

# **New State Spaces or Old Local Places?**

The Greater Vancouver Economic Council as a case study of regional governance

by

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B.A., University of Western Ontario, 2003

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## Abstract

The urban governance literature is currently situated in the nexus of globalization and devolution. On the one hand, scholars are trying to understand the ways that globalization and neoliberalism impact the nation-state. On the other hand, scholars are trying to understand recent changes in urban governance. In *New State Spaces: Urban governance and the rescaling of statehood*, Neil Brenner tries to bring these two streams of analysis together. He claims that changes to the nation-state have subsequent implications for urban governance in face of capitalist globalization. Brenner bases his argument on examples drawn from Western Europe that span the 1970s to the present. This research investigates Brenner's account by exploring the application for the city of Vancouver and the development of the Greater Vancouver Economic Council. Through the use of a document review and interviews, it is demonstrated that Brenner's account fits at a broad level but falls short under closer scrutiny. Neither the timeline nor the emphasis on urban locational policies are applicable in the Vancouver case. While the neoliberal agenda is identifiable, I argue that local factors – old local places – have a critical impact on the trajectory of regional governance.

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## Dedication

*For my dad.*

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## Chapter1: Introduction

All things urban can be considered with respect to globalization. Previous debates about local power have provided a long list of possible ways of understanding how and to what degree local actors are able to shape their communities. Globalization adds another possibility to the list by emphasizing the role of the global economy and the subsequent implications for all levels of government.

For Neil Brenner in *New State Spaces*, the starting point for analysis is not the city itself, but rather the structures in which the city is embedded. Other scholars of urban politics have examined the ways in which capitalism has constrained options for urban development. These scholars tend to focus on the class struggles between individuals within the city. Brenner differs in that he tries to weave together a multi-level analysis. Brenner tries to link together changes to the global economy, the nation-state and urban governance. He argues that changes to the nation-state have had subsequent implications for urban governance as a result of capitalist globalization. Brenner bases his argument on examples drawn from Western Europe that span the 1970s to the present.

This paper sets out to question Brenner's imposition of a cause-and-effect logic on the understanding of regional governance. Through an analysis of the city of Vancouver<sup>1</sup> and the development of the Greater Vancouver Economic Council (GVEC), it will be demonstrated that the nation-state is only one variable among many and is neither responsible, nor able, to constrain the city in the way that Brenner supposes. While the neoliberal agenda is certainly at play in Vancouver, there remains a large degree of local agency as evidenced by the focus on sustainability within economic development policy circles. Moreover, the timeline that Brenner presents for both changes to the nation-state and the evolution of regional governance do not fit the Canadian or Vancouver case.

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<sup>1</sup> The city of Vancouver and the Vancouver city-region are used interchangeably to refer to the area included in the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD). The GVRD refers only to the regional government and the City of Vancouver refers only to the city proper.

This research is important because Brenner's ideas are largely theoretical. It is imperative, therefore, that Brenner's account should be assessed on two levels – the theoretical and the practical (case studies).

In the Canadian context, Keil and Boudreau (2005) have begun to explore some of Brenner's ideas around regional governance by looking at social movement strategies and discourse during local government restructuring in Toronto and Montreal. In Montreal, Boudreau (2003) finds that the Anglophone argument against amalgamation evokes the local as a means of countering the government's arguments about global pressures. In the case of Toronto, Keil (2000) finds that conservative or liberal ideas can be used in support of either secession or amalgamation. He argues that the debate is not so much about institutional structure as about what we hope local government can do. Both Boudreau and Keil ultimately conclude that debates about local jurisdiction and administration are struggles over the "urban dimensions of a globalized world" (Keil, 2000, p. 759). In other words, the local, or more specifically, the boundaries of local government, is the site where actors fight to accept or reject neoliberal globalization. This analysis fits with Peck and Tickell's (2002) observation that cities are experiencing both "hypertrophied after-welfarist statecraft and organized resistance to neoliberalization" (p. 395).

Unfortunately, neither Keil nor Boudreau's studies are convincing. Local actors have always relied on whatever tools, strategies or discourses they have at their disposal to further their interests with regards to local government restructuring. In the Province of British Columbia, taxation, urban growth pressures, the demand for local control and tension between regions have long been the drivers for local government restructuring. While the drivers of change remain somewhat consistent, each case is affected by the combination of individual characters and strategies employed at the local level. Even if the resistance to the global might be a new discursive strategy, the underlying resistance to paying more property taxes is nothing new. Moreover, Brenner filters everything through the nation-state, whereas Keil and Boudreau (2005) entirely ignore it. Both Keil and Boudreau (2005) discuss the provincial role in the story, but do not give it nearly the same degree of consideration that Brenner gives the nation-state. In the Canadian context, the Province is the

nation-state as far as local government is concerned, and to leave any critical assessment of its role out of the story is an omission.

Sancton (2003) on the other hand, directly challenges Keil (2000) (and Brenner indirectly) in his analysis of provincially driven amalgamations that took place in Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia. He explicitly argues that globalization was not the driver of amalgamation in these cases. He points out that amalgamations are not as widespread around the world as is sometimes suggested, and that the American trend is toward secession rather than amalgamation. Moreover, Sancton points out the continued existence of the Greater Vancouver Regional District, which has had a drive neither for amalgamation nor for secession, as proof positive that globalization is not the driver for local institutional change. In the Canadian case, it appears that amalgamation was the result of the power of provincial politicians' ability to dictate policy (Sancton, 2003). With respect to globalization, Sancton goes onto argue the following:

We must at least allow for the possibility that even the broadest and most powerful of such forces might, in particular situations, be of no relevance at all to a particular decision. This is precisely the point being made here about municipal amalgamations in Canada: there is very little about the broader politics of these amalgamations that was not present when New York City was amalgamated in 1898. Even then there were concerns about keeping up with London, England – so we can perhaps acknowledge that globalization was as much a force then as it is now (p. 22).

Canadian municipalities that have experienced recent amalgamations have received substantial attention over the past decade. Less attention has been given to those city-regions, like Vancouver, whose administrative boundaries have not changed. Regional governance in Vancouver has a long history and it is important to understand this deviant case. Studies that have examined regional governance in Vancouver have concluded that something is different<sup>2</sup> or rely on public choice

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<sup>2</sup> The Golden Task Force in Toronto noted, "differences in regional political culture helped explain the relative success of consensual decision making in the Greater Vancouver case. The GTA task force general conclusions, however, were that such an approach was weak" (Qtd in Smith & Oberlander, 1998).

theories to explain why regional governance appears to work (Bish, 1999). By and large, however, the institutions themselves are not the main focus in much of the analysis of the past decade. The municipal system in BC has evolved into a relatively flexible arrangement, key features of which are the regional district system and the promise of no forced amalgamation.

Within this context, those who study Vancouver tend to emphasize those processes or mechanisms that make the region work, and paramount among these is the approach to urban planning. Smith (1995, 1998) and Punter (2003) examine urban planning in the City of Vancouver and the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD). They highlight the significance of key individuals, the citizen engagement process, and regional planning to the overall success of the built environment. Moreover, both the citizen engagement and the regional approach lend credibility to the institutions themselves and build the myth of the sustainable region in the process. Oberlander and Smith argue ““Metropolitan Vancouver” is a social fact, with the city of Vancouver at its centre” (p.330). Others like Hutton (1998) and Berelowitz (2005) catalogue changes to the region in terms of demographics, economics, and other characteristics. Both Hutton and Berelowitz argue that Vancouver is a city unlike any other.

Despite a long history of regional governance in a number of policy spheres (sewers, hospitals, planning, etc), Vancouver is one of the only major cities in Canada that has never had a regional economic development body. And yet Vancouver has managed to prosper without a coordinated approach to economic development. Given this situation, the emergence of the Greater Vancouver Economic Council (GVEC) at the time of this study will provide insight as to how the Vancouver region addresses regional issues that fall outside of the scope of the Greater Vancouver Regional District (in addition to providing insight into the applicability of Brenner’s account).

The remainder of this paper will be organized as follows. Chapter 2 will begin by presenting Brenner’s argument *New State Spaces* in greater detail. The timeline that Brenner presents, as well as his assessment of regional governance will be mapped out. A few concerns with Brenner’s account will be highlighted, including

the difficulty in comparing unitary and federal states as well as the complete lack of emphasis on local nuance.

The case study will begin in Chapter 3 with a literature review about the city-region of Vancouver. I argue that the city presents a unique case of regional governance, and the history of experimentation is important to the analysis. It is critical to understand this context before moving onto an assessment of the GVEC. It will be argued that cooperative regional governance in Vancouver emerged long before the decline of the Keynesian welfare state in Canada. It will also be demonstrated that the region has proceeded over the years through a number of trial and error attempts at regional cooperation in different policy spheres. This process of learning through experience is dramatically different from Brenner's assumption of a top down force influencing the development of the GVEC. Finally, the federal and provincial roles in both regional economic development and local government generally, will be briefly considered.

An analysis of the GVEC is presented in Chapter 4. Regional economic development is not a new idea in Vancouver, and over the years, various organizations have attempted to get something off the ground. However, regional cooperation faces a number of hurdles, many of which are long standing tensions in the region. Through an analysis of interview results, it will be demonstrated that understanding local factors is important for contextualizing the development of the GVEC. Chapter 5 reviews the Brenner's propositions and the conclusions that are drawn from this case study. Ultimately, it will be argued that Brenner's ideas work at a really broad level, but fall short under closer scrutiny.

## Chapter 2: New State Spaces

### Introduction

In his book, *New State Spaces*, Brenner argues that the reorientation of the nation-state from social welfare to economic competitiveness has been the catalyst and driver of changes to urban governance. In formulating his argument, Brenner draws together debates about urban governance with debates about the nation-state. In so doing, Brenner hangs his ideas on a timeline that spans the 1970s to the present. Despite working within a Marxist worldview which places the mode of production as the driving force of history, Brenner further delineates a hierarchy of driving forces by imposing the nation-state as the key driver to changes in urban governance. The mechanism for making this assumption is what Brenner terms an “urban locational policy”. These somewhat vague policies are those that seek to make cities competitive in the global economy. Each of the three propositions outlined above (the timeline, the drivers of change, and the urban locational policies), can be assessed on both the national and the local level. Given the constraints of this research, however, the bulk of the work is focused on the local level. A cursory glance is given to the state level, although more in depth analysis is ultimately required.

This chapter will review the theoretical ideas upon which this research is based. To begin, both debates about urban governance and regulation theory are briefly presented. This is followed by Brenner’s account in *New State Spaces*, which is a blend of the two debates. The chapter concludes by questioning Brenner’s lack of concern for old local places and revisiting the three propositions around which the remainder of the paper is structured.

### Urban Governance

Brenner’s theoretical account of urban governance draws from the work of Neil Smith and David Harvey. Both of these scholars are important for making the connection between capitalism and the spatial development of the city. The key idea that relates to Brenner’s argument is that spatial development is never random and occurs in such a way as to enable capitalism to function. Harvey (1982) calls the

particular place-based configuration of factors that enable capitalism to work the “spatial fix” or “structured coherence”. Given this, Brenner argues that national policies aimed at making cities competitive are band-aid attempts to find a “spatial fix” and do not resolve the crisis tendency inherent in capitalism. Brenner justifies this argument by examining changes to regional governance over the past thirty years.

The debate about regional governance, called the consolidation-fragmentation debate, has been well underway for several decades. According to Keating (1995), the debate began as a response to rapid suburbanization following the Second World War. The first wave of consolidation in North America occurred during the late 1960s and 1970s and revolved around ideas of efficiency, democracy, distribution and development (Keating, 1995). At that time, regional government was seen as a means of addressing the spatial inequities between the inner city and the suburbs (via taxation). It was also considered to be more economically efficient because it could exploit economies of scale and thereby reduce the duplication of services. Lastly, regional government could allow for comprehensive urban planning which was necessary for further competitive industrial urbanization (Keating, 1995).

By the 1980s, however, the consolidation trend had stopped and some amalgamations were even reversed. The argument for greater economic efficiency proved to be false and the rise of neoliberal ideologies and discourses played into arguments for fragmentation based on public choice theory<sup>3</sup>. However, the focus on fragmentation, or local government structure, is only part of the story. During the 1980s, many cities were faced with deindustrialization and structural unemployment. Coupled with the decline of the Keynesian welfare state, local governments addressed budgetary shortfalls by any means possible (raising property taxes, user fees, public-private-partnerships, etc). Given the situation, concerns about collective consumption were subordinated to concerns about economic growth and capital investment. Harvey (1989) famously called this the shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism. While the pendulum would eventually swing again toward

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<sup>3</sup> Public choice theory argues for market solutions to decisions about service provision. According to Tiebout (1956), the citizen-consumer can vote with her feet for the mix of taxes and services she finds most appropriate. The greater number of local governments (i.e. fragmentation rather than consolidation) competing for citizen-consumer tax dollars ensures efficient delivery of services.

consolidation, the entrepreneurial orientation of local government has become a staple for many municipalities.

During the 1990, several factors led to a renewed interest in consolidation or regional approaches. Called the “new regionalism<sup>4</sup>”, this round of consolidation has been driven by the impact of globalization, devolution, and the rise of sustainable development. Taken together, these factors have changed the place of cities in the global economic hierarchy to the extent that it is now considered commonsense that city-regions are the engines of growth in the new economy (Clarke and Gaile, 1998). Local factors that might hinder economic competitiveness (i.e. interlocal competition, urban sprawl) have become increasingly important issues. Pierce (1993) and Rusk (1993), both key proponents of the new regionalism, argue that regional governance is an effective means of addressing these concerns<sup>5</sup>.

The neoliberal ideology, as captured in Harvey’s entrepreneurial city paradigm, is very much alive and well in the new regionalism. The social equity argument for regional governance has not disappeared altogether but has taken on a different form. Regional planning or regional governance is a strategy that can address social issues that arise from urban sprawl, zoning, or fragmentation. However, rather than making the argument for regional governance on the basis of social equity, the new regionalism offers the additional argument that poverty is bad for business. The new regionalism is also distinguishable from earlier rounds of consolidation by a greater emphasis on informal networks of cooperation and partnership (see Table 2.1).

The course of this debate over time is an important element in Brenner’s argument (see Figure 2.1). Brenner chronicles these changes in urban governance using examples drawn from Western Europe. However, he overlays this story with details about changes at the national level. Details of his urban-state argument will be discussed following a brief summary of regulation theory of the state.

