Improved cross-border transportation links with the US	General reference of cross-border gateways to the US	-	Improved border wait-times and increased trade

Develop the Asia-Pacific Gateway	General reference to implementing gateway along with strategic investments in specific corridors and ports	Mention of leadership and coordination through the Pacific Gateway Executive Committee	Increased goods transportation and trade with Asia
Improved use of public transit and alternative modes of personal transportation in BC	Specific reference to BC Transit and TransLink along with the Canada Line	-	Increased use of public transportation and alternative modes of transportation
Kicking Horse Canyon capital project	Specific mention of highway and bridge improvements	Mention of Federal funding mechanisms and general mention of private sector partners	Expansion of transportation capacity throughout the corridor
Sea to Sky highway capital project	Specific mention of highway sections	Mention of First Nations participation	Expansion and increased safety along the corridor
Pitt River Bridge and Mary Hill Bypass/Lougheed Highway Interchange capital project	Specific mention of highway and bridge sections	Mention of Federal government financial contribution noted	Reduced traffic congestion, improved bus commuting and improvements to environmentally sensitive areas
South Fraser Perimeter Road capital project	Specific mention of highway and bridge sections	Mention of Federal government financial contribution noted	Improvement to the movement of freight traffic and access for commuters and tourists to the BC interior
Port Mann Bridge / Hwy 1 capital project	Specific mention of highway sections	Mention of Inter-provincial coordination and TransLink issues noted	Reduced traffic congestion, improved transit infrastructure and cycling network
Evergreen Line Rapid Transit Project capital project	Specific mention of transit linkages between urban areas	Mention of Federal government financial contribution noted along with specific coordination necessary between Ministries and TransLink	Improved travel times for commuters, shift in automobile dependency and supportive of municipal growth plans
Okanagan Corridor Improvements	Specific mention of corridor improvement areas	Mention of partnership between federal and municipal partners	Improvements to support increased trade, tourism and reductions in traffic congestion
Oil and Gas Rural Road Improvements	General mention of the Northeast region	Mention of coordination with Ministry of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources	Increased improvements in to eliminate seasonal road restrictions to attract new investment and create jobs
Cariboo Connector Program	Specific mention of highway corridor	Mention of Federal government financial contribution noted	Widening of the highway corridor to improve safety and reduce travel times

Airports and Ports improvements	General reference to ports and airports	-	Improved economic prosperity to communities and regions
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 35			
High level of spatial specificity / High level of coordination specificity			

Table 10

Document	Asia Pacific Initiative		
Government	British Columbia		
Department	Ministry of Economic Development		
Reference	Spatial Specificity	Coordination Mechanism	Spatial Implication
Asia and BC trade corridor	Specific mention of the Pacific Gateway and general reference to Asia and North America	Mention of partners	Expansion of trade, by 2020 the estimated trade gain for BC is projected to be $76 billion and for Canada, $230 billion. Total employment impact of 255,000 jobs in BC and 500,000 in Canada
Identification of potential Asian markets	Specific mention of China, Hong Kong, India, Japan, South Korean, Taiwan,	-	Asia's share of world GDP will increase from 36% in 2005 to 43% by 2020
Map showing BC's strategic global location	Specific reference to Tokyo, Seoul, Beijing Taipei, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Mumbai	-	Proximity to be used as key leverage point for trade
BC economic shift towards Asia	General mention of Asia	Mention of working with the federal government to ensure Asian trade is a national priority	Major trade shift in Canada from East to West
Map showing distance between BC and Asian ports along with North American railway network	General mention of Asian Ports	-	Strategic location as shortest land-sea-air route between Asia and North America
Map showing distance between BC and Asian ports along with North American railway network	Specific mention of cities connected to North American rail network	-	Improved rail connections throughout North America to facilitate trade.
Notes that the Port of Vancouver has	Specific mention that the Port of	-	Comprehensive rail connections to

extensive railway linkages	Vancouver connects to three major railway networks		major markets in North America
Asian population concentrations	Specific mention of Asian population concentrations in BC, Alberta, Canada, Washington State and Australia	Mention of partnerships with Asian communities, businesses and non-profits	Utilisation of Asian population base for improved trade and economic growth
Identifies sector opportunities in Asia Pacific	Specific mention of countries where sector opportunities exist based on population, urbanization, middle class, education, supply chains, and foreign investment	Mention of need to establish government connections with Asian nations	Strategic focused business cultivation towards specific countries dependent on opportunities
Need for improved supply chain infrastructure	Specific mention of BC ports and Vancouver international airport as key areas for improvement	-	Expansion of major ports and airports to accommodate growth
Combine BC ports	Specific mention of the Vancouver Port Authority, the Fraser River Port Authority, and the North Fraser Port Authority ports	Mention of coordination with the federal Department of Transport	The creation of a single port authority capable of handling and coordinating increased trade from Asia
Maximise Northern gateway areas potential	Specific mention of Prince Rupert, Kitimat and Stewart	Mention of First Nations partnerships. Implied coordination with municipal government and private sector	Leveraging of port assets and improvement of supporting infrastructure in these Northern communities
Gateway pipelines	General mention of the importance of gateway pipelines from the Alberta oil sands	-	Increased opening up of Asian markets for Alberta oil sands
Improved Gateway competiveness	General reference to review of port taxation and land utilisation	-	Lower costs associated with port operations and capital investments
Retention of and increased utilisation of skilled immigrant labour	Specific mention that the largest immigrant labour comes from Mainland China, India and the Philippines	Mention of need to coordinate with Federal Government	Possible increased pressure on housing and support services
Increased international students	Specific mention of Japan, South	-	Possible increased pressure on housing

	Korea and China		and support services
Create Vancouver as an Asia-Pacific Finance Centre	Specific mention of Vancouver	-	Increased financial services investment in Vancouver
Trade trends	Multiple maps of trade trends for specific countries and regions in Asia	-	Targeted marketing and business efforts towards emerging markets
Number of maps: 9 Number of pages: 59			
High level of spatial specificity / Medium level of coordination specificity			

Table 11

Document	The BC Energy Plan		
Government	British Columbia		
Department	Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Promotion of energy efficiency and community energy projects	General reference to 29 communities within the Fraser Basin Council	Mention of coordination with Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources, Environment, and Community Services, Natural Resources Canada, the Fraser Basin Council, Community Energy Association, BC Hydro, FortisBC, Terasen Gas, and the Union of BC Municipalities.	Less electricity use and more use of locally produced energy
Olympic Games sustainability	Specific reference to Vancouver and Whistler	-	Reduction of traffic congestion, minimization of local air pollution and limiting of greenhouse gas emissions.
Local governments and First Nations Community Action on Energy Efficiency Program	General reference to local governments and First Nations	Mention of increased participation with local governments and First Nations	Reduced energy use within buildings, lower urban heat island effect
Increased involvement of First Nations communities	Specific mention of the Squamish First Nation's participation in the	Mention of partnerships with First Nations, industry and government	Reduced land use conflicts

	Furry Creek and Ashlu hydro projects and the Hupacasath First Nation on Vancouver Island		
Burrard Thermal Generating Station	Specific mention of the Burrard thermal generating station and the Lower Mainland	-	Need of generator as an emergency backup ensures it's use is maintained
Alternative energy sources	General mention of remote communities	-	Land implications of development of alternative energy sources
Expansion of electricity services	General mention of 50 First Nations communities and remote locations	-	Land implications of development of electricity services
Electricity prices of various cities	Specific mention of various North American cities electricity prices	-	Attractiveness of housing and industry costs within urban areas
Atlin energy project	Specific mention of the Taku River Tlingit First Nation	Mention of coordination between First Nation, BC Hydro, Federal and Provincial government	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
Bioeconomy creation	General mention of Western Canada	-	Increased industry support for rural communities
Extend Hydrogen Highway	Specific mention of Victoria, Surrey, Vancouver, North Vancouver, Squamish, and Whistler corridor	-	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
Green Ports	Specific mention of Port of Vancouver	Mention of working with ports and industry	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
Highway Infrastructure and Rapid Transit Infrastructure funding	Specific mention of the Rapid Transit Canada Line linking Richmond, the Vancouver International Airport and Vancouver, and the Rapid Transit Evergreen Line linking Burnaby to Coquitlam	-	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
Site C	Specific mention of the utilisation of Site C for Hydro-electric dam	Mention of coordination with Alberta and First Nations	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions and land implications related to Dam

			development
Solar power production	Specific mention of schools in Vernon, Fort Nelson, and Greater Victoria	-	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
Tidal power production	Specific mention of Race Rocks located west-southwest of Victoria	Mention of coordination between Lester B. Pearson College of the Pacific, the provincial and federal government, and industry	Generation of about 77,000 kilowatt hours on an annual basis
Wind power production	Specific mention of three wind power sites	-	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
Energy production sources	Specific mention of various global regions energy production percentages	-	BC's majority use of hydro power
Plains CO2 Reduction (PCOR) Partnership	General mention of 50 private and public sector groups from nine states and three Canadian provinces	Mention of coordination between government and industry	Improved carbon capture and storage
West Coast Regional Carbon Sequestration Partnership	General mention of west coast states and provincial government agencies and ministries	Mention of coordination between government agencies and ministries	Improved carbon sequestration opportunities and technology development
Map of undiscovered oil and gas estimates	BC-wide map with specific spatial references to cities and towns and estimated locations of oil and gas	-	Land use impact of potential oil and gas extraction
The hub of BC's oil and gas sector	Specific mention of Fort St. John	-	Since 2001, more than 1,400 people have moved to Fort St. John, an increase of 6.3 per cent and two per cent faster growth than the provincial average.
Oil and Gas Centre of Excellence	Specific mention of Fort St. John Northern Lights College campus	-	Improved educational training in Fort St. John
Improved opportunities from oil and gas development	General mention of BC's Northeast	Mention of partnership between communities, First Nations, landowners and community groups	Improved economic opportunity in the Northeast

| Number of maps: 1 Number of pages: 44 |
| High level of spatial specificity / Medium level of coordination specificity |

