

**Being Realistic About Planning in No
Growth: Challenges, Opportunities, and
Foundations for a New Agenda in the
Greater Sudbury, CMA**

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION FOR ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION OF A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Regional disparities, most notably of the 'heartland-periphery' pattern, have been a distinctive feature of Canadian urban geography throughout the industrial era. New regimes of economic prosperity, recessions, and restructuring in the post-industrial era coupled with demographic fluctuations have added new and accentuated divisions and disparities creating an increased gap between cities that are growing and not growing. Under these conditions, it seems realistic to expect that no-growth cities might begin to develop distinctive planning strategies centered on a theme of decline or no-growth scenarios. However, this has not been the case. The City of Greater Sudbury is located in North-eastern Ontario and is best known across Canada for its original resource-based 'boom', its unsustainable mining practices and subsequent decline. The 21st-Century City of Sudbury has since evolved into a more balanced regional centre. Nonetheless, the population of the City has been fluctuating over the last 30 years, experiencing decline, slow growth, and no-growth scenarios.

The first phase in the research establishes the documentary record of Sudbury's decline alongside remedial initiatives undertaken at the federal, provincial, and local levels in the general attempt to kick start growth locally and remediate decline. The second phase in the research investigates how those involved in planning and economic development at the grassroots level deal with no growth through key informant interviews with planners, economic developers, consultants, and politicians. The research findings document the contradictory perceptions that surround planning in no-growth locales and further explore the challenges and opportunities associated with no growth urban areas. It concludes with a discussion of what might constitute alternative criteria for a new model of planning and development capable of generating more realistic economic and planning policy and strategy considerations for no growth urban areas and Northeastern Ontario.

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There are so many friends, family members, supporters, colleagues, and mentors who deserve my extreme gratitude for encouraging me throughout this process. First and foremost, I would like to sincerely thank Dr. Trudi Bunting for your guidance, knowledge, and putting up with my cognitive dissonance! Thank you for challenging me to reach my full potential and allowing me to grow as an academic. You set the bar high and I hope I came close to surpassing it! I would also like to thank Dr. Mark Seasons for your guidance and thoughtful comments on my interview guide and finished product along with Dr. Pierre Filion and Dr. Rob Feick. Your comments were insightful and truly appreciated.

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to Rob and my Family.

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CHAPTER ONE

UNEVEN GROWTH IN URBAN CANADA

The resulting contrasts between high-growth and slow-growth cities and regions will likely lead to very different urban environments in the years to come – each with relatively distinctive social, economic and policy challenges (Bourne & Simmons, 2003: 28).

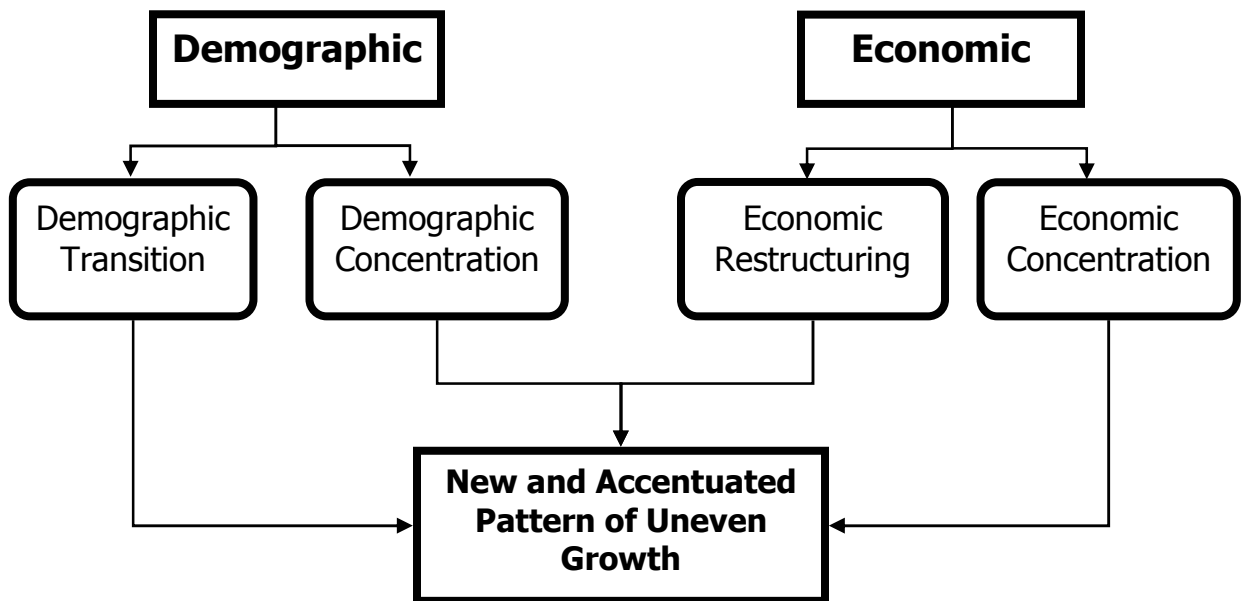
1.1 Context

Regional differences, most notably of the 'heartland (core) – hinterland (periphery)' pattern, have been a distinctive feature of Canadian urban geography throughout the industrial era. The heartland or core region traditionally consisted of the Windsor to Quebec City corridor (Southern Ontario and Southern Quebec) due to its favourable physical geography, access to markets, diversified economy, and highly urbanized and concentrated population while the periphery or hinterland encompassed the remainder of the country and possessed the opposite characteristics (McCann & Gunn, 1998). Over the years these core-periphery distinctions have had a profound influence on shaping Canadian public policy in terms of regional development (Bourne, 2000a). However, new regimes of economic prosperity, recessions, and restructuring in the post-industrial era coupled with demographic fluctuations have added new and accentuated divisions and differences creating an increased gap between cities and regions that are rapidly growing and those that are not. As a result, the traditional definition of core and periphery has been called into question (see Bourne, 2000a) suggesting that a new sharper configuration differentiate growth from no-growth places. Thus, core regions become large metropolitan areas with populations that exceed 500,000 and all areas within their influence zone (generally a one hour drive) while locations outside this influence zone would be considered peripheral (Polèse, Shearmur, Desjardins & Johnson, 2002).

As seen in Figure 1.1 these new and accentuated divisions have been influenced by several powerful demographic and economic trends. Since WWII, demographic trends in Canada have undergone several transitions known as the Baby Boom, the Baby Bust, and the Baby Echo (Foot & Stoffman, 1996). The Baby Boom began immediately after the war and persisted until roughly 1963. It was characterized by extremely high birth and fertility rates, high rates of immigration, and a declining death rate (Foot & Stoffman, 1996; Gertler &

Crowley, 1977; Bourne & Simmons, 1979; Bourne, 1995; Bourne & Rose, 2001). The Baby Bust followed into the late 1970s, a period of much lower fertility and birth rates than the previous decades which is attributed to the participation of women in the workforce as well as medical advances in birth control (Foot & Stoffman, 1996; Bourne & Rose, 2001). Furthermore, immigration rates declined during this era which assisted in lowering the national growth rate (Foot, 1992; Bourne, 1995). By the start of the 1980s a modest Baby Echo generation emerged as the baby boomers reached child-bearing ages (Foot & Stoffman, 1996; Bourne & Rose, 2001). Although growth rates were no where near the rates in the 1960s, they were more constant than the previous decade. Canadian born fertility levels have now declined well below natural increase and demographic growth has become increasingly dependent on immigration (Bourne & Rose, 2001; Bourne & Simmons, 2003).

Figure 1.1: Trends toward the New and Accentuated Pattern of Uneven Growth



In addition, demographic trends in Canada have become increasingly concentrated. In 2001, over 57 percent of the Canadian population lived in the 15 largest Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) (Bourne & Simmons, 2003). While five mega-urban regions, the Greater Toronto Area, Greater Montreal, Ottawa-Gatineau, Vancouver-Victoria and the Lower Mainland B.C., and the Central Alberta corridor, secured more than 83 percent of the national population growth in the 1990s and this concentration is expected to continue in the future (Bourne & Rose, 2001; Bourne & Simmons, 2003). International migrants have also served to accentuate this trend. In 2001, Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal contained over 62 percent of Canada's immigrant population which is a direct result of the economic opportunities and support facilities available in these large metropolitan areas (see McDonald, 2004; Statistics Canada, 2005a; Statistics Canada, 2005b). Furthermore, Vancouver is attractive due to its climate whereas Montreal provides opportunities for French-speaking immigrants (Malenfant, Milan, Charron & Bélanger, 2007). With regards to the remainder of urban areas and regions across the country, most experienced slow growth or no growth and contained higher concentrations of seniors and relatively homogeneous populations (Bourne & Simmons, 2003).

With regards to economic trends, the post WWII era witnessed massive economic growth, specifically in the industrial, manufacturing, and resource sectors, due to the strength of the Fordist regime of production and accumulation. Fordism was characterized by mass production, mass consumption, standardization, wage increases, high productivity, low unemployment, and the emergence of a significant middle class (Cooke, 1988; Schoenberger, 1988; Scott, 1988; Dunford, 1990; Filion, 1995; Pacione, 2001). However, by the 1970s the Fordist regime began to weaken, which was marked by the OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries) oil crisis, increased international competition, and the shift towards Post-Fordism. This shift resulted in deindustrialization, more flexible forms of production, higher unemployment, income polarization, relocation of jobs to lower-income regions and countries, and a shift towards a more service based economy (Cooke, 1988; Schoenberger; 1988; Scott, 1988; Filion, 1995; Pacione, 2001; Wallace, 2002). Economic restructuring, changing trade regulations, and recessions continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Furthermore, this structural shift has resulted in the 'New Economy' which is focussed on knowledge rather than brawn and is more favourable to the high-order services

sector and new-technology industries (Bourne, 1995; Bourne, 2000b; Bourne & Simmons, 2003).

As a result of these economic circumstances, major areas within the traditional heartland began to weaken due to restructuring and job losses in the industrial and manufacturing sectors (Foot, 1982; Bourne, 1995). Peripheral urban areas dependent on natural resources were also hit hard as new technologies, global competition, and restructuring resulted in employment losses (Norcliffe, 1994; Barnes, Britton, Coffey, Edgington, Gertler & Norcliffe, 2000; Bourne & Simmons, 2003). Furthermore, globalization and the continued shift towards the 'New Economy' has favoured large metropolitan areas across the country and areas within their influence zone due to their concentrates financial, political and human resources, diversified economies, and connections within the global system. As a result, economic growth related to the 'New Economy' has concentrated in regions like the Greater Toronto Area and the Greater Golden Horseshoe, Greater Montreal, Ottawa-Gatineau, Vancouver-Victoria and the Lower Mainland B.C., and the Central Alberta corridor (Bourne & Simmons, 2003). Thus, all of these factors have culminated to produce a new pattern of uneven growth and has further accentuated existing patterns between a small number of cities and regions that are rapidly growing and a larger number of those that are not. Furthermore, as a result of these demographic trends slow growth and no growth¹ will likely persist in many cities and regions across the country despite relative economic stability.

There is a considerable amount of literature that attests to this uneven pattern of demographic and economic growth (Meyer, 1996; Rice, 1996; Siemiatycki & Isin, 1997; Ley, 1999; Barnes, Britton, Coffey, Edgington, Gertler, & Norcliffe, 2000; Hiebert, 2000; Bunting & Filion, 2001 & 2004; Bourne and Rose, 2001; Carroll, 2001; Bauder, 2003; Bourne & Simmons, 2003; Brown & Baldwin, 2003; Halseth, 2003; Slack, Bourne & Gertler, 2003; Hanlon & Halseth, 2005) and some of this work acknowledges that different growth scenarios require different planning and policy objectives (Bourne, 2000a; Bourne & Rose, 2001; Bourne & Simmons, 2003; Bunting & Filion, 2001; Leo & Anderson, 2005; Leo & Brown, 2000; Rybczynski & Linneman, 1999). However, material information on no

¹ No growth was used by the researcher to refer to areas experiencing demographic decline and will be used synonymously with decline.

growth in places where conditions of decline prevail seem to be absent from the literature. A vacuum also exists on the policy side with regard to managing no growth at the local level. For the most part regional and local differences have been treated through a variety of top-down and bottom-up economic development approaches designed to redistribute, attract, and promote growth. While planners at the intra-urban level have been involved in managing uneven growth and cleaning up areas in decline like brownfields and core areas, little is known about managing these same trends at the urban level.

1.2 The Study Area – The City of Greater Sudbury

This research is based on a case study of the City of Greater Sudbury, a small metropolitan area² located in the region of Northern Ontario approximately 390 kilometres north of Toronto as seen in Figure 1.2. The City of Greater Sudbury was selected first and foremost due to my deep and abiding attachment to the City. Furthermore, in relative terms the population of the City has not grown since the early 1970s and in 2001 the population had witnessed a significant decline and so provides a case in point on the distinctive issue of no growth that is not being addressed in the literature. In this regard, the City of Greater Sudbury was selected in an attempt to move beyond research that focuses on large metropolitan regions and provincial capitals to a peripheral small metropolitan area.

The City of Greater Sudbury is the largest metropolitan area in Northern Ontario which is a traditional hinterland region and is outside the influence zone of any large metropolitan areas. Northern Ontario is a symbolic region that lacks any political autonomy and historically it was developed for its vast natural resources including an abundance of trees and mineral deposits like gold, nickel, copper, silver, and uranium. The population in 2001 was approximately 786,433 which marked a decline of 4.8 percent from the previous census. In 2001, over half (55%) of the population was living in the five largest urban centres: Sudbury, Timmins, North Bay, Sault Ste Marie and Thunder Bay. In terms of landmass, Northern Ontario represents almost 90 percent of Ontario's territory but only 6.9 percent of the population (NOLUM, 2003). Though Northern Ontario's population base is relatively small when compared to the province of Ontario, it bears noting that its population

² Small metropolitan areas are defined as areas with populations between 100,000 to 500,000 (Filion, Hoernig, Bunting & Sands, 2004).

is greater than Canada's three smallest provinces, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Labrador, and New Brunswick.

Figure 1.2: Location of the City of Greater Sudbury

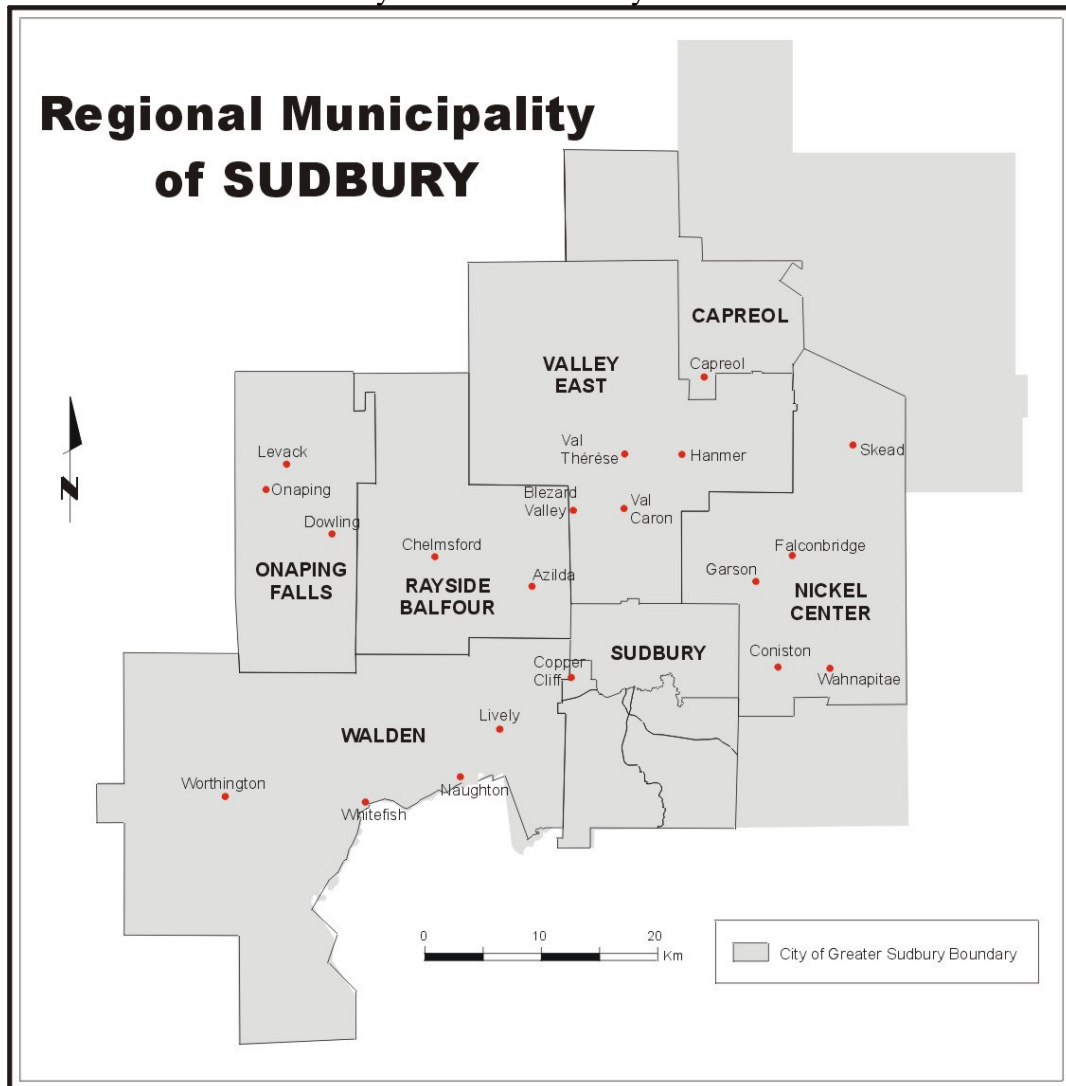


Cartographer: Léo L. Larivière, *Department of Geography – Laurentian University*

The City of Greater Sudbury is best known across Canada for its original mineral-based 'boom' in the first half of the 20th century which was accompanied with unsustainable and unattractive mining practices. This was followed by a slowdown in the mining sector as a result of economic restructuring and increased global competition that has characterized the area to a greater or lesser degree since the late 1970s. Historically, Sudbury has roots as a Canadian Pacific Rail town when it was used as a depot in 1883 for the forestry industry (Wallace, 1993a). It was during this time, legend has it, that a blacksmith struck a rocky outcrop with his pick and discovered mineral deposits. The Canadian Copper Company (now known as INCO) was the first major mining company to start production during 1886 in Copper Cliff. Several mining towns (Onaping, Levack, Coniston, Lively and Garson),

agricultural towns (Chelmsford, Blezard Valley, Val Therese, Hanmer and Azilda), and a rail town (Capreol) began to evolve around the core known as Sudbury (Saarinen, 1971). After several amalgamations and structural changes from two-tier to one-tier government, today the City of Greater Sudbury consists of the former Sudbury, Capreol, Nickel Centre, Onaping Falls, Rayside Balfour, Valley East, Walden and several unincorporated townships (see Figure 1.3). Spatially, the City is over 3,000 square kilometres making it the largest municipality in Ontario.

Figure 1.3: Former Regional Municipality of Sudbury and the New City of Greater Sudbury Boundaries



Cartographers: Léo L. Larivière, *Department of Geography – Laurentian University* & Heather M. Hall

Immediately following WWII, like most industrial and manufacturing areas, the economy of the Sudbury region³ was booming due to a five year stockpiling contract with the United States in 1953 for nickel and copper and the increased consumer-oriented use of nickel in the manufacturing of stainless steel appliances which was needed to help furnish the suburban dream. During this time Sudbury produced over 80 percent of the world supply of nickel which led to increased exploration and new mines as well as deeper shafts in new and existing mines (Saarinen, 1993; Wallace, 1998). Growth in the mining industry persisted during the 1960s due to the Vietnam War and the continued demand for stainless steel appliances (Hallsworth & Hallsworth, 1993). However, this growth trend would begin to unravel by the mid 1970s when a combination of circumstances including increased international competition, a lower demand for nickel, oversupply, and unstable markets resulted in an economic slowdown (Stephenson, Gauvreau, Kiley, Lalonde, Pellis, Zirojevic, 1979; Saarinen, 1990; Buse, 1993; Wallace, 1998). In addition to the aforementioned factors, economic restructuring including deindustrialization and the shift to a more service-based economy related to post-Fordism resulted in strikes and job losses in mining during the late 1970s and early 1980s in Sudbury (Buse, 1993; Wallace, 1998). Employment at Inco and Falconbridge⁴, the two dominant mining companies, began to fall from its peak in 1971 at 25,700, to 17,700 by 1981 and 10,500 by the end of the decade. In 2005, employment between the two companies was roughly 6,000 (Saarinen, 1992; City of Greater Sudbury, 2007a; Wallace, 1998).

Nonetheless, in 1985 Sudbury had been chosen by the OECD (Richardson, 1985) as a case study because it had managed urban-economic adjustment after experiencing decline and the economic situation appeared to be stabilizing (Saarinen, 1990; Richardson, 1985). This is attributed to Sudbury's growth as a regional service centre for Northeastern Ontario in terms of medical care, retail, tourism, government, and education (Saarinen, 1990). The City is home to numerous health-care facilities including the Northeastern Ontario Cancer Centre, three hospitals including the General (St. Joseph's), the Memorial, and Laurentian (with the creation of a new mega-hospital underway), and recently has become home to the first medical school to be opened in Canada in over 30 years. The City also offers various major

³ The terms Sudbury region, Sudbury, the Regional Municipality of Sudbury, and the City of Greater Sudbury will be used synonymously with Greater Sudbury

⁴ Inco and Falconbridge were both bought out in 2006 and are now known as CVRD-INCO and Extrata Nickel.

retail establishments and tourist opportunities like Science North, Dynamic Earth, and a rich natural environment for outdoor recreational activities. In addition, Sudbury is home to numerous federal and provincial government offices and is the education capital of Northeastern Ontario with four major post-secondary institutions including Laurentian University, the Northern Ontario School of Medicine, Cambrian College, and Collège Boréal.

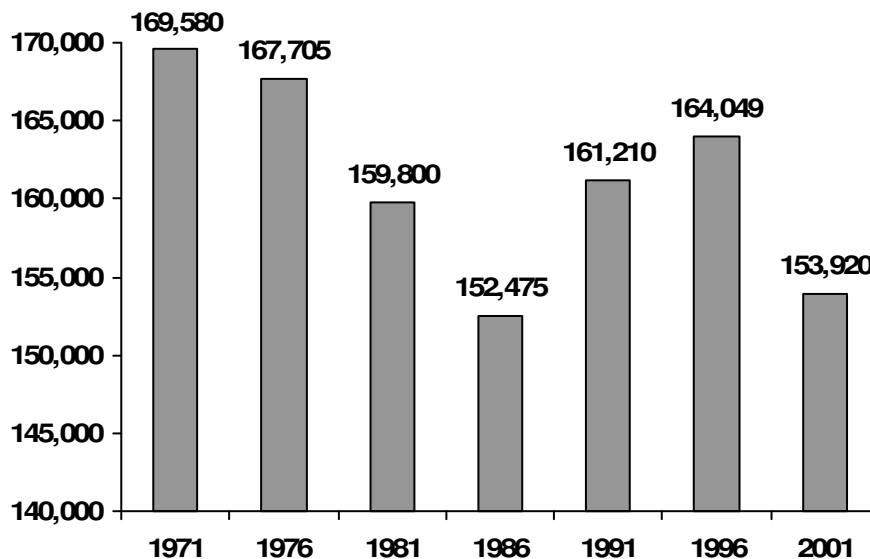
Despite this growth as a regional service centre, in 2001 the unemployment rate was 9.1 as compared to 6.5 for Ontario while the participation and employment rates were 61.9 and 56.3 respectively (Ontario – 61.5 and 57.6) (Statistics Canada, 2002). In addition, despite restructuring, mining is still a major player in the Sudbury economy. Upturns in mineral prices witnessed over the years have a profound effect on the economy and morale within the community and the reverse is also true. Furthermore, a large entrepreneurial mining supply and services sector has emerged created by many of the miners who were previously employed by the mines and were laid-off during restructuring. These small and medium sized businesses supply mining technologies, products, and services not only to local, regional, and national markets but to international markets as well. It is estimated that currently the mining supply and service sector in Sudbury has close to 12,000 employees (DeStefano, 2006). However, this sector is still susceptible to the same international forces that control the mining sector. Thus, the City of Greater Sudbury has evolved into a vital regional service centre but mining still plays a significant role.

The peak population of the Regional Municipality was approximately 170,000 in 1971. As seen in Figure 1.4 the population has been fluctuating since that time reflecting periods of slow growth and no growth never surpassing the 1971 population. Growth had been characteristic up until 1971 as a result of demographic trends including the baby boom, a younger population, high birthrates, and continuous in-migration to the region (Saarinen, 1990; Hallsworth & Hallsworth, 1993). Fuelling this demographic growth was the growth in the mining industry. However, as a result of economic restructuring by 1981 Sudbury was only one of two CMAs in Canada to experience population decline. By the 1990s, the region began to experience modest demographic growth which can be attributed to a number of factors that include Sudbury's growth as a regional service centre and the more likely causes

associated with increasing nickel prices and intra-regional migration from other Northern communities experiencing economic misfortune.

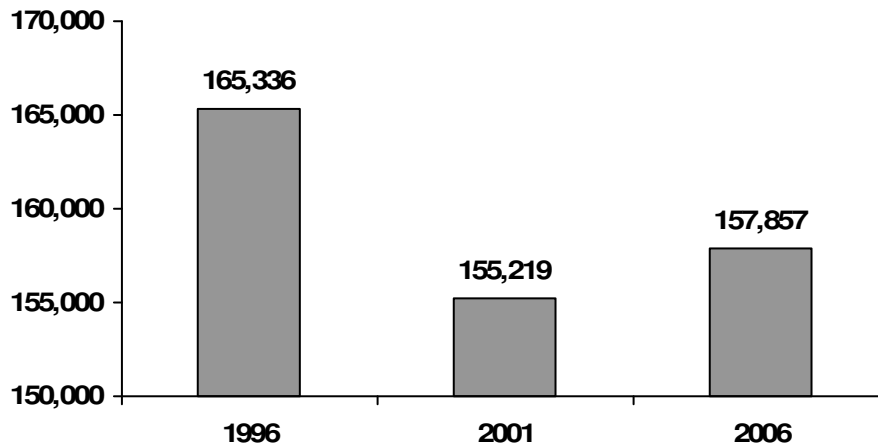
In 2001 the population once again declined by more than 6 percent and much of this decline is related to youth out-migration and the lack of international migrants moving to the City resulting in an aging and homogenous population (see Southcott, 2002; Southcott, 2003; Statistics Canada, 2007c). In 2001, visible minorities consisted of only 2.0 percent of the City's population, the median age was 38.9 as compared to 37.2 for Ontario, and natural increase had dropped below zero (Statistics Canada, 2002; 2006). In 2006 modest growth was recorded (1.7 percent) once again (see Figure 1.5). This can be directly attributed to nickel prices, which have hit record highs in recent years, and an in-migration of people predominantly from other Northern communities, especially those in the forestry industry, which have experienced economic decline due to changing trade regulations among other factors.

Figure 1.4: Population - Regional Municipality of Sudbury, 1971-2001



Sources: Statistics Canada, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001; City of Greater Sudbury, 2007b

Figure 1.5: Population - City of Greater Sudbury*, 1996-2001



Sources: Statistics Canada, 2002; 2007a

Note: The City of Greater Sudbury includes new jurisdictions not part of the former Regional Municipality which account for the slight population differences.

1.3 Research Problem

In subsequent discussion, it is established that there is effectively no theoretical groundwork on no growth. Because of the scarcity of previous research on the topic of no growth, especially at the municipal or grass roots level, this study represents a preliminary investigation. As such, it aims to analyze no growth and/or decline for one Canadian CMA, Greater Sudbury, Ontario. The first phase in the research establishes the documentary record of Sudbury's decline from a comparative perspective (both cross sectional and chronological) alongside remedial initiatives undertaken at the federal, provincial, and local levels in the general attempt to kick start growth locally and remediate decline. The second phase in the research investigates how those involved in planning and economic development at the grassroots level deal with no growth. It is stressed that this work is premised on a single case, the City of Greater Sudbury, from which it is hoped that some tentative principles might be developed. It is not however expected that the observations garnered from the Sudbury case will fit all places where no growth and/or decline are of concern. Rather this study is put forward as an initial attempt to unravel the complex process of experiencing and treating no growth.

1.4 Thesis Organization

This research is comprised of seven major sections. Chapter Two identifies the no-growth literature lacuna as well as the growth mentality and the challenges and opportunities associated with various demographic trajectories. Furthermore, Chapter Two describes the management of disparities over the last 50 years from heavy-handed top-down government intervention to fiscal conservatism and more bottom-up approaches. The third chapter presents initiatives undertaken at the federal, provincial, and local levels in the attempt to initiate growth locally and remediate decline in Sudbury. This chapter analyzed over 50 years of economic development and planning reports for Northern Ontario and Sudbury through archival research to provide contextual background and documentary evidence. Chapter Four reviews the research methods used in the second phase of this research which includes a case study approach and semi-structured in-depth key informant interviews with those involved in the planning process at the grassroots level in the Greater Sudbury, CMA. The fifth chapter provides the results from the key informant interviews regarding the treatment and perceptions surrounding no growth while Chapter Six offers a discussion on several key trends that ran throughout the interview responses including the rationalization of Sudbury's situation, the obsession with growth, the silver-lining associated with no growth, the need for a new model of planning and development, and a spatial strategy for Northern Ontario. Finally, Chapter Seven presents the conclusions and recommendations for this research.