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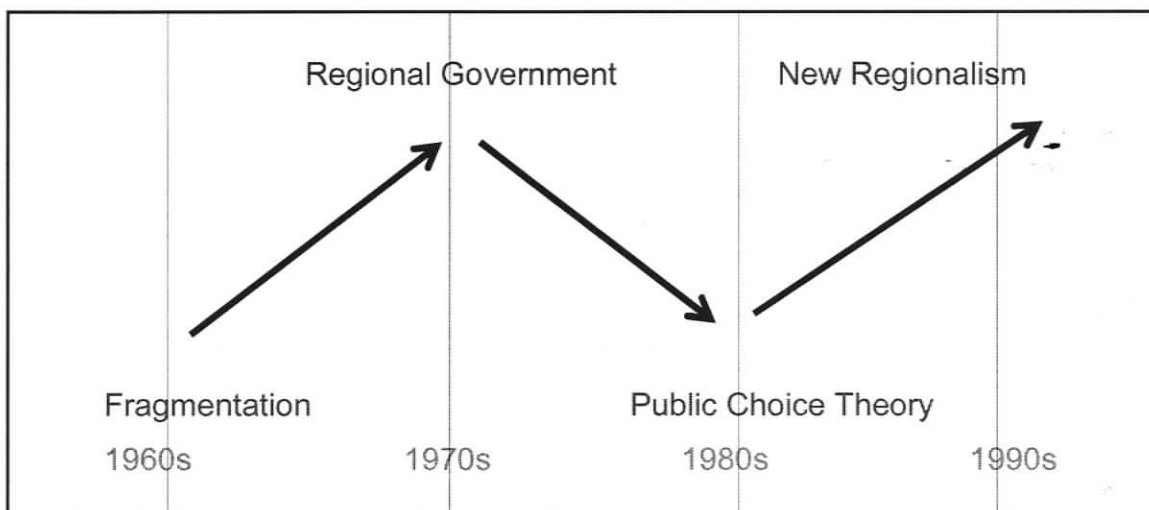
<sup>4</sup> Swanstrom (2001) defines new regionalism as “a school of thought that advocates addressing urban problems either through new regional governments or through greater collaboration between existing governments” (p. 479).

<sup>5</sup> For criticism of the new regionalism, see Kipfer & Warsig (2004) and Sancton (2001).

**Table 2.1 – Differences between old and new regionalism**

Old Regionalism (1960s-1970s)	New Regionalism (1990+)
Government	Governance
Structure	Process
Coordination	Collaboration
Power	Empowerment

Adapted from Wallis, 2000

**Figure 2. 1 The consolidation-fragmentation debate**

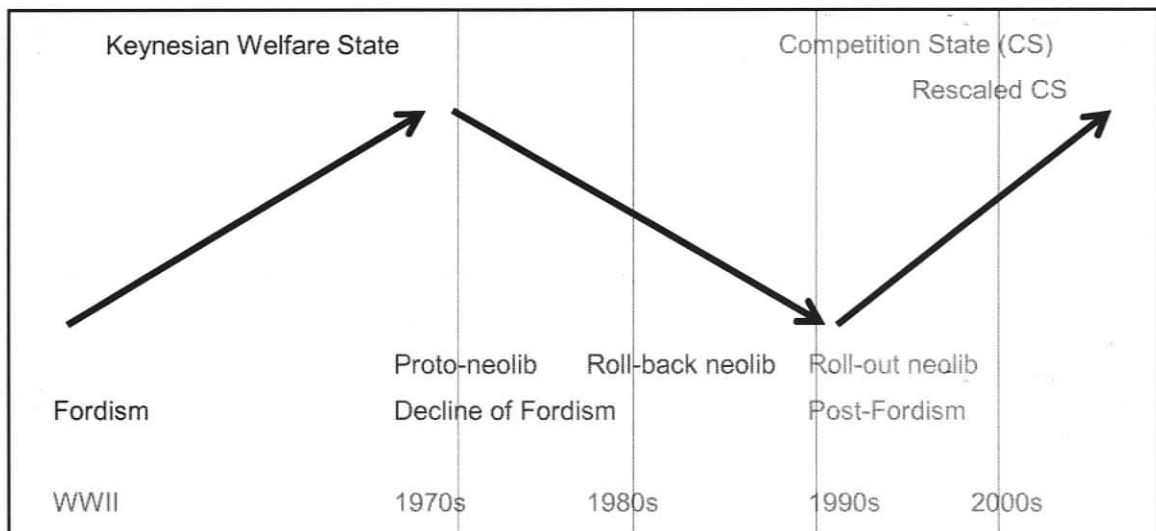
### **New State Spaces**

Brenner's theoretical account of new state spaces draws from the work of Bob Jessop, Jamie Peck, and Adam Tickell. These scholars have been debating changes to the nation-state in face of the decline of Fordism and the rise of neoliberalism and globalization. This particular debate is called the regulation theory of the state. Regulation theory argues that an economic regime is comprised of both a mode of accumulation and a mode of social regulation. These two modes exist in a dynamic and symbiotic relationship. The modes combine to create regimes of accumulation that temporarily address the crisis tendency in capitalism. For example, the postwar era was characterized by a Fordist mode of accumulation and a Keynesian mode of

social regulation. In the 1970s, as a result of a coalescing of a number of factors<sup>6</sup>, this specific regime of accumulation was no longer workable.

Over the course of the 1980s, Fordism and the Keynesian welfare state continued to decline, while neoliberalism increased its stronghold as the dominant ideology. Given this, the bulk of the current debate among regulation theory scholars is over the characterization of the nation-state and emerging regime of accumulation. The key ideas for Brenner are around the role of neoliberalism as the metric for policy decisions and the changing spaces of the power of the state. This cursory glance at the regulation theory debate regarding the nation-state is visually depicted in Figure 2.2.

**Figure 2.2 Regulation Theory of the State**



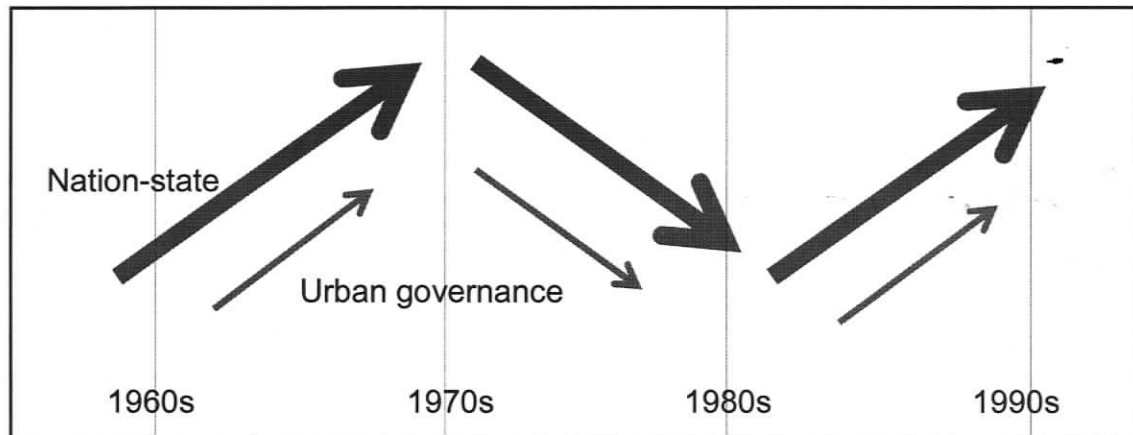
### **New State Spaces: Urban governance and the rescaling of statehood**

In his book, *New State Spaces* Brenner seeks to contextualize new regionalism or changes to urban governance by relating this trend explicitly to the capitalist global economy and changes at the state level. Brenner's main argument is that *nation-states*

<sup>6</sup> Factors include massive government debt, economic stagnation, the rise of transnational corporations and the rise of technology among others (Peck and Tickell, 1994).

are now trying to help cities to compete strategically in the global economy (see Figure 2.3). Of particular interest to Brenner, are the changing dynamics between these spaces<sup>7</sup> and how the resulting relationships are responding to the endemic crisis inherent in capitalism. According to Brenner (2002), the politics of scale refers to the “decentering of traditional national urban hierarchies and national intergovernmental systems and to the concomitant emergence of new subnational political strategies to position cities and regions within supranational circuits of capital, money, commodities and labor” (p.4).

**Figure 2. 3 Brenner’s Synthesis in New State Spaces**



Brenner traces changes to the ideological and policy orientation of state governments in Western Europe from the 1970s to the present. As a result of the supranational circuit of capital and the confines of the neoliberal policy paradigm, nation-states have abandoned notions of spatial equity. Rather than trying to ensure a base level of economic prosperity and social development across its territory (spatial equity), nation-states are now concerned with creating places that are amenable to international business (which means, treating cities differently). This place-based approach to policy celebrates differences between regions rather than trying to smooth them over.

<sup>7</sup> It is not exactly clear what Brenner means by “space”. It seems to be used interchangeably with “scale”.

Brenner identifies “urban locational policies” as those national, neoliberal and place-based policies, regulations, and experimentations that ultimately seek to make regions more competitive in the global economy. Urban locational policies were employed during the 1980s and 1990s. The latest round of experimentation began in the 1990s and is a response to the failures of earlier urban locational policies in the 1980s<sup>8</sup>. Brenner points to three examples of urban locational policies in the 1990s including regional governance, neighbourhood based anti-exclusion policies, and interurban networking initiatives. These urban locational policies are a problematic response since they make things worse by increasing intergovernmental coordination problems as well as interspatial competition.

The timeline is a critical piece of Brenner’s account. Regional governments in the 1970s generally tended to be hierarchical and bureaucratic organizations that focused mainly on service-delivery, administrative efficiency and territorial equalization<sup>9</sup>. By the 1980s, fiscal pressures and increased competition between the city core and the suburbs resulted in the abolition of many regional government initiatives. Local governments increasingly turned toward entrepreneurial strategies<sup>10</sup>, which exacerbated interspatial competition. Brenner (2004) argues that these changes in urban governance did not happen in isolation from changes at the national level:

The pervasive reorientation of urban government from the managerial welfarist mode of the Fordist-Keynesian period to an entrepreneurial, growth-oriented and competitiveness-driven framework during the post 1970s period is not just a realignment of local institutional forms. Rather, it represents a key expression and outcome of the place and scale specific types of state spatial projects and state spatial strategies

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<sup>8</sup> Regulatory failures include inefficiency and waste, short-termism, global enclavization, regulatory undercutting, uneven spatial development and territorial conflicts, problems of interscalar coordination, democratic accountability and legitimating problems (Brenner, 2004, p.263-5).

<sup>9</sup> In British Columbia in 2007, most regional districts are still largely concerned with service-delivery, administrative efficiency and territorial equalization. However, regional district may not necessarily be synonymous with regional government (in terms of the density of the population being governed).

<sup>10</sup> During the 1980s, many cities were facing deindustrialization and unemployment. Coupled with the decline of the Keynesian welfare state, local governments were left to deal with budgetary shortfalls by any means possible (raising property taxes, user fees, public-private-partnerships, etc). Given the situation, concerns about collective consumption were subordinated to concerns about economic growth and capital investment. Harvey (1989) called this the shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism.

that have been mobilized by post-Keynesian competition states (p. 177).

The model of regional governance that has developed in the 1990s is based on the values of negotiation, partnership, voluntary participation and flexibility. Too much interlocal competition within a region is thought to undermine the overall competitiveness of the region as a whole. Therefore, coordination and cooperation are promoted as key elements of regional governance. According to Brenner, “metropolitan regionalisms of the 1990s have mobilized new forms of cooperation within urban regions as the basis for engaging still more aggressively in territorial competition against other urban regions at the European and global scales” (p. 281).

### **Rather than New State Spaces, How About Old Local Places?**

Right from the outset, Brenner’s account of urban governance and the rescaling of statehood falls short on two fronts - the lack of emphasis on the local part of urban governance and the neglected unpacking of the importance of the unitary state framework to the overall argument. Brenner is aware that local factors can impact the outcome, and so includes two sentences to this effect in his analysis:

In interpreting the latest round of state rescaling as a form of crisis management, I am not suggesting that state spatial configurations evolve automatically and coherently in response to inherited policy failures, or that they effectively resolve the latter. Recent rescaling initiatives in European city-regions have emerged through the combined impacts of *deliberate design, institutional learning, trial-and-error regulatory experimentation, chance discoveries and political compromises*, as diverse social forces, political coalitions, and territorial alliances have struggled to reshape the field of urban governance and, more generally, to influence the trajectory of state spatial restructuring (p. 267).

Brenner’s conceptualization of urban governance draws from Harvey (1982, 1985) and Smith (1984), both of whom are important for making the connection between capitalism and urban development. However, Brenner neglects to bring other Marxist urbanists, such as Logan and Molotch (1987) or Tabb and Sawers (1978) into

consideration – he ignores the part where the details of governance are worked out. What differentiates the latter scholars from the former are not their theoretical underpinnings but rather their application on the ground. Both Logan and Molotch (1987) and Tabb and Sawers (1978) consider the nitty gritty of urban politics – the roles of government, planning, and taxation, as well as the implications of class and property ownership – to their assessment of urban governance.

Peterson made a similar argument to Brenner in *City Limits* in 1981. He argued that policy choice at the local level was constrained by national economic and political structures. Since that time, however, research has shown that local factors play an important role in mediating these broader forces (Clarke and Gaile, 1998). In other words, what happens at the local level is neither completely constrained by structural limitations nor by local circumstances. This is simply to suggest that by ignoring the more local factors, Brenner skirts over the key issue in urban governance – namely, the local nature of it.

In addition, Brenner's account raises issues as to whether Western European unitary states are comparable to the Canadian federal state. Through this research, it will be demonstrated that unitary state in Brenner's analysis does not map well onto the Canadian federal state.

The remainder of this paper presents the results from the case study of the Greater Vancouver Economic Council. While Brenner's propositions can be considered at both the national and local scales, the majority of this paper is focused on the local scale. The propositions being examined are as follows:

1. The timeline
2. The role of neoliberalism
3. Urban locational policies – i.e. regional governance

## Chapter 3: Vancouver Literature Review

### Introduction

A lot has been written about Vancouver. The city-region continues to win international awards and rank highly on comparative indexes of cities. The urban planning accolades are so extensive that the term “Vancouverism” has come into currency (Boddy, 2005). The 2010 Olympic games are around the corner and real estate is more expensive than ever. This is not to suggest that Vancouver is without its problems. The Downtown Eastside, Canada’s poorest postal code, continues to be home to people who suffer from multiple barriers (Smith, A.H., 2003). There are ongoing issues with urban aboriginal people, including challenges in navigating shared service agreements and land use planning issues. The provision of public transit, as well as immigrant settlement patterns, continue to polarize the city. I argue that understanding the local nuances that make Vancouver unique (old local places) are an important piece of the story and should be taken into greater account in Brenner’s argument. Rather than new state spaces, I argue for old local places.