Table 12

Document	Service Plan Update 2009/10 – 2011/12		
Government	British Columbia		
Department	Community and Rural Development		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Economic difficulties	General reference to Communities	Mention of need to work collaboratively with communities	Budget difficulties impact the ability of communities to provide essential services
Assets and opportunities for growth	General reference to Rural communities and a gateway to Asia-Pacific	-	Improved trade with Asia-Pacific and economic benefits to the community
Port expansion	Specific reference to Prince Rupert	-	Improved trade with Asia-Pacific and economic benefits to the community
Provincial cooperation with local government and First Nations	General reference to Local Government and First Nations throughout the document	Mention of need to cooperate among government throughout the document	Potential for reduction in overlapping services and more coordinated policy development
Asia-Pacific Twinning Initiative	General reference to Communities in BC and Communities in the Asia-Pacific region	Mention of encouraging engagement between BC communities and those in Asia-Pacific	Potential for increased trade and knowledge exchange between communities
Resort Municipality Initiative	General reference to Resort Municipalities	-	Increased tourism
Regional Growth Strategies	General reference to encouraging Regional Growth Strategies	-	Improved regional service delivery and planning
Rural wealth creation	General reference to resource rich communities and the equitable distribution of infrastructure funding	-	Improved economic development within communities
Community agreements	General reference to rural	Mention of removing regulations and	Tailor focused programs for rural

	communities	advancing community identified priorities through coordination between local government, provincial government and federal government	communities
Socio-economic governmental coordination	General reference to Regions and Communities	Mention of need to integrate governmental strategies at all levels of government to advance socio-economic goals	Potential for reduction in overlapping services and more coordinated policy development
Economic trusts	Specific mention of economic trusts which operate within defined spatial areas; Nechako-Kitamaat Development Fund Society, Northern Development Initiative Trust, Island Coastal Economic Trust and Southern Interior Development Initiative Trust	Mention of working with the trusts to improve local communities	Potential for economic development initiatives
Community transition services	General mention of resource-dependent communities	Mention of assistance for resource-dependent communities suffering economic decline	Diversification of local economy
Community Beetle Action Coalitions	Specific map of spatial jurisdiction of coalitions and major communities	Mention of working with coalitions	Reduction of pine beetle infestations and resulting economic impacts
Community Development Trust	General mention of Forest-dependent communities	-	Improved financial capacity of workers in forest-dependent communities
Water treatment	Specific mention of Metro Vancouver	-	Improved drinking water standards
Planning	General mention of Local communities and regions	Mention of partnership with local communities and encouraging local communities to work together regionally	Potential for improved coordinated regional planning
Number of maps: 1 Number of pages: 27			

Table 13

Document	Climate Action Plan		
Government	British Columbia		
Department	Ministry of the Environment		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Pine Beetle infestation	Specific map detailing areas effected by the pine beetle infestation in BC	-	Destruction of more than 13 million hectares of pine forest, in part due to warmer weather conditions
Average temperature increase	Specific map detailing the average annual temperature increase in BC in the 20th century	-	BC is warming at more than twice the global average of 0.6 degrees during the same period.
Pacific Coast Collaborative	General mention of Washington, Oregon and California	Mention of agreement to work with Western States on ocean conservation	Improved ocean environment
Carbon tax	General mention of Lower Mainland	-	Impact of carbon tax will very regionally
Carbon trading	General mention of regional cap and trade system	Mention of cooperation with others in the Western Climate Initiative	Lower greenhouse gas emissions and introduction of a carbon trading system
Public sector energy conservation	General mention of 6,500 public sector buildings	-	Improved energy conservation
California model	Specific mention of the 23 US states and 12 provinces/territories that have or are planning to implement the California auto emissions model	-	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions from cars
Hydrogen highway	Specific mention of the route of the hydrogen highway	Mention of partnerships with other governments and industry	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions and demonstration of new technologies
Rapid transit funding	Specific mention of the four rapid transit lines	Mention of the need for funding partnership with federal government, TransLink and local governments and amount of funds required	$10.3 billion for the four new and updated rapid transit lines and increase transit ridership across the Province to over 400 million trips a year

RapidBus BC lines	Specific mention of Kelowna, Victoria and Metro Vancouver	Mention of the need for funding partnership with federal government, TransLink and local governments and amount of funds required	$1.2 billion for new RapidBus BC lines and increase transit ridership across the Province to over 400 million trips a year
Provincewide transportation improvements	Map of specific transportation improvements across BC	-	Improved transportation routes
Transit market share	Specific graph showing transit market share of Vancouver, Victoria and other Regional Centres	-	Increased transit market share in all centres
LocalMotion fund	Specific examples of funding to municipalities mentioned	-	$40 million of improved cycling and recreation infrastructure and reduced greenhouse gas emissions.
Port electrification	Specific examples of pilot projects in Vancouver and Deltaport	Mention of partnership with ports to test technology	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions from cargo ships
Towns for Tomorrow program	General mention of municipalities with populations of 5,000 persons or less and the Central Coast Regional District	Mention of provincial and local partnership funding model	$21 million over three years for capital project to improve sustainable infrastructure in small communities
Organic waste diversion	General mention of 9 out of 27 regional districts	-	Improved waste diversion from landfills
Waste to energy	Specific mention of Hartland on Vancouver Island and Burns Bog on the mainland	-	Reduced emissions from landfills
Remote Community Clean Energy Program	General mention of remote communities along with specific mention of individual community projects that have been funded	-	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
Alternative energy development	Specific mention of projects funded in individual communities	-	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
Bioenergy strategy	General mention of intention to develop at least 10 community bioenergy projects	-	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions

The Pacific Institute for Climate Solutions	Specific mention of universities involved in the institute	Mention of partnership between universities, government, the private sector, other researchers and civil society	Improved mitigation and adaptation strategies for climate change
Appendices on community involvement	Specific mention of communities involved in various charters, initiatives and projects	Mention of agreements between local government, industry and the province	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
Number of maps: 3 Number of pages: 132			
High level of spatial specificity / Medium level of coordination specificity			

Table 14

Document	Housing Matters BC		
Government	British Columbia		
Department	Housing and Social Development		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Number of homeless shelters being funded	General reference to funding 1,500 shelter beds at 59 shelters in BC	-	Provision of homelessness services in local communities
Homeless outreach workers	General reference to 42 Homeless Outreach teams in 48 communities and eight teams in Aboriginal communities	-	Reduction in homeless people on the street
Supportive housing purchase	Specific mention of communities where supportive housing has been purchased	Mention of partnerships with non-profits and local governments	Protection and upgrading of approximately 2,000 units of affordable housing
Supportive housing development	Specific mention of communities where supportive housing has been built	Mention of partnerships with non-profits and local governments	1,900 new social and supportive housing units and shelter beds
Women and children transition houses	General mention of 63 provincially funded houses	-	Housing transition services to women and children escaping domestic abuse
Senior's housing	General mention of 900 units being upgraded	-	Improved housing for seniors

Living BC and Seniors' Supportive Housing	General mention of 4,500 units being completed and 575 under construction in BC	-	Housing assistance to 50,000 seniors a year
Aboriginal housing initiative	General mention of completion of ten units for aboriginal youth, women and elders and planned addition of 200 more in BC	Mention of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the federal government and the First Nations Leadership Council in May 2008	$50 million for improved housing assistance to aboriginal youth, women and elders
Rental assistance program	General mention of 7,700 households that receive rental assistance	-	Increased access to market housing for low income households
Shelter aid for elderly renters	General mention of provision of assistance to 15,700 seniors	-	Increased access to market housing for elderly citizens
Shelter housing allowance	General mention of provision of shelter housing allowance to 135,000 people	-	Increased access to market housing
Family self-sufficiency program	Specific mention of pilot in Victoria and expansion of program to Comox Valley	Mention of non-profit agency implanting the program	Improved education on management of household funds and housing provision
Housing endowment fund	General mention of funds provided for 20 housing initiatives along with specific examples of funding projects	Mention of examples of funding partnerships are provided	Policy experimentation on delivery of housing
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 20			
Low level of spatial specificity / Low level of coordination specificity			