CHAPTER TWO THE NO-GROWTH LACUNA & THE MANAGEMENT OF DISPARITIES

In a society fixated on growth and development, urban areas that are experiencing rapid growth and development are perceived as successful and attractive while urban areas that are encountering slower growth or no growth are often seen as unsuccessful and striving for growth. Although there is a vast body of literature on urban areas experiencing growth it appears as though no growth urban areas have received little attention with regards to planning. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first half of this Chapter discusses the absence of literature on slow growth and no growth in Canadian urban-related literature and it identifies the distinctive challenges and opportunities of growth versus no-growth trajectories. The second part of this Chapter describes how no growth has been managed in terms of planning and economic development at the regional and local levels while the last part of the chapter provides a summary and identifies what is missing and what is needed in terms of planning in no growth urban areas.

PART I: NO-GROWTH LACUNA

In a recent review of eight Canadian professional and academic journals, related to urban geography, economic development, planning, and policy development, a significant gap emerged due to a lack of literature that focuses specifically on no growth in urban areas⁵. Of the 195 articles addressing growth or decline according to their implicit or explicit stance on the issue quite a number of articles (39%) recognize that growth in the Canadian urban system is uneven in terms of demographic and economic trends. A great deal of research has focused on the metropolitan bias in the settlement patterns of new immigrants to Canada (see Siemiatycki & Isin, 1997; Ley, 1999; Hiebert, 2000; Bauder, 2003; McDonald, 2004), as well as the economic dominance of large metropolitan areas (see Meyer, 1996; Rice, 1996; Carroll, 2001; Halseth, 2003; Brown & Baldwin, 2003). Yet very few articles (6.2%) discuss

⁵ Based on research from Hall & Hall, 2006 in the following journals on literature published between 1994 and 2005: *The Canadian Geographer*; *The Canadian Journal of Urban Research*; *Plan Canada*; *Great Lakes Geographer*; *Canadian Public Policy*; *Journal of Canadian Studies*; *Economic and Technology Development Journal of Canada*; and *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*

no growth as a continuing trend that deserves attention and specific planning approaches and policies (see Bunting & Filion, 2001 & 2004; Bourne & Rose, 2001; Bourne & Simmons, 2003). However, while these articles acknowledge the issue, they do not provide many answers on what these urban areas should do or how they should plan for these expected growth scenarios. The remainder of this part will be divided into three sections. The first section describes what the literature does say about planning in no growth while the second section attempts to identify why no growth is such a concern. The final section looks at the challenges and opportunities of no-growth, slow-growth and growth trajectories.

2.1 What the Literature Does Say

Bourne and Simmons (2003) provide many useful insights into the emerging trends in the Canadian urban system but little information is provided on what social, economic and policy considerations are needed in declining regions. In addition, Bourne and Rose (2001) comment that no growth is not necessarily a problem for some areas that could benefit from slower growth in terms of pressures for new infrastructure and services and environmental sustainability but other urban areas may struggle to provide services, employment, and infrastructure. Although this article does depict the uneven pattern of growth in the Canadian urban system and the need for future planning, they provide little insight into what planning principles and policies these communities should follow. Likewise, Bunting and Filion (2001) state that declining “cities will be compelled to plan for decline rather than expansion” (21) but they also offer little guidance on how to plan for decline.

Literature outside the scope of the above noted journals remains scarce with regards to planning for no growth. Witold Rybczynski and Peter Linneman (1999) from the University of Pennsylvania in a commentary emphasize that ‘shrinking cities’ should not be focused on how to grow big again but rather on how to prosper and have a great smaller city. One point of interest is the substitution of the word decline or no growth with the word ‘shrinking’ which may be an attempt to reduce the negative connotations related to decline. In addition, they add that planning for ‘shrinkage’ will require a difficult change in mindset and is fundamentally different from planning for growth but they provide little information of how cities can capitalize on their ‘shrinking’ status.

Furthermore, Enid Slack, Larry Bourne and Meric Gertler (2003) in their report for the Ontario government entitled *Small, Rural, and Remote Communities: The Anatomy of Risk* discuss the trends and characteristics of small, rural, and remote communities in Ontario. Although the focus is primarily on smaller communities their recommendations include a distinct and comprehensive strategy for these communities in Northern Ontario, including planning for future decline or downsizing and a modified form of a two-tier system of regional governance. Other suggestions include better coordination between government programs and policy initiatives, strategic investment, and concentrating growth and resources in designated urban growth centres. This is the only report that views decline as a continuing trend in Northern Ontario and tries to offer solutions for settlement, economic development, governance, new opportunities, and finance.

A federal government report, *From Restless Communities to Resilient Places: Building a Stronger Future for all Canadians* (2006) explains no growth as a trend in mid-size cities which suffer from youth out-migration and are less economically diverse than their larger counterparts. For these cities the report views the potential of regional strategies and the importance of place-based policy-making possibilities for a resilient future irregardless of size. Furthermore, the report goes on to look at smaller, declining resource communities which present the government with two options: keep the community afloat through government intervention or allowing it to cease and desist. It also recognizes that some of these smaller communities “cannot survive” (31) but even these communities will require a “sustainability planning process” and “transitional support” (31). These two reports make an attempt to identify regional or comprehensive strategies as a possible approach and highlight the fact that not all will be winners.

One of the few researchers studying a specific slower growth urban area and the challenges and opportunities associated with this growth trajectory is Christopher Leo who studies Winnipeg, Manitoba (Leo & Brown, 2000; Leo & Anderson, 2005; Leo & Anderson, 2006). The underlying premise of his research is to be realistic about growth. These articles identify challenges and opportunities associated with slow growth and try to convey that policies should be aimed at capturing the benefits of the current growth trend while minimizing constraints. Furthermore, these articles believe that most no growth and slow growth urban areas have no prospect to change their rates of demographic growth

substantially irregardless of the policies they implement (Leo & Anderson, 2006). However, little instruction is provided, other than intelligent management and intergovernmental cooperation, on how to be realistic about growth. Thus, this literature lacuna provides evidence that troublesome issues such as no growth are often avoided. Furthermore, the small body of literature that does focus on the issue often informs no-growth areas to plan for no growth with little instruction while in reality slow growth and no growth urban areas continue to plan for future growth.

2.2 Why is No Growth & Slow Growth a Concern?

Since the inception of North American cities demographic and economic growth and new urban development have essentially been perceived as ingredients for maintaining and improving on the existing quality of life. Boosterism is a direct manifestation of the need for growth which Canadian urban historians Alan F. Artibise and Paul-Andre Linteau (1984) describe as an,

ideology of growth adopted by local elites to guide their promotional activities...Growth, whether in terms of population size, manufacturing output, or miles of streets constructed, is the issue of utmost importance (20).

The entrenched attachment to growth was further emphasized by Harvey Molotch (1976) who depicted the city as a “growth machine” emphasizing the political economy of place. Essentially, local land-based coalitions and those in power always agree on one thing: growth is good. Furthermore, Molotch (1976) states that “the clearest indication of success at growth is a constantly rising urban area population” (310). Furthermore, growth is depicted as the magic potion that creates jobs, reinforces the tax base, and provides resources to solve social problems (Logan & Molotch, 1987).

In terms of image, there is a stigma associated with decline that if growth is not occurring then something must be wrong and needs fixing. Even the words ‘slow growth’ and ‘no growth or ‘decline’ have negative connotations attached to them, especially the latter (Leo, 2002; Leo & Anderson, 2005; 2006). Essentially, anything other than growth is treated like the plague – feared and avoided which is evident by the lack of literature on the topic. Furthermore, urban issues steeped in contemporary boosterism are a product of globalization which has resulted in increased connectivity and competition between countries, regions, and

cities (Begg; 1999; Raco, 1999; van den Berg & Braun, 1999; Wolfe, 2003; Avraham, 2004; Bourne, 2006). As several researchers comment, cities are viewed as the engines for economic growth in the new economy and are competing for investment and talent (Begg, 1999; Bradford 2002, 2004 & 2005; Kitchen, 2002; Donald, 2005; Bourne, 2006). To compete, image and quality of place are important factors and it appears as though no city wants to be labelled as declining or not growing.

Researchers Christopher Leo and Kathleen Anderson (2005) point out that demographic and urban growth are perceived as “the magic elixir that cures all ills, from potholes to poverty...” (2) and that any urban growth is good growth. The bottom line is that growth brings money. One factor that helps to explain the particularly Canadian fixation with urban growth lies in municipal budgeting. There are three main sources of revenue for Canadian municipalities: user fees; unconditional or conditional grants; and taxes on the assessed value of property. Moreover, in recent years municipalities have been subjected to fiscal downloading referring to the downloading of responsibilities from the federal and provincial governments to municipalities while at the same time reducing grants (Vojnovic & Poel, 2000; Bradford, 2002 & 2004; Kitchen, 2002; Mintz & Roberts, 2006; Sancton, 2000 & 2006; Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2006). For example, Mintz and Roberts (2006) describe how the Ontario provincial government has downloaded various social welfare programs including social assistance, childcare, immigration services, social housing, and homelessness to municipalities. Kitchen (2002), referred to it as the “largest redistribution of services between a province and its municipalities ever witnessed in Canada” (5). This means that the property tax becomes the single-most important revenue generator for municipalities and helps to fuel the growth mentality because new property development increases the tax base and means more revenue something that Donald (2005) refers to as the “land based booster” approach (266).

In recent decades, property taxes and user fees have proven increasingly inadequate to meet the growing demand for infrastructure and services in Canadian urban areas (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2006). As a result a ‘New Deal for Cities’, an initiative first coined by the largest cities across the nation, has emerged. The ‘New Deal’ calls for alternative sources of revenue for cities across the country. To date, the federal government in consultation with the various provinces has agreed to relieve municipalities of

paying the Goods and Services Tax and provide them with a share of the federal gasoline tax (Mintz & Roberts, 2006; Sancton, 2006). In addition, existing infrastructure programs will be extended and contributions to Green Municipal Funds will be increased (Department of Finance Canada, 2005). Money is supposed to be put towards environmentally sustainable infrastructure projects like public transit, water and wastewater treatment, community energy systems and waste management (Department of Finance Canada, 2005). However, it should be noted that this is not all there is to the Canadian municipal fiscal dilemma. Although it is still too early to tell what effects this 'New Deal' will have on Canadian municipalities a preliminary critique is that the share of funding is based on a per capita system --- a formula that could further fuel the need for demographic growth to increase revenues.

2.3 Growth Trajectories – Challenges & Opportunities

Although there is a perception that urban areas which have grown to great sizes, like Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver are successful and the 'places to be' there are challenges associated with this growth. With regards to demographic and urban growth not all growth is good growth. For example increased population growth may coincide with increased dispersion of the urban environment. This dispersion can lead to environmental concerns like rural fringe development and the loss of prime agricultural land (see Skelton, Milroy-Moore, Filion, Fisher & Autio, 1995; Walker, 1994; Caldwell, 1995; Walker, 2000; Fletcher & Thomas, 2001; Millward, 2002; Halseth, 2003). Furthermore, challenges arise with regards to infrastructure and service related costs of growth and/or sprawl (see Millward, 1996; Halseth, 1996; Beesley, 1997; Walker, 2000; Halseth 2003), and make it more difficult to govern and plan (see Young, 1995; Millward, 1996; Skaburskis & Tomalty, 1999; Walker, 2000; Vojnovic, 2000; Halseth, 2003; Bourne, Bunce, Taylor, Luka & Maurer, 2003; Hanna & Walton-Roberts, 2004). In addition, land use conflicts may arise between urban and rural uses (Walker, 2000) as well as social conflicts between increasingly diverse groups (see Majury, 1994; Millward, 1996; Preston & Lo, 2000; Walker, 2000; Rose, 2001; Halseth, 2003).

On the positive side large growing urban areas often offer demographic and cultural diversity as a result of their large immigrant populations (see Gerlter, Florida, Gates & Vinodrai, 2002), economic diversity in terms of employment opportunities and choices, and

urban diversity which includes more selection in dwelling types like lofts and condominiums. In no growth urban areas the populations tend to be relatively homogenous with a higher proportion of aging residents as a result of limited economic opportunities which leads to youth out-migration and a lack of in-migration from immigrants (Hanlon & Halseth, 2005; Simard & Simard, 2004). Furthermore, no growth areas can become increasingly dependent on grants as a result of their shrinking tax-base. However, no growth urban areas in peripheral locations often boast an abundance of natural amenity rich landscapes like lakes and forests, better air quality, and less traffic congestion (Simard & Simard, 2004).

Furthermore, Leo & Anderson (2005; 2006) compare Vancouver, a fast growing urban area, and Winnipeg, which is a slowly growing urban area. The researchers explain that housing costs are cheaper in Winnipeg, yet Vancouver has more ability to pay for its infrastructure and services. In addition, Vancouver has had more success in determining the growth of the region whereas Winnipeg has been faced with dispersion despite its slow growth. This is related to city officials who are more accepting of development proposals in their desire to grow or any growth is good growth. Often these developments are unsuitable with regards to location, densities, and land uses and may place further pressure on services and infrastructure (Leo and Anderson, 2005). However, one last challenge for Vancouver is a sharper contrast between the rich and the poor (Leo & Anderson, 2005). Thus, various problems, needs, and opportunities are associated with growth, slow growth, and no growth that will also vary between urban areas. A summary of these problems, needs and opportunities is provided in Table 2.1 which is adapted from Ira Robinson (1981). In the end, realistic approaches that reflect the situation are needed because slow growth and no growth do not necessarily have to be problems if they are managed and planned for however it will require a different mindset, approaches, and policies.

Table 2.1: Problems and Opportunities in Metropolitan Areas

Situation	Problems	Opportunities
Rapid Growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Urban encroachment on prime agricultural land ○ Financing basic services and amenities ○ Congestion of social and other services ○ High price of housing and land ○ Traffic congestion ○ Land use conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Provides a continuously increasing municipal tax base by attracting businesses and industries ○ Permits use of varied skills available and widens career opportunities ○ Expands variety of cultural and other services and facilities available ○ Attracts a varied population and age structure
Slow Growth, Zero Growth, or Decline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Uneven relationship between population decreases and expenditures on certain services while revenues decline ○ Per capita tax burden may increase for those remaining ○ Higher proportion of elderly ○ Negative image & psychology of decline ○ Continuation of household formation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Avoids the problems of rapid growth ○ Chance to renew existing physical aspects and catch up on needs ○ Opportunity to expand and develop locally based industries and businesses ○ Manage land resources and innovate in urban design ○ Easier to solve pollution and other environmental problems

Source: Adapted from Ira Robinson, 1981: 82-83.

PART II: MANAGEMENT OF DISPARITIES

Throughout contemporary history, differences between regions, locations, and people have existed and various attempts have been made to alleviate these disparities. Since the 1950s two dominant approaches have been undertaken, top-down government intervention and bottom-up grass roots initiatives. The top-down approach flourished until the early 1980s and viewed government intervention as the key to reducing disparities at the urban and regional levels. Beginning in the mid-1980s as a result of globalization, decentralization, and the failures of government intervention a trend towards more bottom-up local and community development and management of disparities emerged. However, in the last several years, it appears as though a new approach is developing that recognizes the need for both top-down and local approaches. In the following sections, these approaches will be discussed along with dominant strategies. This part will conclude with a brief description of the Canadian governments' equalization attempts between people and regions which have persisted since the 1950s.

2.4 Top-Down Government Intervention

Throughout the period from 1950 to the late 1970s, Keynesian policies were utilized to address disparities which viewed top-down government intervention as the key to resolving differences (Matthews, 1983; Savoie, 1992a; Polèse, 1999; Filion, 1998). Rapid economic and demographic growth revealed differences at the urban and regional levels. At the urban level during the 1950s and 1960s city planners emerged to manage this extreme growth and as Jeanne Wolfe (1995) explains it was during these decades that “most of Canadian planning standards, norms and zoning practices were developed...”(55). Modernist planners were specialists and portrayed as value-neutral, disengaged from the interests of any particular group, and efficient technocrats (Wolfe, 1994; Beauregard, 2003). During this time, rapid suburbanization resulted in core area decline. Utilizing top-down intervention planners managed this decline through urban renewal and the predominant method at the time was to bulldoze the problem (Wolfe, 1994; Sewell, 1993).

In terms of regional disparities, regional development emerged during the post-war era with the emergence of the welfare state and the importance of social equity in most developed countries (Polèse, 1999; Filion, 1998; Dawe & Bryden, 2000). Mario Polèse (1999) describes regional development policies as policies that “seek to reduce...disparities, essentially by seeking to promote increased development in lagging regions” (300). For the most part, these policies sought to redistribute growth and increase employment and income levels. A number of different top-down regional development initiatives were undertaken in most industrialized countries which will be categorized into the following strategies: ministries, agencies, and departments; growth-poles/growth centres; incentives and infrastructure development; resettlement strategies; and employment relocation along with the creation of supportive facilities.

2.4.1 Ministries, Agencies & Departments

As Polèse (1999) describes, “during the 1950s and 1960s, most industrialized nations, with the notable exception of the United States, created ministries and bureaucracies whose mandate it was to oversee equitable regional development” (301). In Canada, a number of federal programs and agencies were developed primarily to assist rural areas and Atlantic Canada (*Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Program*, the *Fund for Rural*

Economic Development, and the *Atlantic Development Board*) (Savoie, 1992a; Savoie, 1992b; Douglas, 1994b; Beaumier, 1996). Due to the lack of overall coordination, a federal department was established in 1969 known as the *Department of Regional Economic Expansion* (DREE) (Love, 1987; Savoie, 1992a; Savoie, 1992b; Douglas, 1994b; Beaumier, 1996). Although DREE went through various organizational and program transformations throughout its history two things remained the same, it was designed to boost slow-growth regions and initiatives were primarily provincially oriented using bilateral federal-provincial agreements (see Love, 1987; Savoie, 1992a; Savoie, 1992b).

The reasoning behind approaches that were primarily provincially oriented is the fact that the Canadian federal government has no legislative authority over municipalities which results in a jurisdictional divide where federal involvement is passed down through the provinces. The federal government does play an important role in indirectly shaping the future of urban areas through its policies related to the economy, immigration, and finance. In addition, the federal government directly emphasizes its role as an important landholder, property owner, and employer in many urban areas (Sancton, 2006; Wolfe, 2003). A formal federal department dedicated to urban affairs did exist briefly during this era (see Wolfe, 2003 for a description of the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs in the 1970s) but it was short-lived due to many factors including as mentioned legislative authority and the vast differences experienced by urban areas across the country. Thus, this led to approaches that were provincially oriented. However that being said, initiatives were often spatially targeted to specific urban areas as will be described below.

2.4.2 Growth Poles & Growth Centres

The growth pole term was conceived by Francis Perroux in the early 1950s to describe firms or industries or groups of firms and industries in terms of economic space (Darwent 1969; Perroux, 1970; Parr, 1999; Polèse, 1999). It was later reformulated to include geographic space with a focus on specific urban centres (see Darwent 1969, Parr, 1999 and Rice, 2004 for a discussion on the growth pole/centre confusion). The fundamental principle of the growth centre strategy was to focus government investment on specific more promising urban centres through infrastructure development and industry attraction rather than having investment spread thinly over a wider region (Hanson, 1996; Parr, 1999; Polèse,

1999). Growth centres were selected by top levels of government and essentially it was believed that focussing on a growth centre would result in success spreading out or 'trickling down' from that location into surrounding areas resulting in regional development (Hanson, 1996; Parr, 1999). In addition, it was felt that they would attract migrants from surrounding areas who may have otherwise left the region entirely (Hanson, 1996).

Many industrialized countries like the United States, France, Scotland, England and Canada utilized growth centre strategies as a means of reviving economically depressed regions during the 1960s and 1970s (Hansen, 1970; Parr, 1999; Lloyd & McCarthy, 2003). In Canada, the federal government established a growth centre strategy through DREE in 1969 focussing on 23 areas primarily in Quebec and Atlantic Canada (Beaumier, 1996). Furthermore, the Ontario provincial government tried implementing a similar strategy known as *The Design for Development Program* where growth centres were selected to address disparities across the Province and promote quality of life (Department of Treasury and Economics, Regional Development Branch, 1971; Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, Regional Planning Branch, 1976; Cullingworth, 1987). The growth centres strategy was largely unsuccessful due to the complexity of regional disparities and the inability to alter the spatial geography of the national economy (Beaumier, 1996; Hanson, 1996; Polèse, 1999). Furthermore, growth centres proved to be politically unworkable. In theory a limited number of centres are required to reduce competition however in practice a large number of centres were designated to garner political support (Parr, 1999; Polèse, 1999).

2.4.3 Incentives and Infrastructure Investment

Although financial location incentives or subsidies are now seen as wasteful by most governments, during the Keynesian era of government intervention they were seen as a useful tool for enticing industries to locate in less developed regions (Dudley, 1975; Lithwick, 1986; McGee, 1992; Polèse, 1999). In Canada, incentives were provided through the federal government's *Regional Development Incentives Act* and the provincial government's *Equalization of Industrial Loans* program during the 1960s and 1970s (Dudley, 1975; Savoie, 1992a). Furthermore, in Ontario the *Ontario Development Corporation*, the *Northern Ontario Development Corporation*, and *Eastern Ontario Development Corporation*

were created in the early 1970s to provide incentives to predominately secondary manufacturing (Ontario Economic Council, 1976; Evanshen, 1975?). However, issues often arose with regards to opportunism where subsidies or grants were often taken advantage of and whether or not they actually accomplished their intentions to create employment and raise incomes (see Usher, 1975 & Woodward, 1975 who questioned the effects of the RDIA location incentives and capital subsidies). In terms of providing or improving infrastructure such as roads, water, sewers, mega-projects and schools they did have a positive effect on development because they improved local living conditions (Polèse, 1999; Savoie, 1992a). However, economic development is only generated if the private sector takes advantage of the infrastructure which is not guaranteed and often these projects proved costly and were underused.

2.4.4 Resettlement Strategies

Perhaps the most drastic example of addressing uneven growth was a resettlement program undertaken by the province of Newfoundland in 1954 called the *Centralization Programme* which provided financial support for households to move from declining, small isolated out-port communities to larger communities with more economic opportunities and arguably a better quality of life (Copes & Steed, 1975). However, assistance was only provided if the entire community was willing to move (Cope & Steed, 1975; Iverson & Matthews, 1968). The provincial government was later joined in its efforts by the federal government in 1965 with the *Federal-Provincial Newfoundland Fisheries Household Resettlement Programme*. The financial assistance was increased and only 90 percent (later reduced to 80 percent) of the community was required to move. Specified growth centres were pre-selected to receive relocated people and those being relocated needed approval of their selected centre prior to resettlement (Cope & Steed, 1975; Iverson & Matthews, 1968; Grant, 2006). It was criticized for providing inadequate support for the relocation as well as for poor integration into the new communities and limited economic opportunities (Iverson & Matthews, 1968; Grant, 2006). Although this program would be impossible to undertake in an urban area it represented a drastic management of uneven growth in a regional context where smaller communities are closed and relocated to larger designated centres.

2.4.5 Employment Relocation & Supportive Facilities

Another method used to bolster economic development was the relocation of government jobs to less advantaged regions. The rationale for doing this was to exemplify the commitment of government to regional development and to provide job opportunities and increased salaries (Savoie, 1992a). In Canada, the federal government developed the *Ottawa Government Relocation Strategy* in the late 1970s which relocated jobs from the national capital to slower growth areas within each Province. In addition, the Ontario government showed its support for regional development through the *Northern Ontario Relocation Program* in the mid-1980s which relocated provincial ministries and agencies to four northern urban areas (Savoie, 1992a). Notable drawbacks to employment relocation programs were the unwillingness of some employees to move to new areas to provide continuity and the lack of permanent positions (Savoie, 1992a). In Quebec, Ontario, and the Western provinces temporary positions far exceeded permanent positions in the federal program (Savoie, 1992a).

The government has also been involved in providing supportive facilities like post-secondary educational opportunities and adjustment programs in less developed regions. For example, Geoffrey Weller (1994) describes how the University of Northern British Columbia was created in Northern B.C. for regional development purposes. Based on shared experiences from 11 different Northern Universities from across Canada and from various Nordic countries Weller (1994) explains that Northern Universities have a dual purpose. These include providing educational opportunities to Northern students who can't afford to go elsewhere and to assist with social, economic, and cultural development for the region. Furthermore, Stephen P. Meyer and Alfred Hecht (1996) found that Universities do act as growth poles in Canada which economically enhance their local areas. In addition, governments have also been involved with providing and establishing adjustment programs to help deal with issues like company closures (Douglas, 1994b). Thus, spanning the period from 1950 to the late 1970s top down government intervention to manage both urban and regional differences were the norm. As a result of the shift towards a more neo-liberal approach to government intervention, globalization, downloading, and the limited success of regional development policies in alleviating disparities a more bottom-up approach emerged which will be described in the following section.

2.5 Bottom-up Local Development

Top-down interventionist strategies began to unravel in the late 1970s and early 1980s due to a number of culminating factors. Perhaps the strongest influence resulting in the retrenchment of top-down intervention was the dismantling of the welfare state and the shift towards more fiscal conservatism and neo-liberal policies (Wolfe, 1994; Walzer, 1995; Filion, 1998; Polèse, 1999). Essentially, the onus of regional development was downloaded to the lower levels of government (Polèse, 1999). Furthermore, despite attempts to manage disparities through regional development programs disparities persisted (see Savoie, 1992a). However, one could assume that without those programs the situation would have been far worse. Furthermore, globalization has resulted in changing trade patterns and international markets which have altered the linkages within national economies further altering regional development (Savoie, 1992a; Polèse, 1999). Lastly, the shift towards the 'New Economy' has placed a greater emphasis on human resources and cities as the engines of economic growth (Begg, 1999; Bradford 2002, 2004 & 2005; Florida, 2002; Gerlter, Florida, Gates & Vinodrai, 2002; Donald, Morrow & Athanasiu, 2003; Bourne, 2006). Thus, as a result local development emerged with an underlying premise which is described by Polèse (1999) as,

The success of a region will in the end depend on the capacity of local actors (firms, individuals, policy-makers, etc.) to take matters in hand, to organize various parties around common goals, to adapt and to successfully adjust to outside pressures. Thus, the ultimate sources of development lie in the region itself, in its people, its institutions, its sense of community, and, perhaps most important of all, in the spirit of innovation and entrepreneurship of its population (309).

In 1987, regional development in Canada became the responsibility of four regional development agencies: *Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency*; *FedNor* in Northern Ontario; *Western Economic Diversification*; *Federal Office of Regional Development-Quebec* (1991). All of these agencies coordinate economic development in their respective regions and provide input on policies and programs and funding (Savoie, 1992a; Beaumier, 1996; Coulombe, 1997). In addition, in 1988 the *Northern Ontario Heritage Fund Corporation* (NOHFC) was created under the Ontario provincial *Ministry of Northern Development and Mines* (MNDM) to encourage economic growth and diversification with programs to aid small businesses, provide assistance to single industry communities experiencing economic

restructuring and promote new technologies (NOHFC, 1989; Bryant & Douglas, 1994b). In most developed countries the emphasis was switched from industry relocation and intervention to the importance of education and training, entrepreneurial development, and small business creation (Savoie, 1992a; Blazyca & Klasik, 2003; Dawe & Bryden, 2000; Danson, 2003). Upper levels of government no longer intervened but rather provided support. The remainder of this section will discuss how disparities have been managed at the urban level during this time in terms of local/community economic development and planning.

2.5.1 Local & Community Economic Development

As mentioned, regional development changed drastically in the 1980s from top-down government intervention to bottom-up local economic development (Naqvi, Sharpe & Hecht, 1995). As the name implies, local economic development is concerned with creating economic activity within a local area or region rather than redistributing it from elsewhere (Coffey & Polèse, 1985; Douglas, 1994a; Seasons, 1994; Fillion, 1998). Local economic development is often linked with community economic development which Douglas (1994a) defines as the “purposeful design and action by community residents to influence the characteristics of their local economy” (7). Furthermore, local and community economic development have become concerned with community development which sees human development as the rationale for economic development (Seasons, 1994). Seasons (1994) attributes this to the sustainable development and healthy communities movements which encourage quality of life and well-being.

A plethora of approaches to local and community economic development exist which include skills training and education, promoting entrepreneurial activities, improving infrastructure and new technologies, community activism, partnerships, strong leadership, encouraging tourism, population attraction and retention, providing subsidies and capital, place marketing, and strategic planning which includes identifying strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT), and cluster development⁶ (Coffey & Polèse, 1985; Fillion, 1998; Bryant, 1994; Douglas, 1994c; Naqvi, Sharpe & Hecht, 1995; van den Berg & Braun,

⁶ Promoting clusters or geographically concentrated interconnected firms and associated institutions has become the new “policy panacea” in the new economy (Asheim, Cooke & Martin, 2006: 3). For a critical evaluation of clusters and regional development see Asheim, Cooke & Marten (Eds), 2006.

1999; Polèse, 1999; Avraham, 2004; Koster & Randall, 2005; Asheim, Cooke, Martin, 2006). Polèse (1999) refers to many of these initiatives as “common sense: the need to build self-esteem, cooperation, and an entrepreneurial spirit” (310). For the most part, they all share the commonality of focusing on local resources whether they are human, natural, built or institutional (Seasons, 1994; Parker, 2001). Furthermore, as will be seen in the following sub-section there has been a significant shift in the role of planners as they have become instrumental in dispersing funding and policies from the top.