To begin, the literature review about Vancouver addresses Brenner’s three propositions in *New State Spaces* – the timeline, the role of neoliberalism, and urban locational policies. In so doing, points of agreement and disagreement are highlighted and discussed. Points of disagreement suggest that Brenner’s account does not quite fit the Vancouver case.

### The Timeline: An historical view of regional governance in Vancouver

The timeline for regional governance in Vancouver dates back to 1914 with the creation of the Greater Vancouver Sewerage and Drainage District (Alexander, et. al., 2005). A number of other service-delivery boards were organized in the early half of the twentieth century. These early developments are important for setting a tone or pattern for regional cooperation. Oberlander and Smith (1998) explain, “if the early history of cooperation in the Vancouver region was largely locally inspired, it also had at least one significant by-product – the development of a regional political culture and identity” (p. 380).

In 1965, the Province of British Columbia initiated its own form of regional government by creating a system of regional districts. The regional districts span across most of the geography of the province. This means that most regional districts are typically comprised of a number of municipalities and electoral areas (rural and unincorporated areas). In this sense, regional districts differ from other examples of regional government (i.e. the old Metro Toronto) in that they encompass large parcels of unpopulated land. The exceptions to this scenario, however, are the Greater Vancouver Regional District and the Capital Regional District, both of which essentially function as regional governments in urban areas with fragmented systems of local government.

According to the provincial *Primer on Regional Districts* (2006), their creation in 1965 was driven by the need to address the lack of services, urban planning, and political representation in rural areas. At this time, the province was experiencing rapid population expansion as a result of the growing resource sector. Moreover, what regional boards did exist were not suitable mechanisms for addressing the range of issues around the province (Primer, 2006). These existing boards were problematic tools for regional cooperation because they were not widely available, and they lacked flexibility as well as political acceptability. The Primer explains, "The local government system of the '60s was characterized by incipient fragmentation. There was no overall enabling statute to facilitate municipalities and rural areas joining together to achieve the benefits of regional service delivery" (2006, p.4).

According to the *Primer on Regional Districts*, regional districts are typically responsible for the provision of some services including water supply, sewage and solid waste. These services can be provided through the entire region or on a sub-region level. The regional district also provides the administrative framework for this kind of coordination and cooperation to take place. Lastly, regional districts function as the local government for citizens living in rural areas.

When the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) was created in 1967, the other existing boards in the region were not immediately dissolved. Over time, however, it became apparent that the GVRD was the logical place to house many of

the service-delivery functions. In the process of dissolving other boards and amassing greater service-delivery functions, the GVRD morphed from being just another board to a de facto regional government. In this sense, the GVRD as an institution has more in common with the old Metro Toronto regional government than with the Bulkey-Nechako Regional District. Given this situation, Tennant and Zirnhelt (1973) suggest that the provincial motive for creating the regional district system was actually to impose a regional government onto Vancouver. They argue that Vancouverites were already familiar and comfortable with the presence of various functionally specific boards and were happy with the fact that participation on these boards was voluntary. As such, when the GVRD was created, neither the public, nor the municipalities were overly concerned. Furthermore, by planting the regional district system across the province, it appeared as though no special attention was being given to Vancouver (Tennant and Zirnhelt, 1973).

Regardless of the motive for the regional district system, it is clear that in the 1960s the provincial government was not overly concerned with the demise of the welfare state and the rise of neoliberal globalization. Quite to the contrary, the GVRD was created at the supposed height of the Keynesian welfare state. Moreover, rather than being abolished in the 1980s as was the trend identified by both Brenner and the new regionalists, the GVRD has continued to function unabated by fluctuations in local government structure elsewhere.

### **The Role of Neoliberalism**

The various iterations of regional boards and regional districts demonstrate that Vancouver has a long history of experimentation in cooperative regional governance. While this evidence disrupts Brenner's timeline, it is not to suggest that regional governance is completely immune to neoliberal globalization. For example, the provision of public transportation has long been a contentious issue in Vancouver and recent debates about the development of the Richmond-Airport-Vancouver line (RAV line) indicates that being competitive in the global economy is very much a concern.

In *New State Spaces*, Brenner understands neoliberalism as the ideological metric in which state policies are created and assessed. More specifically, Peck and Tickell define neoliberalism as “the mobilization of state power in the contradictory extension and reproduction of market(-like) rule” (2003). Brenner does not assess neoliberalism as an independent variable, but rather weaves it throughout his narrative as a critical factor in his account. Brenner assumes that neoliberal state strategies are significantly constraining local policy options. Rather than seeing urban growth coalitions or entrepreneurial strategies as part of a long tradition of civic boosterism, Brenner argues that these concepts must be understood in relation to recent changes at the state level:

These newly constituted, state-organized interscalar rule-regimes were explicitly designed to facilitate urban locational policies by channelling the strategic options and tactical behaviours of local actors towards developmentalist, competitiveness-driven agendas... From this point of view, the new interlocality competition of the post 1980s cannot be understood simply as the aggregate expression of localized policy responses to global and European market integration. On the contrary, the grim neoliberal requirements for cities to ‘compete or die’ – which aptly encapsulates the aggressively competitive spatial logic underlying urban locational policy - must be interpreted as a politically constructed imperative that was imposed upon local and regional economies in significant measure through the rescaling of national state spaces (p. 212-13).

The issues that arose with the RAV line debate demonstrate that the neoliberal agenda is alive and well in Vancouver. The provision of public transit is an important component of regional planning and became an increasingly critical issue for the GVRD during the 1990s. In 1998, the Province and the GVRD entered into an agreement to create the Greater Vancouver Transportation Authority (TransLink) (Smith and Oberlander, 1998, p. 385). TransLink allows for greater intergovernmental coordination around land-use and transportation demand management.

The TransLink Board of Directors is comprised of twelve individuals who are elected to individual municipal councils and then appointed by the GVRD. An

additional three members of the provincial government can sit on the board, however, they are none are currently appointed (Alexander, Seymoar, Babicki, D. & Ferguson, 2005). In March 2006, Minister of Transportation, Kevin Falcon, announced that the TransLink governance structure would be reviewed (BC Gov, press release, March 8, 2006). The review came about in response to concern over the voting process for the establishment of a public-private partnership for the RAV line. The RAV line passed on the third vote, amid a considerable amount of heated debate and scrutiny by the media. Minister Falcon explains his rationale for the review in the Georgia Straight:

Just recognizing that when we're talking about taxpayer dollars on major investments like this, where you've got people from around the world committing huge amounts of dollars and time and people to make commitments to bidding on a process like this, it does not at all help the credibility of the province or the region to have an atmosphere like that taking place. You've got people opposing it for reasons that are not even remotely connected to the actual merits of the project. And people opposing it for issues that are entirely parochial and back yard local politics in nature, and that's something I said does not do a service to the broader regional needs (Burrows, 2006).

The statement by Minister Falcon makes explicit the way in which the global economy is directly linked with regional governance. Falcon juxtaposes parochial, backyard politics with people committing huge amounts of money from around the world. Global capital is seen as rational and calculated whereas local politics is seen as the purview of dumb yokels. The naturalization of the economy in this manner is characteristic of the neoliberal ideology. Clearly, Falcon thinks it is important for the city (and the province) to act as a cohesive whole when competing at the global scale.

Some argue that the confrontational decision-making process is exacerbated by the way in which TransLink's board is structured (M. Betteridge, personal communication, July 4, 2006). TransLink board members are appointed from their constituent municipalities. Individual board members are elected by their local citizens, and are therefore not accountable to the region as a whole. This structure can impede region-wide thinking and encourage turf-wars -- the type of parochial politics that Falcon sees as detrimental to trade.

The results of the TransLink review were released in January 2006, and call for changes to the governance structure of the TransLink board as well as expanding the geographic scope of the organization (from Pemberton to Hope). The report recommends that the Province appoint an 11-member board comprised of knowledgeable and neutral (not local politicians, not TransLink employees) individuals (TransLink Governance Review, 2007). They also recommend a Council of Mayor's who will be responsible for approving the 10-year strategic plans (TransLink Governance Review, 2007). This shift by the Province reflects a clear interest in maintaining some degree of control over decisions affecting the economy of the Lower Mainland.

Understanding the issues with existing regional governance structures like TransLink is important in order to appreciate some pre-existing tensions in the region as well as some of the issues that might arise for the GVEC. And while TransLink is an example of innovation in regional governance, it is nevertheless, impacted to some degree by the perception at least, that globalization matters (to the Province).

### **The Changing Nation-State and the Rise of Urban Locational Policies**

This section will give a cursory review of Federal regional economic development policies in Canada over the past few decades. The geography of the Canadian economy has been significantly reoriented in the past thirty years (Wallace, 2002). The 1980s and 1990s saw a move away from economic nationalism to a greater integration with the United States as well as a shift toward the knowledge economy. Further, there has been an increasing demand from the Asian market for oil, lumber, and other resources from Alberta and British Columbia (Wallace, 2002). According to Wallace (2002), the changing geography of the global economic system has had differentiated spatial impacts on the prosperity of regions in Canada.

While regional issues and economies have always been a part of the Canadian dynamic, they gained greater prominence after the Second World War. Rapid postwar urbanization, the rise of the Keynesian welfare state and the greater availability of regionally disaggregated statistics helped to usher in regional development as a policy

concern (Polese, 1999). From the 1960s to the 1980s, the federal government provided location subsidies and income transfers as a means of channelling public and private investments toward lagging urban regions. From 1969 to 1987, the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) was responsible for developing many of these policies. According to Polese (1999), the assumption behind the policies was that the central government could affect the spatial structure of the economy in order to reduce regional development disparities.

In 1972, DREE underwent a major policy review and it was concluded that regional disparities were too complex to be addressed by one government department alone. It was also determined that the policy emphasis should not be on regional disparities but rather on encouraging each region to reach their economic and social development potential. This marks a significant shift from a focus on problem areas to a focus on potential for development (Beaumier, 1998). Once DREE (or DRIE – Department of Regional Industrial Expansion as it was then called) was disbanded in 1987, the federal approach to regional economic development was one of greater decentralization. Several new regional bodies were created, including the Department of Western Economic Diversification (WED). This meant that the federal government no longer tried to help along the economy in place-specific ways from the top-down. According to Polese (1999), this reflects an understanding that national governments have little power to change the basic spatial patterns of national economies<sup>11</sup>. This fact is based in part on the failure of previous regional development strategies and in part on the understanding of the role of globalization (Polese, 1999; Wallace, 2002).

This ebb and flow of federal regional economic development policies seems to be the exact opposite of Brenner's timeline of changes in the role and policies of the nation-state. Urban locational policies aimed at improving the economic competitiveness of regions occurred in Canada during the 1960s to 1980s, and as such, were not a response to the decline of "spatial Keynesianism"<sup>12</sup>. However, federal

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<sup>11</sup> Clarke and Gaile (1998) argue the same thing.

<sup>12</sup> Brenner uses the term "spatial Keynesianism" to underline the spatial element of redistributive policies such as healthcare or housing. Brenner argues that under Keynesianism, the state was trying to ensure a certain level of equity across its territory. This is then contrasted to a more place-based approach seen in the competition state. In this scenario, the state is concerned with making cities competitive as opposed to ensuring that they all have a base level of prosperity or social inclusion.

government policies have impacted the development of Canadian cities and regional economies beyond the targeted geographic interventions mentioned above. Federal programs in areas like transportation and communications (spatial Keynesianism) have been significant in shaping the development of cities. For example, the airport, port and transportation networks in Vancouver are critical to its role as a node in the Asia-Pacific Gateway as well as the Vancouver-Seattle development corridor (Hutton, 1998). Other federal programs like housing, education, and healthcare have also contributed to the maintenance of a certain level of social wellbeing in Canadian cities.

In the mid 1990s, however, the collection of policies that constitute “spatial Keynesianism” began to be cutback or eliminated. The federal government significantly reduced funding for programs and provincial transfers in the 1995 budget. This in turn, triggered the provinces to respond one-by-one to the climate of restraint. In 2001, the BC Liberal Party came to power with a neoliberal agenda of cutbacks, downsizing, and public-private-partnerships. This was not the first time that BC had seen a neoliberal government, however. According to Magnusson, Carroll, Doyle, Langer, and Walker, (1984), the province of BC was the first example of provincial neoliberalism in Canada with the election of Bill Bennett and the Social Credit in 1983<sup>13</sup>. In other words, BC pre-empted the rise of the federal neoliberal agenda by more than a decade. This choppy evolution from spatial Keynesianism to the competition state does not exactly fit with Brenner’s timeline either.

Lastly, the rise of urban locational policies is a relatively recent phenomenon in Canada. According to Bradford (2007), the federal concern with the debt and the deficit during the 1980s and 1990s meant that urban issues were sidelined. In comparing Canada to Western Europe, he argues that the lack of coherent urban policy is striking (Bradford, 2007). In 2005, Prime Minister Martin announced the “New Deal”, a multi-level funding initiative for all Canadian communities. Martin compared the importance of the New Deal to previous national initiatives like the railway (Bradford, 2007). With the election of Prime Minister Harper, however, the

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<sup>13</sup> Bill Bennett was the Provincial Premier from 1975 – 1979 and again from 1983-1986.

new government is not interested in an explicitly urban agenda. Harper explained his views in a speech to the Federation of Canadian Municipalities in 2006:

Ottawa has stuck its nose into provincial and local matters. Into areas where they didn't have much expertise. While at the same time neglecting what it had to do. Accordingly, our roles and responsibilities in our respective areas of jurisdiction have become muddled. Our budget arrangements are out of whack. And our political relations are tense (Qtd. in Bradford, 2007, p.12).

The future of the New Deal or of an explicitly urban agenda in Canada remains uncertain at best. The lack of any cogent national urban policy is again in contrast to Brenner's account of the rise of urban locational policies.