Table 15

Document	British Columbia Ports Strategy		
Government	British Columbia		
Department	Ministry of Small Business and Economic Development / Ministry of Transportation		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Pacific trade	General mention of Pacific ports	-	Sustained economic growth
Container traffic growth	General mention of China and Asian ports	Mention of coordination with federal and provincial governments	Expansion of port capacity
Port development projects	General mention of Lower Mainland and ports	-	Improved port competiveness
Port development projects	Specific mention of Port Rupert and Canadian National	-	Improved port competiveness
Canada Marine Act Review	General mention of provinces and federal government	Mention of need for coordination with provinces and federal government	Changes to Canada Marine Act to improve competiveness of ports
Maximisation of port traffic	General mention of British Columbia and Asia-Pacific	Mention of coordination with port system partners	Maximisation of port traffic and creation of BC as a world cruise destination
Trade expansion	General mention of BC, Canada, Asia-Pacific and China	-	Growth in direct jobs of 178%, from 18,000 jobs to 50,000 jobs and growth in wages from $1.0 to $2.7 billion annually
Integrated continental network	General mention of BC, Canada and the United States	-	Integrated transportation planning to improve competiveness
Port system	Specific mention of major BC ports	Mention of federal port jurisdiction	Important roles for ports in BC resource economy
International traffic profile	Specific mention of major BC ports traffic tonnage figures	Mention of a variety of port partners	Important roles for ports in BC resource economy
Pacific Coast Gateway Role	Specific mention of the BC ports and their US competitors	-	Importance of ports to BCs economic well-being
BC Port System Multimodel Network	Map of BC's multimodel network with specific locations	-	Importance of exports and lack of import traffic
Gateway Competition	Specific mention of gateway competitors	-	Need to maintain competiveness
West Coast Rail Connections	Map of specific railway	-	Need for continued integrated

	connections in North America		transportation network
BC port trends	General mention of breakdown on resource exports	-	Shift in container traffic towards Asia
Inland terminal growth	Specific mention of Los Angeles, Southern California and Greater Vancouver	-	The need for large amounts of land for distribution centres
Cruise traffic growth	Specific mention of Vancouver, Victoria, Nanaimo, Campbell River, Port Alberni and Prince Rupert	-	Long-term trends of rise in cruise traffic
Container trade	Specific mention of major BC ports	-	Need for more aggressive terminal expansion could drive market share to 16 to 17%, or 8.3 to 8.8 M TEU by 2020
Economic development	General mention of ports serving regional and national economies	-	Potential to spur local economies that deal with container traffic
BC Port System Performance	General mention of US west coast ports and BC ports	-	Improved infrastructure to maintain competitive advantage
Coordinating development	General mention of BC's ports	Mention of need to coordinate BC ports	Improved coordination to maintain competitive advantage
Protecting the environment	General mention of BC's ports	Mention of need to coordinate with all port system partners	Improved environmental sustainability
2020 Goals	General mention of Asia-Pacific, BC ports, BC, and Canada	-	Increase in employment equivalent to BC's wood sector
Capacity expansion	Specific mention of Asia-Pacific, Canada, BC and BC ports	Mention of a coordinating entity to management west coast ports	Multimodal investments of $4 billion by 2020
Competitiveness	General mention of Asia-Pacific, Canada, Western Provinces, BC, BC ports and US ports	-	Increase in B.C. port container terminal productivity by 50% by 2020
Implementation	General mention of BC ports	Mention of which individual partners are involved in implementing activities to achieve 2020 goals	Achievement of 2020 goals
Key trends	Specific mention of West Coast US and BC, BC ports, Asia, Europe,	-	Varying levels of impact of multiple trends are noted

	Vancouver		
Planned BC container terminal projects	Specific mention of container terminals and projects underway	-	5,985,000 TEU expansion of capacity
Individual Port Issues	Specific mention of individual BC ports and their issues	Mention of interviews with local and port authority personnel	Potential resolution of specific port problems
Local community concerns	Specific mention of the Port of Vancouver, Fraser River Port, Port of Prince Rupert, City of Prince Rupert and adjacent communities	Mention of interviews with local and port authority personnel	Potential resolution of specific port problems
Number of maps: 2 Number of pages: 31			
High level of spatial specificity / Medium level of coordination specificity			

Table 16

Document	2008 Climate Change Strategy		
Government	Alberta		
Department	Ministry of the Environment		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Implementing Carbon Capture and Storage	General mention of Alberta and it's geological formations	-	Capture and storage of carbon underground
Need to innovate to reduce greenhouse gases	General mention of Alberta, communities, and governments	Mention of consultation with the public, stakeholders, Aboriginals and experts	Potential reduction in greenhouse gas emissions
Reductions in energy emission intensity	General mention of facilities that produce over 100,000 tonnes of GHG a year	-	12% reduction in emission intensity by facilities that produce over 100,000 tonnes of GHG a year
Capacity building support	General mention of municipalities	-	Identification of emission reduction strategies related to land use and sustainable development
Reporting protocols	General mention of facilities that emit over 50,000 tonnes of GHG a year	-	Protocol for all facilities that emit over 50,000 tonnes of GHG a year to report emissions
Prairie Adaptation Research	General mention of governments	Mention of partnership with	Goal of generating practical options to

Collaborative	of Canada, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba	governments	adapt to climate change
Provincial commitments to GHG reductions	Specific mention of Alberta, Ontario, Quebec, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick and British Columbia	-	Long-term reductions compared for selected provinces
Alberta economy	General mention of Alberta and Canada	-	465,600 new jobs created between 1996 and 2006 and an average unemployment rate of 3.4 per cent in 2006 – the lowest in Canada
200 mega-tonne GHG reduction	General mention of Alberta, Canada, Denmark, Finland and Sweden	-	Alberta's reductions will make a sizable contribution to the target of reducing Canadian emissions by 60-70 percent by 2050
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 32			
Low level of spatial specificity / Low level of coordination specificity			

Table 17

Document	Alberta's Provincial Energy Strategy		
Government	Alberta		
Department	Ministry of Energy		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
International Merchandise Exports from Alberta	General reference to the U.S.	-	Oil and gas exports make up a significant element of Alberta exports
Energy sector employment	General reference to Alberta and First Nations and Métis communities	Mention of First Nations and Métis having a special role in energy in Alberta	Alberta's economy relies heavily on energy sector
Western Canada Sedimentary Basin	Map of the Western Canada Sedimentary Basin and reference to neighbouring provinces and territories	-	Oil and gas development will be concentrated in the Western Sedimentary Basin
Proven World Crude Oil Reserves	General reference to major oil	-	Canada has the largest proven crude oil

	producing countries		reserves in the world
Alberta Oil Development History	Specific reference to Medicine Hat, Waterton Lakes National Park, Bow Island, Ottawa, Leduc and Toronto	-	Oil and gas extraction is strategically located in particular areas
Western Canada Sedimentary Basin Cross-section	Map of oil and gas distribution across Western Canada	-	Oil and gas development will be concentrated in the Western Sedimentary Basin
Natural Gas	Specific mention of the U.S.	-	Alberta supplies more then half the U.S.'s natural gas imports
Conventional Oil	General mention of Alberta and it's oil reserves	-	Conventional oil reserves are decreasing and additional exploration will be done
Generalised areas of oil resources	Map of oil resources in Alberta	-	Oil sands resources occupy a vast amount of Northern Alberta
Bitumen	Specific reference to Athabasca, Cold Lake and Peace River	-	Strip mining, water use and tailing ponds from bitumen extraction pose major environmental risks
Coal	General reference to Asia	-	Emissions from burning coal remain an issue
Transmission/Generation	Map of transmission / generation grid in Alberta	-	By 2027 Alberta will need twice the energy is currently consumes
Canadian Energy Picture	Specific reference to Canada and the U.S.	Mention of need for coordination with Federal government	Canada's energy industry accounted for 5.6% of national GDP and directly employed 372,200 people
Human Development and Energy	Specific chart on major countries	-	Energy demand from the developing world will increase
Global Oil Production	Specific reference to oil producing nations	-	Canada produces relatively small amount of oil compared to other countries
U.S. Imports Of Crude Oil And Petroleum Products	Specific reference to top 10 countries providing crude oil and petroleum products to the U.S.	-	Canada provides the largest percentage of crude oil and petroleum products to the U.S.