2.5.2 Intra-Urban Planning

In the 1970s the modernist top-down approach to planning was under siege and a more participatory approach emerged by the end of the decade (Jamieson, 1994; Wolfe, 1994; Grant, 2006). Even when not partnered with local economic development, planners have had an important stake in responding to and treating issues of growth and no growth. Planners have been concerned with medium and long-term strategic planning to determine what is appropriate and what’s not appropriate. Furthermore, the core of metropolitan areas in most developed countries is one area where planners have had a great deal of experience with managing and treating decline. Various revitalization initiatives have included niche markets, housing, heritage preservation, arts and culture, and incentives like tax increment financing (Abbott, 1993; Jamieson, 1994; Wolfe, 1994; Robertson, 1995; Bunting & Filion, 2000; Bunting, Filion, Frenette, Curry & Mattice, 2000; Jones, 2000; Filion, Hoernig, Bunting, & Sands, 2004; Simard & Simard, 2004). Essentially, the treatment of core area decline has moved from getting rid of the problem often through bull-doing and copying more successful locales to dealing with the issues by transforming them within the local context or turning weaknesses into strengths.

Furthermore, in recent decades due to increased global competition and the remnants of industrial restructuring on the urban landscape, urban regeneration of dilapidated sites has increasingly attracted the attention of planners (Wolfe, 1994; Couch, 2003; McKay, 2003; De Sousa, 2006; Fischler & Wolfe, 2006). Examples in Canada include False Creek in Vancouver and the Moncton Railyards while European cities like Belfast, Ireland and Dundee, Scotland have also taken on urban regeneration strategies (Lloyd & McCarthy, 2003; McKay, 2003; Fischler & Wolfe, 2006). The benefits of urban regeneration include

job creation and tax base enhancements. As well, the sites can be reused for intensification, redevelopment, and infill opportunities which can minimize growth pressures (De Sousa, 2006). Lastly, revitalization and regeneration both help restore a positive image to attract investment and compete in the global economy.

Planners have also become instrumental in addressing uneven urban growth within urban areas through growth management and growth control measures. Essentially, planners try to manage urban growth in a more efficient manner to minimize negative effects like sprawl, encroachment onto agricultural land, and the extensions of services and infrastructure through strategies like intensification, redevelopment, infill development, growth boundaries, and more compact development (see Fletcher & Thomas, 2001; Dawkins & Nelson, 2003; Bunce, 2004; Smith & Heid, 2004; Jaberdeen, 2006). Thus, the role of the planner at the intra-urban level is to clean-up, revitalize and managed disparities to increase investment, increase quality of life, and promote efficiency. However, as mentioned previously little is known about planning at the urban level in terms of no growth urban areas.

At the urban level, a grey area emerges where the onus is shifted to local/community economic development agencies and organizations. That being said, Ken O'Brian (2004) believes that planner's could play a vital role in economic development due to their understanding of "the need to balance economic development goals and objectives with concern for community development and environmental preservation" (27). This sentiment is echoed by Mark Seasons (1994) who adds that planners "have learned to see the 'big picture'" (14). In recent years, many planning and economic development departments have been merged to combat this issue but Jeanne Wolfe (2003) cautions that sometimes schizophrenia emerges where a city might be working to revitalize their core while at the same time allowing power centres to expand on the fringe. This probably has less to do with the merger of these departments and more to do with the emphasis placed on growth. Thus, to reiterate planners have had to work hard in producing a product for local economic development to sell and often the focus is on improving the city's image versus improving the city.

2.6 The Need for Both Top-Down & Bottom-Up

Since the 1970s, the planning process has become more communicative and collaborative and there hasn't been much directive for planners on the ground especially those experiencing and treating no growth. However, in recent years a new top-down approach has emerged in some jurisdictions to manage and encourage growth in specific regions or sub-regions in an attempt to achieve urban economic competitiveness and encourage more sustainable development and balanced development in some instances (Davoudi, 2003; Gonzáles, 2006; Ministry of Public Infrastructure Renewal, 2006). This is a direct result of the important role cities play as the engines of economic growth. This new approach is different from the previous regime because it does not seek to redistribute growth from one region to another and the focus is primarily on economic competitiveness rather than the management of disparities (Faludi, 2000; Davoudi, 2003). In addition, researchers and policy-makers are also emphasizing the importance of more tailored-made spatial models or policies to assist cities and regions rather than one-size-fits-all approaches (Davoudi, 2003; Slack, Bourne & Gertler, 2003; External Advisory Committee on Cities, 2006).

In the Province of Ontario, the government enacted the *Places to Grow Act* in 2005 which allows the province to designate growth areas and create growth plans. The first plan created under this act is known as the *Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe* (2006). This plan was developed to describe where and how urban growth should occur in the Greater Golden Horseshoe, the fastest growing region located in Southern Ontario, in an attempt to minimize the negative affects of rapid growth like sprawl and traffic congestion and to remain healthy and competitive. Furthermore, the plan provides employment and population projections for localities within the region to help guide forecasts and is premised on intensification in built-up areas and urban growth centres (which are predominantly the downtowns in a number of cities) (Ministry of Public Infrastructure Renewal, 2006). At this point in time, the plan is too new to evaluate what affects it will have and whether it will be successful however a general complaint is that it takes some power away from the local level.

Furthermore, a number of European countries have also undertaken government-led strategic spatial planning at the regional, national, and supra-national levels to achieve spatial equality and to foster global economic competitiveness (Mastop, 2000; Alden, 2002; Albrechts, Healey & Kunzmann, 2003; Cheshire, 2006; Goodman and Hickman, 2006; Scott,

2006). Much of this emphasis for strategic spatial planning in Europe stems from the creation of the *European Spatial Development Perspective* (ESDP) in 1999 which emphasizes concepts like polycentric urban development, sustainable development, and balanced spatial development to achieve and promote economic competitiveness (Faludi, 2000; Richardson & Jenson, 2000; Atkinson, 2001; Scott, 2006). The concept of balanced spatial development seeks to reduce disparities that are evident between the core and the periphery but unlike previous regional development strategies this will not include redistribution (Faludi, 2000). However, unlike the *Place to Grow* the ESDP is not a legal document and the European Union has no jurisdiction over spatial planning (Richardson & Jenson, 2000; Atkinson, 2001).

Despite issues of legality and criticisms surrounding the lack of a universal definition and empirical evidence regarding the success and effectiveness of polycentricity (see Davoudi, 2003), many countries in Europe are supporting the basic principles of the ESDP. For example, in the Republic of Ireland, the *National Spatial Strategy* (NSS) was completed in 2002 to provide a clear framework for managing spatial issues (Scott, 2006). As Mark Scott (2006) explains the NSS reinforces the National Development Plan from 1999 which established as a priority “the goal of delivering more balanced social, economic and physical development...” (816). To accomplish this the NSS developed a hierarchy of eight gateway cities and nine medium sized hubs (see Table 2.2 for a description). Initially there were only four gateway cities but an additional four were added most likely for political reasons. However, like the growth centre strategy too many gateways may limit the overall success of the strategy (Scott, 2006).

Table 2.2: Republic of Ireland *National Spatial Strategy* – Spatial Hierarchy

Hierarchy	Description
Greater Dublin Area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Promote efficiency to build on competitiveness and national role ○ Proposes physical consolidation
Eight Gateway Cities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Balance national growth and development in other regions ○ Nationally significant urban centres ○ Selected based on location, scale, and critical mass to sustain strong levels of job growth
Nine Medium Sized Hubs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Designed to support and be supported by the gateways and provide the link to broader rural areas

Source: Adapted from Scott, 2006: 816-818.

Another example is an economic development or growth strategy known as *The Northern Way* for Northern England, a region that has experienced economic restructuring, which was initiated in 2004 (González, 2006; Goodchild & Hickman, 2006). The underlying premise of this growth strategy was to recognize the growth potential of the core cities in the North and reduce the output gap between the North and the South. Priorities of the strategy include increasing employment, strengthening the knowledge base, encouraging entrepreneurial spirit, marketing, improving transportation and linkages, and promoting sustainable communities which were divided between the three regional development agencies.

Furthermore, it contains a spatial strategy based on the identification of eight city-regions for strategic investments (González, 2006; Goodchild & Hickman, 2006). As seen in the previous case, originally only five cities were identified which caused political tension and the addition of three others. The strategy has helped to alter the image associated with Northern England from “a place of decline to a ‘land of opportunities’” (González, 2006: 10). However, general criticisms associated with this strategy include the lack of a clear purpose, the loss of momentum after the first year, the difficulties associated with strategic investments, the broad area of the city-regions (90 percent of the population), and the lack of autonomy (González, 2006). In addition, *The Northern Way* is largely focused on economic growth and González (2006) suggests shifting the emphasis towards “issues of sustainability, liveability and quality of life” (25).

Other approaches used in Europe include strategic investment in specific centres like peripheral growth centres in the Nordic countries and competitiveness poles in France (Slack, Bourne & Gertler, 2003; Delphine, 2005). In the end what’s common to all these approaches is the emphasis on achieving competitiveness in the global economy. However, Rob Atkinson (2001) cautions that this focus on competition may accentuate and create more place-based winners and losers. Furthermore, there is a delicate balance between the levels where the top provides the policies, guidance, and support while the bottom initiates and implements (Dawe & Bryden, 2000; Mastop, 2000). Thus to ensure success, as mentioned earlier, the critical suggestion is to have place-based, locally or regionally sensitive policies rather than one-size-fits-all and the involvement of the top and bottom for resources and expertise.

2.7 Equalization – People & Provinces

One last trend that has emerged to manage disparities is equalization between people and places. Since the arrival of the social welfare state most developed countries have tried to assist less advantaged people. In Canada, the federal government provides a number of equity payments which are available to individuals and include but are not limited to Goods and Services Tax Credits, Employment Insurance, Old Age Security, and Family Benefits (Statistics Canada, 2007b). In terms of employment insurance, there are regular benefits for people who experience job loss due to lay-offs, seasonal employment, or work shortages as well as special benefits related to maternity leave, parental leave, sickness and compassionate care. In addition, individuals who are self-employed fishers have their own special benefits (HRSDC, 2007). These equity payments provide people with more disposable income causing a multiplier effect or a trickle-down effect to the regional and local levels where this ‘additional’ income is spent. In addition, some regions or locations (like Atlantic Canada) get more because they have more people who are eligible for these equity payments.

Furthermore, national governments in Canada as well as Australia and Germany have created programs to address fiscal imbalances across their nations (see Courchene, 1984 & 1998; Wilson, 1998). In Canada, the *Federal-Provincial Equalization Program* seeks to address horizontal imbalances between provinces across Canada. In 1957, the equalization program was established and the aim of this program was and still is to provide fiscal equality between have (rich) and have-not (poor) provinces so that taxation levels don’t increase substantially in poorer provinces to pay for public services (Courchene, 1984; Lithwick, 1986; Beaumier, 1996; Courchene, 1998; Boadway & Hobson, 1998; Department of Finance, 2007). Essentially, provinces that are under the standard of fiscal capacity receive transfers to bring up their per capita fiscal capacity to the standard (MacNevin, 2004)⁷.

In 1984, the principle of equalization became part of the Canadian constitution under the Trudeau government (MacNevin, 2004). As noted earlier, the early 1980s witnessed the withdrawal of the federal government from many regional economic development programs

⁷ Equalization Framework: The current standard is calculated on the estimated fiscal capacity of the five ‘middle’ provinces, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec. The fiscal capacity is a measure of a province’s ability to raise revenues from each of the 33 revenue sources – including personal income tax, corporate income tax, sales taxes, property tax, and other sources (MacNevin, 2004: 187; Department of Finance, 2007).

for various reasons. It can be argued that putting equalization in the Canadian constitution was either their way of passing the buck to the provinces by paying their dues in formulaic fashion or represents their attempt to stay involved in regional development after downloading much of the responsibility to the provincial and local levels. Although components of the program have changed over the years two things have remained the same, Ontario is not eligible for transfer payments as a result of the measuring system and transfer payments are unconditional meaning the provinces decide which public services to spend the transfers on (Department of Finance, 2007).

One criticism of the program is the creation of ‘transfer dependency’ where provinces become dependent upon the government for their economic security (Courchene, 1981). Furthermore, the program is designed to address imbalances that occur at the inter-provincial level and little attention is paid to regional differences that exist at the intra-provincial level. However, Beaumier (1996) attributes using the provinces as the basic geographic unit is related to data availability and the importance of the provincial governments in carrying out the program. Within the province of Ontario a transfer payment system is also available to rural and northern communities known as the *Ontario Municipal Partnership Fund*⁸. It is an unconditional grant used to assist with costs associated with social programs, policing, and to equalize areas with low property assessment (Ministry of Finance, 2007). This is perhaps one way to address intra-provincial imbalances that are overlooked in the federal program.

2.8 Summary

At this point in time, it appears as though declining and no growth urban areas have received little attention with regards to planning in the academic and professional literature in Canada. Most sources are identifying the current and expected demographic and economic growth trends and most share the commonality that different growth scenarios require different planning and policy objectives. However, few sources provide insight on how those at the grassroots level should deal with and plan for decline or no growth. For the most part no growth has been treated through a variety of top-down and bottom-up economic development approaches while planners at the intra-urban level have been involved in managing uneven growth and cleaning up areas in decline like brownfields and core areas to

⁸ Prior to 2005 it was known as the Community Reinvestment Fund

increase liveability and attract investment (for a summary refer to Table 2.3). As a result of the lack of literature on no growth numerous gaps emerge. Little is known about the general issues of those working at the grassroots level with regards to no growth or why it's being avoided and not discussed. Overall, sources reviewed in this Chapter indicate that virtually no guidance, whether theoretical or practical, exists regarding strategies appropriate to ongoing concerns regarding planning and development, either bottom-up or top-down, for the increasing numbers of municipalities and regions where no growth or very slow growth is the most realistic future.

Table 2.3: Chronology of Disparities Management

Timeframe	Planning Approaches	Regional Development Approaches
Post WWII – Early 1960s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Planning for rapid growth ○ Little thought of decline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1957 – first formal equalization program
Mid 1960s – Late 1970s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Planning for growth in suburbs ○ Urban renewal to get rid of core decline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Keynesian policies ○ Rise of the social welfare state ○ 1969 – Creation of DREE ○ Focus on growth poles/centres ○ Redistribute growth to lagging regions through incentives and employment relocation
Early 1980s – Late 1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Need to maintain and attract growth in some areas ○ Package and sell place for economic development ○ Combating core decline by replicating successful places 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Fiscal conservatism and neo-liberal policies ○ Less government intervention ○ Rise of Local and Community Economic Development ○ DREE terminated - regional development departments created ○ 1984 - Equalization included in the Constitution
New Millennium & Beyond	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Combating core decline by transforming them within the local context ○ Focus on reclaiming brownfields and/or urban regeneration ○ Direct growth and target growth areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Regional departments still in place ○ Regional planning and strategic spatial planning emerge ○ Need for locally and/or regionally sensitive policies

CHAPTER THREE EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS FOR GREATER SUDBURY

As outlined in Chapter One, the economic and demographic growth trends in Sudbury began to shift in the mid-1970s. As a result of this shift a number of remedial initiatives have been undertaken at the federal, provincial, and local levels in the general attempt to kick start growth locally and remediate decline. As the previous chapter outlined, beginning in the 1950s two dominant approaches have been undertaken to address disparities, top-down government intervention and bottom-up grass roots initiatives. The top-down approach flourished until the early 1980s and viewed Keynesian policies and government intervention as the key to reducing disparities at the urban and regional levels. Beginning in the mid-1980s as a result of neo-liberalism, globalization, decentralization, and the failures of government intervention a trend towards more bottom-up local and community development and management of disparities emerged. However, as will be depicted in the final section there is a need for both top-down and bottom-up approaches especially in the context of no growth. In the following sections, these approaches will be discussed for the Sudbury case from a comparative perspective (both cross sectional and chronological). This chapter represents the first of two sets of empirical findings presented in this thesis. It reports on the ‘big picture’, the objective factual record of growth and growth-related policy initiatives associated with the Greater Sudbury area over the period of interest here. For the most part, empirical findings were collected by and large through archival research of planning and economic development reports published since the 1950s for Northern Ontario and Sudbury. They were obtained from Laurentian University, the Greater Sudbury Library, and the City of Greater Sudbury.

3.1 Top-Down Government Intervention in Northern Ontario

As mentioned in the previous chapter throughout the period from 1950 to the late 1970s top-down government intervention in urban and regional development was the norm. Also associated with the immediate post-WWII decades was a chaotic time of extreme economic, demographic, and urban growth which Sudbury was no stranger to. During the

1951 to 1961 census period, the population of the Sudbury Basin (equivalent to the Regional Municipality of Sudbury) grew from 115,000 to 138,000, a growth rate of 20 percent, which can be attributed to a high natural increase (2.9 percent), positive net migration and a strong mining economy (Saarinen, 1990; Saarinen, 1993). Furthermore, between 1961 and 1971 the population continued to grow reaching its peak of 170,000 (Saarinen, 1990; Hallsworth & Hallsworth, 1993). Urban development was proliferating prompting the creation of temporary freezing by-laws in some areas, an amalgamation, and core area decline (Hallsworth & Hallsworth, 1993; Saarinen, 1993). Decline in the core was treated with top-down intervention to bull-doze the problem through the Borgia Renewal Program (Sudbury Planning Board & Project Planning Associates Ltd., 1963).

In addition, the 1960s is often described as the last decade comparatively free from provincial and federal government intervention in Sudbury (Buse, 1993; Hallsworth & Hallsworth, 1993). However, beginning in the early 1980s top-down intervention would turn into government support of local initiatives. As the demographic and economic situation began to slow in the late 1960s for Northern Ontario⁹ the upper levels of government became involved with regional development initiatives which sought to redistribute growth and increase employment and income levels in the North. Various top-down regional development initiatives were outlined in the previous chapter and some of these initiatives were undertaken in Northern Ontario and had a direct influence on Sudbury. These strategies will be discussed under the broad category of regional economic development.

3.1.1 Northeastern Ontario Regional Economic Development

In the late 1960's, Ontario began a planning exercise known as the *Design for Development Program*, a regional development strategy that sought to reduce regional economic inequalities, promote the development of each region, and coordinate provincial programs and spending (Richardson, 1981; Cullingworth, 1987). Regional Development Councils and Regional Advisory Boards were created to help design and implement the program (Department of Treasury and Economics, Regional Development Branch, 1969). Under the program, Northeastern Ontario was selected as one of the regions due to its below

⁹ Northern Ontario is made up of Northeastern and Northwestern Ontario and the terms will be used interchangeably

provincial average growth rate, lack of sufficient alternative employment, and income disparities (Department of Treasury and Economics, Regional Development Branch, 1969; Department of Treasury and Economics, Regional Development Branch, 1971). The first phase was completed in 1971 and consisted of an analysis of the region's social, economic and physical resources, trends and problems, and regional goals, needs and priorities. In terms of a spatial strategy, urban centres of opportunity or growth centres were identified (Department of Treasury and Economics, Regional Development Branch, 1971). In 1976, the *Northeastern Ontario Regional Strategy* (NORS) was proposed and consisted of an economic, social, and spatial strategy (Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, Regional Planning Branch, 1976). The economic strategy was primarily focused on the mining, forestry, and tourism sectors while the social strategy targeted housing, healthcare, and education. The spatial strategy consisted of 19 centres classified as either sub-regional centres, area service centres, or local service centres (Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, Regional Planning Branch, 1976).

The first and only draft of the NORS was met with bitter opposition from Sudbury. The Sudbury Chamber of Commerce developed the *Northeastern Ontario Development Strategy* (NODS) which they felt was a better representation of the strategies and programs needed. NORS was viewed at the time as a 'secret strategy' of 'colonial exploitation' to obtain the North's resources for the benefit of the South due to its emphasis on the primary and secondary sectors of the economy and lack thereof on the tertiary and quaternary sectors (Sudbury & District Chamber of Commerce, 1976). Furthermore, the City was upset over its designation as a sub-regional rather than regional centre. Some of the highlights of NODS were to relocate jobs away from Southern Ontario (ie. the Golden Horseshoe) through incentives and to develop an urban centred concept which emphasized urban centres with the most promise and moved away from a 'do-something every-where' approach (Sudbury & District Chamber of Commerce, 1976). NORS was never pursued and the *Design for Development Program* unravelled shortly thereafter due to policy changes away from the growth centre strategy and the changing economic situation in Ontario (Richardson, 1981; Cullingworth, 1984).

In terms of provincial agencies and ministries The *Northern Ontario Development Corporation* (NODC) was created in 1970 to assist with regional economic development (Ontario Economic Council, 1976; Weller, 1980). The NODC was a subsidy program designed to provide financial incentives to attract investment and businesses mainly in the secondary manufacturing and tourist industries (Ontario Economic Council, 1976; Weller, 1980). Furthermore, Northeastern Ontario was also designated for similar funding under the federal governments *Regional Development Incentives Act* (Weller, 1980). However, as noted in the previous chapter incentives were highly criticized for being largely ineffective and much of the money was geared towards low-wage industries like tourism or to forestry related industries in Northeastern Ontario (Weller, 1980). In 1977, the Ontario *Ministry of Northern Affairs*¹⁰ was created to consolidate northern programs under one ministry as well as to coordinate and promote regional economic development (Weller, 1980; Bryant & Douglas, 1994)

In addition, both the federal and provincial governments created employment relocation strategies that targeted specific areas in Northern Ontario and act as ‘recessionary cushions’ (Northern Ontario Post-secondary Institutions, 2000). Under the federal relocation program, which was initiated in 1977 and completed in Sudbury in 1981, 630 permanent and 2,000 temporary jobs were created through the creation of the federal taxation data centre (Revenue Canada) (Richardson, 1985; Savoie, 1992a). In addition, the provincial *Northern Ontario Relocation Program* was developed in the mid-1980s to relocate 1,600 jobs to Sudbury, North Bay, Sault Ste Marie, and Thunder Bay (Savoie, 1992a). Furthermore, in 1992 the provincial government also moved the Ontario Geological Survey and the offices of Northern Development and Mines from Toronto to Sudbury (Robinson, 2005). Government employment relocation was seen as instrumental in bringing white-collar jobs to Sudbury (Wallace, 1993b). However, the lack of permanent positions and contract employment are notable drawbacks to these programs. A prime case in point is Revenue Canada which hires the majority of their workforce during tax season.

¹⁰ In 1977 the Ministry of Northern Affairs became its own separate entity and in 1985 the responsibility of mines and minerals was bestowed to them along with a new name, the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines (MNDM, 2004).

3.2 Bottom-Up Local Development in Sudbury

As described in the previous chapter top-down interventionist strategies began to unravel in the late 1970s and early 1980s due to a number of culminating factors. As a result the onus of regional development was shifted to the local development and the emphasis was switched from industry relocation and intervention to the importance of education and training, entrepreneurial development, and small business creation (Savoie, 1992a; Blazyca & Klasik, 2003; Dawe & Bryden, 2000; Danson, 2003). As noted in Chapter Two, regional development in Northern Ontario became the responsibility of *FedNor*, a federal regional development agency designed to coordinate economic development and provide input on policies and programs and provide funding support (Savoie, 1992a; Beaumier, 1996; Coulombe, 1997). Presently, the *Northern Ontario Development Program* under FedNor provides financial support for projects related to community economic development, innovation, information and communications technology, trade and tourism, human capital, and business financing (FedNor, 2006).

At the provincial level, in 1988 the *Northern Ontario Heritage Fund Corporation* (NOHFC) was created under the Ontario provincial *Ministry of Northern Development and Mines* (MNDM) to encourage and provide financial support for economic growth and diversification with programs to aid small businesses, provide assistance to single industry communities experiencing economic restructuring and promote new technologies (NOHFC, 1989; Bryant & Douglas, 1994). Currently, NOHFC funding aims to enhance the quality of life and encourage economic development while focussing on Northern entrepreneurs, companies, and business organizations and supporting infrastructure and community development projects (NOHFC, 2007). Funding for both FedNor and NOHFC are provided on a project or application basis where the local level initiates the request and the top provides the support. Furthermore, both programs have created special initiatives targeting youth like internship programs and support for small business creation in an attempt to stem the large out-migration of this cohort from Northern Ontario.

At the local level in Sudbury, economic development has been an important focus since the early 1970s as a result of the economic restructuring in the mining sector. It has often involved partnerships within the community between various sectors as well as partnerships with the upper levels of government for funding and support via the umbrella

programs mentioned above. Also, it should be noted that often INCO and Falconbridge have provided funding for economic development initiatives. Efforts have been focused on diversification which, as an economic growth strategy, is undertaken to expand into sectors that are not susceptible to the boom-bust cycle associated with economies dependent on natural resources like mining (Bryan & Douglas, 1994). A key component to local economic development in the Sudbury case has been the large number of local boosters and strong leaders who were aware and knowledgeable about the various umbrella programs and funding opportunities. Furthermore, in the early 1980s when the drastic effects of economic restructuring were being felt regional leaders used their declining status to lobby the provincial and federal government to take action arguing that, “no nation is so affluent that it can afford to throw away a major city” (Saarinen, 1990).

The remainder of this section will describe the major local economic development initiatives that have been undertaken in the Sudbury case under the following subsections: The Vehicle for Economic Development; Community Economic Development – A Feel Good Strategy; Dispelling the Moonscape; Strategic Planning – From all Things to Everyone to Engines of Growth; Post-Secondary Educational and Research Institutions as a Catalyst for Growth; the Cluster Panacea; and the Collective Voice – Are they Heard?. This section will close with a description of planning in Sudbury in the context of no growth.

3.2.1 The Vehicle for Economic Development

In 1974, the Sudbury Regional Council created the *Sudbury Regional Development Corporation* (SRDC) an autonomous group consisting of representatives from business, industry, and government (Richardson, 1985; Saarinen, 1992). It was accountable to regional council however it consisted of its own board of directors, general manager, staff, and budget (Richardson, 1985; Saarinen, 1992). It is now known as the *Greater Sudbury Development Corporation* (GSDC) and is now a semi-autonomous body consisting of representatives from business, industry, government and its own board of directors. However, the general manager and some staff are now shared with the Growth and Development Department for the City of Greater Sudbury. The development corporation has been actively involved in marketing the City, strategic planning, site location, promoting diversification, and providing assistance to new and existing employers to obtain funding

from the various government umbrella programs (Richardson, 1985; Saarinen, 1992). The corporation has been immensely involved in most of the economic development initiatives that will be discussed in greater detail throughout this chapter.

3.2.3 Community Economic Development – A Feel Good Strategy

Since the late 1970s, a number of economic development initiatives have been undertaken which have either been initiated by the community or have involved the community. The first major initiative was the creation of the *Sudbury 2001* conference in 1978 which brought together to deal with the recent slump in the mining sector (Richardson, 1985). The conference produced some interesting ideas about the future but lacked any formal direction (Sudbury 2001, 1978; Richardson, 1985). Despite this, the premier of Ontario did provide money to set up a non-profit organization which became known as *Sudbury 2001* (Richardson, 1985). The goal of the organization was to create 75 jobs a year however this wasn't accomplished and Richardson (1985) commented that "many of the projects attempted came to nothing for one reason or another" (79). The organization has been credited with bridging the gap between key stakeholders in the community and allowing them to work together for a common interest (Richardson, 1985).

The second major initiative was in response to the massive layoffs in 1982 in the mining sector which caught the region by surprise. A number of regional taskforces were created and ran between 1983 and 1984 to investigate job creation and economic development opportunities in the following areas: mining, government administration, business, industry, finance, health services, agriculture, and education. Each taskforce consisted of members of council, a member of SRDC, a senior official from the region, and community resource members. Each task force created ideas and reviewed ideas from the SRDC community job bank. In total, 38 proposals were submitted to the upper levels of government (Richardson, 1985). The most notable results were related to the health services taskforce and short-term job creation. The health services taskforce received funding for four projects and the proposal for the development of a cancer treatment centre was accepted (Richardson, 1985; Filion, 1988).

The other successful taskforce was short-term job creation which identified job opportunities in Sudbury that met the criteria of federal and provincial job creation programs

(Richardson, 1985). The provincial government also appointed a job creation coordinator and expediter to work with the taskforce. In the end, over 4,600 people were employed for nearly 16 weeks in a variety of make-work projects including the land reclamation program which benefited immensely (Richardson, 1985). A key component on the program was that it allowed workers to remain eligible for unemployment insurance. For example, if a worker was approaching the end of their UI than they would be hired long enough to re-qualify (Richardson, 1985). Downsides to the program was the fact that employment was short-term and often led to nothing, the jobs were often low pay, and some felt that the money would have been better invested in educating the workers (Richardson, 1985).

Once again in 1992, the SRDC created a community economic development program known as *The Next Ten Years Project*. Again, it created committees to review and generate proposals and the community was involved through input forums, idea banks, a survey, a business questionnaire, and a conference. The project recognized the changing dynamics of the global economy and stressed competitiveness. In their final report, 385 potential projects and initiatives were created under seven categories including: public policy, human resources development, infrastructure, promotion and marketing, entrepreneurial opportunities, knowledge-based initiatives, and developing partnerships. The implementation of these projects and initiatives was the responsibility of their corresponding proponents while the SRDC provided steering support, facilitation, and coordination (The Next Ten Years Committee, 1992; SRDC, 1993).

Although no monitoring or evaluative reports have been located I can comment on a small number of the 385 proposals which have been successfully developed since 1992. These include being selected as the location for the French college (1995); the development of a medical school in Sudbury (2005); the creation of a permanent farmers market (2000); a joint nursing program between Cambrian College and Laurentian University; renovations of Pioneer Manner nursing home (2005); creation of the Imax Theatre at Science North; redevelopment of the Big Nickel Mine tourist site (2003); and upgrading the airport (2003) (Bradley, 2000; O’Flanagan, 2003; St. Pierre, 2005; Collège Boréal, 2007). Thus, these community initiatives have had limited success in achieving all of their priorities however they have encouraged community activism and involvement in economic development while

boosting the morale within the community (Richardson, 1985; Fillion, 1988). In addition, without these strategies it can be argued that the situation would have been far worse.