This brief sketch of the changing nation-state in Canada would suggest that Brenner's timeline is ill suited to the Canadian case. The rise of the competition state and of urban locational policies is a very recent, and somewhat disjointed experience in Canada.

### **Rather Than New State Spaces, How About Old Local Places?**

I argue that understanding the local nuances that make Vancouver unique are an important piece of the story and should be taken into greater account in Brenner's argument. The most prominent characteristic impacting Vancouver's social, political and economic trajectory is the physical geography. I do not mean to suggest a simple geographic determinism, but rather that local factors, including geography, should not be omitted from consideration. Hutton (1998) argues that geography is important in terms of economic outcomes. I argue that geography is important in terms of urban planning and creating a mythology about the sustainable region, both of which, have an impact on the shape and development of the GVEC.

For instance, Vancouver's development differs from that of other Canadian cities in that it has very specific growth determinants such as its position in relation to Asian trade as well as the importance of immigration (Hutton, 1998). According to Hutton (1998), "Vancouver cannot be viewed as a generic western Canadian city or even simply as the largest western metropolis. Rather, it must be viewed as a unique

case, differentiated by its size, external linkages, industrial structure and socio-cultural composition” (p. 57). Hutton (1998) argues that powerful global market pressures impacting the development of Vancouver are mediated by a constellation of local factors. In other words, there is still room for local policies to mediate and impact outcomes<sup>14</sup>. Hutton (1998) explains:

While the federal (and in many cases the provincial) government’s influence on urban development may be waning, local and regional factors are increasingly important in urban development. These factors include not only *in situ* characteristics and attributes, but also new external relationships that are the result of changes in trade patterns and the structure of capital markets; reconfigured city-hinterland relationships; and the role of immigrants in enhancing inter-city networks of market intelligence, communications, investment and trade (p. 149).

While changes at the federal level are important to Vancouver, as Hutton points out, they are not the only driver of regional cooperation – *in situ* factors matter. State spaces and neoliberalism are important contextual elements in considering any urban issue. However, they are not the only considerations.

As the home of Greenpeace and the David Suzuki Foundation, Vancouver has an awareness of the environment that is unprecedented in many other regions in Canada. This environmental awareness permeates urban planning within individual municipalities as well as the regional district. The emphasis on the built environment forms a foundation within which other quality of life characteristics are enmeshed. I argue that that sustainability forms an essential myth or culture that is unique to Vancouver.

Since the creation of the GVRD in 1967, there have been a number of regional planning exercises. The plans strongly emphasized sustainability and liveability within the region. These plans are unique for the strong emphasis on citizen engagement during their development. According to Delia Laglagaron, Deputy Chief Administrative Officer of the GVRD, the organization continues to function within a

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<sup>14</sup> Clarke & Gaile (1998) and Savitch & Kantor (2002) also argue that cities have latitude to impact the forces of globalization.

strong culture of citizen engagement (despite the fact that it can sometimes be a slow process) (personal communication, July 20, 2006). The citizen engagement practices lend greater democratic legitimacy to the organization, such that despite the legislative loss of regional planning authority in 1983, the GVRD was able to maintain its planning function. Smith and Oberlander (1998) explain:

In Greater Vancouver – largely as a by-product of a long-established and locally sponsored, regional political culture, regional service delivery and an extensive experience of some cooperative planning success – regional planning continued despite the loss of regional planning authority (p. 390).

In 1995, the province reversed its decision and restored regional planning to regional districts in a slightly altered form. The new *Regional Growth Strategy Act* required that all municipalities in the regional district must include a regional context statement in their Official Community Plans (OCP). The purpose of the statement is to link the municipality into the larger vision for the region and if possible, to articulate how the municipality's OCP is to be more inline with the regional plan overtime (Smith & Oberlander, 1998, p. 393). The *Regional Growth Strategies Act* further encourages inter-municipal cooperation by providing mediation in situations in which consensus between municipalities is not readily achieved.

Some of the GVRD's regional plans that have resulted from this framework have won international recognition. In 2001, the GVRD's *CitiesPLUS 100-Year Sustainability Plan* won the Grand Prize in the International Gas Union Competition for cities PLUS. In 2002, the *Liveable Region Strategic Plan* won the Dubai Award for Best Practices to Improve the Living Environment (Alexander, et. al., 2005, p. 5). Despite these awards, the GVRD planning process is not without criticism. At times, the GVRD has had to contend with disputes and controversies with member municipalities. Frequently, municipalities disagree with the GVRD's population projections, as well as where the population growth should occur. Not everyone is always pleased with the results of these discussions. However, Smith and Oberlander (1998) argue that the system works relatively well:

While imperfect, consensual planning has resulted in considerable ability to achieve agreement on matters of specific policy in a range or regional district settings. A commitment at all levels to the decisional form, recognition of the problems common to urban sustainability generally, and the success of success, all contribute to resolution of policy differences (401).

To those who are familiar with the city, it will come as no surprise to learn that Vancouver consistently ranks at the top of a number of indexes, including Florida's bohemian index (Florida, 2002). In 2005, the Mercer Human Resource Report on Quality of Life ranked Vancouver as the third best city in the world behind Geneva and Zurich. Also in 2005, the Economist Intelligence Unit ranked Vancouver first in the world in terms of quality of life (Board of Trade, p.14).

Vancouver's high quality of life, as reflected in the accolades and recognition, could reflect a genuine concern for the environment. However, it could also reflect a local entrepreneurial strategy, where the city tries to be internationally competitive by focusing on soft infrastructure, creative cities, and quality of life. Brenner does not give a lot of attention to local entrepreneurial strategies in *New State Spaces* apart from saying that they developed in tandem with, and were a response to, changes to state spaces. It is possible, then, that the emphasis on quality of life in Vancouver is an entrepreneurial strategy that developed in response to changes at the federal level over the past thirty years. However, it is also entirely possible that sustainability (which includes consideration of quality of life) is a dominant characteristics of Vancouver's culture or regime and merits some consideration in and of itself.

Regardless of whether or not sustainability is an entrepreneurial strategy, it also serves as the basis of a regional mythology. The GVRD's participatory planning processes as well as any other local entity that draws on the language of sustainability, helps to create the sustainable region myth (the emphasis for my purposes, being on the "region" part of this equation). This myth forms part of the local culture and is an important feature that distinguishes Vancouver from other places. Those organizations acting on the regional level can lever the sustainable region myth as a starting point from which everyone speaks the same language.

## Conclusion

This chapter reviewed Brenner's propositions with regards to the timeline, the role of neoliberalism in regional governance, as well as the rise of urban locational policies. The literature review indicates that Brenner's timeline at the local level does not fit the Vancouver case. Nevertheless, the role of neoliberalism in shaping the debate is apparent in the case of the RAV line decision. At the federal level, the nation-state has indeed shifted some of its priorities over the past thirty years, but it is not clear that what has emerged is a competition state principally concerned with competitive cities. Lastly, Brenner's lack of emphasis on old local places means that there is no room for consideration of local factors such as urban sustainability or environmentalism (use values) in the evolution of regional governance.

The timeline for regional governance in Vancouver demonstrates the region has a long history of regional cooperation that pre-dates Brenner's timeline. From the regional sewage and drainage board in 1916 to TransLink in 2006, Vancouver, and by extension the Province of British Columbia, has been an innovator in flexible government arrangements. Through a process of trial and error (rather than a knee-jerk reaction to either higher levels of government or global pressures), the system of regional governance in Vancouver has evolved and adapted to new service delivery and governance challenges as they occurred. This history stands in contrast to Brenner's story about the evolution of regional governance from a bureaucratic service-delivery orientation in the 1970s to a cooperative, yet entrepreneurially oriented one in the 1990s. Regional governance in Vancouver has always been both bureaucratic and cooperative and both service delivery and entrepreneurially oriented.

While Brenner's timeline at the local level is not a perfect fit, his proposition that neoliberalism forms a metric for policy direction seems appropriate. The RAV line decision for Translink indicates that the Minister thinks that local politics stands in the way of economic interests on the global stage<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> The neoliberal ideology identified with the provincial perspective could in fact represent a common phenomenon known as the "growth machine" (Logan & Molotch, 1987). In this sense, the local concern with the "use value" of property appears to be in conflict with provincial or global concern with "exchange value" of

When considering changes to the Canadian state, Brenner's timeline does not fit either. Federal regional economic development policies were abandoned in the 1980s, which seems to contradict Brenner's assumption about the rise of urban locational policies. Moreover, the neoliberal agenda did not arrive in Canada in one fell swoop and when it did arrive at the federal level, it was not until the mid-1990s, which again, contradicts Brenner's timeline.

Apart from Brenner's propositions, I argue that local factors are important to an understanding of the development and evolution of regional governance in Vancouver. In Vancouver, geography matters. Whether it's as the "gateway to the Pacific" or building the "liveable region", geography is an important element.

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property. Viewed from this perspective, the provincial perspective is simply a typical element in urban development.

## Chapter 4: The Greater Vancouver Economic Council

### Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the interview results with Greater Vancouver Economic Council board members (see Appendix A for more details about the methodology). The same propositions that were addressed in Chapter 3 - the timeline, the role of neoliberalism and urban locational policies - are re-examined with respect to the GVEC. This is followed by consideration of local factors that are important for understanding the development of the GVEC. It is argued that Brenner's account is too broad and is not sensitive enough to local factors.

There are a number of reasons for studying the development of the GVEC. Most notably, it is remarkable that the idea of a regional economic development body has been around for a long time, and yet nothing has come to fruition. Twenty-seven years ago, the GVRD Task Force on Economic Development unanimously recommended that a new department be established to address economic development (1980). The task force concluded that since goods and workers cross municipal boundaries and function at a regional level, then so too should economic development strategies. More recently, the Vancouver Board of Trade Sub-Committee on regional economic development has reviewed a number of social, environmental and economic factors that impact the vitality of the region. The number one issue of importance to the business community is *thinking regionally* (Board of Trade Report, 2006). Given the number of disparate regional economic development initiatives as well as the existence of other local models of innovative regional government it is surprising that this idea has not taken root.

Moreover, most of Canada's big cities have some form of regional economic development (Edmonton, Hamilton-Wentworth, Ottawa, etc). Vancouver stands out as a bit of an oddity in this respect. On the one hand, it has had a functioning regional government for the past forty years. On the other hand, it is unable to cobble together a regional economic development agency in this age of new state spaces, globalization and neoliberalism. This situation seems out of sync with Brenner's

account of changes in regional governance. Lastly, the GVEC follows a number of other attempts at regional economic development in the past ten years. Each time an initiative does not work out, someone else in some other organization picks up the baton. Why has the GVEC developed now at this point in time? Why bother if it just keeps failing? By examining the development of the GVEC, Brenner's propositions about changes in urban governance can be tested on the ground.

### **The Timeline**

This section reviews past regional economic development initiatives in Vancouver. The history of experimentation in regional governance and economic development are important to the story of the GVEC. Included in this history are some explanations for why some of these efforts have failed and why the GVEC has taken the form of a non-governmental and cooperative organization.

#### Greater Vancouver Regional District

The Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) has been the regional government of Vancouver's 21 municipalities for the past forty years. The GVRD is responsible for a number of services including sewage, water, parks, recycling, and regional planning. While the organization remains largely focused on the provision of infrastructure, it has broached the issue of economic development through the regional planning function.

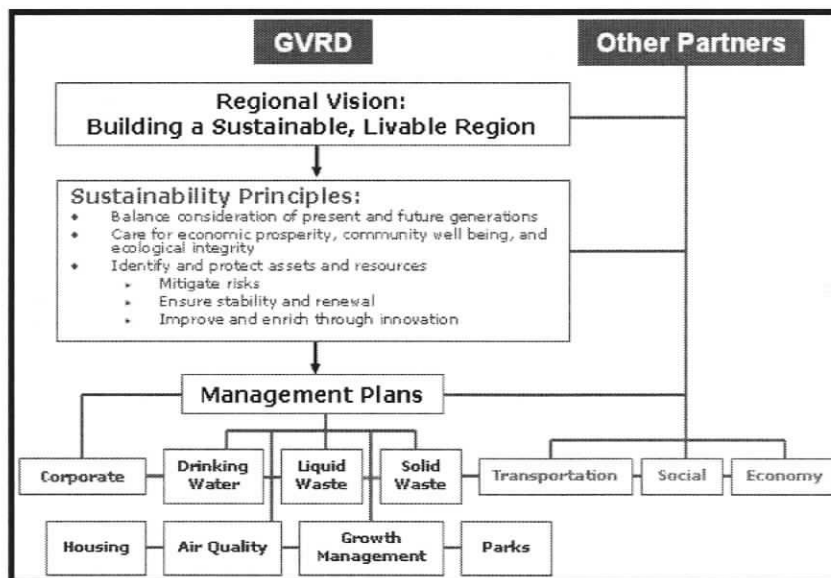
In 1995, the provincial *Growth Strategies Act* stipulated that regional districts develop a regional growth strategy. Sections 942.11 (2f) and 942.12 (2c) of the Act indicate that economic development must be taken into account in the growth strategy. The growth strategy for the GVRD, called the Liveable Region Strategic Plan (LRSP), was accepted by the GVRD board in 1996. Despite also being accepted by the province and having received many international accolades, the LRSP does not include explicit consideration of regional economic development apart from references to the complete communities concept. The aim of the complete communities is to provide live, work and play functions in close proximity so that residents do not have to travel all over the region to meet their needs. The complete

community policy supports economic growth by promoting an “equitable distribution of jobs in balanced communities, private sector investment in town centres, and investment in the regional transportation system.”

In 2001, recognizing that the LRSP did not include a review process, the GVRD decided to evaluate its progress in terms of its commitment to sustainability principles. The GVRD also realized that social issues like homelessness, for example, which were not typically a part of its mandate, were impacting the GVRD’s ability to foster liveability in the region. The review process that was developed came to be known as the Sustainable Region Initiative (SRI). The SRI includes a review of corporate policies as well as a deliberate effort to build a network of partners in order to “grow a similar region-wide commitment that will result in a truly sustainable region.” As part of the SRI process, a Partners Committee, responsible for economic development, was established. The figure below outlines the framework for the SRI and the way in which economic development fits into the overall picture.