Climate Change	Specific reference to Canada	-	Alberta's oil sands greenhouse gas emissions will rise as production rises
Global Markets	Specific reference to U.S., China and India	-	Need to diversify global energy consumers
Clean Energy Production	General reference to varied types of land forms in the province	-	Development of clean energy production throughout the province
Refining industry	Specific mention of Fort Saskatchewan, Joffre, Lloydminster, Fort McMurray, industrial complexes northeast of Edmonton, the Capital Region and Industrial Heartland	-	Increased development of value-added industries related to oil and gas development
Land, air and water	General mention of Alberta, the Capital Region, and regional plans	-	Development of a Land Use Framework
Unconventional gas	Specific mention of Canada and the U.S.	-	By 2025 unconventional gas will account for about 80% of new Canadian drilling and 50% of total Canadian gas production
CO2 Floods	Specific mention of Pembina and Redwater	-	Identification and development of CO2 floods
Number of maps: 4 Number of pages: 54			
High level of spatial specificity / Low level of coordination specificity			

Table 18

Document	A Plan for Alberta: Ending Homelessness in 10 Years

337

Government	Alberta		
Department	Alberta Secretariat for Action on Homelessness		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Support development of community homelessness plans	General reference to municipalities, communities and the province	-	Reduction in homelessness
Community input	Specific reference to Edmonton, Calgary, Fort McMurray, Lethbridge, Red Deer, Grande Prairie and Medicine Hat and general mention of Canadian cities and U.S. cities	-	Informed development of local homelessness strategies
Homeless snap-shot	General reference to homeless population	-	Homeless population is highly diverse in it's needs and pressures it places on community services
Growth in homelessness	General reference to homeless population	-	With the status-quo homelessness will rise 7% per year
Case study	Specific reference to Calgary	-	Calgary programme has been successful in providing long-term homelessness support
Barriers to reducing homelessness	General reference to communities	Mention of need for coordination with local government and non-profits	Joint effort in reduction of barriers to ending homelessness
Shared responsibility	General mention of communities	Mention of need for partnership with local government, business, private citizens and non-profits	Joint effort in reduction of homelessness
Community-led strategies	General mention of communities	-	Action on homelessness to be community-led
Jurisdictions succeeding in reducing homelessness	General mention of North America and communities	-	Learning from other jurisdictions can help reduce homelessness in communities in Alberta
Housing first strategy	General mention of Alberta's emergency shelters and communities	-	Housing first strategy will be implemented by communities and reduce the burden on emergency

			shelters
Provincial support programs	Specific mention of need for provincial programs to tailor to individual location needs and Fort McMurray	Mention of need for horizontal coordination within Alberta government	Improved provincial programs that help prevent homelessness
Coordinated systems	General mention of provincial and community plans	Mention of need to coordinate a number of provincial programs	Improved coordination to ensure programs do not counter-act each other
Supporting community plans	General mention of municipalities and community plans	Mention of the role of the province in helping to coordinate with community plans	Goal to provide a framework to support the efforts of Alberta's municipalities and community-based organizations to address homelessness.
Creation of more housing options	General mention of housing options	Mention of need to coordinate development of more housing options	Creation of more housing options to prevent homelessness
Supports to maintain housing stability	General mention of communities	-	Provision of provincial funds to support evidence informed, community-led support programs
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 48			
Low level of spatial specificity / High level of coordination specificity			

Table 19

Document	Land-use Framework		
Government	Alberta		
Department	Ministry of Sustainable Resource Development		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Need for a land-use framework	General mention of Northern Boreal, Rockies, communities	Mention of need to coordinate among provincial departments	More coordination will result in better resource management
Historic land-use framework decisions	Specific mention of Leduc, the division of public lands, and the Eastern Slopes	Mention of historic coordination between provincial resource-related departments	There is a historical foundation upon which to build a new land-use framework
The scope of a land-use framework	General mention of rural communities and regions	-	Difficult to define what aspects should be included in a land-use framework
Systems approach	General mention of land,	-	Development of a land-use framework

339

	communities, land-use planning, regional planning, and local planning		based on continuous improvement
Consultation process	General mention of regional, local, public lands, private lands, First Nations, Metis	Mention of need to coordinate provincial policies governing air, water and land	More coordination growth management that meets the needs of stakeholders
Current land-use decision process	Map of Alberta showing division of land ownership / current land-use map	-	Private lands are 'White' areas while 'Green' areas are mostly public lands
White and Green Areas of Alberta	General mention of populated central, southern and Peace River areas, northern Alberta, and private and public lands	Mention of authority to regulate land is at the municipal level for 'white' areas and at the provincial level for 'green' areas	Land-use decisions are divide between 'white' municipal level planning and 'green' provincial level planning
Responsibilities for land-use	General mention of provincial ministries with powers to regulate land, municipalities, federal government, archaeological and paleontological sites, private land-owners, historic places, provincial parks and public land	-	Wide variety of ministries have policies that affect land-use
Growth indicators	Specific mention of Calgary-Edmonton corridor, Red Deer, Grande Prairie, Lethbridge. General mention of timber harvest, oil, gas and coal bed methane wells, ranch lands,	-	Growth in variety of indicators suggests the need for an improved land-use framework
Healthy ecosystems and environments	General mention of need to tailor to regional as well as public and private land ownership needs	-	More tailored regional environmental policies
People-friendly communities	General mention of communities	-	Improved access to recreational services and well-managed community grow
Land stewardship ethic	General mention of human land-	-	Better stewardship of the land for

	use, urban planning, watersheds, riparian areas, and wildlife habitat		future generations
Constitutionally protected rights of aboriginal communities	General mention of aboriginal communities	-	Improved aboriginal relationships related to land-use
Provincial leadership on land-use	Specific mention of Edmonton and local communities	Mention of need to provide local officials with power to make decisions within a broader provincial land-use framework	Land-use framework that respects local officials and community diversity
Development of land-use plans	Specific mention of developing seven land-use plans based on seven new land-use regions	Mention of need to coordinate air, land and water issues both within province and with external bodies	Development of a land-use framework based on seven new regions
Creation of a land-use secretariat	Specific mention of the creation of a regional advisory council	Mention of coordination between provincial government and regional advisory council	Regional input on provincial regional plan creation process
Cumulative effects management	General mention of watersheds, airsheds and landscapes	-	Regional plans will adopt a cumulative effects approach that includes the impacts of existing and new activities
Conservation and stewardship strategy	General mention of public and private lands	-	Development of new policy instruments to encourage stewardship and conservation on private and public lands
Efficient use of land	General mention of landscape, land, more specific mention of urban and rural residential development, transportation and utility corridors, new areas zoned for industrial development, and agriculture.	-	Land-use decisions should strive to reduce the human footprint on Alberta's landscape.
Priority actions for the Land-use Framework	Specific mention of legislation to develop metropolitan plans for the Capital and Calgary regions, the Lower Athabasca Regional Plan, and the South Saskatchewan	-	Priority need to implement legislation to start statutory land-use framework process

	Regional Plan		
Need for a single formalized and integrated process for regional-level planning	General mention of land-use and regional planning	Mention of need to integrate provincial strategies	Development of a comprehensive, integrated provincial land-use strategy
Provincial outcomes	General mention of land-use, land, ecosystems, and communities	Mention of need to coordinate outcomes of all regional land-use frameworks	Outcomes and stated principles are reflected in the land-use plans developed for each region
Regions defined	Map that outlines the seven land-use regions	-	Defined regional land-use zones
Land-use process diagram	Diagram that provides detailed land-use planning process, from provincial level down to municipal	Mention of need to coordinate throughout the land-use process	Defined process for land-use regulation and decisions
Role of regional plans	General mention of municipalities, regional planning, First Nations and Metis communities, land and private lands	Mention of need for regional plans to local plans and align provincial strategies and policies at the regional level	Detailed understanding of the role played by new regional plans
Municipal planning	General mention of municipalities, province, and regional planning	Mention of need for municipalities to prepare context statements outlining how their municipal development plans will align with and address provincial directions stated in regional plans, and requirement to amend municipal planning documents to adopt and align with regional planning directions.	Municipal alignment with regional plans
Efficient use of land	General mention of urban and rural residential development, transportation and utility corridors, new areas zoned for industrial development, and agriculture and region.	Mention that in more densely settled metropolitan areas, the efficiency principle may require more complex strategies such as inter-municipal development plans or sub-regional plans	Land-use efficiency should be commensurate with the level of activity in the region.