3.2.4 Dispelling the Moonscape

By the 1960s, mining practices related to smelting had left the Sudbury landscape polluted and barren of natural vegetation. As a result, it was selected by the Apollo training missions in 1969-70 as a landscape that resembled the moon (Saarinen, 1992). Beginning in 1978 a massive land reclamation program was initiated and supported by all three levels of government, Laurentian University, and the mining companies. Although the goal was to re-green the natural environment and improve the image of the City the program had a dual purpose. The program also provided short-term job creation for miners who had been laid-off from the mines in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Richardson, 1985; Saarinen, 1992; Wallace, 1993b). The land reclamation program and re-greening efforts have resulted in an environmental success story for the City which received a United Nations commendation in 1992 for its efforts and has transformed the moonscape image into one of restored natural beauty (Wallace, 1993b). Land reclamation is an ongoing program in Sudbury and the City is still actively involved in re-greening. Related to the changing image of Sudbury was the creation of Science North, an interactive science centre, an idea that was initially funded by INCO in 1980. It was opened in 1984 with funding from INCO, Falconbridge, and all three levels of government (Buse, 1993; Wallace, 1993b). Wallace (1993b) refers to it as the “symbol for Sudbury’s diversification and survival” (278).

3.2.5 Economic Development – From All Things to Everyone to Engines of Growth

In the early 1980s, an economic development report was prepared for the SRDC by Peter Barnard and Associates (1984). It identified the strengths, weaknesses, and key sectors with the highest potential for future growth in the City. Strengths included Sudbury’s role as the regional service centre, the resource base, human and cultural resources, history of community involvement, a generous amount of land and buildings, an abundance of government-assistance programs, and good transportation access. Weaknesses focused on the image related with the City, high costs, an uncertain economic situation, limited skill-sets within the community, and lack of coordination in some instances. The report suggested

concentrating on three sectors which they felt had the highest potential for growth and they include: mining-related machine manufacturing; public sector services, namely government employment; and private sector services or tourism accommodations, finance, insurance, business services, and mining services. The report identified 79 potential government offices that could be relocated or opened in Sudbury and called upon the SRDC to carry out marketing programs directed at the three sectors, overcome the weaknesses mentioned earlier, and approach companies with Sudbury's advantages.

In the mid-1980s Sudbury undertook an approach to economic development and long range planning referred to as 'Strategic Community Development Planning' by Pierre Filion (1988), a combination of community development and strategic planning. Community development utilizes community participation in decision-making and implementation and focuses on education, healthcare, recreation, and public services while strategic planning provides a framework and allows for the assessment of strengths in the community and the creation of long-range objectives. Through this approach the *Sudbury Corporate Plan* was developed in 1986 by the Planning Department for the Regional Municipality of Sudbury. In terms of physical planning it called for a consolidated urbanized area to reduce costs, encouraged infill development, and strict limitations on infrastructure additions (Filion, 1988). In terms of economic development the plan stressed growing a number of sectors including: tourism, business and personal services, health, education, mining, energy, food and agriculture, culture, arts and entertainment, and sports and athletics (Filion, 1988). While this approach looks good on paper in reality the plan was largely abandoned when the economic situation began to improve in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

In 1994 the *Corporate Strategic Plan* was developed to provide a vision and to set strategic goals and action programs. The vision included Sudbury as a "strong, self-reliant community" and promoted "balanced, sustainable growth and development, while enhancing the quality of life for everyone" (11). A number of areas were described to help achieve this vision along with specific goals, objectives, and programs for each area. In terms of economic development the goal was to promote Sudbury as the regional centre for services, finance, education and training, provincial and federal government services, transportation and distribution, arts, culture and entertainment, sports and recreation, and medical referrals. In addition, this plan sought to develop Sudbury as the national centre for

telecommunications and the international centre for mining and forestry resource and product development, scientific, medical, mining and environmental technology and research, and tourism.

In 2003, the Greater Sudbury Development Corporation created *Coming of Age in the 21st Century*, a strategic plan, that focuses on the City's strengths and weaknesses as well as five 'engines' of economic growth. It involved a report card on Sudbury's capacity for wealth creation and the participation of over 300 community leaders. The five strategic areas or engines that were identified are for the City to become: the best mining and supply services centre in the world; a city for the creative, curious and adventuresome; one of Ontario's top 4 destinations; a leader in health innovation and biotechnology; and a model for eco-industry and renewable energy. Furthermore, four igniters were identified as fundamental contributors to help fuel the engines and they include: infrastructure improvements, educational upgrading, technology-readiness, and promoting the quality of life in Sudbury. These engines are quite ambitious and sound great on paper but in reality most will be difficult to achieve.

The main currents that run through this plan are the need to be competitive in the global economy, building on local strengths, and the importance of quality of place in the new economy. In comparison, this plan is more focused on key strategic sectors or areas rather than all sectors in the previous plans. This represents a shift from trying to diversify into all sectors to concentrating on key areas or strengths. However, since 2003 little has been done in terms of evaluating and monitoring the plan. As with the *Sudbury Corporate Plan* in 1986 the economic situation in Sudbury has improved since 2003 and perhaps a similar abandonment may result.

3.2.6 Post-Secondary Educational & Research Institutions as a Catalyst for Growth

As mentioned in the previous chapter, post-secondary educational institutions in Canada act as growth poles which economically enhance their local areas (Meyer & Alfred Hecht, 1996). Furthermore, universities located in Northern regions were seen as important catalysts for regional development (Weller, 1994). Post-secondary educational and research institutions have become important cornerstones for economic development in the City. Laurentian University was established in 1960 after a bitter struggle over location with North

Bay while Cambrian College and Collège Boréal were established respectively in 1966 and 1995 (Hallsworth & Hallsworth, 1993; Saarnen, 1993; Collège Boréal, 2007). In 2005, Laurentian University opened one of two campuses for the Northern Ontario School of Medicine which is the first medical school to be opened in Canada in over 30 years. In addition, six new doctoral programs have been created at Laurentian over the last three years. Furthermore, several research centres have been founded in Sudbury which include, but are not limited to, the newly established Centre for Excellence in Mining Innovation (CEMI) and the newly announced Living with Lakes Centre as well as The Northern Centre for Advanced Technology (NORCAT) and the Mining, Innovation, Rehabilitation, and Applied Research Corporation (MIRARCO) created in 1995 and 1998 respectively (MIRACO, 2005; CEMI, 2006, Cooperative Freshwater Ecology Unit, 2006; Applied Research, 2007).

In 2000, a report was created by the Northern Ontario post-secondary institutions entitled, *2000 to 2010 – Economic Transformation of Northern Ontario*. It emphasizes the strong economic role that Universities and Colleges can play in the future especially in establishing knowledge clusters. The hope is that increased educational opportunities and enrolment will help stem youth out-migration and further attract more youth to the North and to Sudbury resulting in demographic and economic growth. However, the report also states that even with increasing enrolment, graduates from Northern Universities and Colleges are still being ‘drained away’. Thus, for graduates to remain in the City and in the North job opportunities in their related fields need to be available.

3.2.7 The Cluster Panacea

Since the early 1990s, prompted in part by the success of Silicon Valley, the identification and development of clusters which are associated with the knowledge economy has become the “new policy panacea” in national, regional, and local development (Wolfe & Gertler, 2004; Asheim, Cooke & Martin, 2006: 3). Michael Porter is perhaps one of the most influential people behind the concept of clusters and he defines them as,

Geographic concentrations of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, firms in related industries, associated institutions (for example universities, standards agencies, and trade associations) in particular fields that compete but also co-operate (1998: 197).

As mentioned in Chapter One, the mining supply and services sector (MS&S) in Sudbury consists of numerous small and medium sized businesses that supply mining technologies, products, and services and it has been identified as a cluster by researchers, local boosters, and local government (Gertler & Wolfe, 2006; GSDC, 2003; Robinson, 2003; 2004; 2005).

In recent years several initiatives have been undertaken to grow and foster this cluster. For example, the *Sudbury Area Mining Supply and Services Association* (SAMSSA) a private-sector organization designed to develop export opportunities was created in 2003 while the privately-owned *Sudbury Mining Solutions* trade journal was created to promote the MS&S sector (Robinson, 2004). Furthermore, in 2006 the Centre for Mining Excellence in Mining Innovation (CEMI)¹¹ was founded at Laurentian University with support from the university, colleges, mining companies, and all three levels of government. With the recent growth in the mining sector a renewed emphasis has been placed on mining and the hope is that this cluster will become a niche that the City can carve into the global economy despite the volatile nature of the mining economy and no formal designation from upper levels of government.

3.2.8 Collective Voices – Are they heard?

In the broader regional context of Northern Ontario, a variety of formal and informal partnerships have been formed to call attention to Northern issues. The Federation of Northern Ontario Municipalities and the Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association are two formal membership-based associations that strive to improve legislation concerning local government in Northern Ontario and consist of a board of directors and executive committee (FONOM, 2007; NOMA, 2007). The Coalition of Northern Ontario Large Urban Mayors is an informal group made up of Mayors from Sudbury, Thunder Bay, North Bay, Sault Ste Marie and Timmins. The Mayors band together so that a collective voice is heard when lobbying upper levels of government. In recent years, they have called upon the government to stop population decline and increase job growth for the urban areas in Northern Ontario. Strategies they suggest include job relocation to the North, a review of regional economic development policies, incentives for Northern businesses and industries, educating and training Northerners for Northern jobs, creating a brand for Northern Ontario, and immigrant

¹¹ CEMI is one of about 13 mining related research centers at Laurentian University (Robinson, 2004).

attraction through incentives and programs (NOLUM, 2003; 2005). However, these groups are not formal political bodies and are only successful if they are ‘heard’ from the upper levels of government.

3.2.9 Planning in the Context of No Growth

It should be noted that many of the local and community economic development initiatives mentioned above often involved all City staff including planners. In 1977, the *Regional Official Plan* was completed which contained a hierarchy of settlements to direct growth. Settlements outside the core of Sudbury were either mining company towns with compact development or agricultural areas with a more dispersed pattern of development. The plan had a projected population for 1996 of 228,000 people based on a growth rate of 1.5 percent and demographic indicators like birth and death rates and job growth. It should be noted that during the 1970s, economic restructuring was occurring and the population was declining yet growth was still predicted. However, the *Regional Official Plan* was seen as a more comprehensive planning document because it also contained an economic section which discussed the need to diversify (The Next Ten Years Committee, 1992).

In 1986, the *Sudbury Corporate Plan* called for a consolidated urbanized area, infill development, and strict limitations on infrastructure additions to minimize and cut costs after experiencing a decade of experiencing no growth (Filion, 1988). In 1987, the City of Sudbury¹² completed their secondary plan and the introduction acknowledges that in a city experiencing no growth or decline “land use planning has to have a different focus” as well as different “policies and programs” (2-1). It mentions that qualitative development of the built form including community conservation, infilling, and redevelopment become imperative. This plan was produced like the aforementioned after over a decade of decline. The use of the term ‘qualitative development’ is notable because it introduces new vocabulary to discuss no growth.

In recent years the City began working on a new *Official Plan* which was adopted by council in 2006¹³. The new *Official Plan* confronts what is describes as a “dispersed pattern” of development that creates difficulties for the “efficient provision of services and

¹² Includes only the core city of Sudbury and doesn’t include other towns and cities in the regional municipality

¹³ The Official Plan has yet to receive provincial approval

infrastructure” (9). It is interesting to note that despite a relative decline since 1971 the City is still dealing with dispersed development. This is largely a result of the physical geography and the geographic size of the municipality including a number of original settlements, from before the amalgamation, all wanting growth and development. This creates a politically sensitive issue and the solution was to create settlement areas which includes fourteen former areas designated as ‘communities’. There is no hierarchy for development to this community settlement pattern even though some are located in excess of 40 kilometres from the central core city of Sudbury.

The plan also introduces ‘phasing policies’ to “guide new development in designated areas” in an attempt to curb outward dispersion, channel growth, and be consistent with provincial policy (27). It describes population projections as a being difficult in Northeastern Ontario due to the cyclical pattern of growth evident in the past. Instead of forecasting three scenarios are presented based on out-migration, natural increase, and in-migration representing uncertainty but also an unwillingness to accept decline in an official document¹⁴. There is optimism that economic growth around the engines outlined in the strategic plan will result in in-migration while at the same time recognizing that with or without population growth urban development will continue.

3.3 The Difference Between Top-Down & Bottom-Up

The need for both a top-down and bottom-up strategy for no growth becomes evident when looking at various reports published on the no-growth situation in Northern Ontario. In two reports published by the Coalition of Northern Ontario Large Urban Mayors, entitled *Embracing the Future: A New Vision for Northern Ontario* (2003) and *Creating Our Future: A New Vision for Northern Ontario* (2005) population decline is mentioned as a current trend. The first report discusses a number of issues including population decline, unemployment, educational attainment, slow job growth, and low assessment growth as well

¹⁴ Meridian Planning Consultants & the Planning Services Division (2006) definitions: The out-migration scenario is based on the twenty-year historical trend for out-migration. In this scenario, out-migration outpaces growth resulting from in-migration and the natural increase component. Out-migration was averaged to be a net of 650 persons per year leaving the City. The natural increase scenario assumes a net migration of zero and is based on births and deaths. The in-migration scenario assumes a return to the population peak of 1971. Population projections based on these scenarios for 2021 would be 135,407, 150,012 or 169,579.

as opportunities including a “quality of life that millions would envy...if only they new about it!” (5). The proposed solution is a new vision and strategy for Northern Ontario and specific proposals include training and education Northerner’s, relocating government offices to the North, providing incentive packages and programs for immigrants, Northern businesses and industries, and creating a Northern Ontario brand which looks to market the benefits of locating in the North to students, businesses, and professionals. This report recognizes the need for top-down government intervention however their role is to reverse the trends. The second report also discusses decline as a current trend and expresses concern over the Ministry of Finance’s projection of continued decline. It calls upon the government to stop decline and increase job growth in the next five years and attain population and job growth at the provincial rate in the next 10 to 15 years. Once again the report calls upon a vision for Northern Ontario with many of the same proposals as the previous report.

In 2003 the provincial government created five smart growth panels across Ontario. The panel for Northeastern Ontario was made up of ten members who were largely municipal representatives. The smart growth report for Northeastern Ontario became a case for economic development rather than any issues relating to land-use planning. Ignoring planning in this report places a decreased emphasis on the need for ‘smart’ planning in a no-growth region. The report mentions that decline is a reality for this region of Ontario. However, the goal is to have a stable population by the 2006 census and an increase by the 2011 census. This would be accomplished through a number of economic development initiatives outlined in the report. Examples include tourism development, expanding post-secondary education and research, and promoting the health research and development industry. However, these economic development initiatives are merely suggestions and their implementation requires the support of the upper levels of government. It should be noted that, at least in Sudbury, post-secondary education and research has been expanding in recent years. The population projections for 2021 include three districts or municipalities (Algoma, Cochrane and Temiskaming) that will continue to decline while the remaining six (Manitoulin, Muskoka, Nipissing, Parry Sound, Greater Sudbury and the Sudbury District) are expected to experience growth. Overall, this report claims that decline is a reality but at the same time believes in its reversal in the near future which contradicts projections.

Decline or no growth is seen as something that can be overcome in most instances through economic development despite demographic trends.

The last report was prepared by external researchers Enid Slack, Larry Bourne and Meric Gertler (2003) in their report for the Ontario government entitled *Small, Rural, and Remote Communities: The Anatomy of Risk* discuss the trends and characteristics of small, rural, and remote communities in Ontario. This report was discussed in the previous chapter and although its more directed at small communities recommendations include a distinct and comprehensive strategy for these communities in Northern Ontario, including planning for future decline or downsizing and a modified form of a two-tier system of regional governance. Other suggestions include better coordination between government programs and policy initiatives, strategic investment, and concentrating growth and resources in designated urban growth centres. It also points out that the Smart Growth Panel for Northeastern Ontario does not discuss the possibility of planning for decline. This is the only report that views decline as a continuing trend in Northern Ontario and tries to offer feasible solutions for settlement, economic development, governance, new opportunities in information technologies, and finance and the fact that it was prepared by external researchers is probably the main reason for this.

3.4 Summary

One of the major theme's that emerges from the Sudbury case is that many of these top-down and bottom-up initiatives have been instrumental in improving the economic situation in the City compared to the early 1970s. Early initiatives prompted the selection of Sudbury as the OECD case study in 1985 because it had managed urban-economic adjustment (Richardson, 1985). Furthermore, the City has vigorously worked at reversing the negative image associated with early mining practices through re-greening the landscape. Also, evident from the Sudbury case is the importance of both top-down and bottom-up approaches. Sudbury has evolved and diversified into the regional centre for Northeastern Ontario in terms of medical care, retail, tourism, government, education and more recently call centres and all of these initiatives have been accomplished through significant government investment from all three levels. However, this said these economic development initiatives have not reversed the overall trend of population no growth from

1971. Despite this trend the City is optimistic and continues to plan for the possibility of population growth returning to the 1971 level as evident in their new official plan which is most likely a result of the mindset of not knowing how to handle this issue due to the lack of a theoretical framework. Essentially, this leads to the continual process of planning for growth rather than a more sustainable model that builds on strengthening the community. Little however is known about how those at the grassroots level deal with no growth or why planning for no growth is such a concern. More specifically, there has been no documentation as regards to how local decision-makers feel about issues relating to planning and development in Sudbury and Northeastern Ontario in the context of no growth.

Table 3.1: Chronology of Trends & the Management of Disparities in Sudbury

	Mid 1960s – Late 1970s	Early 1980s – Late 1990s	The New Millennium & Beyond
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Lower population growth and then decline by the end of the 1970s 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Low natural increase ○ Youth out-migration ○ Continued decline in the 1980s ○ Modest growth in the 1990s 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Dependent on immigration for growth ○ Youth out-migration ○ Natural increase below zero ○ Decline in 2001 ○ Slow growth by 2006
Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Deindustrialization ○ Increasing International Competition ○ Lower demand for nickel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Recession ○ Shift to service sector ○ Economic restructuring ○ Employment cut-backs in mining 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ ‘New Economy’ ○ Rising nickel prices to record highs
Management of Disparities			
Planning Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Urban renewal to get rid of decline in the Borgia Street Area ○ Amalgamation ○ Planning for growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Strategic Community Development Planning ○ Consolidated urbanized area, infill development, and strict limitations on infrastructure additions ○ Qualitative development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Optimistic for future growth ○ Phasing development ○ Community settlement pattern ○ Urban development without demographic growth
Economic Development Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Increased senior level government intervention in economic development ○ Re-greening / image restoration ○ Selected as a growth centre in the <i>Design for Development</i> program 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Strategic Community Development Planning ○ Lobbying senior levels of government for funding ○ Regional Centre: health, government, education & retail ○ Diversification ○ Employment relocation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Economic Engines for Growth ○ Partnerships ○ Research & Development: Centre for Mining Technology and Innovation; Living with Lakes; Northern Ontario School of Medicine ○ Fostering the Mining Supply & Services Cluster
Regional Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Focus on growth centres strategy ○ Increased senior level government intervention in economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ FedNor created - Federal Ministry of Northern Development and Mines returns - Provincial ○ Regional partnerships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Regional departments and financial programs still in place ○ Regional partnerships

CHAPTER FOUR EXPLORING THE METHODOLOGY

This chapter will explain the dominant strategies and methodology used to conduct the second phase of this research. As previously stated in Chapter One, the first phase in the research was to establish the documentary record of Sudbury's decline from a comparative perspective (both cross sectional and chronological) alongside remedial initiatives undertaken at the federal, provincial, and local levels in the general attempt to kick start growth locally and remediate decline. This was accomplished through document analysis in Chapter Three. The second phase in the research is to investigate how those involved in planning and economic development at the grassroots level deal with no growth in the City of Greater Sudbury. As identified in Chapters Two and Three little is known about the general issues of those working at the grassroots level with regards to no growth or why it's being avoided and not discussed. Furthermore, in the Sudbury case little is known about why no growth is such a concern or how they deal with it. Lastly, little is known about possible strategies that can be employed in the current context of no growth. Former methods have included top-down government invention designed to redistribute growth and bottom-up local and community economic development as well as the oxymoronic solution of planning for no growth with growth. In terms of planning in no growth in the current context an absence of literature exists at the urban level. As will be further explained below this research utilized a case study approach, documentation analysis, and a qualitative research design which was selected as the predominant research methodology because of its flexibility and participatory nature. In addition, this chapter will discuss the interview design, recruitment methods, data analysis procedures, and limitations.

4.1 Case Study Research Strategy

Chapter One established the rationale for selecting Greater Sudbury as the case study for this research from which general principles will be developed. A case study is defined as "a research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within a single setting" (Eisenhardt, 1999: 138). It often involves the examination of a specific person, group, or society and can be used for exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory purposes

(Yin, 1984; Babbie, 1999). Simply put this research strategy is a description of a specific case (Flick, von Kardoff & Steinke, 2004). It often utilizes multiple data collection techniques which in the case of this research was document analysis and interviews (Eisenhardt, 1999). Furthermore, it seeks to answer how and why questions which corresponds to the main purpose of this investigation (Yin, 1984). As a result of these qualities and the rationale identified in Chapter One a case study approach was undertaken for this investigation.

4.2 Document Analysis

As mentioned, the first phase of this research was to establish the documentary record of Sudbury's decline from a comparative perspective (both cross sectional and chronological) alongside remedial initiatives undertaken at the federal, provincial, and local levels in the general attempt to kick start growth locally and remediate decline. This process began in July and August of 2006 and it was an ongoing component throughout this research. In Chapter One statistics obtained from a variety of sources including policy documents, the City of Greater Sudbury, research reports, and Statistics Canada were used to depict the population situation in Sudbury over the last 50 years. Furthermore, archival work on planning and economic development policy documents from the last 40 years pertaining to Sudbury and Northern Ontario were researched to identify the remedial initiatives undertaken at the federal, provincial, and local level to foster growth which were presented in Chapter Two. Most of the policy documents were found in the archives at Laurentian University and through the TriUniversity Group of Libraries (Waterloo, Laurier & Guelph) while some were provided by the City of Greater Sudbury. In the end, the document analysis allowed for a greater understanding of the demographic and economic trends and identified how the City has managed no growth in the past.

4.3 Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research is described as conducting “naturalistic inquiry in the real-world rather than experimental or manipulated settings” (Snape & Spencer, 2003: 4). The social sciences are more concerned with people, their interactions, and their surroundings and essentially qualitative research explores issues through the “eyes of the people being studied”

(Bryman, 2001: 277). Quite simply, qualitative research is more preoccupied with words rather than quantifiable numbers (Bryan, 2001; Creswell, 2003) in order to “provide a deeper understanding of social phenomenon...” (Silverman, 2000: 8). Qualitative research seeks to determine the point of view of respondents, it’s participatory, and it’s more flexible than quantitative research (Snape & Spencer, 2003; Flick, von Kardoff & Steinke, 2004).

The strengths of this approach include the ability to utilize multiple methods and data sources, achieving rich descriptions, representation of the key informants’ perspective and providing a greater understanding of an issue (Stark & Torrance, 2005). In addition, qualitative research is conducive to research that is exploratory in nature or research that is “breaking new ground.” (Babbie, 1999: 73; Flick, 2004; Berg, 2004). As mentioned previously, this research is being conducted to investigate how the grassroots deals with no growth exemplifying the need for a participatory approach that is more concerned with what is being said which provided the justification for selecting a qualitative framework.

4.3.1 Key informants & Interview Design

From the onset, I determined that this research would involve people associated with planning and economic development predominantly from the grass roots level who were directly involved with Sudbury or Northeastern Ontario¹⁵. I felt that these key informants would have more experience on the ground and that would provide a greater understanding of the research topic. Furthermore, economic developers were included because often economic development plays a dominant role in no growth urban areas as identified in Chapters Two and Three. Initially a self-administered online questionnaire was considered as a method for this research because they are fast and relatively inexpensive. However, questions would have been largely open-ended (ex. Why is no growth a concern?) due to the exploratory nature of this research. Furthermore, there would have been no opportunity to probe key informants for additional information. Thus, in order to investigate those involved in the planning and economic development process regarding no growth in Sudbury, semi-structured individual interviews were selected.

¹⁵ One participant had not worked in the City of Greater Sudbury or Northeastern Ontario but had done work in a declining urban area and one participant may not be considered grassroots by some but had worked directly with a number of Northern municipalities to formulate policies.

Bryman (2001) explains that the first step in semi-structured interviewing is creating an interview guide which is essentially a list of questions or specific topics that will be covered in the interview. However, the researcher also has the flexibility to ask follow up questions and the ordering of questions may differ from interview to interview but for the most part, the same questions are asked for each interview in a similar way. Table 4.1 provides a more detailed description of the key characteristics of semi-structured interviews. There were two main interview guides used in this research: one for those involved in the planning process and another for those involved in the economic development process (see Appendix A). The guides were the same in terms of structure, content, and questions. Only the wording differed between the guides on questions associated with challenges, opportunities and strategies. For example, planning key informants were asked what planning strategies should be undertaken in declining urban areas while economic development key informants were asked what economic development strategies should be undertaken in declining urban areas. While the interviews were being conducted several key informants identified having experience in both professions and provided answers for each. Both guides consisted of twenty-two questions and were divided into four sections or themes.

Table 4.1: Description of Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-Structured Interviews
○ More or less structured
○ Questions may be reordered during the interviews
○ Wording of questions is flexible
○ Level of language may be adjusted
○ Interviewer may answer questions and make clarifications
○ Interviewer may add or delete probes to interview between subsequent subjects

Source: Berg, 2004: 79.

The interview guide was divided in four sections with the first section being used to obtain general information on the key informant. As noted in the previous chapters, little is known about the concerns of those at the grassroots level pertaining to no growth and Part B was intended to encourage a general discussion about decline regarding its indicators, its influences, why it's a concern, what no-growth cities should be planning for, and whether no growth can be reversed. General questions were used to establish context and comfort with the topic before jumping into the specific questions regarding Sudbury. Part C was designed to look specifically at the Sudbury case to allow key informants the opportunity to explain why no growth is occurring, whether it will continue, and to identify the challenges and opportunities in the context of no growth. As identified in Chapter Two, different growth trajectories have different challenges and opportunities and the key is to recognize them and plan accordingly. The final section, provided key informants with the chance to suggest potential strategies or policies needed in the context of no growth for cities like Sudbury and for Northern Ontario.

The interview guide was completed at the beginning of September, 2006 and shortly thereafter three pilot tests were carried out with one person who had planning and economic development experience and was not a key informant in the final study. The first pilot test revealed the need to reorganize the questions, reword some questions and to add additional questions. The second pilot test reviewed these changes and accommodated minor revisions while the final pilot test verified clarity. This research was reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo in early October, 2006.

4.3.2 Recruitment Methods & Interview Characteristics

To determine potential key informants a purposive sampling strategy and snowball sampling strategy were employed which targeted those involved in the planning and economic development process. A purposive sampling strategy enables the researcher to select key informants based on criteria or characteristics defined by the researcher which will ultimately allow the research questions to be explored (Babbie, 1999; Silverman, 2000; Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003). For this research, the purpose or criteria used for selecting key informants was involvement in the planning or economic development process in the

City of Greater Sudbury, Northeastern Ontario or otherwise experience with a declining urban area¹⁶. Employment history was not utilized as a criterion for selection. Key informants included planners, economic developers, researchers, and politicians who were selected from all three levels of government as well as from private consulting companies. Those from the upper levels of government worked directly with the local level prompting their inclusion as part of the grassroots. Furthermore, a snowball sampling strategy allowed the key informants to suggest others that they felt should be contacted regarding this research (see Babbie, 1999; Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003). Through the utilization of both sampling strategies it was believed that the number of key informants would be maximized and key key informants would not be overlooked.

Potential key informants were identified through examining internet websites for numerous government ministries and public agencies. Initial contact was made via email with an invitation to participate and an information letter which described the nature of the study throughout (refer to Appendix B). In addition, the initial invitation contained times when the researcher would be in the key informants' respective location to assist in determining a time suitable for both the key informant and the researcher. If an email address was unavailable the prospective key informant was contacted via phone and the nature of the study was described and an email address was obtained in order to send the invitation and information letter. Potential key informants were then able to suggest suitable times and locations for the interview (see Table 4.2). Generally if no response was obtained within one week of the initial invitation the key informant was contacted once again via phone. The phone contact proved beneficial because a few invitations were caught in SPAM filters and were overlooked by the key informants. Of the 34 initial key informants identified through the purposive sampling, 24 participated and two others participated who were suggested by those who were unable to participate. Table 4.2 contains further information about the key informants and the reasoning why some did not participate in this research. The snowball sample did not offer any additional key informants based on the purposive criteria determined by the researcher. Thus, a total of 26 key informants were interviewed for this research.

¹⁶ As mentioned one participant did not have experience in the City of Greater Sudbury or Northeastern Ontario but did have experience in another declining urban area.

Interviews were carried out from October to December, 2006 and one in February, 2007¹⁷ at a mutually agreed upon time and location. As presented in Table 4.2, interviews were held in both the City of Greater Sudbury and Toronto. Most often the interviews took place at the key informants' place of work however a few were conducted in coffee shops or at the key informants' home. At the onset of the interview key informants were provided with a hard copy of the information letter and allowed to ask any questions they might have. A consent form was then reviewed that gave the key informant the options of having their interview recorded. Key informants also gave approval for the use of anonymous quotations in this thesis and any publications that might result from this research (refer to Appendix C). One key informant was against the use of anonymous quotations from their interview. Furthermore, some key informants asked to be identified only on the basis on their profession and not their job title to protect anonymity. Thus, I opted to call key informants either a planning key informant, economic development key informant, or planning-economic development key informant.

The interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder which was selected because of the amount of storage space available and the ease to which interviews were simply downloaded directly from the recorder to a computer and could then be replayed using Windows Media Player. Recording the interview is extremely beneficial in that it provides the opportunity to focus your attention on the key informant and what is being said rather than trying to take copious notes (Bryman, 2001). In addition, recording the interviews allows the researcher to focus on follow-up questions and to take notes about emerging themes. The interviews ranged in length from 22 minutes to 1 hour and 37 minutes but most were approximately 45 minutes in length. The greatest downside to recording the interviews is transcribing, which will be discussed in further detail in the next section. On average, a one hour interview can take anywhere from 5 to 7 hours to complete depending on the clarity of the key informant and their speech mannerisms.

¹⁷ This participant was discovered in January from a literary source and was contacted immediately to be included in this study.

Table 4.2: Interview and Key Informant Characteristics

Interview & Key Informant Characteristics	
Locations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The City of Greater Sudbury ○ Toronto ○ The key informants selected a mutually agreed upon location and they ranged from offices to homes and coffee shops
Duration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ranged in length from 22 minutes to 1 hour and 37 minutes ○ Average length 45 minutes
Documentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Aside from one interview all interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder ○ For the interview that wasn't recorded extensive notes were taken and verified with the respondent¹⁸ ○ Notes were taken throughout all the interviews on dominant patterns and themes.
Number of Key informants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 34 initially contacted ○ 3 never responded to emails or phone calls ○ 1 declined due to the nature of the topic¹⁹ ○ 1 felt they didn't fit the criteria to participate²⁰ ○ 4 declined due to time constraints. However, those who declined due to time constraints did suggest three other potential key informants of which one declined due to time constraints but the other two did participate ○ TOTAL: 26 interviews
Key informant Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ There was a fair representation of those key informants who were relatively new and those that had greater than 20 years experience ○ There were 9 planning key informants; 6 economic development key informants; and 11 planning-economic development key informants

4.3.3 Initial Analysis – Transcribing and Coding

As mentioned interviews were transcribed shortly after they took place from November, 2006 to February, 2007. As seen in Table 4.3 there are many benefits to recording and transcribing interviews. For example, recording allows the researcher to pay attention to what is said, reduces bias on the part of the researcher, and it allows the interviews to be more thoroughly examined and re-examined. In addition, to assist with the

¹⁸ This participant requested not to be recorded due to past experiences.

¹⁹ This potential participant felt that Sudbury was not experiencing decline or no growth at that time due to nickel prices and didn't want to participate in research that essentially stated otherwise.

²⁰ This potential participant was selected from a development corporation but decided against participating stating that they didn't feel they fit the purposive criteria for this research.

analysis the researcher wrote down emerging patterns and trends while transcribing. As stated previously, the downside is the copious amount of time needed to transcribe the interviews afterwards. Once transcribed, the corresponding transcripts were sent via email to the key informants for their review (see Appendix D). Key informants were able to make changes or provide comments to their transcripts however this was not mandatory. Ten key informants took advantage of this and sent back minor changes, comments or clarifications for their transcripts. For the most part, changes were either grammatical in nature editing out repetitive words and speech mannerisms like ‘um’, ‘ah’, and ‘like’ or correcting statistics and dates.

Table 4.3: Benefits of Recording and Transcribing Interviews

-
- It helps to correct the natural limitations of our memories and of the intuitive glosses that we might place on what people say in interviews

 - It allows more thorough examination of what people say

 - It permits repeated examinations of the interviewees’ answers

 - It helps to counter accusations that an analysis might have been influenced by a researcher’s values or biases
-

Source: Adapted from Bryman, 2001: 321.

Once all the transcripts had been completed and comments had been returned data analysis from the interviews commenced. Spencer, Ritchie and O’Connor (2003) view qualitative analysis as an analytic hierarchy that involves data management, descriptive accounts, and explanatory accounts and is just one of the many approaches to qualitative analysis. Another includes grounded theory by Glaser and Strauss which seeks to develop theory out of data (Bryman, 2001). Regardless of the description most qualitative analysis employs a process known as coding which involves taking the text and turning it into categories that are then labelled (Creswell, 2003). Although this explanation is quite rudimentary it involves a considerable number of steps from the starting point of raw data to the finished product. For the purpose of this research an analysis framework was created by the researcher using some of the coding process described by Tesch (1990) and modified by

Creswell (2003) presented in Table 4.4. A decision was made not to use computer software to assist in data analysis due to time constraints and to remain close to the data²¹.

To begin with, the interviews were divided based on key informant criteria (planning key informant, economic key informant, planning-economic development key informant) and each interview was read through once in its entirety. While reading, key words and marginal notes were created using both descriptive and interpretive techniques (see Miles & Huberman, 1994). The key words were later used for coding and the marginal notes were used to highlight which research theme and category they fit into, namely: perceptions regarding no growth, information about Sudbury, or strategies. For the most part, categories were created based on the questions asked during the interviews or new themes that had emerged. The notes provided comments and descriptions to assist with the analysis (see Miles & Huberman, 1994). In addition, important quotations that could be used in the analysis and discussion were highlighted.

A spreadsheet was then created for each of the three major research themes and their major categories as well as new categories that emerged while reading through the interviews. The key words were turned into codes which were added to the spreadsheet under their respective theme and category along with the corresponding number of key informants. As well, a word document was developed to provide a running list of the codes and their descriptions to maintain consistency. At this stage as well, quotations were digitally cut and pasted into a word document under the major research themes and categories and memos were provided alongside the quotation about implicit and explicit meanings. Once all the interviews had been coded and inputted into the spreadsheet they were verified to ensure that nothing had been missed and the spreadsheet was then reorganized based on the patterns between codes. Upon initial analysis it was determined that there was a significant overlap between Part B, the general discussion on indicators, influences and concerns, and Part C, which focused on Sudbury. Thus, the two sections were merged and themes and patterns were identified.

²¹ For a description of the pros and cons of using computer software for data analysis see Bryman & Teevan, 2005.

Table 4.4: Coding Process

Step One	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Get a sense of the whole ○ Read all the transcriptions carefully ○ Perhaps jot down some ideas as they come to mind
Step Two	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Pick one document (i.e., one interview) – the most interesting one, the shortest, the one on the top of the pile ○ Go through it, asking yourself ‘what is this about?’ Do not think about the ‘substance’ of the information but its underlying meaning ○ Write thoughts in the margin
Step Three	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ When you have completed this task for several informants, make a list of all topics ○ Cluster together similar topics ○ Form these topics into columns that might be arrayed as major topics, unique topics, and leftovers
Step Four	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Now take this list and go back to your data ○ Abbreviate the topics as codes and write the codes next to the appropriate segments of text ○ Try this preliminary organizing scheme to see if new categories and codes emerge
Step Five	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Find the most descriptive wording for your topics and turn them into categories ○ Look for ways of reducing your total list of categories by grouping topics that relate to each other ○ Perhaps draw lines between categories to show interrelationships
Step Six	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Make a final decision on the abbreviations for each category and alphabetize these codes (to omit repetitions and like categories)
Step Seven	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Assemble the data material belonging to each category in one place and perform a preliminary analysis
Step Eight	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ If necessary, recode your existing data

Sources: Creswell, 2003: 192; Tesch, 1990: 142-145.

4.4 Research Limitations

When conducting research, limitations with regards to research methods and key informant recruitment often become apparent. In terms of qualitative research reliability, validity, and generalizability are often cited as the shortcomings when compared to quantitative research (Walliman, 2005; Bryman & Teevan, 2005). Although validity and reliability can be adapted to qualitative research, others propose assessing qualitative research on the basis of authenticity and trustworthiness (Bryman & Teevan, 2005). As mentioned previously secondary data obtained from policy documents and statistics were

utilized to take advantage of triangulation, referring to the examination of different data sources, which in turn can increase validity and reliability and reduce bias (Bryman, 2001; Creswell, 2003).

Furthermore, generalizability is often cited as the shortcoming associated with using a case study strategy. Yin's (1984) response to this is that the case study "does not represent a sample and the investigators goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytical generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)" (21). As stressed in Chapter One, it is not expected that the observations garnered from the Sudbury case will fit all places where no growth and/or decline are of concern. Rather this study is put forward as an initial attempt to unravel the complex process of experiencing and treating no growth.

In terms of key informant recruitment two limitations became evident. The first limitation was the fact that interviews were being conducted prior to and after the 2006 municipal elections. I believe that this led to the exclusion of two key informants who did not respond to emails and phone calls. The second limitation affected both key informant recruitment and responses to interview questions and that limitation was the price of nickel however this also doubled as a finding which will be further discussed in Chapter Six. During the research process the price of nickel reached all-time highs and one key informant did not want to participate in this research because they didn't believe Sudbury was experiencing no growth or decline at the time of the invitation. In addition, a few key informants were unsure about participating in research with someone from Southern Ontario, although this limitation was overcome when my connection with Northern Ontario was revealed. However, this could prove to be a potential problem for other researchers wishing to conduct research in this region.

4.3 Summary

This Chapter has detailed the major research strategies and framework that were utilized for this research. As described this research is based on a case study of the City of Greater Sudbury which was selected first and foremost due to my deep and abiding attachment to the City. Furthermore, in relative terms the population of the City has not grown since the early 1970s and in 2001 the population had witnessed a significant decline

which is a distinctive issue that is not being addressed in the literature. A qualitative approach was selected due to its descriptive and exploratory qualities and participatory nature to investigate the opinions and perceptions of planners and economic developers at the grassroots level using a semi-structured interview. Key informants were selected using a purposive sampling strategy and snowball sampling strategy and 26 interviews were conducted throughout October, November, December and February in the City of Greater Sudbury and Toronto on a mutually agreed date and time. Interviews were then transcribed, coded and analyzed. The following Chapter will provide the results from the investigation on how those involved in planning and economic development at the grassroots level deal with no growth.

CHAPTER FIVE NO GROWTH IN SUDBURY: COMMUNITY-LEVEL RESPONSES & INITIATIVES

This chapter provides the results to the investigation on how those involved in planning and economic development at the grassroots level in the City of Greater Sudbury deal with no growth. The previous chapters have established that there is effectively no theoretical groundwork on no growth especially at the municipal or grass roots level. Little is known about the general issues of those working at the grassroots level with regards to no growth or why it's a concern. In addition, little is known about possible strategies that can be employed in the current context of no growth. As found in Chapters Two and Three, former methods designed to deal with no growth have included top-down government invention designed to redistribute growth and bottom-up local and community economic development. Planners have been instrumental in working with core area decline and the regeneration of specific sites like brownfields. Furthermore, at the intra-urban level planners have had to manage uneven growth through growth management and growth control measures. However, little is known about planning for no growth at the urban level. It is hoped that general principles can be put forward from these empirical findings as an initial attempt to unravel the complex process of experiencing and treating no growth.

Due to the wealth of information provided by key informants, this Chapter is extensive and has been organized around four major topics of inquiry. The first major section details the complexity of defining no growth while the second section describes the intricacy of discussing no growth in the Sudbury locale. The next section illustrates the various challenges and opportunities associated with this trajectory as identified by key informants. Challenges include financial, talent, and image concerns as well as the lack of a framework which prevents no growth from being accepted and managed. On the other hand, no growth offers numerous quality of life and planning opportunities that are less evident in growing locales. The final section, details the various local and regional initiatives that have been undertaken in the context of no growth along with those that key informants believe should be undertaken.

Before delving into the major topics of inquiry mentioned above a note should be made regarding the saliency of the distinctive ‘local’ or grass-roots perspective that I encountered when I queried people from Sudbury about issues related to no growth. As described in the previous Chapter both general and locality specific (ie. Sudbury) questions were framed with regards to the topic of no growth. However during the interviews nearly all key informants discussed the general questions in relation to Sudbury or Northern Ontario. This perhaps identifies an inability to see past the local to a larger more general or theoretical context. It could also relate to the knowledge base and comfort zone of the key informants. Either way, the two sets of questions have been merged in the text that follows.

In addition, many key informants either implicitly or explicitly associated continued decline as more of a small town issue. For the most part, key informants who work with multiple areas in the North were more inclined to suggest this. However there were some Sudbury-based key informants who also associated decline with more of a small town issue. One key informant even commented that ‘real decline’ is when the economic base of a community ceases to exist as many single-industry towns in Northern Ontario have witnessed: “I suppose too, some of the even smaller one-industry town[s]...with those...forestry-based...it’s...different they...are real decline....” (P2). This leads to the assumption that for some the decline witnessed in Sudbury and other urban areas is not necessarily that bad when compared to smaller communities in the North where the economic base has completely vanished. This also represents a kind of denial, rationalization, or ‘passing the buck’ which are themes that run throughout the local level responses.

5.1 The Complexity of Defining No Growth

Throughout the interviews, key informants provided a plethora of responses which indicate or point to decline. Nearly all identified population loss or some aspect of population loss as a key indicator of decline whether it was youth out-migration or an imbalance between in and out-migration. However, they also provided other demographic indicators as well as economic, social, and community indicators that they felt pointed to signs of decline as seen in Table 5.1. In terms of other demographic indicators two key informants mentioned declining birthrates and a few key informants mentioned an aging

population as an indicator of decline. As one planning-economic development key informant described, "...even if your population stayed the same but the percentage of older people got a lot higher and the percentage of younger people lowered, I think that would be a sign of decline" (PED8).

Table 5.1: Key Informant Indicators of Decline

Theme	Specific Indicators of Decline
Demographic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Population loss ○ Youth out-migration ○ In and out migration imbalance ○ Aging population ○ Declining birthrate
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Job loss ○ Unemployment or employment rates ○ Disappearance of the economic base ○ The loss of or lower economic activity ○ Dependent on government funding
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Educational attainment ○ School enrolments ○ Ability to deliver and provide services ○ Loss of civic engagement
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Aging infrastructure ○ Physical appearance (deterioration) ○ Loss of property assessment or lower housing values ○ Lower housing starts ○ Loss of investment

With regards to economic indicators, a few key informants mentioned job losses, unemployment rates, the loss of or lower economic activity, and the loss of the economic base in a community. For example, one key informant mentioned that "the surface indicators of decline are...reduction in population or in groups within the population cohort...[but] an economy that's not growing, is probably more important and general stagnation" (P7) while another key informant stated that,

I guess I would define it in fairly simple terms. Population decline would be one, economic indicators whether its employment...or economic activity... generally in a local economy, are some of the better ones... (P6).

In addition, one key informant also stated that an indicator of decline is dependency on government support or funding which in a sense is an economic policy variable. Furthermore, a few key informants stated that economic decline is the worst form of decline and that population and economic decline are not necessarily related: "...most people look at it as population decline. I would say it's more economic decline and the two don't have to be related" (P4).

Social signs of decline were mentioned by a few key informants and included factors like declining civic engagement and a lower ability to provide services resulting in a deterioration of the social fabric in a community. For example, one key informant elaborated, "...it's not just people leaving, it's...the whole social fabric. You cannot support the education system. You can not support the health system when you have a declining population" (ED1). While another mentioned lower "graduation levels in schools...[and] enrolment in schools..." (ED5) as signs of decline. In terms of community indicators, loss of property assessment, aging infrastructure, loss of investment, the physical appearance of the community and its housing stock, high vacancy rates, and a lack of building (commercial and residential) were all mentioned. As one key informant told the researcher, "in declining communities the infrastructure isn't as new and the civic buildings are not as taken care of as they should be" (P3). While another discussed vacancy rates and the lack of building: "...you've got all kinds of shops, you know that are closed...those are some of your indicators...lack of...residential building, lack of commercial building...all those are indicators of decline" (PED1).

In addition to these signs of decline a number of key informants explained that population decline doesn't necessarily have to imply that the other indicators are also occurring and should not be used as the only indicator used to define decline. For example, a declining population can be accompanied by economic growth or stability and community growth. As a couple of planning-economic development key informants described,

...I honestly don't believe that if you're... gonna talk about growth in terms of population, I don't really think that that's really...a number one factor to go

by. I mean your economy, your unemployment rate, your homelessness rate...that sort of thing, I think you're gonna go by those indicators too...as opposed to population because you can sustain your...population or even see a bit of a decline and still be a great community and...have a...good economy (PED9).

Are you in decline, you know...have you lost a lot if the community's 15 to 20 percent smaller but you have internet connection, you have...cable T.V., you have a school system that now goes to grade 12...? (PED3).

Similarly, other key informants described how despite decline positive things can happen. For example, as one key informant discussed,

I'd like to stress that just because you're declining doesn't mean you're not changing. I think too many people assume that you're static or nothing's happening and that's simply not the case. Some of the changes are not for the better but often there can be very positive things happening and so it really it revolves really around how are you defining decline? Is it just numbers growth? If that's how you're defining community, that may be the wrong definition (P7).

Another key informant described how community spirit can actually grow while experiencing economic and population decline and that true decline occurs when both the population and economic situation decline along side a decline in spirit,

Sometimes communities are growing when they're declining. That is to say that ...they're learning by experience, they're motivated by it, they're looking at new things because of the risks to the economy and even though the data is indicating a decline the culture is experiencing a rebirth and that has happened in, you know more than...one situation in Northern Ontario. So there's two kinds of decline: one is of the spirit and...one is the data. And when you've got the spirit and the data, you're dead...declining...(ED6).

Thus, this ambiguity of defining decline prevents key informants from denying decline but allows them to rationalize the situation as seen through the numerous indicators. However, understanding that population growth is not everything could be used as leverage for creating alternative no growth models of planning based on sustaining and improving the community.

5.2 The Intricacy of Discussing No Growth in Sudbury

This complexity and contradictions surrounding this issue continued when key informants discussed no growth in Sudbury. All key informants were willing to agree that Sudbury has had to deal with no growth at some point in the past. However, despite the fact that documentation in Chapter One showed clear signs that Sudbury is a declining or no growth CMA after reaching its peak in 1971, the majority of those involved in this research saw things quite differently. For the most part, no growth was seen as something that had happened in the early 1980s and once again in 2001. Nineteen key informants (out of a total of twenty) felt that Sudbury wasn't declining while the other seven were uncertain because the 2006 Census had not been released at the time of the interviews. Despite the uncertainty of some, the majority of key informants in this research described Sudbury as growing while a few believed that it had stabilized when compared to 2001. When I characterized Sudbury as declining, one key informant stated, "It's not! The stats state differently, right? We have had an increase in population which is...a reversal of the trend from prior to 2000-2001" (PED6) while another explained:

I mean we have had for example a turnaround in migration,...net migration and...you may have seen the numbers, it's been within the last 3 or 4 years. However those numbers have been modest and of course they only comprise one component of the population growth. So when you factor in natural increase, you know...it's not something you could say, 'oh we're hitting our growth...we're into our growth mode again.'...I think realistically you could say we've stabilized (P5).

Key informants were correct in saying that Sudbury has experienced some growth since 2001 but few compared it to the long-term trends from 1971 which shows a very different and consistent long-run trend. It should be noted though that they were not given a specific date of comparison but rather they were asked to discuss why Sudbury is experiencing decline or no growth.

5.2.1 Understanding the Historical Influences of Sudbury's Plight

As mentioned, most key informants were willing to admit that Sudbury has experienced no growth or decline however one planning key informant didn't view the City as declining at all, "...I really don't see Sudbury [as] being in decline really, it's just

fluctuating...” (P2). To a large extent, key informants did have a very accurate understanding of the economic factors that influence Sudbury’s plight irregardless of whether or not they felt no growth was a current or continuing trend. All key informants described a variety of economic trends as the key influences. As mentioned in Chapter One, there are a number of economic influences which have resulted in uneven growth in the Canadian urban system including globalization, changing trade regulations, and increased international competition coupled with economic restructuring and de-industrialization. These influences were reiterated in the Sudbury case especially with regards to the demand for nickel. Key informants mentioned that, “The global demand for nickel tells the story for Sudbury” (P3) and that,

...we live in a global economy...just all you have to do is go to the London Metals Exchange and you can pretty...quickly figure out what drives mining communities...so it’s, you know a fairly stark simple story in Northern Ontario (ED6).

In addition, key informants described how new technologies and economic restructuring in the mining sector have influenced Sudbury’s dilemma. Chapter One described how mining employment in Sudbury has been drastically reduced since the early 1970s when it employed over 27,000 people to a current workforce of just over 6,000 people. This was explained simplistically by some like P4 who mentioned, “Well its predominant industry doesn’t need as many people anymore...” While others described the situation in greater detail,

Why did it experience decline? Because the...world market for nickel...was softer and...in order to remain competitive they made an adjustment, at least the big you know economic engine of... mining made an adjustment to technology which reduced, you know they went from like, I don’t know in the 70s they said there were 26,000 people employed at INCO and that and now there’s like I don’t know 8 or 10 or something (ED2).

...here it is tied pretty much...to our economy...and...and I think that it is probably true throughout the north...we’ve relied historically here on mining and that industry, as a result of technology improvement and striving to improve productivity, and it has reduced the workforce significantly (P9).

However, new technologies which have resulted in economic restructuring and a smaller workforce have at the same time increased productivity and output. Thus, although economic restructuring has resulted in population decline, economic decline is not necessarily a by-product as one key informant commented: “I wouldn’t actually call that a decline. To be very honest, from an economic point of view, that’s simply progress” (PED3).

Also related to economic influences, many key informants cited the lack of economic opportunity and diversity as other factors that have caused decline in the Sudbury case. As one key informant mentioned, “I think lack of diversification would be a really good...answer to that” (PED9). This was expressed by a number of other key informants like P4 who mentioned that “...the economy’s just not very diverse and therefore...you know it doesn’t give any opportunities for the young people, so they leave...” and PED7 who stated, “Again it’s the same thing it’s...because of lack of work for our young people. That’s what it is” while ED1 elaborated,

In very simple terms, I think it’s...job opportunities...I think if the jobs were here, and that’s you know the \$64,000 question here, I mean that’s the catch 22...it’s like that field of dreams. Do you create jobs and hope that they will come? (ED1).

Associated with this, a couple of key informants described how the lack of security in long-term career prospects and advancement have also influenced decline in Sudbury. This was best explained by PED11,

I think there was a whole generation of people that almost pushed their children out of town thinking that there wasn’t going to be a long-term future here. I don’t think they consciously did that but I think that indirectly by just not being confident about where the community was going in the long-term and then as a result those youth picked up those feelings that there’s going to be nothing here in the long-run so if you weren’t working for INCO coming out of a college program then there probably wasn’t going to be a whole lot here for you. So I think that’s what fuelled a lot of [the] decline (PED11).

Furthermore, as noted above by some of the key informant’s youth out-migration was another factor associated with Sudbury’s decline. As mentioned, economic opportunities were seen as an important contributor however a few key informants went further and

explained how it was professional jobs for the young and educated that were missing in Sudbury. As PED6 mentioned, "...there was no opportunities for...young professionals or very limited" and PED8 explained, "There was a period when you know jobs seemed to be very difficult [to find] and...I found it...was jobs for those who were educated that was so difficult to find." Aside from economic opportunities key informants also discussed how youth were also leaving to pursue educational opportunities elsewhere which decreased the likelihood that they would return.

...well...youth out-migration we talked about...certainly there's the draw of youth to the other parts of the province or the country...in terms of education. I mean, you know some of the youth come back and some of them don't...(ED4)

...the community wasn't attracting as many students as it is now and a lot of students from Northern Ontario and Sudbury left the community to go study elsewhere and decided to stay wherever they went for school to work (ED5).

As mentioned earlier and in previous chapters, it is hoped that increasing post-secondary educational opportunities will help stem some of this out-migration. However, as noted above the professional jobs need to be available to retain youth after graduation.

Another reason cited for Sudbury's no growth was related to the historical image perception related to the City regarding its historical link with visions of barren moonscape features and harsh mining practices. As one key informant discussed,

Sudbury has gotten a really bad rap because of the environmental pollution that occurred many years ago and many people still see Sudbury in a very negative perspective. So you know its historical image that is applied, whether it applies today or not, giving the perception that it's not a nice place to live or do business (ED3).

On two fairly recent occasions I have had people describe Sudbury as a "big black hole" and "the rock", which is an old nickname referring to the lack of vegetation caused by mining practices in the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, although this historical image has been altered through the extensive land reclamation process mentioned in Chapter Three, it does creep up on occasion.

Other reasons cited by a few key informants for no growth, although they are not entirely specific to Sudbury, include the importance of 'place', not only in terms of quality but also geography. For example lifestyle opportunities and human resources were seen as important contributors to growth or no growth by PED10 and P2.

So it's...you know...both in terms of currently available jobs but also then what will make people stay and want to...raise a family in a certain area (PED10).

If you got it, they will come. If you got the right ingredients, you know in the past it's the geography right, location. Location not necessary anymore but it's...the human resources. If you got it, you know...you experience the growth (P2).

On key informant commented that 'place' is increasingly important in the New Economy and has the potential to leave certain regions out including the North.

With the New Economy, Northern areas have a strong quality of place to offer but is it what the young and educated are looking for? If it is, then we need to get the message out there. If it is not, then a lot of the North will be left out (P3).

Lastly, in terms of geography one key informant talked about being in the influence zone of a large metropolitan area and how that could affect whether or not a place grows or declines. As noted in Chapter One large metropolitan areas and those areas within their influence zones are growing while remaining areas, including Sudbury, are experiencing slower rates of growth or no growth.

While there was a very accurate understanding of the economic trends affecting Sudbury's plight, there was a lack of discussion on the demographic trends. As mentioned in Chapter One natural increase is below replacement requiring in-migration of both domestic and international migrants for demographic growth, especially the later. As noted, both natural and foreign born migrants are increasingly concentrating in the largest metropolitan areas across Canada. Generally speaking, very few key informants discussed these broader demographic trends and those who did were mainly planning key informants. The following key informants discussed these broader demographic trends,

Well, it's mostly demographic related. It's just fewer people to go around and people are going to the communities with the best opportunities... (P4).

I mean demographics is also working against everybody as...the population ages...and you know places like Canada, particularly the GTA, are dependent [on] immigration for it's population....I mean if you look at Canada...the vast majority of immigration are going to Toronto, to Montreal and Vancouver....(PED10).

In terms of Sudbury, while a number of key informants discussed youth out-migration very few key informants discussed declining birthrates or natural increase and the lack of immigration as contributors to Sudbury's no growth. Those who did were once again predominantly planning key informants. For example, P9 discussed low natural increase as a by-product of youth out-migration: "So on the natural increase side of things you don't get the...births in the community that you would have if you...retained that segment of your population..." while PED10 mentioned that there is "...not enough Sudburians" and that "...not many immigrants are moving to Sudbury." In addition, other demographic related reasons mentioned by a few key informants for no growth in Sudbury were attributed to retiree out-migration. This was expressed by the following key informants:

...you hear about seniors moving South...(PED4).

A lot of times parents follow their children and move to other communities after they've retired and so on because they wanna be close to their grandchildren, all that stuff you know (PED6).

Thus, key informants had a very accurate understanding of the economic variables that influence Sudbury's plight. The volatile nature of the mining economy as a result of global influences, technological innovations, and the shift to the new economy were all discussed in detail. However, demographic trends were for the most part not discussed. In addition, key informants who did mention demographic influences focussed predominately on superficial trends like in- and out-migration but not population aging and natural increase. This is perhaps a result of the strong economic trends that have historically contributed to Sudbury's growth issue. However, as noted in Chapter One, demographic trends are important components in influencing growth and no growth and are necessary components in understanding Sudbury's future prospects.

5.2.2 Understanding the Current Rationale and Future Prospects for Growth

As mentioned earlier, the majority of key informants viewed Sudbury as currently growing and a variety of indicators and reasons were cited to bolster their views. Indicators that were mentioned include in-migration, an increase in development approvals, an increase in housing prices, and lower vacancy rates. As seen in Table 5.2 all of these indicators have increased since 2001. These indicators were clearly explained by a number of key informants.

For the last two years and probably for the last three years we've had positive in-migration that's making a difference... *continues on to say...*We're also seeing lots of development applications come through (P7).

Housing prices in Sudbury have certainly gone up in the last several years and I think that's one of the indicators that you'll hear from the City to suggest that growth is in fact occurring (P4).

We're seeing growth, we're seeing subdivisions being built and you know our vacancy rates are very low apartment-wise and housing-wise and real estate prices are going up...(ED3).

Table 5.2: Indicators of Growth

Indicators	2001	2006
Population	155,219	157,857
Average Home Selling Price	\$107,774	\$134,440*
Vacancy Rates	5.7%	1.2%
Building Permits	1,881	2,112

*Based on 2005 data

Source: CMHC, 2007a; Growth & Development, 2007.

In terms of why Sudbury is experiencing growth, a plethora of suggestions were provided that for the most part relate to the economic situation and economic development initiatives that were outlined in Chapter Three (see Table 5.3). However, the most important contributor to Sudbury's current growth was mentioned by almost all the key informants and that is the high demand for nickel in China and India which is resulting in high nickel prices and growth in the mining sector.

There's a huge demand for nickel, copper, stainless steel and actually even what used to be primarily waste minerals. So, we're in, just starting a boom period (ED3).

The...demand for nickel and copper is at all time highs...China and India are both emerging economies that are requiring primary metal...(P7)

Well...number one thing is...gonna be [the] price of nickel (PED9).