**Figure 4.1**

**The Relationship between the GVRD and Economic Development**



<http://www.gvrd.bc.ca/sustainability/about.asp>

In 2002, on behalf of the SRI, the BC Business Council hosted a forum on economic development that engaged key stakeholders in generating feedback and ideas. However, the work and the research that the Partners Committee had been doing was halted in 2002 as a result of the change in direction ushered in with the municipal elections and the new GVRD board. The new GVRD board expressed some hesitation about getting too involved in regional economic development for fear of creating another TransLink. Some member municipalities already think that the GVRD has too much power. Others fear that another TransLink might be created. During the interview process, Bob Williams of Vancity explained his views as to why the GVRD is unable to house regional economic development:

Well essentially, the GVRD had tried on previous occasions to establish as a function of their organization but they couldn't get the buy-in. And essentially, Burnaby, who are doing well, and Surrey, who are doing well, basically said beggar our neighbour we're doing fine. And Burnaby said we don't want any more added to the bureaucracy in the GVRD and there is an argument for that. And Surrey said we don't want you interfering with us. Surrey has a right wing government, more or less, and Burnaby has a nominally left wing government, but they both in truth have narrow conservative attitudes. The region had simply given up and had concluded that it had to be a private sector initiative (personal communication, June 10, 2006).

These existing tensions within the GVRD prohibit it from taking on a greater role in the development of a regional economic development capacity. According to Graham (2005), the stall in 2002 set the network building off course for at least a year before GVRD managers could begin to rebuild the initiative. By 2004, the economic development sub-committee was back on track and had begun to develop a framework for sustainable economic development (Graham, 2005).

#### The City of Vancouver

In 1996, the City of Vancouver established the Vancouver Economic Development Commission (VEDC). The Vancouver Economic Development Commission is an external non-profit organization that is tasked with fostering

economic development in the city of Vancouver and also acts as a bridge between city hall and the local business community<sup>16</sup>.

In 1999, the Vancouver Economic Development Commission spearheaded a joint public-private initiative called the Greater Vancouver Economic Partnership (GVEP). Then Mayor of Vancouver, Larry Campbell, was a leader in this initiative. The purpose of the Greater Vancouver Economic Partnership was to provide information and marketing about the region. Despite initial funding from public and private sectors, the Greater Vancouver Economic Partnership did not find long term funding and the initiative ended in 2002. According to Graham (2005), the lack of provincial funding, the fiscal climate of restraint, more important provincial priorities, as well as the lack of municipal consultation<sup>16</sup> are some of the reasons why the initiative did not last.

Recognizing that it is the international brand and that it is in everyone's interest to work cooperatively, the City of Vancouver has continued to take steps to encourage regional economic development. In June 2006, the City released its Guiding Principles on economic development, which specifically includes the principle of "regional leadership and collaboration<sup>17</sup>" (p. 6). According to this document, the City will "provide leadership for the development and endorsement of a regional economic development plan by all three levels of government and the private sector" (p. 6).

The City of Vancouver has also been involved in the GVEC forums and has participated on the GVEC founding committee. At present, however, the City (through the mayor's office and the Vancouver Economic Development Commission) has taken an alternate approach. The mayor of Vancouver is discussing the idea of regional economic development on an informal basis with the mayors of the other big cities in the region. It is hoped that with the political leadership of the big cities, the others might choose to follow. Vancouver is very attuned to the fact that a

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<sup>16</sup> The mandate of the VEDC is to "provide leadership in the definition and realization of Vancouver's economic potential, and to provide core services that promote economic development and job creation and retention for Vancouver." The 15 member board of directors is appointed by the City of Vancouver and plays an active role in setting the direction for the VEDC.

<sup>17</sup> It is interesting to note that the Guiding Principles also include the principles of "quality of life" and "sustainability".

Vancouver-centric approach will not succeed in the region and hopes to mitigate this concern by work collaboratively with other municipalities. Tanja McQueen from the Vancouver Economic Development Commission explains that companies and citizens understand that the region functions as one economic trading unit, and so too should municipal politicians (personal communication, August 7, 2006). Unfortunately, arguments for regional approaches fall on deaf ears of politicians concerned with the municipal (and not the regional) tax base. McQueen hopes that by building trust and collaboration, municipalities can begin to see the different ways that each can benefit from working together (personal communication, August 7, 2006). This presents yet another regional economic development strategy - building political leadership on the issue.

#### Non-Profit Organizations

Apart from formal government institutions, non-profit organizations have also been interested in regional economic development. The Fraser Basin Council (FBC) and the Vancouver Board of Trade (the Board) stand out as prominent examples, both of which will be discussed in turn.

Established in 1997 by government, business, and community groups, the Fraser Basin Council works to ensure the social, economic and environmental sustainability of the Fraser Basin. With revenue of close to four million dollars in 2006, the FBC is vibrant organization. The FBC is a member of the GVRD's Partners Committee on economic development. Through its work with the GVRD, the FBC recognized that regional economic development was the pillar missing from their own work. If sustainability is comprised of environmental, social, and economic well being, then regional economic development, by definition, should be included (Marshall, personal communication, July 29, 2006).

In 2006, the FBC partnered with the BC Business Council to write a paper on a sustainability inspired regional economic development strategy for greater Vancouver. The report is called *Liveability, Prosperity, Sustainability: Seeking a strategy for the future of greater Vancouver's economy*. This paper argues that opportunities (population growth, the rise of Asian economies, 2010) and challenges

(crime, social issues, poverty) must be addressed through a sustainability lens. According to the report, a sustainability lens can “contribute to the overall resiliency of the economy while offering spin-off benefits in terms of protecting and enhancing liveability and strengthening regional social capital” (2006, p. 1). Moreover, it is argued that “other regions in North America and abroad are investing in regional economic collaboration guided by sustainability thinking and are carving niches in growing markets as a result” (2006, p. 1). The work of the FBC is meant to complement other regional economic development efforts and infuse the debate with a sustainability lens.

In the upcoming year, the FBC plans to release the report and conduct substantial public consultations (Marshall, personal communication, July 29, 2006). The FBC will build grassroots and broad based support for regional economic development through the process of consultation. The consultations will include all sectors, from the Chamber of Commerce to NGOs, to governments. According to David Marshall, past regional economic development efforts have failed because they were run by one organization (personal communication, July 29, 2006). Marshall argues that broad support is needed for success and notes the importance of the initiative not appearing to be too City of Vancouver-centric (personal communication, July 29, 2006).

The other prominent non-profit organization involved in regional economic development is the Vancouver Board of Trade (the Board). The Board’s mission is to promote, enhance and facilitate the development of the region on behalf of its members. According to the website, the Board “strives to enable and empower its members to succeed, grow and prosper in the global economy”. In 2004, the Board’s Regional Economic Development Sub-Committee set out to examine the key factors that impact the ability of the region to attract and retain businesses. The Sub-Committee identified a number of long-term issues that might affect the prosperity of Vancouver, including the following economic and social concerns: Avoid an economic slowdown post 2010; Remain internationally competitive; Accommodate growth while maintaining our quality of life; Improve business climate; Respond to

climate change and other sustainability related issues. According to Brenner, these kinds of concerns are typical of cooperative regional governance.

Having then reviewed the region's top nine priorities (including crime, education, clusters, etc.), the Sub-Committee concludes that the key themes that emerge throughout the analysis are the need to "think regionally and act collaboratively". The report provides the following explanation:

Think regionally, because many of the issues that we identify are best tackled at a regional, rather than a municipal level, ultimately for the betterment of the region as a whole and as a competitive advantage to pro-business regions that surround ours. Act collaboratively, to provide a coherent, positive, coordinated effort to addressing regional issues and taking advantage of regional opportunities (2006, p. 4).

The Board's analysis falls clearly within the new regionalist paradigm, which combines ideas about social exclusion and economic competitiveness. However, in their study of community development organizations and economic growth in a number of American cities, Pastor, Dreier, Grigsby, and López-Garza (2000) conclude that a combined strategy is more of a theoretical argument than a pragmatic reality. Economic development tends to happen in isolation from concerns about social issues. Moreover, Brenner critiques these types of policies and argues that focusing on issues of territorial cohesion as a means of increasing economic competitiveness does not actually address the root of the issue (uneven development under capitalism).

#### The Greater Vancouver Economic Council

The Greater Vancouver Economic Council evolved out of two Economic Leadership Forums that were designed to bring people together to consider the possibility of a regional economic development body. The idea for the Economic Leadership Forums came from a meeting in the spring of 2003 among representatives of the Mayor's Office in the City of Vancouver, the Vancouver Economic Development Commission and the Vancity Savings and Credit Union. The first Forum was held in February 2004 and received financial support from Western

Economic Diversification, Vancity, the Office of the Mayor of Vancouver, Telus, Merck Frost, Terasen, and the BC Federation of Labour. Nearly all of the 200 participants in the forum were in favour of a regional economic development strategy (97% in favour) (Five-Year Business Plan, p.2).

The second Forum was held in November 2004 and gave participants an opportunity to hear about progress that had been made since the first forum. During the second Forum, Dr. Thomas Hutton discussed his vision for “a bold new partnership for regional prosperity” (Five-Year Business Plan, p. 11). Hutton argued that the region needed to shift from a reactive resource-based model to an entrepreneurially driven and collaborative model in order to be competitive in the global economy. He further argued that the region was falling behind its economic development potential because it lacked a voice that connected business, labour, government and academe (Five-Year Business Plan, p. 11).

Despite the participatory nature of the forums, the actual idea of the GVEC did not germinate in quite so democratic a fashion (Thorstad, personal communication, July 28, 2006). Thorstad explained that the idea for the GVEC was presented to participants at the forum after many hours of discussion and preparation by the organizing committee (personal communication, July 28, 2006). Clearly the idea of the GVEC has been driven by a couple of key individuals.

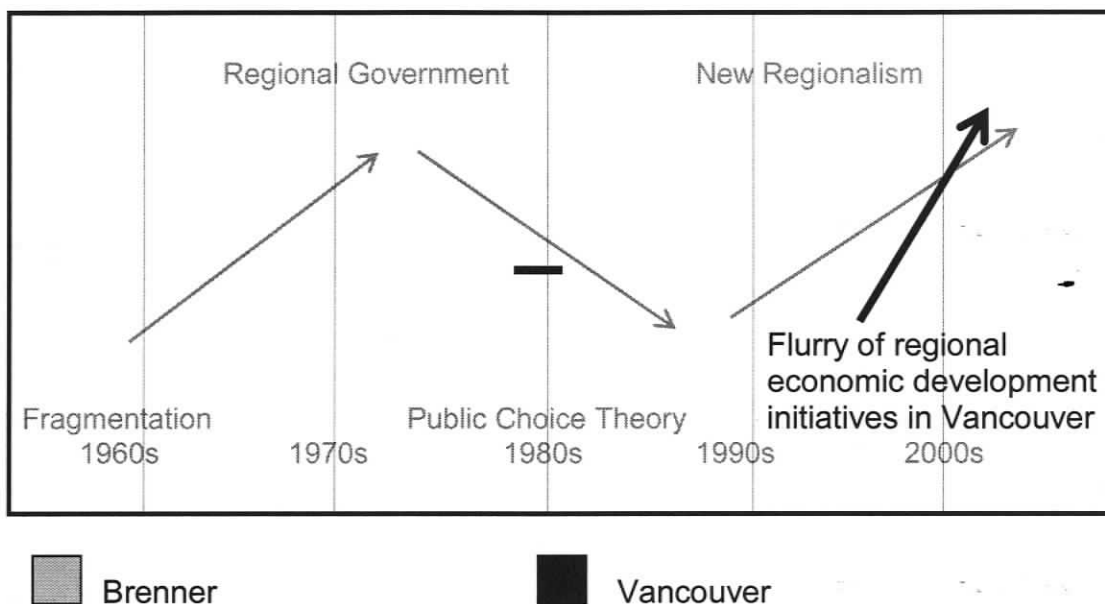
Since the second Forum, the GVEC has written a *Five-Year Business Plan* and is incorporating as a non-profit society. The GVEC is trying to finance the organization and has requested financial support from the Federal government. During the summer of 2006, the GVEC executive also decided to hire a fundraiser. The money to hire the fundraiser was donated to the organization by some members of the GVEC board (M. Betteridge, personal communication, July 4, 2006).

### Conclusions about the Timeline

This glance at the timeline for regional economic development in Vancouver demonstrates that there are a number of individuals and organizations involved and that most of the initiatives have been taking place since the mid-1990s (see Figure 4.2). It also demonstrates that while Vancouver has a history of regional government,

the GVRD is not able to support an economic development function. Given this challenge, alternate configurations have been proposed in recent years. I argue that the development of the GVEC is in part reflective of this particular history with regional economic development in Vancouver.

**Figure 4.2 Timeline of Regional Economic Development in Vancouver**



### The role of neoliberalism

Brenner understands neoliberalism as a political ideology that creates a metric by which action is determined to be acceptable and possible. Brenner argues, “the priority of promoting international territorial competitiveness has come to define the political and institutional parameters within which other dimensions of urban policy may be articulated” (2004, p. 254). The “priority of promoting international territorial competitiveness” is more or less the purpose of the GVEC. The GVEC aims to encourage business attraction as well as to support internal growth. The GVEC will work to build Vancouver as both the “Gateway to Asia” as well as

“Canada’s Creative City”<sup>18</sup>. While many of the activities of the GVEC will have either an information or support function, the overall thrust of these activities is to help Vancouver compete in the global economy. Not unlike most economic development bodies, the entrepreneurial city approach is clearly present in the GVEC *Five-Year Business Plan* (place marketing, cluster analysis, etc.).

An example of the GVEC’s sensitivity to the need to be globally competitive is related to how it defines the boundaries of the region to include Chilliwack and Whistler (see map in Figure 4.2 below). The geographic boundary of the GVEC was drawn to reflect the fact that the region functions as one an economic unit and because it is the international perception of what constitutes the Vancouver region (L. Thorstad, personal communication, July 28, 2006).

**Figure 4.3 – The Geography of the Greater Vancouver Economic Council**



It is significant that the GVEC and GVRD boundaries are different. The GVRD is currently the only formal government institution where regional issues are

<sup>18</sup> The emphasis on the creative city is the latest trend in place marketing. While Richard Florida (2002) is correct to state that symbolic analysts prefer to live in some cities over others, he is incorrect on the assumption that all cities can benefit from gay villages and hip music scenes. As cities race to copy each other, they further lower the value of each by increasing the numbers of creative cities on the map.

given consideration. However, the GVRD is not politically able to house a regional economic development function. The fact that the GVEC has different geographic boundaries provides a clear and simple (non political) rationalization for creating a separate non-governmental entity. In so doing, it also provides a clear distinction between the GVRD and the GVEC. By marking this new territory, the GVEC is actively trying to move beyond the ingrained turf wars that occasionally flare up in the GVRD region. The GVRD encompasses 21 municipalities and is rooted in the idea of a sustainable region. The GVEC, by contrast, is in the process of repositioning the idea of the sustainable region to include the broader economic unit of Whistler-Chilliwack-Vancouver (a node within the global economy). For these reasons, the geographic boundary of the GVEC marks a critical distinction between the older, static conception of the region in terms of sewers and roads, and the newer, multi-scalar conception of the region in terms of global economic competitiveness.