Efficient use of land	Specific mention of Calgary and Capital Region	Mention that in more densely settled metropolitan areas, the efficiency principle may require more complex strategies such as inter-municipal development plans or sub-regional plans	Land-use efficiency should be commensurate with the level of activity in the region.
Monitoring, evaluation and reporting	General mention of land, First Nations and Metis communities, land-use,	Mention of the creation of an Integrated Information Management System and a provincial monitoring and reporting system	Development of mechanisms to inform and track progress on land-use management
Immediate priorities	Specific mention of the development of metropolitan plans for the Capital and Calgary regions and the regional plans for the Lower Athabasca and South Saskatchewan regions	Mention of need to work with Regional Advisory Council. Implied coordination with local municipalities	Development of four regional plans over the next four years
Number of maps: 2 Number of pages: 58			
High level of spatial specificity / High level of coordination specificity			

Table 20

Document	A Place to Grow: Alberta's Rural Development Strategy		
Government	Alberta		
Department	Agriculture and Rural Development		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Rural population	General mention of rural communities	-	20% of Alberta's population live in rural areas
City economic growth	Specific mention of Edmonton-Calgary corridor	-	Most economic growth has been concentrated in the Edmonton-Calgary corridor
Industry in rural Alberta	General mention of agricultural lands and rural communities	-	Decline in farm income over time affects rural community growth

Vital role of rural communities	General mention of small towns, farms and ranches	-	Government focus on ensuring that rural Albertans are able to contribute to and share fully in Alberta's future
Rural challenges	General mention of rural communities, infrastructure, community development, community facilities, and regional	Mention of need for regional collaboration	Need to address rural challenges
Rural vision	General mention of rural and urban	-	Rural *growth, prosperity and improvement in quality of life*
Rural Development Strategy vision	General mention of rural communities, regions, land, air, water, and local	Mention of need to be collaborative, not compete, with cooperation among rural regions and communities, across and among levels of government, and between urban and rural communities	Framework to guide development of a rural development strategy
Rural development unit	General mention of rural communities, sustainable communities and rural community planning	Mention of need to develop a rural gateway to coordinate services and government policy at the federal, provincial and local level	More coordination of policies that affect rural areas within and between government
Promoting economic growth	General mention of rural communities, rural Alberta, agriculture, urban/rural connections, provincial parks and campgrounds, Crown lands, and municipalities	Mention of need to coordinate through rural partnerships and other levels of government	Diversification and growth of rural economies
Promoting economic growth	Specific mention of Highway 2 corridor	Mention of need to coordinate through rural partnerships and other levels of government	Diversification and growth of rural economies
Community capacity, quality of life and infrastructure	General mention of rural communities, infrastructure, affordable and safe communities, rural landscape, cities, parks, roads, highways, air and rail	Mention of need to develop rural partnerships	Investments designed to bolster rural communities abilities to provide services and infrastructure

	transcription, municipalities, Canada		
Health care	General mention of rural Alberta, health regions, rural communities	Mention of removing barriers for people moving across regional health boundaries	Improved rural health services
Learning and skill development	General mention of rural communities, rural Alberta, rural school boards,	Mention of need to provide incentives for rural school jurisdictions to work together on transportation plans to reduce busing times for students, to work with community agencies to make their schools a hub of services for children and communities and to work together to attract qualified teachers and professionals	Improved educational opportunities in rural areas and encourage educated people to move back to rural communities
Rural environment	General mention of rural Alberta, agriculture, land and water resources, rural communities,	-	Improved management environmental issues in rural communities
Rural youth	General mention of rural communities, cities, rural Alberta, and local schools	-	Provide more opportunities for rural youth
Rural seniors	General mention of rural communities, supportive living and housing arrangements, rural health regions, and 'age in place'	Mention of working with private, not-for-profit and community organizations to expand access to a range of assisted living options and also working with communities to ensure the provision of a range of services	Provision of necessary services for rural seniors
Aboriginal participation	General mention of rural Alberta, rural communities, towns, cities,	Mention of need to facilitate strengthened relationships among Aboriginal, federal, provincial and local governments, industry and other interested parties	Integration of rural community development with Aboriginal community needs

Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 31
Low level of spatial specificity / Medium level of coordination specificity

Table 21

Document	Alberta's 20 year strategic capital plan		
Government	Alberta		
Department	Ministry of Capital Planning		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Community growth	General mention of communities, province, roads and highways, schools and hospitals, utilities and facilities	-	Need for infrastructure investment
20-year plan intention	General mention of municipal infrastructure; provincial highway network, other transportation and corridors; health facilities; schools; post-secondary facilities; housing and provincial government projects; community facilities; and water and wastewater facilities	-	Plan highlights major projects, goals and priorities for infrastructure investment
Population growth anticipated	Specific mention of Alberta, Canada, Calgary, Red Deer, Lethbridge, St. Albert, Medicine Hat, Grande Prairie, Airdrie and the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo	-	By 2028, Alberta's population is expected to increase by 40 percent (or 1.4 million) to nearly 5 million people and the number of people coming to Alberta from other parts of Canada and around the world will ease off to about 46,000 per year by 2018.
Growth areas	General mention of major metropolitan areas, urban areas and the Wood Buffalo region	-	Particular infrastructure demands will be made in urban areas
Land-use plan impacts	General mention of communities,	-	Future land-use plans will have an

	roadways, parks and recreation, arts, cultural and community facilities		impact on where communities grow, where industry is located, and where infrastructure is built
Vision statement for Alberta	General mention of province, Canada, communities, transportation systems, infrastructure, schools, post-secondary institutions, community-based services, cities, towns, municipalities, recreation centres, performance facilities, arenas and agriplexes	-	Strategic capital plan is designed to ensure that by 2028 Alberta's infrastructure needs are met
Conscious greening goals to improve the environment	General mention of land, air and water resources	-	Incorporation of sustainable business design into all new projects funded through the capital plan
Support for the Premier's three goals	General mention of communities, municipalities, community facilities, schools, universities, colleges, technical institutes, water, land-use plans, air quality, infrastructure and the province	-	Supports the Premier's goals of building communities, greening provincial growth, and creating opportunity
Development of plans for eight key areas	General mention of municipalities, highways, major centres, schools, high-growth communities, post-secondary facilities, housing, court houses, correctional facilities, community facilities, regional water systems, farming, ranching and agriculture.	-	Specific objectives have been set to guide decisions about capital projects in each of the eight key areas included in this strategic plan
Development of plans for eight key areas	Specific mention of Edmonton and Calgary ring-roads, Edmonton International Airport, Prince Rupert port, Alberta's Industrial Heartland	-	Specific objectives have been set to guide decisions about capital projects in each of the eight key areas included in this strategic plan

Capital spending	General mention of provinces, schools and post-secondary facilities, health facilities, roads and highways, and other new facilities	-	Alberta's per capita spending is more than three times the average of other provinces
Alberta economic growth forecast	General mention of Canada, Alberta, road, rail, and air transportation routes, and rural communities	-	GDP growth is expected to be to 2.5 percent by 2015, and average 2.8 percent per year through to 2028
Alberta economic growth forecast	Specific mention of National Institute of Nanotechnology at the University of Alberta, Edmonton	-	GDP growth is expected to be to 2.5 percent by 2015, and average 2.8 percent per year through to 2028
Alberta population growth forecast	General mention of Canada, Alberta and the world	-	The result is that Alberta's population is forecast to grow to nearly 5 million people by 2028 – an increase of 40 percent from 2007
Urban centre growth expected to be highest	Specific mention of Calgary, Edmonton, Wood Buffalo, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, and the regions in and around Banff, Jasper, Athabasca, Grande Prairie and Red Deer	-	Population growth of between 1.2 and 2 percent in urban centres will require high levels of infrastructure investment
Growth in senior's population and school-aged population	General mention of communities, senior's facilities, and schools	-	Increased demand for schools and seniors facilities in municipalities
Low unemployment rates forecast	General mention of Alberta and Canada	-	Low unemployment rates will maintain demand for industry related infrastructure provision
Pressures and competing demands for Alberta's limited supply of land.	General mention of land-use plans, communities, farms, utility corridors, and the Land-use Framework	-	Land-use plans are key to managing forecast growth and where investments are made
Cultural infrastructure demands	Specific mention of the Royal Tyrrell Museum (Drumheller), the	-	Demand for cultural attractions will remain high and necessary provision is