Table 5.3: Reasons for Growth in the City of Greater Sudbury

Reasons	Description
Mining Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ High nickel prices ○ Growth in the Mining Supply and Services sector
Diversification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Growth in a number of sectors resulting in more job opportunities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Retail (big-box stores) ▪ Call Centers ▪ Entertainment (March Entertainment is a small local animation studio that has created a nationally televised cartoon known as Chilly Beach) ▪ Healthcare (Creation of the new Mega Hospital and the Northern Ontario School of Medicine) ▪ Post-Secondary Education and R & D (Northern Ontario Medical School, CEMI, SNO²², Living With Lakes)
Regional Center	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Central place in Northeastern Ontario for retail, healthcare, education, and government services
Government Investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Significant investment from the provincial and federal government to help establish Sudbury as the regional center
Image Restoration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Landscape restoration and re-greening
Hinterland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Growth at the expense of Northeastern Ontario ○ People moving from small communities to Sudbury
Improved Access to Southern Ontario/Toronto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Improved road connections – highway 69 twined -- to Southern Ontario
Infrastructure Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Establishing infrastructure like broadband to attract call centres to the area

²² SNO is the Sudbury Neutrino Observatory which is an underground research lab that studies neutrinos (particles from the sun) which was developed in the early 1990s and is run by Queen's University in partnership with Laurentian University and other Universities.

Other reasons behind Sudbury's growth as mentioned in Table 5.3 include growth and expansion in post-secondary education, retail, call centers, and healthcare which were described by a number of key informants as seen below:

And then there are...major infrastructure projects in the community that are creating some growth opportunities. School of Medicine, it's attracted not only students but the professors that teach there...and other professional people to be involved in the school. The extension of the hospital, it's going to become the 4th largest hospital in Ontario albeit it's been stalled and marred by problems and...it is a large asset to the community....research projects like the...Neutrino Observatory, you know...that attract...a higher educated...workforce, more sophisticated workforce. So those are all things that I think have led to Sudbury's...growth (ED5).

The new medical school is creating more opportunity in the health sector. [The] SNO lab I mentioned just finished an expansion, 20 years of new research. The retail sector has reinforced itself, although that's not a wealth creating industry, but [it] provides jobs. We're expanding some technical institutes such as [the] lake water quality Living Lakes Centre, CEMI at the University so there's some expansion within those high-tech research fields (P7).

There's a lot of other initiatives happening...again we...talked about the medical school, the University's expanding...with more programs...[the] health care...sector is being boosted by...the one-site hospital, which hopefully will get built at some point!(P5)

In addition, a number of key informants felt that Sudbury was growing due to public and private investment, and as one key informant mentioned, this investment occurs in Sudbury at the expense of the region, "I mean it's basically growing at the expense of the rest of...Northern Ontario in my opinion because its....had so much investment as a regional service centre" (P4). While another felt it was luring people from within the region, "...but my theory on this, that Sudbury, Timmins to a lesser extent, North Bay and potentially Sault Ste Marie are now becoming hubs or centres for people migrating out of the far north for employment and or retirement" (PED5).

Expansion in the mining sector was encouraging the belief that growth would continue for several years corresponding to the mining cycle. The most common length cited was under five years which was followed by ten years although a few planners mentioned that it's difficult to predict. Also, optimism was fuelling the hope that growth

would continue after that as a result of the other economic initiatives that are being developed especially with regards to post-secondary educational institutions. However, most were aware of the important role that the mining sector plays in Sudbury as one key informant said, “God forbid...if something were to happen to the Chinese economy and they no longer wanted to buy nickel...” (ED1). While another key informant claimed that it’s an ideological failure to think that Sudbury is no longer dependent on mining, “Well it’s certainly true it is somewhat more diversified but it’s not true it’s not dependent” (PED3).

Furthermore, although growth was cited as the current trend by many, a number of planning and planning-economic development key informants implicitly or explicitly suggested that future population growth would not be substantial as described below.

But taken in a larger context though, by looking at the...ultimate high population that Sudbury in 1973 or whenever it was versus where we may be in the year 2030...I think that we’ll probably be somewhat close to that (P1).

Will Sudbury ever reach 175,000 people? I don’t know and somehow I doubt it (P4).

So, I think you’ll see the [economic] growth continue here. Will that equate into...significant population growth? That I don’t know. I think you’ll see some growth (ED1).

I mean...and I don’t think it’s going to mean that Sudbury’s going to grow to...let’s say we’re 155,000 now...I don’t think we’re gonna grow to 180, 190, 200,000. I don’t think that’s gonna happen (PED1).

While only one planning key informant went as far to say that growth would not be a continuing trend mentioning that, “No it will eventually catch up with them and they will decline cause there simply aren’t enough people to go around” (P4). Another economic development key informant recognized that growth does occur but on a downward trend:

...in the North we have a tendency to go like this – majorly decline and then very small growth and we never get back to where we once were as far as in...the growth mode” (ED1).

Thus, for the most part, population growth was not viewed as a guaranteed long-term trend in Sudbury. Current growth was viewed as being stimulated predominately by the mining sector although a number of other factors were also said to have contributed.

Despite this realism that growth would not be substantial some key informants felt that Sudbury shouldn't be planning for future decline or no growth. This was only discussed by those who made reference to Sudbury when describing generally whether no growth urban areas should be planning for future growth or future decline. Others felt more comfortable speaking in general terms which will be further explained later in this chapter. As a couple of planning-economic development key informants commented "...I don't think major urban areas in Northern Ontario should start planning for decline. I mean I think that's...I'd have to think about it..." (PED10) and "I don't think that the idea of planning for future decline is on the table cause I don't think it's....necessary...at this point to look at Sudbury from the point of view of decline" (PED1). While a couple of others felt that they should plan to stay level, "I think the others [Sudbury, Sault Ste Marie and Timmins] should...not plan to grow. Plan to stay level" (PED4).

As described in Chapter Three and echoed above, population trends in Sudbury were described by planners as difficult to predict. To combat this, a few of the planners discussed planning for three demographic trends as seen in the new Official Plan which was discussed in Chapter Three, i.e. out-migration, natural increase, and in-migration with the out-migration and natural increase trends forecasting continued decline while the in-migration trend has growth returning to the 1971 high. This was echoed during the interviews by some planning key informants like P2 who mentioned "Well basically you have to plan for everything". While another explained the 'be prepared' rationale behind doing so:

So...I mean it's different from Southern Ontario where...you're basically in a...growth pattern right? And there may be different...degrees...of household growth but you're basically on an upward trajectory. Sudbury...that's not the case so when we did our projections...we had to consider one that...looks at a continued pattern of decline, that's...a scenario that was based on our out-migration numbers...however we do also have to look at...the potential for growth. And even if you consider that unrealistic it's... also useful in the sense that you need to...also plan for infrastructure in terms of to test...the...ability of infrastructure to...absorb potential growth and...we've had turnarounds here before...quite significant ones (P5).

Essentially, having the potential growth scenario is hugely psychological as it allows the City to demonstrate that no growth is not the only trend for the future. Furthermore, the current re-qualified growth situation provides the opportunity for key informants to deny and

rationalize the overall situation which would have been harder to do in the 1980s and 2001. Lastly, rationalizing the situation and planning for future growth assists the local level in combating some of the challenges associated with no growth, especially those related to image perceptions, which are discussed in the following section.

5.3 No Growth: Challenges & Opportunities

Throughout the interviews a number of challenges associated with no growth emerged ranging from declining financial resources and combating image perceptions to planning and development challenges. However, despite these challenges a number of opportunities were also expressed regarding quality of ‘place’ and planning prospects that are less evident in growing cities. This section begins with a description of the general challenges key informants identified surrounding financial implications, human resources, image perceptions and the current planning framework. The second and third part of this section reveals the challenges key informants expressed that are specific to the Sudbury locale in terms of planning and economic development. The final parts of this section identify key informants who discussed the challenges associated with growth and the opportunities associated with no growth highlighting the need to plan accordingly irregardless of circumstances.

5.3.1 No Growth Challenges: Resources, Image & the Lack of a Framework

Key informants expressed numerous general challenges associated with no growth that exist in Sudbury and would most likely be evident in other no-growth localities. These challenges include declining financial and human resources, image concerns, and the lack of a planning model to manage no growth. Beginning with financial challenges, as mentioned in Chapter Two, municipalities in Ontario have three main sources of revenue: user fees; unconditional or conditional grants; and more importantly property taxes on the assessed value of property. Nearly, all key informants expressed concerns relating to a declining tax-base or a decline in property assessment which is an important revenue generator.

...because their revenue base...generally comes from property. Property taxes are paid by people who have income or...by people buying stuff or people renting buildings or whatever and there’s just fewer people to do this

therefore there's going to be...less money rolling into municipal coffers from...the biggest source of...of revenue (P4).

A concern? For simple reasons. If you... have fewer people, you have fewer taxpayers. You can't afford your infrastructure. So everything becomes more expensive, you can't possibly continue to have the services that you're accustomed to if you have fewer people contributing to the pot. And the fewer the people, the higher the taxes, the more difficult it is (ED6).

Essentially, a declining tax-base results in decreased revenues which can ultimately affect the levels of servicing, the quality of life, and the infrastructure in a City as P5 stated, "it leads to the decline of infrastructure, the decline of services".

In Sudbury, some key informants discussed the difficulty in maintaining infrastructure as a result of fiscal downloading and the perceived inability to increase taxes to pay for infrastructure-related costs during periods of no growth. This was best described by the following key informants:

I'm telling you if there's not enough money and if you don't have people with enough money it means you have to keep your taxes down lower and you also can't spend the way you'd like too and it also means that...you can't provide the same level of services when it comes to things like recreation, parks and recreation and or roads, you know all these kinds of things that...other municipalities think nothing of (PED1).

That's been a major problem with the City of Greater Sudbury for years is not maintaining infrastructure. Various reasons, of course, I mean you can say that the former City of Sudbury holding their line on taxes for ten years had something to do with that. You can also argue and say that we're in the same boat that municipalities across this whole country are in and that is there's been a...shortfall in dollars from the upper levels of government, you know the Province and Federal government have not come to the table with tax dollars, returning tax dollars and returning Northern tax dollars back here where they should be (PED9).

However, as noted in Chapter Two the federal government has recently tried to increase funding for infrastructure improvements. Sudbury has done well in terms of COMRIF (Canada Ontario Municipal Rural Infrastructure Fund) infrastructure grant applications as a couple of key informants noted, "They were two for two...they applied twice for major road infrastructure funding [COMRIF] and they were successful twice...(PED4) and,

[In] recent years with their gas taxes and that we've seen a bit of a turn in the trend with the...COMRIF funding the Canada Ontario Municipal Infrastructure Funding that has turned the tables a bit and that has helped us out. But there's still a long ways to go (PED9).

This funding is being utilized to expand two existing major roads into the City and is designed to help deal with maintaining and upgrading various forms of infrastructure. In addition, financial concerns related to grant and funding programs were expressed by a couple of key informants. Essentially, grant money is often based on a per capita system and no growth or decline can lead to less money. This was mentioned by P4 who stated, "...most of their grants are per capita. So, if you have fewer people, grants go down" and P2 who pointed out that, "...politician's you know...might be very concerned about the tax and...transfer payments from the Province."

In terms of challenges associated with human resources, many key informants expressed concerns regarding youth out-migration and a few key informants expressed their own experiences as they watched their children or family members leave.

I mean...you know it's sad that my kids never even considered coming back to Sudbury...*continues on to say*... I mean, I guess the girls could have come back and worked with their Dad but they...I don't think they saw Sudbury as a...growing place (PED8).

But what really bothers me...and you know I think everybody's family is like that now, is you know your brothers and sisters live all over the place (PED9).

...you know my son's case in point. I don't think he'll come back. He may want too, but I don't think he will, depending on the job opportunities (ED1).

Youth out-migration was also a concern for key informants because it results in a decrease in talent because it's often the educated that are leaving to pursue other opportunities. Talent concerns were best described by the following key informants:

Oh the biggest one is the loss of...the...collective...intellectual capital (ED6).

When you've had a period of decline you've lost those human resources and in many cases you don't get them back (ED3).

Okay...in terms of...the younger age cohort or...say the...18 to 30 year olds, they're looking for their first career and if there's no job opportunities then

you have...significant out-migration and so...you lose a lot of the...potential...diversity within the community that's necessary to drive new ideas and...create new investment and new wealth (P7).

However, one key informant mentioned that we should let youth go to gather experience, "...they want the experience and again I don't really find that harmful. When [David] Foot was here last year this time...he said let your people go...let them go...so we should let the young people go..." (PED4). Letting youth leave to gain experience is fine as long as there are people to fill the void and that there are opportunities for them to return in the future.

Related to this, a few economic development key informants discussed how succession planning becomes an issue as there are less people to fill positions especially with the impending retirements of the baby boom generation. As one key informant commented:

...If you've got a declining population...you're losing your youth because...from a demographics perspective, they would represent the largest group to leave...historically they have anyways. You run...the risk of...as people mature in their positions and get into retirement there is no one to...fill those positions (ED1).

While ED6 described the situation in Sudbury with regards to small locally owned companies that run the risk of being bought out by large corporations if succession planning does not occur.

The biggest problem we may have...right now is succession planning. We have a hundred and fifty – two hundred companies that are in the game. They have a number of them owned by people my age, 55 to 65, and if we don't find...replacements, local replacements, someone to buy that company or their sons or daughters to buy it or local investors then they'll get bought up by the major corporations and all the thinking and all the world product mandate will disappear...(ED6).

Also associated with the human side of decline, a handful of mainly economic development key informants mentioned the effects that decline can have on an individual and collective psychological outlook which Robinson (1981) described as the psychology of decline. As one key informant mentioned, "...well I think that the largest...impact is that it's people. Individuals...are often forced in decline situations, forced to...give up...their community to go to another community...(ED2). While another mentioned the emotional

attachment to place, “So you’ll find in the end it’s...more emotional than...you might like but it’s defending a way of life. So that’s why it’s a concern, it’s a deep concern” (ED6). Finally, one planning key informant referred to it as the “...doom and gloom sort of mentality...” (P2) associated with decline.

Furthermore, challenges associated with the negative image perceptions associated with no growth concerned most key informants in the Sudbury case. Chapter Two identified the growth mentality which results in a perception that growth, including urban, demographic, and economic, is the only way to attract investment and business. Growth is desired, associated with success, and seen as a panacea. Many key informants explained this rationale surrounding growth in the Sudbury case as described by the following:

Basically you have to be growing to be surviving (PED11).

...when you look at growth, that’s the desire...(PED6).

In our current environment with capitalism driving everything that’s essential for...sustaining capitalism, you can’t have capitalism if you don’t have growth. As soon as you take away growth it basically falls down (ED2).

In addition, Chapter Two expressed the desire to promote a positive image to compete in the global economy. Many key informants mentioned how decline is associated with a negative image that something must be wrong. As described below, one key informant compared it to baseball and not being in the National League while others talked about the perception that society has regarding places that are declining and how a smaller population ultimately means less activity.

It’s cultural. We are programmed to believe that growth is good and if you are not growing then there is something wrong. Communities are afraid of the stigma associated with admitting decline (P3).

...you know...like you’re in the American League rather than the National League or something like this...(PED2).

I think that people, well you know the thing about...decline, people look at that and they say, ‘oh people don’t wanna live there anymore or the economy must be bad or it’s not a healthy place to be...maybe there’s high crime’ (PED9).

I think decline has to be a concern unless you're willing to just say, 'well we're going to be a smaller City than we were' and I suppose that could come but certainly that is not what I would want to see because if the City becomes compressed, becomes a smaller population it, in my mind, inevitably means that there's not as much going on (PED8).

This last point is contradictory to the Sudbury case because Sudbury is a smaller place than it was 35 years ago and even ten years ago but as mentioned earlier in this chapter and in subsequent chapters it has changed immensely. Thus, to combat the negative connotations associated with no growth and decline a new vocabulary will be required.

Aside from the challenges already mentioned regarding resources and image concerns, a number of challenges arose regarding accepting and planning in the context of no growth. Basically, fear along with the current planning framework and political nature prevent no growth from being accepted and managed. As mentioned, there are huge concerns related to the perceived external negative image associated with no growth. Accepting and planning for no growth was equated with 'throwing in the towel' by some key informants which could eventually lead to disinvestment from the private and public sector. As P1 explained, "Why invest in a centre that acknowledges that they're going to contract and constrict and have less assessment and less services?" While P9 was deeply concerned about being labelled and forgotten:

I would be concerned about a community just being labelled as a declining community...and...everything that relates to that community therefore is...put through that filter...because then it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy...and...maybe opportunities that exist are overlooked because...you know...the community is seen as being a declining community...and...there is no resources or investments put into that community (P9).

This fear of disinvestment and the unknown has the potential to act as a significant barrier to being realistic about growth and will require senior level government assistance in minimizing these fears.

In terms of the current planning framework, some planning key informants discussed how the current system is predicated on growth and lacks the tools and the mindset to handle no growth. As noted in Chapter Two, contemporary professional planning was built on the

foundations of growth in the immediate decades following WWII. This was discussed by a couple of planning key informants who mentioned:

Planning historically has been tied to growth. The PPS and Planning Act are based on the assumption of growth but that is only one type of planning – growth management (P3).

We'll take...a look at the Planning Act for example...and even up until now what does it say about decline? All it talks about is plan for subdivision. It does talk now about change...urban renewal. So that's it, either growth or its change within...and so...our planning law is not predicated on change...on decline at all (PED2).

Planning for growth in the context of no growth and the lack of a framework has been depicted throughout Chapters Two and Three and these key informants emphasize this gap. The simple solution is to change it but given the image concerns surrounding accepting and planning for no growth the local level will most likely not be instrumental in requesting this change.

An example of this dilemma is best exemplified by an issue that arose surrounding the new Official Plan for Sudbury. It appears as though the City was asked by the province to shrink their settlement boundaries because they had too much land designated based on demographic trends. This was described by PED7 who mentioned, "...we have too much...land that is...planned to develop..." and P5 who stated, "Technically, we do have too much land designated..." However, shrinking settlement boundaries or reducing designated areas was seen as counteractive to the economic development initiatives being undertaken in the City. As one planning key informant explained,

You know the perception surrounding that would have been...I would say ...pretty devastating for the community. In other words, it would be basically saying the only realistic scenario is one of decline and as a result we need to basically you know contract our...all of our designated areas and...basically it...flies in the face of all the initiatives that people are working towards (P5).

Essentially, planning for no growth by shrinking boundaries is hugely psychological and symbolic and would have been a very powerful message as P5 noted. Maintaining the boundary for image and symbolic purposes is not necessarily a problem as long as the any

growth is good growth mentality is contained and new infrastructure is not being developed or extended for the sake of having new development.

Furthermore, it appears as though there are issues related to shrinking settlement boundaries when prior approvals exist in terms of the current planning system. This situation was described by P3 and P5 who discussed the legality of revoking draft approvals. P5 mentioned that "...those [are] approvals that have been in place for a long time and there's certain rights attached to that..."(P5) while P3 discussed the issue in greater detail:

To make places smaller we don't want to take away prior planning approvals in fear of how land owners might respond. Draft plans of Subdivisions approved in the 1970s had no sunset clause meaning they cannot be revoked (have to follow the legislation it was approved in). One planner in the office refers to them as Zombie Lots. If municipalities want to shrink settlement areas they see all the draft lots and good planning says to count them as a part of the land supply.

Thus, aside from the symbolic and image concerns related to shrinking boundaries, challenges also exist regarding the planning framework and formalities associated with being able to do so.

Another challenge associated with planning for no growth that was cited by some planning key informants is the political framework. A few planning key formants felt that simply discussing decline is not an option let alone planning for it. P2 mentioned, "Well it's the politicians [who] don't like to talk about decline..." depicting the inability to discuss the issue while P5 described the sensitive nature surrounding no growth:

Decline...you don't say that word around here!...*continues on to say*...it's a sensitive topic because the political view is...that the only path that we have to work towards is one of growth...(P5).

This relates back to the concept of boosterism and the growth mentality mentioned in Chapter Two. Politicians are often the best local boosters one can find and very few politicians want a negative image associated with their city. As P1 mentioned,

It's never popular for someone who stands to be elected as a leader in a community saying 'you know look guys we're...constricting, we're contracting, we are not growing and...we need to face up to that reality.' It's

much more of a popular thing to say ‘we’re in this situation, we need to find ways out of it, we need to...grow...we need to figure those things out.’

Thus, as seen in Table 5.4 there are a number of challenges associated with no growth that localities like Sudbury must contend with. Resource issues, image perceptions, and the lack of a planning model all prevent no growth from being accepted and managed. In the end, these challenges will require upper level government support and guidance to provide no-growth cities with the ability to manage and improve under this trajectory. The following sections identify additional challenges that are more specific to the Sudbury locale in terms of planning and economic development.

Table 5.4: Summary of the Challenges Associated with No Growth

Challenges	Description
Financial Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Declining tax-base impedes the ability to maintain and provide services and infrastructure ○ Declining grants based on per capita sources ○ Affects ability to improve under no-growth conditions
Human Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Youth out-migration ○ Decline in talent or young and educated ○ Succession planning becomes an issue
Image Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ No-growth is associated with a negative image ○ Growth is the panacea and desired
Fear	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Fear that admitting to no-growth and contracting will result in decreased public and private investment ○ Seen as throwing in the towel ○ Counteracts local economic development by admitting to a future of no growth
Planning framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Predicated on growth ○ Lack of tools for shrinking boundaries or managing no growth
Political Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ No growth is not an option

5.3.2 Planning & Development Challenges in the Sudbury Locale

In addition to the general challenges mentioned previously that result from no growth, a number of challenges were discussed by key informants that pertain specifically to the Sudbury case. These challenges include the ‘any growth is good growth mentality’, the perceived need to lower planning standards, difficulty in promoting alternative forms of

development, the dispersed urban form, and the unpredictable nature of trends as described by key informants. Not all of these challenges are related to no growth but often this trajectory exacerbates them. To begin with, Chapter Two identified the any growth is good growth mentality which is prevalent in Winnipeg, a slow growth. Leo and Anderson (2005; 2006) comment that in slow growth city officials become more accepting of development proposals in their desire for growth. Similarly, this issue was mentioned by a number of planning and planning-economic development key informants as one that is evident in Sudbury and was summed up nicely in the following interview:

There seems to be a common misunderstanding in Northern Ontario that “any growth is good growth” and I would argue that that’s not the case. Now I’m not necessarily talking about growth associated with a manufacturing plant or something like that but typically in parts of Northern Ontario you’ve had people who chose to live outside of municipal boundaries or where people decided that they’d want to be able to build within a municipality but beyond where the infrastructure exists and the municipal Council think, ‘well that’s great because we’re going to increase our the tax base.’ But they fail to realize that when you permit development in a particular area, then you have to provide services to that area. Northern communities really need to start thinking about more compact development you know, where you put your sewer line, who pays for the sewer line, these things are going to be very important in the future (P5).

This mentality was echoed by another key informant who mentioned that in Sudbury, “...some people see growth as you know building up the tax base...and tied to that is sort of an open door policy on development” (P5). As mentioned by Leo and Anderson (2005; 2006) and by the above key informant, development granted under this mentality can often be unsuitable with regards to location, densities, and land uses and they may place further pressure on services and infrastructure.

Another issue that was identified by some planning and planning-economic development key informants was the perceived need to lower planning standards in an attempt to attract potential development. Essentially, being fussy about standards and municipal requirements was seen as something that would drive potential development away as noted in the following interviews:

Assisting in creating new opportunities and being a little more lenient in terms of development approvals. You’re trying to grow the community not extract

every municipal requirement. You're trying to grow the projects so how can you get an approval and grow the project which will potentially create a spin-off and as opposed to extracting the last criteria that you might in a boom time when nobody's gonna object paying that or making that part of it happen. That's related more to site plans and things like that where it's within our authority to ask for the Cadillac or the Volkswagen. So it's not about not having it, it's about what standard are you aspiring too and if you wanna drive things away (P7).

So, I think when things aren't good the planner's have a harder time...you know really looking at applications and saying, 'does the application meet planning standards or is it an answer to an economic difficulty' and...it may be that when you're economy is not so good that as a planning group you can't afford to be quite so fussy because you have to look at the City as whole and say you know, 'do we want this or not and...where are we going?' (PED8).

In addition, one key informant added that in some instances developers use no growth as a method to get their applications approved,

With us what we can get hit with is, 'well you know what you're... everything's declining, you guys should be approving this.' And it could be something that's really controversial that the planning department may say, 'you know what, no that's just not...it doesn't fit in with the...with our Official Plan for the City...that's not a good...use of that land.' But then on the other hand, you have people saying, 'well you know you guys are crazy. You know you need business. You should have approved that or so what approve it, approve it – it'll create jobs.' So, then it's a matter of okay do we create jobs for the sake of creating jobs or...not that we create jobs but allow a...business to develop in a certain area that they probably really should have no business being there for the sake of a few jobs or do we stick to our Official Plan and stick to...dealing with...concerns of residents and...what have you? (PED9)

Thus, in no growth planning standards may be lowered and approvals granted on the basis of promoting economic development. This is a particularly difficult challenge because planning in no growth may become tangled in economic development and the role of the planner becomes blurred. When referring to planners in Northern Ontario one participant stated, "...the planners have almost become economic development people..." (P4). This contributes to the any growth is good growth mentality because matters of economic development can often supersede planning.

Related to this issue, although not specific to planning in the context of no growth, one planning key informant expressed concerns about changes to the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) which would decrease the authority of the OMB to reverse 'bad' planning decisions or those that are made against the recommendations of local planning staff:

I'm particularly concerned about...curtailing the...authority of the OMB which is a...board which is cast with making good planning decisions. I believe that...the political reality...in many communities...ultimately can and will continue to lead to detrimental planning related outcomes for their communities even though, you know there's this notion out there that...elected community leaders know what's best for their community. I'm not so sure that that's always the case (P1).

Ultimately planning decisions are made by city councils and they can choose to accept or ignore the recommendations made by their staff and these changes have the potential to further fuel the any growth is good growth mentality.

Another challenge raised by some key informants associated with planning in the context of no growth in Sudbury is the difficulty in promoting alternative forms of development other than single detached homes and encouraging downtown revitalization. This is most likely a result of the fear of driving potential development away and the take any growth is good growth mentality. However, it's also a result of the low density Northern lifestyle that people value. This issue is described below by a few key informants:

You know realistically we've had very few alternative type developments here...very few examples of that...there's been nothing really in terms of intensification...for the last 10 to 12 years it's been all single...we get people outraged when we...have semi's being introduced into existing neighbourhoods. I mean, that's the mindset we're dealing with and I know that's present elsewhere but I think in other cities they're...maybe more open to intensification and....downtown revitalization. Here it's always a hard sell (P5).

I think one of the challenges on that is the fact that a lot of people in the north...living in the north are here and want a lower density type lifestyle...they like the wide open space...they like the natural environment and...they are not looking for a...small densely populated area...so...that's...a challenge you face (P9).

It would be economically...easier for both the developers and the municipality if you did infilling in those areas before you had new subdivisions in the outlying areas. But, I mean the bottom line is you have to go with what the people who are going to buy them want cause if you do all this infilling and people don't want to live downtown or in the city core, then it's not going to work economically (PED8).

Other planning challenges identified by planning and planning-economic development key informants include the physical geography and settlement pattern in Sudbury. These factors contribute to a low-density dispersed urban form and high costs associated with maintaining infrastructure. The settlement pattern of the City of Greater Sudbury is an amalgamation of several communities with a number of towns located in excess of 40 kilometres from the central core of Sudbury. In fact, based on total area the City of Greater Sudbury is the largest municipality in Ontario (Growth & Development, 2007). Furthermore, the bedrock terrain (see Figure 5.1) combined with an abundance of lakes and other tributaries results in a more dispersed urban environment. Associated with this are the high costs related to developing, providing, and maintaining services and infrastructure due to the terrain and dispersed form as described by the following participants:

We are too spread out already...but that is mainly because of historic reasons okay, all the outlying...settlements...*continues on to say*...in one way we have to spread out because the lakes and hills and everything...in between so we push outward (P2).

Every once in a while I just go out in my car, if I have a visitor you know, and I'll simply take them from Wanup and then bring them up through the airport, you bring them up through Garson. I mean you're already talking close to an hour and then go all the way across to Levack and you're talking about another hour. You can take the back road from Levack to Beaver Lake and then go back...and you will have covered the municipality...and it's just mind-boggling to do that...people are living all over that place and they all want water, they all want sewer, they all want telephone, they all want fire service, they all want police protection and so you have to start off with a...large basis of realism. How much does it cost you know to provide all of these services and...can you do them effectively (PED2).

The massive size, physical terrain, historical settlement pattern, and fear of losing potential development all contribute to perhaps the largest scale dispersion in Canada for a municipality which presents a significant challenge for planners in Sudbury.

Figure 5.1: Rocky Terrain in the City of Greater Sudbury



Source: Debbie McCool Hall, 2007.

Another issue cited by some planning and planning-economic development key informants is the unpredictable nature of demographic and economic trends in Sudbury. This was mentioned previously when discussing future trends and in Chapter Three when describing the new Official Plan. P9 described the challenge of not knowing when a decline period might end:

I mean the other challenge that I have touched on is...that if you are in a declining period...you don't know if that's going to be turning around or not...*continues on to say*...I guess that's one challenge of being in a resource based...community...it is difficult to predict...

While PED8 discussed the issue with promoting growth in the up-cycles and then being faced with decline and the difficulties associated with providing for those increased services:

But, the thing that concerns me about Sudbury is, Sudbury has never been a place that went like this, sort of continued growth. Sudbury's goes up and down and up and down and so you don't want to have all this growth and get yourself in a position where you've increased all sorts of services and then the next thing you know you're in a slump and...and then you've got you know, not the money coming in to back it but you still have these obligations.

Thus, there are a number of challenges (refer to Table 5.5) associated with planning in Sudbury that are intensified by the absence of growth like the any growth is good growth mentality and the perceived need to lower planning standards. Plus, the dispersed urban form and unpredictable trends pose challenges for those involved in the planning process in the Sudbury context.