In addition to the actual neoliberal strategies of the organization, the neoliberal purpose of the GVEC is commonsensical to those interviewed. The need to be globally competitive is so clear that one interviewee expressed surprised at being asked about this. Another common theme that emerged was the fear of being “left behind”. Given that most major cities in North America have a regional economic development body, interviewees are concerned that Vancouver might be missing the boat. It appears that Brenner’s emphasis on neoliberalism as a shaper of urban governance fits the case of the GVEC<sup>19</sup>.

### **Urban Locational Policies**

According to Brenner, the state, through urban locational policies, encourages regional differentiation in order to help cities compete in the global economy:

It is no longer capital that is to be molded into the territorially integrated geography of state space, but state space that is to be molded into the territorially differentiated geography of capital. In other words, through the deployment of urban locational policies, state space is now being redifferentiated and rescaled so

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<sup>19</sup> Brenner argues that neoliberalism has shaped the policy repertoire at the local level. For a detailed account of the role of neoliberalism in the city, see Peck and Tickell, 2003.

as to correspond more directly to the imprint of transnational capitals' locational preferences within each national territory (p.16).

There are a number of ways that the Canadian state helps Vancouver to compete in the global economy. For example, it has recently established a new Pacific Gateway initiative (funding for transportation infrastructure) and the Canadian Tourism Commission has been moved to Vancouver (Board of Trade Report, 2006, p.2). However, given that cities are creatures of the province, it seems doubtful that the federal government will be directly involved with the GVEC.

Nevertheless, the GVEC *Five-Year Business Plan* makes a case for the federal government to provide initial financing for the organization. It is argued that "federal funding would serve as a concrete example of how the national government can play a catalytic role in supporting and encouraging regional economies and become a substantial partner in the future sustainable development of these areas" (p. 6-7). Bob Williams has personally approached Minister David Emerson for federal funding for the GVEC (personal communication, June 10, 2006). He initially approached Emerson to the tune of \$10 million dollars and Emerson told him to come back with a higher offer. Williams explains part of his rationale for approaching the federal government "I said, David, you know, on the Pacific Gateway stuff you're taking hundreds of millions in infrastructure, thirty million for some brains is peanuts. And he knows that" (personal communication, June 10, 2006).

The rationale behind the GVEC's request for funding is in line with Brenner's argument that nation-states want to encourage competitive cities. It is, after all, in the national interest. Unfortunately for the GVEC, the federal government has not yet responded to this request for funding. In her assessment of economic development policy networks in Vancouver, Graham (2005) also noted the financial stalemate. While both Minister Emerson and Minister Hansen think that the GVEC is a good idea, there is still no government funding to back it up. Similarly, there have been no significant offers for funding or corporate sponsorship from the private sector. Apparently, the private sector wants the government to go first, and the government wants the private sector to go first.

## **Rather than New State Spaces, How About Old Local Places?**

I argue that local factors are important to consider with respect to about urban governance. Brenner acknowledges the possibility that local circumstances matter in a cursory comment noted earlier in this paper (see page X.) I argue that the story about the development of the GVEC lies in the details. This section will review the influence of the individual actors involved in the GVEC, the role of regional myths, and the place of historic tensions in the governance of the Vancouver region.

### Individual personalities

There are a couple of key individuals who have been the driving force behind the GVEC initiative. Brenner's emphasis on state spaces neglects to consider local actors. The network of people who are involved in the GVEC initiative includes representation from the private, public and voluntary sectors. Many have been involved in past regional economic development initiatives both in Vancouver and in other cities. Graham's (2005) policy network analysis on four different regional economic development initiatives in Vancouver found that many of the stakeholders were involved in at least two out of the four initiatives. Of those who have been actively involved in the development of the GVEC, two names were mentioned on a number of occasions as constituting the brain trust or driving force at the outset of the GVEC initiative. These two individuals, Bob Williams from Vancity and Linda Thorstad from Leading Edge BC, are leaders in the community and have been involved in a variety of local initiatives over the years.

Williams in particular, was mentioned as having a rather specific vision of how regional economic development in Vancouver might unfold, which is based on the experience of Bologna. During the 1990s, Williams had the opportunity to learn about the Emilia-Romagna model of cooperative economy through the development of Vancity Capital. Emilia-Romagna is an entrepreneurial region that is among the most competitive regions in Italy and in Europe (Williams, 2002). The region has a large number of small and medium sized enterprises and relies on the cooperative sector to deliver social services. A region located in Italy's red belt, the economic model that has developed is one based on the values of cooperation and reciprocity

(B. Williams, personal communication, June 10, 2006). These values translate into dollars and cents when by creating complex local production systems that are globally competitive (Williams, 2002). In this context, the cluster, or informal networks of people and businesses, give the region its competitive edge.

Williams notes that this grassroots model of cooperatives and networks is qualitatively different from the typical model of economic development in Canada (personal communication, June 10, 2006). In the Emilia-Romagna case, no one is waiting for a man on a white horse to swoop in with a bag full of money and save the day. Rather, the emphasis is on ground-up initiatives and the government plays a supporting role (endogenous development and devolution) (personal communication, June 10, 2006). Williams conceptualizes the role of the GVEC within a framework based on the Emilia-Romagna case. The GVEC could conduct cluster analysis, figure out who and what is in the region, and pinpoint where any gaps are. The GVEC could also function as a catalyst for dialogue and attempt to open up some of those networking, cooperative type relationships. All of which, could potentially have spill over effects on the social side of things (B. Williams, personal communication, June 10, 2006).

Thorstad, for her part, has been a champion of regional economic development for many years (personal communication, July 28, 2006). As an economic development practitioner, Thorstad is familiar with the research on clusters and regions and argues that as a global player, Vancouver needs and economic development organization.

Yet another individual who appears to have had a significant impact on the development of the GVEC is David Emerson. Emerson has had a prominent and successful career as a bureaucrat in the BC provincial government, as a CEO in the private sector, and most recently, as a federal politician. In 2004, Emerson was elected in the Vancouver-Kingsway riding and became the Minister of Industry. He was re-elected in 2006 and is now the Minister of International Trade, the Pacific Gateway, and the Vancouver-Whistler Olympics. While still the Minister of Industry, Emerson gave a speech in 2004 to a business forum sponsored by the Vancouver International Airport Authority. The speech was dubbed "the world according to

Emerson” and caused quite a stir (The Vancouver Sun, Dec 30, 2004, D5). In the speech, Emerson outlined his vision for how to make Canada competitive, which he bases on the concept of the cluster. The cluster, or cluster analysis, is a concept that has become increasingly important in considering the ways in which companies create value and succeed in the global economy (Courchene, 2006).

The GVEC incorporated Emerson’s speech into the analysis found in the *Five-Year Business Plan*. Emerson is in support of the GVEC and recognizes that it could act as the brains behind economic development in the region by carrying out cluster analysis and other research. While cluster analysis and the Emilia-Romalia idea of cooperation are still within the capitalist framework, they nevertheless mark a distinctive flavour to capitalism in Vancouver. Vancity is Canada’s largest credit-union is rather innovative as far as North American financial institutions are concerned. I argue that Vancity’s interest (and Bob Williams’ interest) in the Emilia-Romalia model reflects the *culture* in which capitalism takes place in Vancouver.

Williams, Thorsdtad, and Emerson are all leaders in the Vancouver region and are driving the call to action on behalf of the GVEC. These actors all function within the neoliberal competitive city agenda, and look to the federal government to support the organization’s initial stages of development. Their ideas and their behaviour seems to fit with Brenner’s story about the role of the nation-state in cooperative governance. And yet, each of these individuals could simply be using the language of the day to use as leverage for an idea that simply makes sense to them.

### Regional mythology

Each city has a sense of place - a story that it tells about the city and the citizens who live there. New York is the city that never sleeps and Paris is the city for lovers. Vancouver, likewise, has developed over time, a myth about itself. In *Dream City* (2005), Berelowitz tries to put his finger on Vancouver’s essence and catalogues his impressions about all sorts of features including the landscape, topography, zoning, and urban design. Architectural critic, Boddy (2005), also notes something unique to the city and argues this is why it has become a global trendsetter:

Vancouver breaks all the supposed rules of North American urbanism. In breaking them – while simultaneously building equity, amenity, and liveability – my city may now be writing a new rulebook of city-making for the 21st century. The Vancouver that is now generating such interest amongst planners and architects was shaped by a complex interaction of geography, politics, principles, ideas, and contingency, yet out of its particular history may come some fresh notions that might apply elsewhere.

Both Berelowitz and Boddy highlight the importance of geography and the physical and built environment. I argue, that the myth about Vancouver is rooted in geography and is one of regional sustainability. Regional, in that there is a long history of regional initiatives. And sustainable, in that it forms the basis of many discussions. Both of these ideas have been helped along enormously by the culture of citizen engagement that pervades local governments in the region<sup>20</sup>. Apart from merely providing input into the design and planning process, citizen engagement serves to create a regional dialogue, or discourse where ideas or myths about the region are created.

It is not coincidental that the GVEC is the only economic development organization in one of Canada's major cities to include the word 'sustainable' in its mandate. Even the city of Toronto, supposedly experiencing some kind of renaissance, only gives cursory consideration to the issue. According to interviewees, sustainability is not a critical factor, but is rather just the way to do business in the region. It is not coincidental that organizations like the GVRD and the Fraser Basin Council noted that the economic dimension was missing from a sustainable framework for the region.

While Brenner is correct in that the bottom line is still the bottom line, the inclusion of a sustainability framework suggests that the local environment can

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<sup>20</sup> The GVRD has done extensive consultation on the LRSP as well as the SRI. Laglagaron cedes that citizen engagement can be a slow process, but that it is endemic to the culture of the GVRD and the way that it functions. Within the GVRD, there are a number of municipalities who also have extensive engagement policies, including the City of Vancouver itself. In an assessment of citizen engagement practices across BC municipalities, Symonds found that engagement begets more engagement. The more the municipality offers opportunities to participate, the more the citizenry comes to expect to be engaged.

impact the filter through which the neoliberal agenda is mediated. The Vancouver mythology could certainly fit within a neoliberal framework based on competitive, creative, global cities. What is more important than either the details about the mythology or the unearthing the neoliberal agenda, is the fact that these ideas are locally driven and are important shapers of the debate in Vancouver. Brenner's account does not leave room for local debate to impact regional governance.

#### What you think depends on where you sit

The individuals interviewed for this study agree that there is a need for an organization like the GVEC. However, the vantage point from which the individual actor stands creates some tensions and issues about how best to proceed. Among interviewees, there is disagreement between individuals from different municipalities as well as between individuals from different sectors. Each individual has her own jurisdiction, mandate, and accountabilities. Each of these issues present a hurdle for the GVEC and will be discussed in turn.

The demand and rationale for the GVEC stands in opposition to entrenched municipal boundaries and concerns with existing regional government arrangements. The City of North Vancouver, for example, as one of the smaller municipalities in the region, is quite happy to support brand Vancouver since it does not have the budget to market North Vancouver (F. Caouette, personal communication, May 23, 2006). Surrey, on the other hand, is not so keen to share the spoils on a regional basis. Given that Surrey has a larger percentage of residential as opposed to industrial tax base, the city is eager to attract business in order to tip the ratio more toward industry<sup>21</sup>. As such, Surrey is concerned about how business inquiries to the GVEC will be addressed (L. Hepner, personal communication, July 18, 2006). And of course, there is still the ingrained turf war mentality as well as the caution around setting up another TransLink. Some members of the GVEC board have suggested that there might be a need for some bold municipal politicians to become champions of the

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<sup>21</sup> Industry typically pays a higher property tax rate than residential owners. In theory, this means that the greater number of industries a local government can tax to pay for its services, the lower it can make its residential property tax rates.

initiative and speak out in support of it (J. Bacha, personal communication, July 28, 2006; M. Betteridge, personal communication, July 4, 2006).

Another jurisdictional issue is that of the provincial-municipal relationship. In that municipalities are “creatures of the province” they are constrained or enabled by provincial legislation. There is no legislation that explicitly states that municipalities are required to carry out economic development functions. This is not to suggest that local governments only do that which is required of them by law. In fact, many local governments have an economic development officer either in the planning department or reporting directly to the executive. What this legal technicality does highlight however, is the historic and legal relationship in which the province is the steward of the municipality. However, the province has not explicitly been involved in the development of the GVEC either through the Ministry of Community Services<sup>22</sup> or through the Ministry of Economic Development<sup>23</sup>. In her analysis of the policy networks in Vancouver, Graham (2005) suggests that the lack of provincial participation is quite striking. Graham (2005) notes that the province might consider being at the table given that Vancouver is the economic driver of the province and since the current fractured governance system in the region makes developing an economic development strategy unlikely. However, provincial involvement may also be perceived by some as unwelcome interference and attempt at control. Either way, the province is not currently taking an active role in the GVEC.

In speaking with individuals from local and federal government institutions, the issue of mandate was important. Governments are mandated to do certain things, and if an initiative falls outside of the scope of the mandate, then it can be difficult to take action. Regional economic development can be impacted by any number of government policies at all levels of government, and therefore no one Ministry or level of government is ultimately responsible (see table 4.1). This means that something like the GVEC can easily fall between the intergovernmental cracks.

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<sup>22</sup> On October 26, 2006, MCS Task Force on Community Opportunities released a report called “Building Stronger Communities: Better Services, Economic Growth, Solutions That Work”. This report begins to look at regional economic development and the roles of municipal and provincial governments.

<sup>23</sup> MED tends to direct its activities toward less populous regions. MED also focuses on international trade and infrastructure.