	Royal Alberta Museum (Edmonton), the Citadel Theatre (Edmonton), the Calgary Performing Arts Centre, the Esplanade Arts and Heritage Centre (Medicine Hat), and the Glenbow Museum (Calgary)		needed for the future
Current value of infrastructure	General mention of province, municipal, buildings, roads, highways and facilities	-	Current infrastructure is worth $231.6 billion, over half of which is owned by municipalities
Physical condition of infrastructure	General mention of water, wastewater systems, community facilities, municipal infrastructure, provincial highway network, health facilities, schools, postsecondary facilities, government facilities, and housing	-	A large portion of Alberta's infrastructure assets entering the last one-third of their life expectancy, many will require major renovations, repair or replacement, while new infrastructure assets will require proper and regular maintenance throughout their useful life
Infrastructure spending	General mention of high growth communities, school boards, municipalities, health districts, and post-secondary institutions	-	Alberta's per capita spending on infrastructure at a level that is more than three times higher than the average of other provinces.
Recent capital expenditures	Specific mention of every capital project funded through the Alberta government, including specific spatial locations and costs	-	List of over $12.5 billion in projects recently completed in Alberta
20-year plan to provide certainty and be flexible	General mention of roads, highways, infrastructure, schools, health facilities, post-secondary facilities	-	The plan is designed to be rolling and updated as capital needs progress
Municipal infrastructure funding	General mention of municipalities, infrastructure, and agriculture	Mention of providing infrastructure funding to municipalities	Long-term funding to municipalities to meet their infrastructure needs
Facilitating regional cooperation	General mention of urban centres,	Mention of regional boards to	Improved regional cooperation

	public transportation, municipalities and regional cooperation	development regional plans	
Facilitating regional cooperation	Specific mention of the Capital Region, Edmonton, Calgary, the Industrial Heartland, and Wood Buffalo	Mention of regional boards to development regional plans	Improved regional cooperation
Provincial highway network, other transportation and corridors	General mention of highway network, roads, infrastructure, municipalities. Specific mention of numerous individual transportation infrastructure projects in municipalities throughout Alberta	Mention of coordination with municipalities and First Nation communities	Improved transportation infrastructure throughout the province
Health facilities	General mention of health centres, rural and remote communities. Specific mention of numerous health facility infrastructure projects in municipalities throughout Alberta	Mention of coordination with municipalities, health authorities and universities	Improved health infrastructure throughout the province
School development	General mention of education facilities, rural and remote areas, and communities	Mention of coordination with school boards and development of P3 projects	New school facilities that are more flexible to changes in enrolment demand
School development	Specific mention of Calgary and Edmonton	Mention of coordination with school boards and development of P3 projects	New school facilities that are more flexible to changes in enrolment demand
Post-secondary facilities	General mention of post-secondary facilities	Mention of partnerships with post-secondary institutions	Investment in new post-secondary facilities to improve the economic advantage of the province
Post-secondary facilities	Specific mention of numerous post-secondary facility infrastructure projects in municipalities throughout Alberta	Mention of partnerships with post-secondary institutions	Investment in new post-secondary facilities to improve the economic advantage of the province
Housing and provincial government	General mention of large	-	Construction of more affordable

facilities	metropolitan centres, large and medium-sized cities, small towns, facilities, government office buildings, provincial court centres, correctional facilities, affordable housing units, visitor centres and provincial parks		housing and new provincial facilities to meet employee demand
Housing and provincial government facilities	Specific mention of Calgary and Edmonton, Edmonton Remand Centre, and Legislature grounds	-	Construction of more affordable housing and new provincial facilities to meet employee demand
Community facility development	General mention of arts and cultural facilities, museums, parks and sports and recreation centres, historic sites, and communities	Mention of coordination with communities and municipalities	Diversification of Alberta economy and improvement in the cultural vibrancy of municipalities
Community facility development	Specific mention of a number of individual community facility infrastructure projects throughout Alberta municipalities	Mention of coordination with communities and municipalities	Diversification of Alberta economy and improvement in the cultural vibrancy of municipalities
Water and wastewater facilities	General mention of communities, agriculture, water, infrastructure, municipalities, ecosystems, watersheds, cities, towns, villages, and regional water and wastewater facilities	Mention of partnership with municipalities	Improved water and wastewater facilities as well as projects to improve erosion control and monitor air and water
Managing the capital plan's environmental impact	General mention of buildings, water and airsheds, and land use. Specific mention of a number of projects that meet LEED standards	Mention of cooperation with the Building Owners and Management Association	All future Alberta capital projects will be assessed to meet sustainable building design and operation standards
Alternative financing for infrastructure	Specific mention of Anthony Henday ring road in Edmonton and the Northeast Calgary ringroad	Mention of public-private partnership	Reduction of government financing risk, possible faster construction of projects
Supplemental Economic and	Specific detailed population and	-	High levels of growth in urban centres

Demographic Information	economic projections for municipalities and regions within Alberta		
Diversification information	Specific mention of the Port of Prince Rupert, Edmonton, Edmonton International Airport, CANAMEX corridor, Yellowhead and Alaska highways, and the northern Alberta highway system	-	Diversification of Alberta's economy may help maintain stable employment levels
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 104			
High level of spatial specificity / Medium level of coordination specificity			

Table 22

Document	Plan for 2009-10		
Government	Saskatchewan		
Department	Ministry of Energy and Resources		
Reference	Spatial Specificity	Coordination Mechanism	Spatial Implication
Advance innovation and research in the energy and resource sectors	General mention of post-secondary institutions	Mention of coordinating with post-secondary institutions, industry, provincial and federal governments	Encouragement of investment in exploration and development of mineral resources
Advance innovation and research in the energy and resource sectors	Specific mention of the Petroleum Technology Research Centre,	Mention of coordinating with post-secondary institutions, industry, provincial and federal governments	Encouragement of investment in exploration and development of mineral resources
Support the restructuring of the province's forest industry	General mention of the forest industry	Mention of engagement with forestry stakeholders in the development of new business models	Shift towards diversification of forestry industry
Sustainable development of conventional oil and oil sands resources	General mention of oil, oil sands and gas development	-	Introduction of new regulations and technology to reduce the environmental impact of oil and gas development
Aboriginal involvement in resource development	General mention of mineral development and First Nations	Mention of creating a stronger linkage between resource companies and the Aboriginal work force and consulting	Encourage Aboriginal participation in resource industry and additional development on Aboriginal land

		with Aboriginal stakeholders	
Oil and Gas Wells	General mention of oil and gas wells	-	The number of capable oil and gas wells in the province has increased from more than 43,000 wells in 2000 (not shown) to nearly 70,000 wells in 2008 (an increase of more than 60 per cent).
Mineral Exploration in Saskatchewan	General mention of mineral exploration	-	Anticipated 2009 exploration levels are expected to remain fairly strong resulting in increased mineral extraction on land
Horizontal Oil Well Drilling	General mention of oil wells, the Bakken light oil play in southeast Saskatchewan, southwest Saskatchewan and west central Saskatchewan	-	Horizontal drilling levels are expected to be maintained in the future
Crown Metallic and Industrial Mineral Dispositions	General mention of mineral resources and mineral development	Mention of working with industry	Improved mineral dispositions results in faster development process for industry
Area of Crown Metallic and Industrial Mineral Dispositions	General mention of mineral lands and mineral deposits	-	Land area of mineral development rights has more then doubled between 2005 and 2008
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 11			
Low level of spatial specificity / Medium level of coordination specificity			

Table 23

Document	Plan for 2009-10
Government	Saskatchewan
Department	Ministry of Highways and Infrastructure

Reference	Spatial Specificity	Coordination Mechanism	Spatial Implication
Investment in an integrated strategic rural highway system	General mention of rural highways, municipal highways, and provincial highways	Mention of municipal coordination	Expansion of the Primary Weight system by 5 000 km and continue and commence construction on 250 km of rural highways
New gateway transportation infrastructure	Specific mention of Highway 11, the Global Transportation Hub in Regina, Highway 1 and Lewvan Interchange at Regina and Yorkton Truck Route	-	Expansion of transportation system to promote economic growth
Gateway Corridors, Urban Highway Connectors, Northern Infrastructure, & Highway System Stewardship)	Map of specific highway and roadway system and expansion plans	-	Significant highway investment around major centres and one northern rural route
Mobility of people and goods through urban communities	General mention of urban municipalities	Mention of partnering with urban municipalities	Improved Urban Highway Connector upgrades
Mobility of people and goods through urban communities	Specific mention of Lloydminster, Humboldt, Moosomin, Weyburn, and Melfort	Mention of partnering with urban municipalities	Improved Urban Highway Connector upgrades
Development of transportation infrastructure through the Northern Transportation Strategy	General mention of the North	Mention of possible use of public-private partnership	Investment of $46.5 million in operations, maintenance, and construction of northern roads and airports
Invest in multi-modal infrastructure	General mention of provincial and regional airports and shortline rail	-	Continued investment in multi-modal transportation options
Maintenance and rehabilitation on bridges and culverts	General mention of bridges, culverts and wood box drainage structures	-	Replacement of 15 bridges and 38 culverts and wood box drainage structures, along with inspection of 50 per cent of the bridge inventory annually
Maintenance and rehabilitation on bridges and culverts	Specific mention of St. Louis Bridge	-	Replacement of 15 bridges and 38 culverts and wood box drainage

			structures, along with inspection of 50 per cent of the bridge inventory annually
Maintenance and repaving	General mention of provincial highway system	-	Repave 300 km of paved highway on the provincial highway system
Pursue partnerships with the federal government	General mention of infrastructure, and provincial and federal government	Mention of coordination of the federal government's Building Canada Plan and strategic policy development and coordination at inter-jurisdictional and bilateral forums to promote strong federal and provincial relations	Improved partnerships with the federal government to maximize support for infrastructure
Primary Weight expansion	General mention of highways	-	Additional expansion of the current 9 400 km of primary weight highways in the Province
Twinned highway open to traffic	General mention of highways	-	Need for twinning of more highways to increase capacity
Twinned highway open to traffic	Specific mention of Highway 11	-	Twinning on Highway 11 to be completed in four years
Number of maps: 1 Number of pages: 11			
Medium level of spatial specificity / Medium level of coordination specificity			