Table 5.5: Summary of Planning & Development Challenges in Sudbury

Challenges	Description
Any Growth is Good Growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Results from the lack of extreme growth pressures ○ Allow urban growth to occur anywhere ○ Not investing strategically ○ Detracts from alternative development forms like downtown revitalization
Lowering Planning Standards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Perceived need to lower planning standards to attract development
Dispersed Urban Form	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Related to physical geography and historical settlement pattern
Unpredictable Trends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Boom-bust ○ Expand during the boom times and then left trying to provide during the bust times

5.3.3 Economic Development Challenges in the Sudbury Locale

In addition to these planning and development challenges, a number of issues related to economic development were also described throughout the interviews by predominantly economic development and planning-economic development key informants. These challenges include employment quality, funding and incentive dependency, economic development initiatives, and Northern competition. The first economic development challenge is like the any growth is good growth mentality in terms of urban development and a similar mentality emerged in terms of employment growth and opportunities. For example,

a number of call centre and retail jobs have been attracted to the City in an attempt to diversify the economy as the following key informants attest,

The retail sector has reinforced itself...*continues on to say*...we've just got a new 400 seat [call] centre inbound for Roger's at the Four Corners and Teletech [call centre] expanded (P7).

Actually, the other thing I haven't talked a little about is the...increase of some of the new economy things. So the number of...call centres and call centre jobs in Sudbury...is quite a lot...(ED2).

Some key informants saw these jobs as beneficial because they do provide employment opportunities and lower the unemployment statistics while at the same time recognizing that they are not long-term solutions or wealth creators.

I think it's a short-term gap to retain youth. But it does retain youth for maybe a year, maybe two years...(ED1)

Although that's not a wealth creating industry...We've also established a niche in the call centre industry again those aren't wealth creating but they're servicing somebody's wealth and creating employment (P7).

While others questioned the quality of these employment opportunities with regards to part-time hours and lower wages.

...that's always a knot here [people say], 'yeah you guys have got some jobs whether it be call centres, whether it be retail but you know what it's part-time hours, it's part-time pay. So when are you guys gonna bring in the high paying jobs?' And you know what? I have to agree with them (PED9).

But you know in the end I think...it really boils down to...sort of quantity and quality of jobs that are available and...I think...we have a lot more work to do in the area...(P5).

Furthermore, one planning key informant stated, "...you probably know this already, if you look at...where the call centres go, they always go to the...cities with the unemployment, that's why they go" (P2). Thus, the City also has to be mindful of the any job is a good job mentality and the need for quality long-term employment opportunities. However, this is often easier said than done.

Other challenges associated with economic development in Sudbury include difficulties associated with attracting businesses and encouraging investments. As one economic development key informant described in decline, “I think the investment climate is not there...the willingness of...individuals to take risks...whether they’re you know...potential developer’s...the owners of real estate...they’re investors...” (ED5). In addition, funding and incentive dependency are issues which were described by some key informants. For example, PED4 mentioned that the City may defer infrastructure work if they are unsuccessful with grant applications, “...but I think they would defer infrastructure work because there’s an actual tendency to defer infrastructure if you don’t get grants...” Furthermore, another participant described how businesses want some form of incentive to relocate within the City,

....and they were all interested and whether or not we could give them some government money to come North because often times...businesses that are moving up from Southern Ontario or you’re trying to get to come from Southern Ontario they...want some kind of a grant. They want some kind of a tax credit or benefit or whatever it happened to be (PED1).

While another respondent commented that with regards to developers in Southern Ontario the planning departments are in control whereas in Northern Ontario the situation is reversed which relates back to the Leo and Anderson (2005; 2006).

This relates back to an earlier comment I said, one of the things I noticed when I first came back to Sudbury from North Bay and Southern Ontario, is when I was living in Southern Ontario and developers were looking at developing housing or shopping malls. They were coming to the municipality and the other agencies and saying okay this is what we want to do and the agencies were saying that’s fine...that’s great but you’re going to have to provide a study for this, and you’re going to need to budget for that, and you’re going to have to pay for the infrastructure and it wasn’t even questioned, that was the cost of development. But in Northern Ontario, and its still is like that to a certain degree, everybody wants something for nothing...(PED5).

Thus, in no growth often municipalities, businesses, and developers can become dependent on receiving grants, incentives, and development breaks. As noted everybody tends to want

something for nothing but for understandable reasons because the risks are higher and the anticipated profits are lower.

Another debatable issue that was discussed in a couple of interviews was how some felt that the mining sector was largely ignored in the push to diversify the Sudbury economy. This situation was best explained during the following interview:

Believe it or not, prior to 2002, in an effort to diversify away from the mining sector, the community leaders had somewhat forgotten about the significance this sector still plays in the community. There was little relevance paid to the mining sector for quite sometime. It was...it's a very funny thing that happened. It was perceived to be a sector on its way out, of course we know that there was a lot of restructuring that went on, with significant job losses, however for quite a significant period of time (10 years or so) there was no economic development activities that purposely built on this huge community asset. Then, a local university professor in economics decided to take a lead and start demonstrating to the community the continued relevance and importance of this sector and to point out that the community could still work on diversification but needed to recognize existing assets. This was a definite turning point for the community, only a few years ago. People started to look at the mining industry again, the spin-off effects and related services more closely. Leading up to this time Sudbury tried to go in all these different directions and it was rudderless, like a boat a drift, didn't know which direction it was going in and it was floundering (ED3).

Focussing on existing assets and strengths is an important tool for economic development. In the past, economic development strategies in Sudbury were designed to target nearly every sector from sports to agriculture and tourism (Filion, 1988; Regional Municipality of Sudbury, 1994). A similar situation was evident in Winnipeg as Leo and Anderson (2006) characterized economic development initiatives as an addicted gambler that is desperate and hopeful which is comparable to Sudbury's rudderless boat.

However, in the extreme case one key informant suggested that the mining supply and services is Sudbury's only big key niche:

My favourite example is Sudbury where the...big general answer was so you have to diversify and that was wrong. What you had to do was specialize...you had to specialize where you had a strength in order to make a niche in a world market. This is...I mean this sounds trite to me now that I studied it and seen how many times it's been said in other places....Sudbury has only one big niche that's the [mining] supply and service sector (PED3).

As already noted the mining supply and service sector is subjected to the same volatile nature of the mining economy and other key informants suggested promoting a few key assets or niches rather than solely focussing on just mining.

We need to look at what industries we can grow in Sudbury. Personally I feel we need to... wean ourselves off the fixation on mining and mining services...and look at some other sectors that offer opportunities...and I know that our economic development department's done a lot of work on that. They have a strategic plan which identifies different sectors...the environmental sector for example...healthcare - we've got a medical school that just opened in the community and we're also a referral centre and we've got a cancer centre so there's...opportunity tied to that and we have had some success in...attracting...people to the community to be employed in those areas, particularly health care...but I think that's the key (P5).

It is a knowledge economy. We have to invest around...the medical sector, we have to invest around...to a less extent the tourism sector, we have to invest around the mining knowledge sector, the exporting sector, supply and services sector. We have to grow our institutions, we have to do all the normal things to...enhance...the vibrancy of the community...(ED6).

Focusing on a few key strengths is more in line with the strategic plan for the City which was discussed in Chapter Three and focuses on five strategic areas or engines for the City to become.

Another issue identified by key informants in Sudbury was how city officials tend to rest on their laurels during the up-cycles and forget about the other side of the coin. During up-cycles, urban development is expanded and strategic planning is placed on the backburner.

I think it's [no growth] something that should always be on the radar. It's easy to...forget about these issues when things are flipping along rather nicely right now with, you know mining. The resource sector is booming, mining is booming, mining services are doing very well. So, it's easy to...to promote that stuff without thinking about the core issues locally and I think you know all of the stuff is very relevant (P5).

You are almost forced to think strategically...when you're in a decline...human nature has a tendency to abandon that...when you're in a growth period because you don't have to worry about it, everything's...good (ED1).

Right now we're too busy running around saying, 'oh...aren't we doing well, you know mining's doing well again, everybody's making money isn't this lovely.' Well yeah it's lovely but when mining turns down you have to have other things, you know (PED1).

What this implies is that Sudbury should be taking advantage of up-cycles by being more proactive and that economic development should remain at the forefront and not abandoned as seen in the past which was described in Chapter Three (Filion, 1988).

One last challenge associated with economic development in Sudbury is 'Northern Competition'. This challenge was cited by a handful of participants and essentially it refers to Northern Ontario cities competing with each other for government investment and projects. In addition, due to this competition a political barrier arises as the government is apprehensive about placing strategic investments in a single Northern City like Sudbury. As one participant described, "...while we...are far away from each other we are rivals when it comes to trying to attract business to our communities, okay?(PED1). This participant also described the issue surrounding the location of the new School of Medicine in Sudbury and Thunder Bay,

Problem is, is that Timmins, North Bay and the Sault like the...the medical school was going to be situated in Sudbury and Thunder Bay. So...we'd come down to the classic problem that we always have in the North and that is "what's in it for me? What's in it for my community?(PED1).

Another contentious economic development issue is the lack of formal recognition of Sudbury as the Centre of Mining Excellence by the provincial government which is seen as something that is needed to promote cluster development. A couple of key informants believe that this lack of acknowledgement is largely a result of backlash from other Northern cities and the lack of political will which they feel represents a significant political challenge to economic development in Sudbury as identified below.

...the potential is here but what we do not have is formal acknowledgement on the part of the Province that there's going to be the Centre of Mining Excellence and of course what they're worried about here is that Timmins is gonna yell and scream...(PED2).

But, Timmins and North Bay are absolutely adamant that Sudbury can't be the centre. Okay, now what...does that mean? Well that means that the

courageous fellow by the name of Rick Bartolucci, as...the Minister for everywhere, can't vehemently promote the...clustering in Sudbury that you need to compete internationally. It's not politically feasible, alright it's politically feasible but he's not politically courageous enough whatever the story. That means that there is a...significant political institutional barrier to economic success (PED3).

The provincial solution was to identify Northeastern Ontario as the region of mining excellence (Ontario Smart Growth Secretariat, 2003a). However, as one participant commented, "...I mean how ridiculous...to say all of Northeastern Ontario as a Centre of Excellence that's....meaningless..."(PED2). Essentially, having the cluster designation relates to the image concerns once again. The cluster exists but having formal recognition would provide the image to compete. Thus, there are a number of issues that emerged during the interviews pertaining to economic development and a summary of these issues are provided in Table 5.6. Despite these challenges associated with no growth, key informants also identified challenges with growth and no-growth opportunities which are described in the following sections.

Table 5.6: Summary of the Economic Development Challenges

Challenges	Description
Employment Quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Challenge with attracting high-paying, full-time, long-term employment opportunities ○ Prevalence of call centre and retail jobs
Funding & Incentive Dependency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The City is dependent on funding to assist with paying for things like infrastructure ○ Businesses want incentives to locate in the City ○ Developers control and are provided with breaks
Rudderless Boat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Too much diversification and forgetting about key strengths ○ Too much specialization by relying only on the mining supply and services niche
Resting on Laurels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Abandoning economic development in up-cycles
Northern Competition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Competition over funding and projects from other Northern Cities ○ Political barrier associated with the government's ability to provide strategic investment in specific locales

5.3.4 No-Growth Opportunities: Is Bigger Always Better?

A small number of planning and planning-economic development key informants implicitly or explicitly mentioned that no growth is not necessarily a concern. Like PED2, some encouraged society to get past this growth fixation, “so our...whole mentality is that if it isn’t growth, it isn’t good. If it is decline, it’s bad. So we gotta get out of that mental state”. While another key informant stated, “We have to understand that growth isn’t everything. It doesn’t mean everything” (P3). The key is to plan accordingly as a couple of key informants suggested: “It doesn’t have to be. If it’s managed properly, I don’t think it has to be an area of concern” (P4) and “I actually think that if the population’s declining it’s not necessarily a serious problem as long as it’s planned for” (PED4). While a couple of key informants agreed that it’s not necessarily a problem if it’s not rapid like in the case of a major employer closing as expressed in the following interview, “If you have rapid shifts then you should be quite concerned” (P7).

Furthermore, as described in Chapter Two different growth trajectories have different concerns and growing cities often have issues related to high costs associated with infrastructure and services, housing affordability, increased dispersion, and land and social conflicts. During the interviews nearly half of the key informants made reference to the concerns surrounding growth. Housing shortages and costs were described by the following key informant while visiting a rapidly growing city,

I recently had the experience of...going to [omitted name]²³ ...and realizing some of the things that are going on there...looking at the housing shortage that they’re experiencing as a result of increased population, looking at inflation...as an increase in...well increasing costs associated with...rising cost of providing labour and capital and those sorts of situations (P1).

These issues were echoed by another key informant when describing ‘booming’ cities like Calgary,

But, in a number of booming cities, like Calgary, you might not be able to afford to live there and therefore, they’ve got a homeless problem. All the indicator’s on the top end look very good but on the soft underbelly there’s a whole bunch of other things that you wouldn’t find in some of these smaller centres that might be static (P7).

²³ The city name was omitted to protect the anonymity of the key informant.

While another key informant described an infrastructure crisis in predominantly Southern Ontario as a result of too much demand,

Ontario right now, in sort of the urban centres, we have this crisis of infrastructure funding because the need is so great and we're not able to keep up with it and obviously in a declining city that need changes..." (P6)

Thus, as one key informant questioned, "...is bigger always better?" (PED8) while another expressed, "I don't wanna be a mini-Toronto, I don't wanna be a mini you know...big city" (PED9). However, despite the challenges associated with growth, some growth is still seen as better than no growth as one key informant commented "...it's nicer to have modest growth as opposed to decline or no growth" (P7).

5.3.5 Planning & Quality of Life Opportunities in the Sudbury Locale

In addition to these growth concerns, a number of no-growth opportunities became evident during the interviews that relate to planning and the quality of life in Sudbury. Many of these opportunities provide alternatives to the challenges related to growth like affordability, congestion, and extreme growth pressures on the natural environment. In terms of actual planning, some planning key informants discussed having more time and less pressure than rapidly growing places which could be seen as an opportunity.

You're not rushing as much right compared with Southern Ontario So we have a little bit more leisure then...to think a bit more and do better studies and take our time...(P2).

I suppose also...in a community where there isn't...growth pressure you might get elsewhere it provides a bit more breathing room...in terms of...planning...and you are not just responding constantly...you are able to...you are able to get ahead of things and be a little bit more proactive...(P9)

In addition, a number of key informants discussed opportunities related to the rich natural environment and quality of life that Sudbury has to offer.

Sudbury's 300 lakes and a suitable environment result in a quality of life that many communities wouldn't have. So it makes Sudbury an attractive place to be. So, we're urban yet we're rural we can get to the wilderness within 10 minutes...depends where you live! So that also has a big role to play in this. Not everybody would like a Sudbury but if you're looking for that kind of

community or that kind of atmosphere then Sudbury is probably one of the top places in Canada (P7).

While others described the affordability of living in Sudbury, the proximity of the City to Southern Ontario and the international connections the City has especially as a result of the mining sector. For example, ED3 stated: “There are just so many opportunities in relation to these areas and the affordability of where we live” while a few economic development and planning economic development participants discussed Sudbury’s proximity and global connections:

Once people in Southern Ontario realize the proximity of Sudbury and Northern Ontario to the south, you’re going to see more growth (ED3).

It’s a global community (ED6).

Sudbury has connections, international connections because of mining (PED3).

Furthermore, a number of key informants discussed how no growth in a way forces the community to work together and create new ideas which has been seen in the past through initiatives like *Sudbury 2001* which were mentioned in Chapter Three. As PED2 described: “The Canadian...thing is...that we don’t really get creative until we have what we call creative destruction...” while others described the situation in Sudbury in a little more detail:

I guess it does provide an environment where some kind of...innovation and...interesting ideas...only emerge when you are feeding the fire...and...so it creates...an environment where...new ideas could be...flung (P9).

It...does one thing; it forces you to think (ED1).

I suppose the biggest opportunity is to sort of shake everybody up and hopefully people realize that you can’t always leave this to chance. In the case of our community it has worked a number of times when we’ve been in decline and some of the most innovative ideas for the community have come about in those periods of decline (PED11).

As discussed in Chapter Three on several occasions Sudbury has held community economic development conferences and projects like *Sudbury 2001* and the *Next Ten Years* to bring the community together and foster ideas which is a significant strength of the grassroots level which could lead to solutions. In a sense, the people who are left behind are those that are truly attached to Sudbury. This attachment creates empowerment and solidarity as they band together to weather the storm resulting in stronger community networks and linkages. Thus, despite all the concerns and challenges associated with no growth a silver-lining does emerge that can be harnessed and utilized to promote the acceptance of no growth. However, this will require innovative ideas and a combination of top-down and bottom-up initiatives.

5.4 No-Growth Local & Regional Remedial Initiatives

Throughout the interviews, key informants expressed a number of strategies and policy responses that have been utilized in Sudbury as remedial efforts, many of which were described in Chapter Three. Furthermore, key informants offered various local and regional initiatives that they believe should be undertaken in the context of no growth. This section is divided into four parts and the first part discusses the debate surrounding reversing the trends or influences of no growth. This is followed by a description of key informant's views on whether no-growth localities should be planning for growth or no growth. The third section identifies the suggestions made by key informants regarding various local planning and economic development approaches that should be undertaken in the absence of guaranteed growth while the final section describes regional development insights for Northeastern Ontario. This section emphasizes the need for both top-down and bottom-up approaches to manage no growth through new models of planning and development.

5.4.1 Reversing the Trends: Hard Work vs. Luck?

As mentioned previously, key informants had a vast understanding of the economic factors influencing Sudbury's plight and as a result almost all key informants believed that decline can be reversed and they can be divided into two groups. It should be noted that both groups contained planning, economic development, and planning-economic development key informants. The first group of key informants believed that decline can be reversed through economic development initiatives while the second group of key informants believed that

external forces like the market reverses decline and economic development initiatives are undertaken to ameliorate or stem the issue. As the following key informants from the first group attest, decline can be reversed through a little hard work:

Yes I do...it takes a lot of work and vision but...it can be...(P5).

Yes. If you're able to figure out how to create new wealth for the community. That is why you need to identify what your opportunities are. So it's a bit of a SWOT thing, your Strengths, Weaknesses, what your opportunities are...(P7). Certainly...yes...and...you know I think it's up to municipal leaders to...identify that...with the help of the province and the federal government (ED4).

Yes. Yes...if the...municipality works hard at...on the economic...side of it, on the economic development...(PED7).

Meanwhile, the second group of key informants, who agreed that the fundamental driver of decline was economic circumstances, believed that reversing decline depends on outside influences like the market and economic development helps to fight the situation.

Oh sure. I mean you can't put nickel in the ground that isn't there but if you just look at what Sudbury's done, Sudbury has had a remarkable 30 years of...fighting the...insecurities of economic decline (ED6).

Oh clearly, yeah decline can be reversed. But...if you're going to ask me your next question how that might happen...you know economic policy and even land use planning can only do so much (P1).

Sure. The question is who reverse it and it's the market (P3).

I think part of its luck...not luck so much but I mean I think part of it depends on the economy...(PED8).

Many of the diversification and economic development initiatives undertaken in Sudbury over the years were cited as strategies that could be used to reverse or stem decline and are broadly described in Table 5.7. Many of these initiatives were discussed in Chapter Three and previously in this Chapter by key informants as factors that have influenced Sudbury's current growth. Examples include using post-secondary education to train local individuals, diversification into a variety of sectors to reduce dependency on the resource base, focusing on key strengths and assets, focussing on local entrepreneurs, strong

leadership, government investment, community visioning and involvement, image restoration, and infrastructure development.

Table 5.7: Summary of Reversal & Stemming Strategies

Strategy	Description
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Educate and train local individuals ○ Hope they remain in the area ○ Example: Northern Ontario School of Medicine (train doctors for the North)
Diversification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Reduce dependency on a single sector and increase opportunities ○ Sectors that have been expanded in Sudbury include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Government ▪ Health ▪ Education ▪ Retail ▪ R & D ▪ Entertainment ▪ Environment
Niche Markets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Focus on your strengths ○ Example: Sudbury Mining Supply and Services Cluster
Entrepreneurs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Attract and foster small and medium size business and entrepreneurs ○ Harness knowledge workers
Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Strong municipal leadership, community leadership and business leadership ○ Lobby the government for funding ○ Go out and attract business and development like call centres and big-box retail development in Sudbury
Strategic Planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Identify strategies or engines for growth ○ SWOT
Government Investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Top down government funding and incentives ○ Employment relocation
Vision & Community Involvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Have a vision and have community buy-in ○ Examples include Sudbury 2001 and the Next Ten Years
Image Restoration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Improve on the negative aspects in your community ○ Land reclamation and re-greening efforts
Infrastructure Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Establishing infrastructure like broadband to attract call centres to the area ○ Having land available and designated for development

As noted earlier, demographic circumstances were largely not discussed as influencing factors contributing to Sudbury's plight resulting in a lack of discussion on how to reverse these trends. In terms of demographic strategies to reverse decline two key informants discussed potential initiatives although they have not been undertaken in Sudbury. P2 mentioned that relocation strategies are one option. However politically it's not a favourable solution and as discussed in Chapter Two attempts in Newfoundland were met with limited success.

I mean, I think of...lots of different approaches that have been used to address decline. You can forcefully move people if you had the right type of dictatorship in place to say 'okay you're going to live there'. But as Canadians I don't think that's the sort of solution we'd be looking for.

In addition, PED10 mentioned having a top-down immigration strategy and discussed a cradle policy because natural increase is not going to occur, "...unless you're gonna go through the old Quebec provincially cradle kind of policies of bribing people to have 12 kids in a...family." Thus, a number of predominantly economic development strategies were provided to reverse or stem decline. As mentioned in Chapters Two and Three, without many of these programs or initiatives designed to manage disparities the situation would have been far worse, and Sudbury is a prime example. However, short-term minor reversal of trends in the Sudbury case have often been a product of increasing nickel prices and other economic circumstances as mentioned in Chapter One.

5.4.2 Planning to Grow or Not to Grow?

As discussed earlier in this Chapter, despite the inability thus far to reverse overall long-term trends some of the planning-economic development key informants felt that Sudbury shouldn't be planning for future decline or no growth while a few others felt that they should be planning to stay level. In addition, a number of the planning key informants described planning for three trends due to the unpredictable nature of demographic and economic trends in Sudbury. The remainder of key informants spoke in more general terms regarding planning in no growth urban areas due to the general nature of the interview question that was asked. Some of the planning key informants discussed being realistic based on current information and to plan accordingly.

Well, clearly since...I'm a land use planner, I think that we need to plan for the reality of the situation that we find ourselves in. I think...to stick our heads in the sand and pretend that we are going to find ourselves in a...growth based scenario when the reality...is showing otherwise or at least the reality of today and the indicators that we have are...showing otherwise is...not only...wrong-headed, I think it's...neglecting what's in the interest of the community and communities that take this approach are really doing a disservice to themselves (P1).

They should be realistic on the information that is available to them at the time (P3).

...plan for the right size (PED5).

Being realistic about growth echoes what some of the researchers in Chapter Two were suggesting (Bunting & Filion, 2001; Leo & Brown, 2000; Leo & Anderson, 2005; Leo & Anderson, 2006).

Meanwhile the economic development key informants were more inclined to suggest looking at the circumstances, finding ways to solve them, and planning ahead for growth.

Well, I think you have to be realistic and you have to look at your circumstances. I mean you have to have your feet on the ground. Just because of location, timing or resources that you might naturally have the circumstances are going to vary considerably. So you could probably be planning to work on both at the same time. I mean if you're in a declining situation you've got to deal with that and you've got to try and mitigate it, but on the other hand why can't you be planning for the future too? (ED3).

I think they should be planning for growth but have a contingency plan that if growth doesn't occur that they can deal with the decline...so they can't stick there head in the sand and say you know it's not gonna happen but at the same time they can't have a defeatist attitude and say there's nothing we can do to stem this (ED5).

I think you always plan for...you plan how...to stem that outward migration...and you have to have a two-pronged approach. You can't plan and then stop once the...decline stops, you also have to look at...'If I'm fortunate enough to reverse the trends, what can I do? And...where do I create my opportunities or how do I create my opportunity and what is it?' (ED1).

This is most likely a direct result of the nature of their profession which is to solve these issues and to be optimistic about future growth. However, it should be noted that being

realistic and not forgetting about decline did run through some of their responses as ED3 mentioned having your feet on the ground and ED5 discussed needing a contingency plan.

In addition, as mentioned in Chapter Two, Rybczynski and Linneman (1999) believed that ‘shrinking cities’ should not be striving to become bigger but rather they should focus on how to prosper and have a great smaller city and as mentioned previously in this chapter some key informants questioned if bigger is always better. This sentiment for Sudbury to become a better place in terms of quality of life, quality of employment opportunities, and urban development was expressed by a number of the key informants either implicitly or explicitly throughout the interviews. Planning key informants were more inclined to suggest using planning approaches like urban design and downtown revitalization to enhance quality of life as the following two key informants identified:

....I think that our profession needs to focus on making places better to live and to work...as I said earlier, quality of life is something that I think has to be the ultimate end goal of any community or government organization. You can’t lose sight of quality of life (P1).

[We need] different planning approaches, other than growth management, which seek to make places better (P3).

While a few economic development key informants focussed more on improving the economic situation which doesn’t necessarily equate to population growth:

My personal belief: No, I think we should be looking at sustainability which doesn’t necessarily mean growth (ED2).

We look at a healthy, vibrant community where...people have jobs, have access to good health services and are able to move forward. It doesn’t necessarily mean...you’re growing in population terms (ED3)

Better not bigger! You know exactly and that’s what I’ve said. Maybe...it is to stay at zero population or one percent decline but have a striving...economy... (PED10).

Furthermore, one planning-economic development key informant expressed that they would rather have no growth than compromise quality of life.

I mean I'd rather have my population stay stagnant or even decline a bit but have...the health in that community improve; the social conditions improve (PED9).

Thus, many key informants did recognize that striving to become a better city under any growth trajectory is vital. Despite this, concerns surrounding image perception and the ability to change and improve under no growth encumber its acceptance and the willingness to admit being a great smaller city. Furthermore, key agents at the local level lack innovative tools and guidance that are not premised on growth which will be discussed further in the following sections.

5.4.3 Local Approaches in the Absence of Guaranteed Growth

Throughout the interviews a number of local planning and economic development approaches or strategies were suggested by key informants as appropriate measures to undertake in no growth or in the absence of guaranteed growth. For the most part, these strategies lacked creativity and echoed existing approaches. The first step mentioned by a few planning key informants was to accept the situation like P1 who mentioned that, "I think acknowledging it is always going to be the first part of the process..." which is also the hardest part of the process. The remainder of this section will identify the various planning and economic development initiatives that were mentioned. Planning key informants discussed ways to manage and plan in the absence of rapid growth while economic development key informants talked about methods to reverse and stem the situation.

In the absence of guaranteed growth or the presence of no growth, planning key informants discussed a number of approaches that could be undertaken. The first suggestion was the importance of updating planning documents like official plans, capital budgets, and vision statements to reflect changes when they occur. For example, the following key informants described the importance of updating these tools and being realistic about changes:

A new vision – fate has changed and communities need to develop new principles and an OP to reflect the future of urban form which will be smaller and infrastructure will need to be focussed on a defined area...(P3)

I really do think that the biggest thing you can do is accept the fact that it's happening and then when you do your capital work and capital budgeting and your planning, you recognize the fact that, 'look...we have to be really careful here...because we do not have growth to...get rid of the problems. If we make a mistake expand too much, build too fancy, put in or build you know three or four extra rinks or whatever...who's going to pay for it?'...to me...I...think you need to get your headspace around it (P4).

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the City of Greater Sudbury just completed their new official plan in 2006 which is the first official plan to be undertaken since 1977. Neither is designed to plan for or accept no growth due to image and psychological concerns previously mentioned in this chapter. However, the 2006 official plan does have undercurrents of realism that growth is not a guarantee and any growth experienced will not be large scale.

In addition, a couple of key informants highlighted the importance of having a relationship between economic development and land-use planning documents. As PED2 mentioned, "You know we need...planning documents that...link up to the economic reality...you know the...economy and land use planning cannot be totally divorced." The 1977 Official Plan for the Regional Municipality of Sudbury was seen as a more comprehensive document because it discussed the need to diversify the economy. Also, the new official plan provides support for the new strategic plan for the City as mentioned in Chapter Three. Furthermore, Chapter Two highlighted the importance of planners in terms of economic development because they see the bigger picture and can balance a multitude of concerns including economic, environmental, community, and development.

In terms of urban development, the consensus was to be strategic as the following key informants attest:

...don't overbuild, don't jump the gun...*continues on to say*...We have to be resisting...an extensions of services no question about it (P2).

Whatever development does occur happens in the right place. Capitalize on existing infrastructure (don't develop in a rural area and then extend services to it) (P3).

So, why not have infilling going on where the sewer, the water,...the roads already exist...as opposed to...expanding outward where there's nothing and...later on it becomes an extra burden. I mean it's not that you wanna push away development but you really have to try and promote infilling. I think that's really the way to go (PED9).

Thus, the real growth control is infrastructure and resisting extensions outside serviceable areas. As mentioned earlier, this was a concern for some in Sudbury because of the cyclical nature and the tendency to expand during up-cycles and being left with trying to cope with expansions in the down-turns. To compliment this approach, the City may want to develop a holding lands inventory and identify prime locations for infilling to guide future urban development and resist infrastructure expansions. However, it will require being firm with planning standards and doing away with the any growth is good growth mentality.

Related to urban form and development a couple of key informants mentioned protecting the built form and natural assets like the downtown and the environment through innovative design and redevelopment.

I think you'd want to protect your best assets and I think you'd want to...look at...your core area, particularly the downtown...*continues on to say...* So...I think key in a decline scenario protect your best assets including your built form...[and] your environmental assets...(P5).