Western Economic Diversification (WED) in particular, suggested that “municipalities are creatures of the province” and that perhaps questions about the GVEC should be directed to provincial ministries instead (N. Sloan, personal communication, July 20, 2006). Moreover, it is difficult for WED to support an initiative when there is not agreement between the municipalities, the GVRD, the business community and other stakeholders about how best to proceed (N. Sloan, personal communication, July 20, 2006). Given the number of attempts to create a regional body and the difficulty in securing long-term funding, regional economic development in Vancouver appears to be a hot potato that nobody wants to get stuck with; or rather it is not within their mandate.

**Table 4.1 - Government bodies that could play a direct role in regional economic development in Vancouver**

Federal	Provincial	Local
Western Economic Diversification	Ministry of Economic Development	GVRD
Federal Ministry of Olympics	Ministry of Community Services	Municipalities
Federal Ministry of Asia Pacific Trade		

The last issue for consideration is the question of accountability. If there is government funding involved, then should the agency be accountable to the taxpayers in some way? Is the agency more accountable than it otherwise might be for the very reason that there are a large number of stakeholders and input into the process? From whom does the agency get its mandate? Other examples of multi-level or horizontal governance initiatives have run up against similar issues. Interviewee, Delia Laglagaron, Deputy Chief Administrative Officer of the GVRD, raised all of these concerns (D. Laglagaron, personal communication, July 20, 2006). The GVRD offers opportunities for citizen engagement in addition to representative democracy. The GVEC, on the other hand, is not accountable to citizens in the same way.

## Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed information about the development of the GVEC that was gleaned from a document review and interviews with stakeholders. The most prominent element of Brenner’s argument, the timeline, does not fit the case of the

GVEC. The idea of regional economic development has been floating around in Vancouver for decades. It has not succeeded in taking root for a number of reasons, most of which have to do with concerns regarding the current regional government, the GVRD. Given this situation, a number of organizations are proposing alternate means of addressing this gap. The sense of urgency brought on by the Olympics, the desire to be a global player, and the fear of being left behind, all fit within a neoliberal framework. In addition, the purpose of the GVEC and the geographic boundary of the organization also fall within a neoliberal framework.

Between the surge of interest in regional economic development over the past ten years and the overall neoliberal thrust of the GVEC, Brenner's attempt to link urban governance and the global economy seems fitting. However, in that the state is the mechanism in which much of the analysis is filtered, the Western European unitary state experience of the past thirty or forty years does not map well onto the Canadian case in general, much less a place like Vancouver with a very distinct history with regional governance. The Canadian state did not respond as quickly to neoliberalism as those in Brenner's account. Moreover, each province has responded differently, and in British Columbia, the response both predated and followed state action. Regarding a deliberate urban agenda at the state level (urban locational policies), the Canadian experience has a rather minimal policy repertoire in this respect. The federal government has not yet shown any interest in funding the GVEC, which seems to fit with the overall hesitation in committing finances to cities.

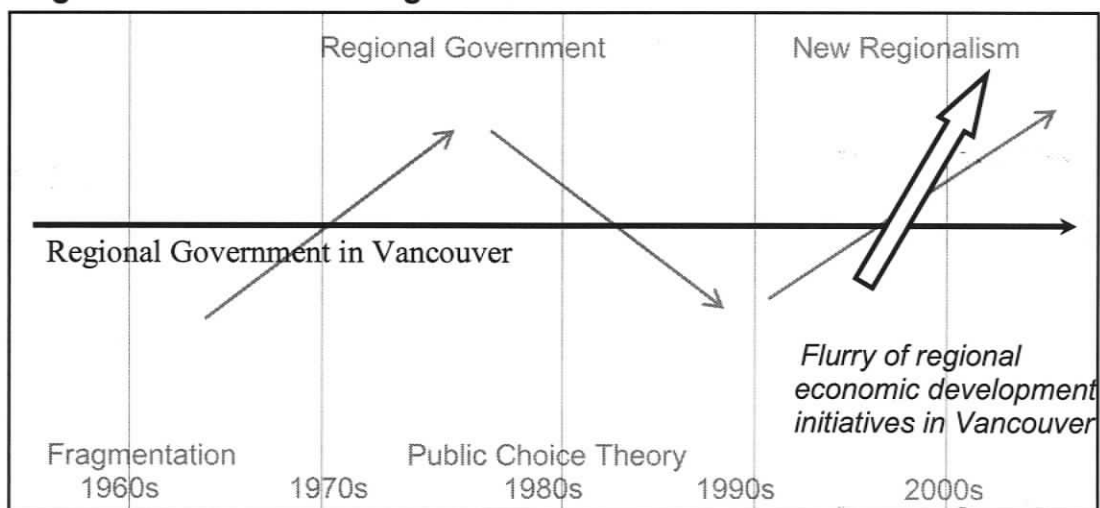
Moreover, a number of local factors, including individual personalities, regional mythology, and the importance of institutional perspective, have also impacted the development of the GVEC. These findings demonstrate that Brenner's account of the changes in regional governance is not subtle enough to take local nuances into consideration.

## Chapter 5: Conclusions

Through the document review and interviews regarding the development of the Greater Vancouver Economic Council, it has been demonstrated that that Neil Brenner's theory fits at the broad level, but falls short under closer scrutiny. Brenner's account spans several decades, a timeline which does not fit at either the local or national level. Likewise, the proposition that urban locational policies have been deployed over the past twenty years also does not apply to the GVEC case. Nonetheless, the role neoliberalism as central to the rationale for certain policies, including cooperative regional governance, applies to the GVEC.

The idea for a regional approach to economic development in Vancouver has been around for decades. Concerns about a City of Vancouver-centric bias and concerns with the governance of the existing regional government, the GVRD, have stalled previous attempts to get a regional body off the ground. In the past decade, however, there has been a renewed interest in working regionally on this issue. As the Olympics approach and competing in the global economy becomes commonsense, regional economic development may be an idea whose time has come. Figure 5.1 outlines the timeline of regional governance in Vancouver.

**Figure 5.1 Timeline of Regional Governance in Vancouver**



■ Brenner

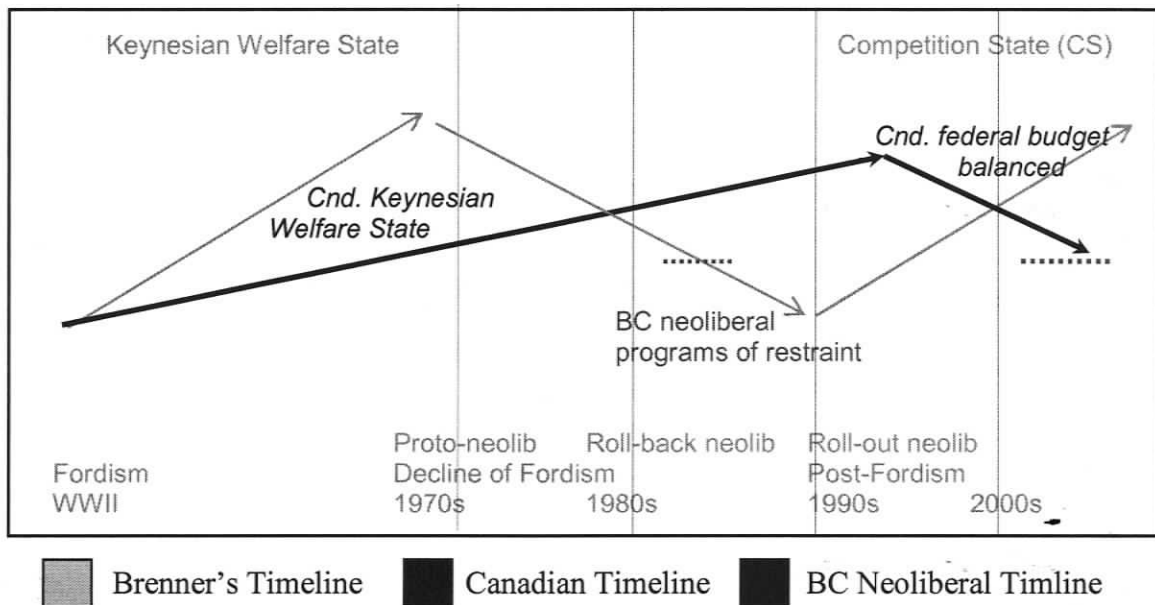
■ Vancouver

In that the GVRD is unable to house an economic development function, it has instead taken on the role of supporting others in the community to take the lead. The Sustainable Region Initiative Partners Committee on Regional Economic Development is comprised of leaders in the community and are also involved in a number of other initiatives, including the GVEC, the Board of Trade and the Fraser Basin Council. Both the GVEC and the Fraser Basin Council have been working on proposals for getting a regional economic development body off the ground. Their approaches differ, however, in that the Fraser Basin Council is primarily focused on strategy (citizen engagement, dialogue, etc), whereas the GVEC is primarily focused on structure (what organizational structure would work in the region).

As of yet, the GVEC board has not been able to secure funding for the organization. The difficulty in raising funds from both the private and public sectors has to do with a desire for someone else to take the lead. From the point of view of Western Economic Development, for example, the GVEC is a local issue. Regional economic development does not fall nicely within the constitutionally defined roles for the different levels of government in Canada. As such, it becomes a bit of a hot potato. As for the private sector, there is an interest in seeing government at the table as well as hesitation as to the necessity of such an organization.

According to Brenner, the Canadian state should be interested in making Vancouver more competitive. To some degree, the federal government is doing so by making investments in infrastructure and social welfare. However, the timeline that Brenner presents for changes to the nation-state, including the decline of Keynesianism and the rise of the competition state do not apply in the Canadian case. The changes associated with the "Washington consensus" did not strike Canada as quickly or as dramatically as American or British counterparts. The Canadian program of restraint began in earnest in 1995 with the balancing of the federal budget and the ensuing cutbacks. Provinces responded to this situation on an individual basis. In British Columbia, however, the provincial program of restraint began with the Social Credit in 1983 (Magnusson et. al., 1984) and was revived for a second round with the Liberals in 2001. This helter-skelter timeline does not follow as smoothly as Brenner's Western European examples (see Figure 5.2).

**Figure 5.2 Timeline of Changes to the Canadian State**



Moreover, urban locational policies are not responsible for either regional government or cooperative regional economic development in Vancouver. As Bradford (2007) points out, the Canadian state is remarkable for its lack of cogent urban policies.

Irrespective of the timeline and lack of urban locational policies, Brenner's argument that cooperative governance is a neoliberal strategy for engaging more aggressively in the international marketplace fits the case of the GVEC. The idea of cooperative regional economic development was common sense for all ten individuals interviewed. It seems obvious that brand Vancouver has more traction in the international marketplace than each municipality on its own. This idea feeds into the GVEC's mission, business plan, and geographic definition of the region. Like most economic development organizations, the GVEC's aim is to attract investment and employment to the region. The organization will do this by place marketing, benchmarking, collaborating, and branding the region. According to Brenner, the GVEC's place-marketing strategies are characteristic of new regional regulatory coordination efforts.

While there is some congruence between Brenner's arguments and the GVEC, I argue that the lack of attention to local factors is a significant shortcoming. Brenner's account needs a greater sensitivity to the institutions and practices at the local level through which capitalism and new state spaces are at play. In this sense, Sellers (2002) more accurately captures the national-local dynamic in the case of the GVEC:

Nation-states shape the possibilities for this urban governance, but operate increasingly as infrastructures for local initiatives than through dictates from above. Where urban governance has succeeded best in combining environmental quality and social inclusion with local prosperity, local officials have built not only on supportive infrastructures from higher levels, but on regimes in the local economy and civil society, and on favourable positions in the global economy (cover).

Sellers includes consideration of local economic regimes and of civil society. Brenner on the other hand, glosses over local circumstances that might impact new state spaces and urban governance. There is no room in Brenner's framework for old local places. I argue that there are a number of important factors to consider when examining regional governance in Vancouver. Key among them is the evolution of regional governance, the role of sustainability and citizen engagement, and the importance of individual personalities. All of these local factors are at play in the development of the GVEC.

In conclusion, Brenner's timeline and insistence on urban locational policies do not fit the case of the GVEC. While neoliberalism is identifiable, it is sufficient in and of itself to explain the development of the GVEC in recent years. A number of local factors are essential for providing a more nuanced understanding of the case study.

Over the course of this research, a number of additional questions arose. Chief among them is an interest in the role of non-profit organizations in urban governance. In that the GVRD is not able to house economic development, non-profit organizations are poised to take on roles and responsibilities that might have

otherwise fallen under the purview of local government. If this is the case, then how might these organizations impact urban governance?

Still another interest is the applicability of other urban politics frameworks for understanding the development of the GVEC. Clarke and Gaile (1998), Savitch and Kantor (2002) and Logan and Molotch (1987) might offer alternate explanations for the development of the GVEC. With respect to Logan and Molotch in particular, this case study raises the question of whether local "use values" (the non monetary value of property derived from its use) are in conflict with global "exchange values" (the monetary value of property derived from being a commodity for sale on the market). This is perhaps a simplistic duality, but one that comes to mind with respect to the RAV line and debates about urban sustainability.

The strong emphasis on both sustainability and on citizen engagement hints at another analytic lens altogether, that of governmentality. Rose presents alternate way of understanding the changes of the past thirty years. Rose (1996) points to "the death of the social" as a means of understanding the re-orientation of the nation-state away from the social and toward the economic. In practical terms, this means that the nation state no longer looks after the wellbeing of its citizens, but rather provides a good economic climate in which individuals can take care of themselves. The state is able to "govern through community" by making citizens responsible through "relationships of mutual obligation" in the city (Rose, 2000). What might governing through community look like in Vancouver? How does the neoliberal paradigm intersect with citizen engagement practices and good intentions to govern through community, be it either Vancouver or the GVEC?

Quite apart from these theoretical debates about urban governance, Vancouver will have to contend with the pragmatic reality of developments in First Nations governance. The municipality of Delta, one of the GVRD's 21 member municipalities, is located on the traditional territory of the Tsawwassen First Nation. In December 2006, a treaty was signed with the Tsawwassen giving them legal rights to the land and to self-governance. This means that the Tsawwassen will become a members the GVRD board, the details of which have yet to be worked out. Given that there are a number of other First Nations in the Vancouver region in the process of

treaty negotiations<sup>24</sup>, there is the possibility for significant change to the local government system. In a province grappling with the realities of colonialization, new *state* spaces become even more nuanced than Brenner supposes.