Table 24

Document	Government Direction for 2009-10
Government	Saskatchewan
Department	Ministry of Finance

Reference	Spatial Specificity	Coordination Mechanism	Spatial Implication
Government vision	General mention of country, Saskatchewan and province	Mention of need for vision to align with provincial ministry plans	Goal of leading the country in economic and population growth
Economic performance	General mention of nation, GDP and population growth, housing starts, building permit values, manufacturing shipments, international exports, retail and motor vehicle sales, and capital investment	-	Saskatchewan's economy remained strong in 2008-09 and is poised to again lead the nation in a number of key economic growth areas.
Forecasts of real GDP growth	Specific mention of all Canadian provinces and Canada	-	Saskatchewan had a much higher GDP growth rate in 2008 then any other province
Key economic indicators	Specific mention of Western provinces and Canada	-	Saskatchewan saw above average growth in key economic indicators
Global recession	General mention of around the globe and infrastructure	-	Saskatchewan's economy was hit due to a fall in commodity prices
Investments in infrastructure	General mention of infrastructure, roads, schools and hospitals	-	$1.5 billion were invested in infrastructure between 2008 and 2009
Highways and roads investment	General mention of rural, northern, highways and roads	Mention of working with industry stakeholders	Over $150 million is being invested in priority transportation projects
Highways and roads investment	Specific mention of the Regina Lewvan Interchange; the Global Transportation Hub; and the Yorkton truck route, Highway 11 between Saskatoon and Prince Albert	Mention of working with industry stakeholders	Over $150 million is being invested in priority transportation projects
Support to municipalities	General mention of municipalities, rural, provincial, federal, and infrastructure	Mention of needing to work with municipalities and the federal government	Over $220 million is being invested in muncipalities
Unemployment rate	Specific mention of all Canadian	-	Saskatchewan had the second lowest

	provinces and Canada		unemployment rate in Canada in 2008
Education and innovation	General mention of pre-kindergarten facilities, child care facilities, Post-secondary institutions, universities and colleges	-	Economic growth will place pressure on the labour market throughout the province
Capital funding for the post-secondary system	Specific mention of Cumberland Regional College, Carleton Trail Regional College, Humboldt, SIAST, St. Peter's College, Great Plains College and the Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technologies and the International Vaccine Centre on the University of Saskatchewan	-	Capital investments to expand educational opportunities
Stronger First Nations and Métis Engagement in the Economy	Specific mention of Gabriel Dumont Institute, Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program and the Dumont Technical Institute, northern Saskatchewan, Northern Professional Access College, and Northern Enterprise Regions	Mention of partnership with First Nations and Metis people as well as the federal government	Provide resources to First Nations and Metis communities to improve economic prosperity
Immigration and migration	General mention of in-migration and out-migration from the province	-	Saskatchewan is experiencing a net in-migration period
Agriculture	General mention of agriculture, farms, Crown land and regional offices	Mention of working with the federal government	Investments to improve the productivity of farmlands and economic growth for farmers
Energy and green initiatives	General mention of oil and gas, forestry, mining, North America	Mention of partnership with external agencies and public bodies	Reduction in the impact of energy development and greenhouse gas emissions
Enterprise Saskatchewan	General mention of	Mention of partnerships with public	Improved regional development

	municipalities, post-secondary institutions, First Nations, and regions	bodies and stakeholders	programs
Education property tax	General mention of municipalities, farms, properties, communities, school divisions,	Mention of working with business and municipal stakeholders	Reduction in educational property taxes throughout the province
Quality of life improvements	General mention of parks, museums, heritage facilities, campsites and communities	-	Investments in parks and cultural facilities and programs designed to increase tourism and improve quality of life
Quality of life improvements	Specific mention of Vancouver	-	Investments in parks and cultural facilities and programs designed to increase tourism and improve quality of life
Improved social supports	General mention of housing and affordable housing units	Mention of working with community based organisations	Over \$35 million invested in affordable housing and supportive housing projects
Safer communities	General mention of communities, and municipal	Mention of working with the RCMP	Increased investments in policing services and programs, and correctional capital investments
Safer communities	Specific mention of the Remand Centre at the Saskatoon Provincial Correctional Centre, Meadow Lake Courthouse, Saskatoon Queen's Bench Courthouse, and Regina and Swift Current	Mention of working with the RCMP	Increased investments in policing services and programs, and correctional capital investments
Safer infrastructure	General mention of northern communities, municipal, highways, roads and bridges	Mention of working with municipal partners	General investments in infrastructure around the province to safe-guard against natural and man-made disasters and usage
Safer infrastructure	Specific mention of the St. Louis Bridge.	Mention of working with municipal partners	General investments in infrastructure around the province to safe-guard against natural and man-made

			disasters and usage
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 20			
Medium level of spatial specificity / High level of coordination specificity			

Table 25

Document	Plan for 2009-10		
Government	Saskatchewan		
Department	Ministry of Municipal Affairs		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Increasing municipal capacity for economic development	General mention of municipalities, infrastructure, and provincial	Mention of partnership between ministries and the municipal sector as well as external stakeholders	New provincial-municipal partnerships to improve municipal infrastructure and support programs
Effective community planning	General mention of municipalities, provincial, regional planning, land use and infrastructure	Mention of working with the municipal sector and consulting stakeholders on provincial priorities for land use and development	Promotion of effective planning to improve economic growth and quality of living in municipalities
Critical municipal infrastructure needs	General mention of infrastructure, municipalities, northern communities, and subdivisions	Mention of working with municipalities and external stakeholders	Support to municipalities to make targeted infrastructure investments
Safe and healthy communities	General mention of municipalities, and communities	Mention of working with municipalities	Encourage communities to development policies to improve community safety and health
Information on municipal capacity and needs	General mention of municipalities and infrastructure	Mention of working with municipalities and relationship to federal government	Development of a municipal asset information system to support provincial and municipal decisions on asset management and infrastructure investments
Municipal, First Nations and Métis relationships	General mention of municipalities, First Nations and Métis communities	Mention of partnership with First Nations and Métis communities	Enhancement of shared services and stimulate economic development between First Nations and Métis communities and municipalities

Municipal financial and operational transparency and accountability	General mention of municipalities, and infrastructure	Mention of collaboration with municipalities	Development of indicators to measure municipal progress measures
Official community plans	General mention of municipalities, community plans, urban areas and rural areas	-	25% of all municipalities do not have community plans
Sites created through subdivision approval	General mention of subdivisions and infrastructure	-	6,552 sites are projected for subdivision approval in 2008-09 suggesting increased demand for municipal services
Regional infrastructure	General mention of regional, local, municipal, infrastructure, regional wastewater, water and solid waste infrastructure	Mention of federal-provincial partnership	Infrastructure funding for regional capital costs is projected to rise slightly in 2008-09 suggesting funding pressures will be lower on municipalities then previous years for the provision of regional infrastructure
Infrastructure investment provided for public environmental and safety projects	General mention of infrastructure, water, wastewater, and landfill projects	Mention of federal-provincial partnership	Infrastructure funding for public environmental and safety projects capital costs is projected to rise slightly in 2008-09 suggesting funding pressures will be lower on municipalities then previous years for the provision of public environmental and safety projects
Building bylaw	General mention of municipalities, infrastructure, and communities	Mention of significant inter-ministry and agency coordination to facilitate the incorporation of government priorities and interests within local government	52% of municipalities lack a building bylaw as required by provincial legislation suggesting community safety may be at greater risk in these municipalities
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 11			
Low level of spatial specificity / High level of coordination specificity			

Table 26

Document	Plan for 2009-10		
Government	Saskatchewan		
Department	Ministry of Social Services		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Rental housing	General mention of housing, and rental housing	Mention of coordination with the federal government	Increased construction of new and renovation of existing housing
Current and future pressures in child welfare	General mention of child care facilities	Mention of partnership with First Nations and Métis communities as well as family advocate stakeholders	Development of 200 additional spaces for children and youth in care
Housing affordability	General mention of homes, and infrastructure	Mention of partnership with non-profit and co-op sector	Development of an infrastructure plan for social and affordable housing stock
Access to community-based residential and day programs that meet the needs of disabled individuals	General mention of community, and residential spaces	-	Development of a multi-year strategy to increase the number of residential and day program spaces to significantly reduce the waiting list for spaces
Social assistance beneficiaries	General mention of off-reserve	-	General decrease in social assistance may reduce demand for social services such as shelters and housing support programs
Affordable housing units	General mention of affordable housing units	Mention of coordination with the Saskatchewan Housing Corporation	2,457 affordable housing units have been provided in 2008, a significant rise over 2007
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 12			
Low level of spatial specificity / High level of coordination specificity			

Table 27

Document	Plan for 2009-10		
Government	Saskatchewan		
Department	Ministry of Environment		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**

Sustainable use of natural resources to increase economic benefits	General mention of land use planning, natural resource development, Crown resource lands, oil, gas, minerals, forests, and provincial forests	Mention of consulting with stakeholders and users, and collaborating with provincial ministries	Management of natural resources to reduce the impact on the environment
Risks to the health of people and the environment	General mention of fire observation towers, infrastructure, small communities, water, wastewater infrastructure, and southeast Saskatchewan	Mention of working with local governments, northern residents, and stakeholders	Prevention of environmental health related problems within communities
Healthy ecosystems that support native biological diversity	General mention of lands, and the provincial Representative Areas Network	Mention of partnership amongst government agencies, landowners, and ranchers	Improved management of natural ecosystems
Healthy air, land, water and ecosystems	General mention of contaminated sites and abandoned mine sites	-	Clean up of contaminated sites for possible re-use
Mitigate and adapt to the impacts of climate change	General mention of carbon sinks	-	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
Go Green plan	Specific mention of Petroleum Technology Research Centre and International Test Centre for CO 2 Capture at the University of Regina	Mention of collaboration with other government ministries	Reduced greenhouse gas emissions
Increase involvement of First Nations and Métis people in environmental and resource management	General mention of forestry, mining, and other renewable resource land use activities	Mention of working with Aboriginal peoples and other ministries	Improved resource management on reserve areas
Hectares of Crown Land under Integrated Land Use Plans	General mention of land use plans, Crown lands, and community	Mention of need for a high level of participation	7,267,700 hectares of Crown land under integrate land use plans
Air quality index	Specific mention of Regina, Saskatoon, and Prince Albert	-	Gradual reduction in air quality in Saskatoon and Regina and improvement in Prince Albert
Hectares in the Representative Areas	General mention of terrestrial and	-	An increase in hectares can result in

Network	aquatic ecosystems, the representative areas network,		more native biological diversity
Drinking Water Quality Standards Compliance and Quality Satisfaction	General mention of municipal waterworks	-	Improved public perception of the quality of drinking water by the public
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 12			
Low level of spatial specificity / High level of coordination specificity			

Table 28

Document	Plan for 2009-10		
Government	Saskatchewan		
Department	Ministry of Advanced Education, Employment and Labour		
Reference	**Spatial Specificity**	**Coordination Mechanism**	**Spatial Implication**
Existing and future labour market demand	Specific mention of Regina and Saskatoon Trades and Skills Centres	Explicit mention of a comprehensive consultation process	Improved educational skills for the population
Education levels and labour market participation of First Nations and Métis people	General mention of community-based organizations, northern Saskatchewan, Saskatchewan regional colleges and SIIT.	Explicit mention of local partnerships with First Nations and Métis people	Increased educational levels for First Nations and Métis people
Accessibility and affordability of post-secondary education	General mention of universities and southern Saskatchewan. Specific mention of Cumberland Regional College, International Vaccine Centre (Intervac), University of Saskatchewan,	Explicit mention of a variety of partnerships with federal government and other stakeholders	Improved educational skills for the population
Employment rate of off-reserve First Nations and Métis and non-First Nations and Métis populations aged 15 years and over	General mention of off-reserve	-	First Nations and Métis employment has slowly increased in 2008
Number of maps: 0 Number of pages: 16			
Low level of spatial specificity / High level of coordination specificity			

APPENDIX 2: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Doctoral Research: Participant Information Sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research study as part of a Doctoral thesis. Before you begin the interview it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Thank you for reading this.

Who will conduct the research?
Brian Webb, School of Environment and Development, Planning and Landscape Department, Arthur Lewis Building, Oxford Road, Manchester, UK, M13 9PL

Title of the Research
Federalism and the Institutional Dynamics of Intergovernmental Spatial Policy Coordination in Canada

What is the aim of the research?
The research involves understanding the level of coordination being undertaken between departments and other levels of government, the mechanisms used to coordinate (whether formal or informal), along with gaining a better understanding of the views that individuals within government have regarding policy coordination (whether they think it is important, overly burdensome, not necessary, etc.). The interviews will be used as part of the larger thesis to determine best practices of policy coordination within decentralised countries as well as to highlight perceived barriers to improvement of coordination, specifically spatial policy coordination.

What am I being asked to do?
You are being asked to answer a number of broad questions regarding your experiences and thoughts regarding multi-level policy coordination.

What happens to the data collected?
The data will be transcribed and aggregated along with other interview data and used to inform recommendations and conclusions at the end of the research. Exact quotations of statements may be placed in written form in the research however they will be anonymous and not directly attributable to the individual.

How is confidentiality maintained?
Transcriptions of interview material will be made and stored in a secure location accessible only by the author of the research. The author and two university supervisors, Cecilia Wong and Iain Deas will be the only individuals that know the identities of those interviewed and their associated comments. Information from the interviewee that is placed in the research will be anonymous and provide no detail as to the name, exact position, or department of the individual making the statement.

What happens if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?
It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without detriment to yourself.

Will I be paid for participating in the research?

You will not be paid for participating in the research, however your involvement is highly valued and appreciated.

Will the outcomes of the research be published?

The results will be published in the form of a thesis that will be stored at the British Library. Aspects of the research may also be used in peer-reviewed journal publications and other scholarly journals and magazines.

Contact for further information

For further information about the research please contact:
Brian Webb at (416) 556-7299 until July 30th or +44 (0) 798 573 8604 after July 30th or by email at brian.webb@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

Should you have any concerns with the interview or research that Brian can not answer to your satisfaction, please contact Professor Cecilia Wong at +44 (0) 161 275 0680 or by email at Cecilia.wong@manchester.ac.uk

APPENDIX 3: CONSENT FORM

Faculty of Humanities
Consent Form for Participants Taking Part in Doctoral Research

Federalism and the Institutional Dynamics of Intergovernmental Spatial Policy Coordination in Canada

Name of Researcher: BRIAN WEBB
School: ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, PLANNING AND LANDSCAPE

Participant (volunteer)

Please read this and if you are happy to proceed, sign below.

The researcher has given me my own copy of the information sheet which I have read and understood. The information sheet explains the nature of the research and what I would be asked to do as a participant. I understand that the research is for a doctoral thesis and that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded unless subject to any legal requirements. He has discussed the contents of the information sheet with me and given me the opportunity to ask questions about it.

I agree to take part as a participant in this research and I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, and without detriment to myself.

☐   I agree for the interview to be recorded on digital voice recorder

Signed:……………………………………………………………………………

Date:………………………………

Family Name BLOCK LETTERS:……………………………………………………………………

Other Name(s) BLOCK LETTERS:……………………………………………………………………

Researcher

I, the researcher, confirm that I have discussed with the participant the contents of the information sheet.

Signed:……………………………………………………………………………

Date:………………………………

APPENDIX 4: SAMPLE INTERVIEW MATRIX

1) What are the major departments that you regularly deal with when developing policy?

2) To what extent are you aware and/or concerned with federal/provincial policies within other departments in your government?

3) At what spatial scale do you traditionally develop policy for?

4) When developing policy how concerned are you with the impact of that policy at various spatial scales, such as urban areas/rural/northern regions?

5) How do you manage the provincial self-interest with the country-wide or even regional interest?

6) Do the number of actors involved in inter-governmental policy development cause problems? Is there a need to be strategic?

7) What role do external shocks play in promoting intergovernmental coordination?

8) What role does technology play in either supporting or blocking intergovernmental coordination?

9) What role does time play in either supporting or blocking intergovernmental coordination?

10) How do you manage the separation of powers and does that factor into your decision-making process during policy development?

11) How do issues of regionalism and equality affect how you develop policy?

12) To what extent are you asked to help develop or implement other departments / government policies and goals?

13) How do you balance your department's goals with their goals?

14) What sort of difficulties have you faced when coordinating policy with other governments and departments?

15) What impact do political actors play in supporting or blocking intergovernmental policy coordination?

16) What do you feel are the most important factors for successful intergovernmental policy coordination?

17) What guides your decision-making? Is it goal orientated? Policy need? Evidence based? Opportunity based?

18) What impact does history have on intergovernmental policy coordination and relationships?

19) How important do you think the spatial factor is in policy-making and how does impact intergovernmental policy development?

20) How much does size and geography matter in policy-making?

21) What time horizons do you use for policy development and why?