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<sup>24</sup> For a map of the GVRD indicating the aboriginal population distribution, including reserves, please see <http://www.gvrd.bc.ca/growth/census-bulletin/2001AboriginalPopulation.pdf>

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## **Appendix A – Methodology and Method**

This research is based on qualitative methods, using a single case study approach. The unit of analysis for the study is the perceptions of stakeholders involved in the development of the Greater Vancouver Economic Council and economic development more broadly. This interpretive case study will make use of existing theory to try and shed some light on the case of the GVEC.

According to Creswell (1998), qualitative research is well suited for research that aims to understand the meaning for participants, the context, and the process. Case studies in particular, provide an opportunity to get an in-depth and holistic understanding of a situation within a real-life context (Yin, 1989). According to Lijphart (1971), the advantage of the case study method is that the research can thoroughly investigate the case within the limits of available resources. These characteristics are well suited to this study. Brenner is bringing together multiple strands of inquiry into his theory about regional governance and a single case study approach will enable me to explore some of these ideas on the ground.

Considering the constraints of this thesis project, using a multiple case study approach would not have done justice to the depth of the issues or to the complexity of studying this case in the city of Vancouver. Further, the focus on a single case enabled careful documentation of current policies and practices, allowing for greater understanding of regional governance by highlighting the views of the actors involved with the GVEC.

### **Ethical Considerations**

There are a couple of important ethical considerations for this research, including responsible recruitment, informed consent, as well as ensuring confidentiality and anonymity. These ethical considerations will be discussed in turn.

Potential participants for this research were purposefully selected from Boards and Task Forces that have been working on the issue of regional economic development in Vancouver. The names of these individuals were found on publicly available documents and websites. Potential participants received a Letter of Information with an attached Consent Form by email. These documents informed

them of the purpose of the study, the research procedures, and possible risks to their participation in the study. Participation in the study may have caused some inconvenience, (opportunity cost of time invested), however, other risks to participation (e.g. psychological stress) were minimal.

At the outset of each interview participant were asked if they had any questions about the forms, the research, or the process. Since some of the interviews were conducted in person, participants did not have complete anonymity. At this time, participants were also given the option of waiving their rights to confidentiality. Given that participants are all high profile people and talking to the public about the Greater Vancouver Economic Council falls within the purview of their day-to-day work activities, and none of them choose this option. Taken together, these steps ensured that there was informed consent between the researcher and participants.

### **Limitations and Risks of the Research**

The research question was intended to limit the inquiry of study to an accomplishable scope. Due to time and resource constraints, there are several important limitations to this research. For example, all members of the GVEC Board were not interviewed, which may risk slanting the results. The length (and depth) of the interviews was similarly constrained. The interviews were semi-structured to expedite the process and focused on preconceived topics, which risks the chance of missing aspects of regional governance that are important to the interviewees. I also recognize that as the interviewer, I have shaped the data by the questions that were asked. In order to mitigate against the risk of bias that may have resulted from the way that I conducted the interview, I kept close notes and discussed any issues with my supervisor.

Even within these limitations, the research addressed a relatively unexamined area that can produce knowledge of possible benefit to participants as well as other regional governments and stakeholders. More broadly, given the unique regional district system in British Columbia, this study is likely to be of interest to other administrators and stakeholders involved in regional governance and economic development across the country.

## **Research Methods**

Case studies are characterized by the use of multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 1989). For this study, both documents and interviews were used.

### **Documents**

This research relied on administrative documents, mass media, and academic resources. Administrative documents of interest included the business plan and the terms of reference for the GVEC, as well as other Greater Vancouver Regional District and City of Vancouver documents that illustrate the debate over regional coordination of economic development. These documents were used to develop a picture regional economic development in Vancouver. This included, for instance, which stakeholders have been involved, who is leading the charge for regional coordination, who is opposed to regional coordination, as well as the involvement (if any) of other levels of government. These documents complement the books, newspaper, and journal articles that were relied upon in order to broadly understand the region of Vancouver. The documents provide corroborating or contrary evidence to the interviews.

### **Interviews**

According to Yin (1989), interviews are “one of the most important sources of case study information”. By asking open-ended questions, participants are able to highlight the information that they think is important (Yin, 1989).

Ten stakeholders involved in the development of the GVEC were interviewed. This was a purposeful sample, designed to recruit a range of participants, according to their organizational affiliation and experience. The interviews were semi-structured and ranged from thirty minutes to two hours in length. Interviews were arranged at the convenience of each stakeholder, and were conducted over the phone or in person. Interviewees were provided with questions ahead of time if requested (see Appendix B), and with consent, some interviews were audio recorded. Some participants were also contacted post-interview for the purpose of clarification on interview data.

The individuals in the following table were interviewed for this research project.

## GVEC Interview Candidates

<b>GVEC Steering Committee</b>			
Jeff	Bacha	CEO	Inimex Pharmaceuticals Inc.
Mark	Betteridge	CEO	Discovery Parks
Francis	Caouette	Director of Corporate Services	City of North Vancouver
Linda	Hepner	City Councillor	City of Surrey
*Geoff	Meggs	Executive Assistant to the Mayor	City of Vancouver
Linda	Thorstadt	VP Campaigns	Leading Edge BC
Bob	Williams	Chair of VanCity's venture capital arm	Vancity
Geoff	Meggs	Executive Assistant to the Mayor	City of Vancouver
<b>GVEC Founding Members</b>			
Delia	Laglagaron	Deputy Chief Administrative Officer	GVRD
David	Marshall	Executive Director	Fraser Basin Council
**Ardath	Paxton Mann	Assistant Deputy Minister	Western Economic Diversification Canada

\* Geoff was unavailable. I was directed to Tanja McQueen, CEO at the Vancouver Economic Development Commission instead.

\*\* Ardath was unable to attend the interview. Naina Sloan, Director of Policy, Planning and External Relations was interviewed instead.

## Analysis of Document Review and Interview Results

The document review encompassed a wide range of documents and literature and was the first phase of the case study research to be undertaken. Research began with local government documents that related to regional economic development in Vancouver. This search yielded a handful of documents. In that it was important to embed the GVE within the wider context of the city of Vancouver, other sources were also consulted. Previous research for other courses covered issues relating to urban

planning, smart growth, and regional governance in Vancouver. In addition, supervisor Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly provided succinct summaries of newspaper articles and other documents that he had reviewed for research relating to the culture of Vancouver. Combined, these sources of information ensured a comprehensive review of Vancouver. It was difficult at this stage to determine what parts of the information gathered was important and relevant for this research. Given this situation, the document and literature review about Vancouver was temporarily put aside until it could be related back to the development of the GVEC.

The interviews were the next phase of the case study research. Interviews were difficult to arrange given the busy schedules of those involved with the GVEC. To accommodate schedules and travel plans, interviews were conducted over a period of three months from May to July 2006. Circumstances permitting, interviews were conducted in person. Five interviews were done face to face and five were done over the phone.

Following Seidman (1998) notes about immediate thoughts, impressions and questions were written down immediately after each interview. These notes were then later transferred to electronic format. If the interviews were recorded, then they were transcribed into electronic format. Interview transcripts were reviewed and quotes or ideas that seemed important were copied and pasted into another document. These shortened interview notes were printed along with the personal reflection notes. Each interviewee was colour coded and then all papers pertaining to a particular interviewee were given a stripe down the centre of the page (i.e. Interviewee Bob Williams was orange, therefore all Bob Williams related pieces of paper had an orange stripe down the centre). Paper copies were then physically cut into sections so that each piece of paper contained one key idea only. All of these bits of paper (approximately 200 bits) were sorted into piles. These piles were then examined and the idea reflected in each pile was recorded. Initial sorting yielded 13 piles.

Writing up the interview results began by distilling the main theme of each pile and then compiling the related ideas. These early notes were then reconsidered in light of Brenner's argument. At this stage, it was unclear how everything fit together. The interview themes were then arranged into who, what, where, why and when.

Arranging the information in this way presented the development of the GVEC as a kind of story. At this point, the information from the document review were also written up and presented in such a way as to relate to the themes that emerged from the interviews. However, the who, what, where, why and when method of arranging the information made it confusing to relate it back to the document review. On Dr. Brunet-Jailly's advice, both sections, the document review about Vancouver and the interview results about the GVEC, were then re-organized and presented according to the main ideas or themes that emerged overall. Presenting the research in this way helped to reduce extraneous bits of information that were interesting but not relevant to the overall argument.

## **Appendix B – Sample Interview Questions**

Note: This document consists of sample interview questions. While they accurately reflect the focus of my questions, they do not constitute the interview tool in its finalized form.

1. In what capacity does your work/volunteer role relate to the Greater Vancouver Economic Council?
2. How long have you been involved in economic development projects in Vancouver? With the Greater Vancouver Economic Council specifically?
3. How did the idea for the Greater Vancouver Economic Council develop?
4. Who were the key players that were calling for the development of the Greater Vancouver Economic Council?
5. How, if at all, have provincial and federal stakeholders been involved?
6. How, if at all, have local government stakeholders been involved?
7. Why is the Greater Vancouver Economic Council distinct from the Greater Vancouver Regional District?
8. How will the Greater Vancouver Economic Council address competing interests between local governments?
9. How will the GVEC be accountable?
10. How important are the Olympics and the Asia Pacific Trade initiatives in the push to create the Greater Vancouver Economic Council?
11. Why now? Why does Vancouver need the Greater Vancouver Economic Council if it has survived all this time without it?
12. Does the Greater Vancouver Economic Council have a social agenda?

## Appendix C – Terms and Acronyms

Term or Acronym	Definition
Board of Trade (the Board)	The Board works on behalf of members to provide research, advocacy and direction on issues of importance to the business community.
City of Vancouver	The local government for the City of Vancouver.
city of Vancouver	The loosely defined Vancouver region.
Economic Leadership Forum (ELF)	ELF forums were held to discuss regional economic development and ultimately leading to the creation of the GVEC.
Fraser Basin Council (FBC)	A non-profit organization working toward sustainability in the Fraser Basin.
Greater Vancouver Economic Council (GVEC)	A non-profit organization working toward regional economic development.
Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD)	The regional district representing the 21 municipalities in the Vancouver region.
Local government	Local government and municipality are used interchangeably to refer to the government for a particular geographic area.
Municipality	Local government and municipality are used interchangeably to refer to the government for a particular geographic area.
Regional District	The regional government for a all local government bodies (municipalities, electoral areas, improvement districts) in a particular area.
Vancouver Economic Development Commission (VEDC)	A non-profit organization responsible to the City of Vancouver for economic development.
Vancouver Urban Development Agreement (VUDA)	The VUDA is a tri-level agreement between the federal government, the Province of B.C., and the City of Vancouver to work together to on issues relating to the Downtown Eastside.
Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE)	The federal department responsible for the implementaiton of regional development policy.
TransLink	The regional transportation authority (part of the GVRD).
Richmond-Airport-Vancouver transit line (RAV Line)	Translink's newest transportation corridor, which will help to move people during the 2010 Olympics.
World Urban Forum (WUF)	A UN-Habitat Forum held in Vancouver in June 2006.
Greater Vancouver Economic Partnership (GVEP)	The purpose of the GVEP was to conduct provide information and marketing about the region.

## Appendix D – Brenner’s Main Theoretical Sources

The following table outlines the key ideas from the two main debates that Brenner tries to blend together. He draws on regulation theory of the state and Marxist urban geography.

	Type of Neoliberalism	Regulation Theory of the State		Marxist Urban Geography		
		Type of regulation	Type of state government	Type of local government	Type of regional government	
<b>Approaches to Urban Governance</b>	<b>Spatial Keynesian:</b> 1960s - early 1970s	Proto-neoliberalism	Crisis of Fordism	Keynesian welfare state	Managerial	Old regionalism: bureaucratic, focused on service-delivery and administrative efficiency (government)
	<b>Endogenous Development Strategy:</b> 1970s - early 1980s	Roll-back neoliberalism	Crisis of Fordism	Competition state (year?)	Transition	Shift away from regional approaches
	<b>Urban Locational Policies:</b> early 1980s - present	Roll-out neoliberalism	Post-Fordism	Rescaled competition state	Entrepreneurial	New regionalism: negotiation, flexibility, partnership (governance)

## Appendix E – Summary of Brenner’s Timeline

The following table presents a timeline of Brenner’s account of *New State Spaces*.

		<b>Politics of Scale</b>		
		<b>Predominant scale of operation</b>	<b>Major Regulatory Goal</b>	<b>Projected geography of economic development</b>
<b>Approaches to Urban Governance</b>	<b>Spatial Keynesian: 1960s - early 1970s</b>	National - Generic spatial policies spread evenly across national territory	Promotes balanced development and territorial redistribution	Auto-centric: promotes a particular scale as a relatively self-contained, self-propelled unit of economic development
	<b>Endogenous Development Strategy: 1970s - early 1980s</b>	Regional and urban - Customized, place and scale specific forms of spatial policy	Promotes balanced development and territorial redistribution	Auto-centric: promotes a particular scale as a relatively self-contained, self-propelled unit of economic development
	<b>Urban Locational Policies: early 1980s - present</b>	Regional and urban - Customized, place and scale specific forms of spatial policy	Promotes economic growth, external capital investment, and territorial competitiveness	Multiscalar: promotes economic development by positioning a particular scale strategically within broader transnational interscalar hierarchies and networks

(Adapted from Brenner (2004), p. 206)

## **Appendix F – Important BC and Canadian Dates**

Brenner's analysis is contingent upon changes at the state and local level in Western Europe over the past three decades. The following events are important in understanding key events in Canada that may or may not relate to Brenner's timeline.

### **Timeline of Relevant Dates**

- 1965 – Regional districts created in BC by Provincial government
- 1967 – GVRD created
- 1969 – Department of Regional Economic Expansion created
- 1983 – Election of Social Credit in BC (Bill Bennett and the “New Reality”)
- 1987 – Department of Regional Economic Expansion abolished
- 1988 – North American Free Trade Agreement
- 1993 – Election of Federal Liberals
- 1995 – Significant federal budget resulting in decreased spending at all levels of government
- 1995 – Regional Growth Strategies Act
- 1996 – Liveable Region Strategic Plan - GVRD
- 1997 – Asian market crisis
- 1997 – Hong Kong transfer
- 1999 – Creation of TransLink
- 1999 – Vancouver Urban Development Agreement
- 2001 – Sustainable Region Initiative – GVRD
- 2001 – Election of Liberal Party in BC (Gordon Campbell)

2004 – Economic Leadership Forums

2005 – New Deal for Cities

2005 – Community Charter: New enabling legislation for BC local government

2010 – Olympics