The focus of planning in decline should be to make things better through urban design, heritage planning, infill and redevelopment (if growth happened it would need to be this context) (P3).

As a result of no growth, Sudbury hasn't had the best track record of protecting its core area and has major room for improvement. However, the City has worked hard on protecting and improving the natural environment and needs to continue to do so.

As Ferrigan and Ghent (2005) explain, the new *Provincial Policy Statement* (PPS) places an emphasis on building strong communities through the confinement of urban growth to urban areas as well as limiting the expansion of settlement areas. In addition, there is also an emphasis on intensification and redevelopment and making use of existing infrastructure and public services. The importance of compact development, intensification, and growth or settlement boundaries was reiterated by key informants as seen below.

I really think...basically you need to...promote you know the efficient use of what we do have as opposed to expanding services and I think that's very much tied to promoting intensification (P5).

The province is pushing also towards more intensification in...development. So what they are wanting to do is to try to accommodate...growth within your

existing built form...because if you're a community that's undergoing decline you will want to...minimize your infrastructure costs by having a fairly compact form...(P9).

You might want to look at growth boundaries I think again because the further out you let things go the more other services you have to provide like transit or fire, whatever. The further things push out the more expensive it gets (PED8).

As mentioned in Chapter Two, these strategies are undertaken in rapidly growing urban areas to minimize negative effects like sprawl, encroachment onto agricultural land, and the extensions of services and infrastructure (Fletcher & Thomas, 2001; Dawkins & Nelson, 2003; Smith & Heid, 2004; Jaberdeen, 2006). However, it should be noted that higher densities have been questioned on their ability to stop sprawl and provide cheaper infrastructure and services due to inadequate evidence (see Cheshire, 2006). Despite this, for slow growth and no growth urban areas as well as urban areas where growth is not guaranteed due to cyclical trends using these strategies was seen as essential to minimize future costs. This importance was highlighted by a number of key informants,

I think it's the same strategies but for...different reasons. I mean intensification and...limiting the expansion of infrastructure, making efficient use of infrastructure that's all...I mean that's basically good planning. I guess in a decline scenario it becomes an absolute necessity (P5).

But the thing that we have to look at as a City is if...if you're not going to infill in the long run you're putting an additional burden on these taxpayers because now you've got another road or set of roads, lights, sewer, water that in the long run we're the ones who are gonna have to maintain. Sure the developer puts them in but when they start failing later on the developer doesn't come back and fix them, it's the city's...the city has to do it now (PED9).

In terms of development charges, which could be used to assist with the service and capital related costs associated with developing land, they were seen as the wrong tool to use in no growth. A few key informants argued that development charges impose hurdles for developers and they don't facilitate growth:

Development charges [don't] really facilitate much it just takes wealth or moves it from one group to another group. So if you're trying to grow new

homes, the homes are gonna be more expensive by whatever your development charge is. So in a declining scenario, it's counterproductive (P7).

The City of Greater Sudbury has deliberately for at least the last 10 to 15 years had no development fees for commercial or industrial in the hope of attracting business to the City...so you know I guess it's a two-edge sword you can go the other way and say, 'well we'll have them and they'll pay some of the costs.' But then depending on how high they are, do you drive business away?...*continues on to say*...I think that development fees are a reasonable thing to have as long as you keep the prices low you know such that they are not so high (PED8).

So, I think that when you do see the economy...taking a bit of a dive you gotta...maybe back off in your development charges. Then...again it's...not so much that developers are gonna...lower their...prices but it's almost in a sense and maybe it's seen as maybe...reaching out with an olive branch so to speak and saying, 'you know look it, we'll do what we can to get you guys to build and to come here by lowering development charges' (PED9).

As mentioned above they are purposely kept low in Sudbury and there is a delicate balance between the desire to encourage new development and the ability to pay for new development.

Furthermore, one of the above key informants who saw development charges as counterproductive saw eliminating charges in the downtown as a better strategy. However, if development charges are low throughout the entire City what's the incentive for locating in the downtown?

Trying to work with differential charges where you wanna see growth is probably a better strategy. So, for example in our downtown core we have no residential development charge and somebody will wake up to that some day when the time's right and that'll be the thing that puts that project over the top (P7).

Only one participant discussed how reducing development charges can be more harmful for a no-growth city because your existing tax-base needs to make up for the reduction.

Well, stuff like exempting development, I mean that's all short-term gaps. You're just benefiting probably a real estate developer you're not...creating real change in a given community. By doing this kind of stuff in fact you're in some ways you're making it worse because [it] just means that the existing

tax-base has to pay higher costs to live and maintain and...remain competitive with...other communities in terms of services...that you offer (P4).

The more drastic approaches which were suggested to manage no growth by some key informants were scaling back services and shrinking settlement boundaries. In terms of services, as described by PED8 often no growth results in a decreased ability to provide them:

I mean if a municipality sees their population sort of declining it would seem to me that as a municipality then you have to take a very hard look at the new reality to make sure that the money you're spending as a municipality is not more than the population you have can support and...that might mean that you have to decrease services...(PED8).

The difficulty associated with providing and maintaining services and infrastructure in Sudbury was discussed earlier in this Chapter regarding the deferment of infrastructure work. Making these decisions would be a good example of where the top and bottom could negotiate together on what to limit, close, or cut back on. Furthermore, shrinking settlement boundaries in Sudbury was also mentioned earlier in this chapter as a way to manage no growth. However, this approach was met with resistance due to psychological and image ramifications and the lack of a policy and legislative framework. Municipalities are allowed to annex and expand their settlement boundaries in the current context. Thus, they should also be able to de-annex or shrink their settlement boundaries. However, this approach is highly contentious.

In the Sudbury case, rather than shrinking the settlement area a compromise was established that introduces the phasing of development over time which was explained by the following participant,

It's actually city policy. Basically it...states that there will be no additional land that will be designated...for residential growth until a...comprehensive review is done...*continues on to say*...We also need to track...our initiatives related to intensification...we have [to] meet certain targets...there's certain parameters...that are put in place that...before you can expand around the periphery, even if it's within the settlement area...there's certain criteria that need to be met. For example looking at your existing supply of...draft approved lots and...does that supply justify, you know expanding residential

development? So...I think it was a good compromise between acknowledging that...we're not in high growth mode (P6).

Thus, strategies or approaches discussed by key informants like intensification, compact development, growth boundaries, and infilling are not entirely different from those that growing places would undertake however the *raison d'être* is different. The overriding theme of all of these approaches is the need to be proactive and ensure that urban development occurs in the most suitable and least-cost locations to reduce future cost burdens on the City. To do this, the key control is to eliminate infrastructure expansions and cities like Sudbury have two choices to continue with the status quo or to create and build on a new model of planning and development.

In addition to these planning approaches, a whole host of initiatives were provided for economic development in the context of no growth and all of them were aimed at increasing economic growth. As mentioned in Chapter Two, place/city marketing or promotion has become an important tool for cities to compete in the global economy along with strong leadership and an integrated strategy (Paddison, 1993; van den Berg & Braun, 1999; Avraham, 2004). The need to market and promote the community was mentioned by a couple of key informants and is described by PED11 who stated that: "A lot of it is marketing. A lot of it getting the word out about what the community has to offer..." Related to this, having strong local leadership to vigorously market and promote the City was described as an important component to attract investment and has been important in the Sudbury context. The importance of local Mayors was emphasized in the following two interviews:

If you're a Northern Mayor and if you want your community to move ahead you're going to have to do more than just be someone who cuts the ribbons and goes to the...you know the [city] hall to...participate in some event or...chair the council meetings...you have to be somebody, if you really want to do something, you have to be somebody who's going to...have a few ideas and get out there and make things happen (PED1).

I mean local Mayors are probably the...the largest economic development experts in the world. I mean they, you know they live and breathe this stuff and their communities debate this stuff all the time, it's in the local press all the time...every job opening, job closing gets reported on (PED10).

Furthermore, a lot of emphasis was placed on having a strategic plan in order to focus on strengths and provide the City with guidance for the future which was described by a number of key informants.

...having a fairly good strategic plan that identifies the direction the community wants to go into and identifying you know key engines or sectors...The creation of...centres of excellence, that's been another term that's been used to look...at focusing your energies into two or three very strong things as opposed to trying to be everything to everybody (ED5).

...to take the Sudbury experience what we've done is we've looked within the community and said, 'okay what are the major areas that offer the most potential for the future?' And so in our case we developed a strategic plan for economic development that identifies five areas of potential growth and then around those areas of potential growth we identified four things that we called igniters which were basically areas within the community that had to be strong if we were going enable the five engines to succeed (PED11).

As noted earlier and by the above key informants, many felt that it was imperative to diversify but also to recognize key strengths rather than becoming a 'rudderless boat'. These key strengths or niches were seen as important components for competing in the global economy. As PED3 mentioned, "The general strategy is you've gotta find a niche..." while ED6 discussed the need to focus all available resources on that niche:

Well I mean...the greatest strategy...is to go back to the sectors, the economic sectors of your community...the channels if you like, whether it's mining, mining supply, whether it's agriculture, whether it's tourism and you go inside those sectors and you find out who do we have that are world leaders...and then you try to work at strategically within that so that you're lining up your education, you're lining up your municipal infrastructure, you're lining up your political lobbying, you're lining up your expertise and you work together as a community intelligently to leverage all of the opportunity that...presents itself. So you have to work together and you have to understand how your...local economy works (ED6).

As described previously in this chapter the niche cited most often for Sudbury was the mining supply and services cluster despite the cyclical nature of the mining economy. This is a sector in which Sudbury has vast knowledge and international connections. However, head offices are largely located in major metropolitan areas, like Toronto, that are closer to the

financial centre. Furthermore, major research facilities and cutting edge researcher's are often located at well-established Universities. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Laurentian University has recently established the Centre for Excellence in Mining Innovation (CEMI) in an attempt to combat this issue.

Another suggestion cited by a few key informants, which is more applicable to resource communities, is developing value-added industries. As one participant suggested in terms of urban areas focussed on the forestry sector, "...punch a few holes in a piece of lumber and sell it to Ikea..." (ED1). This relates to the need to diversify away from focussing only on resource extraction but also represents the strong dependency that many places in Northern Ontario have on the resource economy.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, local and community economic development is concerned with human development and fostering the entrepreneurial spirit (Seasons, 1994; Polèse, 1999). Key informants discussed the need to retain and cultivate local resources like youth and entrepreneurs to compete in the new economy. For example, the following key informants described the importance of training youth and growing small and medium size business that have more of a stake in the City rather than corporations with distance head-offices:

And another strategy I think is...training the human...dealing with the human resource issues...continues on to say...we need to make sure that the people that are staying here have access to the training opportunities to be...engaged in the new economy...(ED2).

Well, I mean diversification and planning and development I guess of your human resources, in particular your young people...(ED3).

First of all you need an enlightened business community in my opinion. You have to have people that have a huge financial stake in the community...people that have some wherewithal and people that don't answer to somebody in New York or Toronto or Montreal...*continues on to say*...So you need...a good...small business or medium size business base, I think...to see that independence (ED6).

Related to this is the importance of post-secondary educational institutions for economic development which was cited as an important economic engine for Sudbury by numerous key informants and discussed in Chapters Two and Three. Expansion in post-secondary

education was seen as a positive sign that would encourage community, economic, and social development.

In addition, the role of senior levels of government was described as providing funding and incentives for employers to hire youth, for small business creation, and to support economic development initiatives. The track record of government intervention in trying to redistribute growth was described by ED1 who stated:

Governments should not be responsible for job creation because we have a terrible record when it comes to job creation and government should be very instrumental in...developing appropriate economic policies that provides confidence with the private sector to make the initial investment because private sector creates jobs.

Thus, economic development approaches discussed by key informants were designed to focus on key strengths that could be marketed to compete in the global economy. The underlying currents were to focus and develop local human and institutional resources with the assistance of senior levels of government to provide programs and funding support. However, many of the suggestions are simply rhetorical and the overwhelming impression is all talk and very little action. Getting action will require the top and bottom working together with the top supplying the tools and guidance and the bottom offering expertise. In the end, Table 5.8 provides a summary of the plethora of local planning and economic development approaches. It also identifies whether they were agreed upon and their rationale.

Table 5.8: Summary of Local Planning and Economic Development Approaches

Approach	Description	Agreed Upon	Rationale
Strategic Urban Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Control infrastructure expansions ○ Promote infilling ○ Protect the built form 	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Reduce future costs ○ Be innovation in urban design ○ Core revitalization
Development Charges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Higher charges to relieve the City and current taxpayers from paying for new urban development 	✗	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Fear of driving away potential development ○ Seen as counterproductive
Shrinking Settlement Boundaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Reduce or scale back settlement areas in the City 	✗	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Image and psychological concerns

Phasing Development	○ Phase in new development and meet specified criterion	✓	○ Compromise to shrinking boundaries
Marketing	○ Market the City's assets	✓	○ Increase investment
Leadership	○ Strong local leadership	✓	○ Promote and market the City
Strategic Plan	○ Focus on key local strengths	✓	○ Focus attention and resources
Diversify & Niche Markets	○ Diversify away from a single sector ○ Focus on mining supply and services cluster	✗	○ Debate around whether mining supply and services is the only niche that Sudbury should focus on
Human Development	○ Focus on youth and entrepreneurs	✓	○ Train and develop local talent for the new economy

5.4.4 The Regional Context: Insights for Northeastern Ontario

In addition to local approaches, key informants discussed a number of regional insights. As described in Chapter Three, economic development programs and departments like NOHFC, MNDM, and FEDNOR are designed to focus on Northern Ontario in a regional context although they do provide support to the local level. In addition, planning policy in Ontario is provincially orientated and more recently regionally orientated with the *Places to Grow Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe* which was described in Chapter Two. Thus, economic development programs and planning policies are often designed in a regional context and key informants offered a number of insights on potential strategies that could be developed for Northern or Northeastern Ontario²⁴. These strategies are focused on spatial strategies and planning policies, economic development strategies, an immigration strategy, and regional government and partnerships.

²⁴ The differentiation of Northeastern Ontario as the regional context was mentioned by some because of the differences in terms of economic structure, population, and distance. For example, the Northeast is traditionally more mineral based, has a larger population, and has closer ties with Southern Ontario while the Northwest is traditionally more forestry based, has a smaller population, and is more closely linked with Manitoba. In this section, Northern and Northeastern Ontario will be used interchangeably however when developing policies and programs differences between the Northeast and Northwest do require contemplation.

To begin with, the overriding theme in the regional context was the need for strategic investment as planning and planning-economic development key informants discussed the difficulties associated with trying to sustain the quality of life and vitality in all communities in the North. As P1 explained,

We can't be spending our resources in areas where we were not going to see any benefit. Sudbury, Thunder Bay, North Bay, Sault Ste Marie, those are the regional centres in the North, they... can't be ignored. Those are the centres where investment will increase quality of life for more people at a larger scale and potentially have the...benefits of attracting more people to these areas. So, strategic investment really has to be something that we take more seriously (P1).

Upgrading sewer and water facilities is becoming quite costly and as a result of a more neoconservative approach there are less financial resources to go around. As PED10 described there are two options: "Is it to...spread resources and policies around like peanut butter so kinda every person gets a share or is it to concentrate your efforts...?" However, P1 also mentioned that the places left behind can not be ignored.

If...the provincial or federal level of government for example is to say 'okay look, we need to do some regional or supra-regional planning to determine you know where growth is...likely to occur and where we need to invest our money and that that's going to lead to winners and losers.' The losers though, can't be neglected and forgotten, okay? (P1).

PED2 had numerous suggestions that could be undertaken to focus investment in specific areas. Many of this key informant's suggestions were derived from the Slack, Bourne and Gertler (2003) report for the Ontario government entitled *Small, Rural, and Remote Communities: The Anatomy of Risk* which was discussed in Chapters Two and Three. The first strategy was the creation of a hierarchy of growth poles or centres which were discussed in Chapter Two. Growth centres have continued to be used in other countries and as PED3 described, "I mean it [the growth centre strategy] wasn't disproven, it just went out of...it was no longer a popular way to spend money...*continues on to say...*[and] they ran away from it politically." As mentioned, it requires the government to be extremely selective and often too many centres were selected for political reasons. In addition to the growth centres, PED2 saw the designation of larger outlying towns as palliative care centres. The

government could invest in the healthcare facilities in these towns which would then become places where older residents from smaller Northern communities could relocate. The last strategy, PED2 mentioned was a corridor strategy which would focus on the Northern communities located on major transportation routes. All three of these strategies are summed up by PED2 below,

I think a hierarchy of sort of growth poles but...you can't use that term...*continues on to say*...so politically you have to describe them as...whatever regional centres or something like this...just to get away from that type of scenario...sooner or later you're going to have to come into that, focus your resources in...certain areas and for all practical purposes palliative care in the outlying areas...*continues on to say*...But in terms of looking at potential strategies...I mean you have three...palliative care for obvious...growth pole strategies are another one and then maybe a corridor development...(PED2).

Another strategy for Northern Ontario was some form of supra-regional or growth plan which would be designed to focus on and address planning and investment issues in the North like *Places to Grow* but for different reasons like continuity and sustained development. As the following key informants expressed,

The Province needs to undertake a super-regional plan for Northern Ontario (P3).

You need a growth plan!(PED10).

So, I do see some for of growth plan being developed for Northern Ontario in terms of how to strategically develop your infrastructure. What it boils down to is where are you going to get the best value for your money? This is the issue that I think the province is grappling with. Where do you get better returns?(PED5).

Key informants also offered some suggestions on what the plan should encompass and how it should be undertaken. One key informant saw economic development as more of a priority which is most likely a result of their role with the smart growth panels. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the smart growth report for Northeastern Ontario was focused solely on economic development when it should be about continuity and change. This key informant expressed:

I think a growth plan really for the North is all about economic development...setting some goals and approaches...and very specific strategies...and realistic strategies...achieving an infrastructure plan...and roles and responsibilities for government...(PED10).

In addition, P3 discussed the need for an integrated plan that would identify the economic and demographic projections for each area in the North and would ultimately frame decision-making.

This should bring together all the best thinkers to describe what will happen for the next 20-25 years. For example what would happen economically from an immigration standpoint and growth projections for each area which will drive infrastructure and growth decisions. There will be some winners and losers. Right now, no one is taking a big view on what's happening in the North beyond their own local boundaries (P3).

P3 also described bringing together the best thinkers or the need for external top-down involvement which was echoed by other key informants.

It's not something that's going to happen at a grassroots level. It needs to be coordinated because the grassroots simply do not have the resources, in declining communities to be able to...have a significant impact on the way that these things happen (P1).

I think that's important in terms of your planning because here are people and of course the other thing about doing planning like that [*referring to the Smart Growth Panels*] is that you... never do planning with ten people from ten different communities because they're going to be fighting with one another, they're all going to be talking about growth. Lot better to have something like this [*referring to the Communities at Risk report*] and one or two or three people just go in and take a look at the situation and come up with a plan... 'cause the rivalries up here are...enormous (PED2).

Thus, the ingredients for a plan in Northern Ontario could include top-down coordination to provide the structure, external researchers to develop an unbiased integrated plan, and strategic investment. However, one key informant was adamant about not having any regional specific plans or policies while another key informant commented on the political feasibility surrounding implementation because "what it does is that it takes the local decision-making authority out of the hands of local decision makers and puts in back at a...higher level..." (P1).

In terms of the Provincial Policy Statement (PPS), frustrations were expressed by some regarding its 'southern focus' and the more drastic suggestion was for regional divisions. As one key informant mentioned, "...a lot of people feel that...a good portion of those policy statements were written for what's happening in...really sort of Southern Ontario and specifically the GTA" (P5). However, P5 went on to say that "now having said that...there's a lot of...worthy goals and objectives tied to those provincial policy statements which we think would benefit the community as well". Targeted areas of complaint included intensification targets, the need for archaeological studies within a specified distance of a water body, and agricultural provisions and as one key informant discussed they are the right policies but, "it's that kind of thing where there maybe some tweaking of individual policies" (P7). Nonetheless, P7 also mentioned that "generally...the PPS is set up for good planning principles" which was echoed by P1 who stated "the PPS is...about doing good planning". Furthermore, the PPS should not be made more lenient for the North in terms of expanding settlement boundaries or allowing development to occur outside settlement areas to promote any growth is good growth, developing agricultural lands, or blaming it for being a contributor to decline²⁵. Thus, for the most part having a general PPS was seen as beneficial for good planning.

In terms of current regional economic development programs, a few key informants mentioned that there is sufficient funding but that more coordination is needed between provincial ministries and with federal departments:

If you look at do we have enough government assistance...is there enough money in.... programs and....support issues in the...North for business opportunities? I'd argue there probably is. I think a lot of cases it's...not coordinated amongst either Ministries or different levels of government (ED1).

...and the other thing is you have to not just focus on the areas but also focus...government policies a bit...cause one thing that's...usually the

²⁵ An area of contention emerged during a couple of interviews regarding planning policy for the North due to a letter that was written in North Bay and circulated throughout Northern Ontario for support (Sudbury did not support the letter). Two planning key informants discussed the letter with the researcher however one later withdrew their comments and the other did not authorize the use of quotations in this research. The researcher obtained the letter which is premised on a new deal for planning in Northern Ontario and called for planning policy that is not one-size-fits-all using the *Places to Grow* as an example of a regional plan that could be developed and for more flexibility in interpreting the PPS for Northern Ontario. For the most part, the prime area of contention for the key informants in this research was over the flexibility in interpreting the PPS.

case...federally and provincially is that individual ministries will trip over each other...(PED10).

In addition, greater flexibility with some current programs was viewed as beneficial which is not unusual to want the best of both worlds: support and flexibility.

Well I think...the programs we have probably could be a little more flexible and...that's a very general statement. Some of the programming we have is very flexible some is very restrictive (E1).

What you need is you need flexibility (ED3).

Other regional economic development strategies which were cited and are currently not being undertaken in Northern Ontario include government employment relocation and incentives. One key informant described how beneficial this strategy was in the past for key urban areas in Northern Ontario and is reminiscent of the Keynesian era of government intervention. As P7 explained:

I'm thinking in grants and incentives and that...Provincially one of the things that was very beneficial in Northern Ontario was when the Province relocated some of their own facilities out of Queen's Park to the North such as the Lottery Corporation in the Sault, Northern Development and Mines Sudbury. That's a pile of new jobs, infusion into the community. That's good for any centre that is either slow-growing or declining (P7).

Meanwhile, a couple of key informants discussed having some form of incentives to attract investment to the North or by establishing a no-tax zone. This was best explained by the following key informants:

Government has the capacity and flexibility to say, 'okay if you want to go there, if you want to operate or set up shop in the GTA, here it is. Great, go for it. If you would consider setting up shop in Northern Ontario, we will give you some degree of benefit.' And I mean...I think you've heard government...we've talked about tax incentive zones, it may not be that. It may be...you don't have to pay your OHIP premium or you know...some type of very predictable benefit and it...sort of depends on where you want to locate. If you want to locate in Sudbury, we'll give you two units of benefits, whatever...those units are. If you decide you want to go to Timmins you might get three units of benefits. If you want to go to Thunder Bay you might get two units of benefits because you're a basic port city, you've got access to reasonably cheap transportation costs (ED1).

...we should have...a no-tax zone in Northern Ontario to create jobs rather than handing out money. If you can...tell a business that for ten years or 15 years they'll pay no taxes or they'll pay a different...rate or level of taxes...it's more reliable than a grant and then they can plan around it (PED1).

Incentives should be approached with caution because typically once the incentive runs out so does the investor. In addition, ED1 mentioned that it "...would be hugely costly to do that because somebody or some government will have to...forego some benefits because they have to get the money...from some place to provide the benefits..."(ED1).

Lastly, some key informants talked about the fiscal and resource imbalance that they feel is evident in Northern Ontario. One key informant commented that "there's a fiscal imbalance, you're gonna hear that more and more with the amount of money that's being pulled out of Northern Ontario versus the money that's coming back in" (ED5). Especially when compared to other similar regions like Cape Breton, Northern Saskatchewan, and Northern New Brunswick which benefit from federal transfer payments. On the other hand, another key informant mentioned that one could argue that it's the same problem municipalities are experiencing across the country,

You can also argue and say that we're in the same boat that municipalities across this whole country are in and that is there's been a...shortfall in dollars from the upper levels of government, you know the Province and Federal government have not come to the table with tax dollars, returning tax dollars and returning Northern tax dollars back here where they should be (PED9).

In addition, a couple of participants felt relocating resources to the North which deal predominantly with Northern issues like forestry and mining related research and creating new research facilities to deal with Northern issues could address the resource imbalance,

A strategy that applies across Northern Ontario is that the resources that are being sucked out of Northern Ontario have to be brought back. Key example, and this is my favourite example, explain to me how you can justify having mining and forestry programmes in Southern Ontario and mining and forestry research...*continues on to say...* So, there are strategies that are based around actually reallocating provincial resources where they belong (PED3).

This key informant also discussed the desire for additional research and educational programs that would have a Northern focus like a School of Architecture and Planning. As

noted in Chapter Two, post-secondary educational institutions do economically enhance their local areas (Meyer & Hecht, 1996). However, mining and forestry research institutes exist in Southern Ontario because of their proximity to head offices and stock exchanges in major metropolitan areas. Furthermore, they are located at well-established Universities that can attract top-notch researchers. Meanwhile, another key informant suggested that resource revenue sharing could be a possible policy consideration for Northern Ontario to address the fiscal imbalance.

A specific northern policy to cater to its circumstances would be 'resource revenue sharing' with communities. This would provide communities their own money that would not come from rate payers or provincial/federal program funds. Without external obligations put on these resources, communities would be free to invest as they see fit in their future (ED2).

A similar strategy from the smart growth summary report (MMAH, 2002?) suggested the creation of a 0.5 per cent tax on the mining and forestry industry for a Northern Ontario economic development fund. Although both strategies would be beneficial for the short-term, natural resources are cyclical and finite and these strategies may not provide a stable source of revenue for the long-term. Thus, in terms of economic development for the North the overriding themes were addressing the fiscal imbalance and attracting investment through incentives and employment relocation.

Only a couple of key informants suggested some form of immigration strategy as a suggestion for Northern Ontario. This is most likely a result of no growth being attributed to predominately economic circumstances rather than demographic and the fact that immigration policy lies outside the jurisdiction of local municipalities. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the desire for an immigration attraction strategy was cited in both reports prepared by the Coalition of Northern Ontario Large Urban Mayors (NOLUM, 2003; 2005). As P9 discussed,

There has been a lot of talk too about whether or not there might be a provincial strategy to try and...make the North more attractive for immigration as well ...immigrants right now are primarily attracted to the most urban areas of the province...and...maybe there's something that can be done around that area as well...because a lot of the growth that's happening...is immigration actually (P9).

However, immigrants require two things that are largely found in large metropolitan areas: support networks and a plethora of job opportunities. These two factors would need to exist for the successful implementation of an immigration strategy in Northern Ontario.

Another possible strategy suggested by very few participants was the creation of a regional government for Northern Ontario. The reasoning and description of what it could encompass is described below in two lengthy passages,

I think they have to move towards a regional government for two reasons and one is you can't do very much unless you have some...control of your own future. But the one other is...we're gonna get much more accommodating and...government, federally and provincially, we're gonna get more attention and better responses. Right now, the place is ignored to a large extent...and...it should be if you think about it only having what 7 percent, 6 percent of the population of the Province, the amount that gets added to...to Toronto every ten years. I mean, there'll be another Northern Ontario at Jane and Finch, right? (PED3).

Northern Ontario is a third world economy. It's full of people...that don't have much authority over anything whether it's a municipality, whether it's a union, whether it's a corporation. They're owned somewhere else. The decisions are made somewhere else. So they don't know how to make decisions. They only know how to b*tch...or how to complain or to how to avoid it entirely and just, 'hmm it's not my problem.' And so you need, in my opinion, after looking at this for god knows how many years, you need to take responsibility. I don't know if it would be any better but at least if you're gonna screw it up do it yourself. Be in charge of your own pollution, you know. So I'm a great proponent of moving decisions and when I say regional government people say, 'oh my god...what are you talking about!?' I'm talking about taking over stuff that's already being paid for. In other words the Provincial government already p*sses its money away at the Northern Ontario...what[ever] it is...Northern Affairs and Development... Economic Development or whatever they are, the FedNor people. They all come in they'll say, 'I'll give you money if..' then you apply for a grant and then they change it and then you wait and then nothing happens and then you have a welfare mentality. You're not in charge...*continues on to say*... I've suggested two from each major city, five and maybe another...four or five from...sort of ...rural areas so that you'd have ten or fifteen people that...well you'd have fifteen people...maybe...on a regional...government (ED6).

The above key informant also suggested the following: "There's a new City of Toronto Act, we need a new Region of Northern Ontario Act" (ED6). Essentially, for these key informants regional government would provide more control and autonomy.

On the contrary, other key informants made a less drastic suggestion to form partnerships, work collectively, and for municipalities to look past their own boundaries. Groups that already exist in Northern Ontario include the Northern Ontario Large Mayor's Coalition, the Federation of Northern Ontario Municipalities, and the Northwestern Ontario Municipal Association which were mentioned in Chapter Three. The following key informants described working together in a small 'r' regional context:

I would say regional goals but I mean small r for regional I don't mean regional government at all (PED4).

...I don't think...regional government is something that...no we don't need that...

Heather: More just informal meetings or to meet as a group?

Exactly, just the mayors....chatting and trying to get things done and...trying to bring people to Northern [Ontario] and trying to bring the different things that we need to have here. When you're lobbying to the government for different aspects...you know for roads or anything else, if you're a united front than it [is] more advantageous and they're more apt to listen (PED6).

Although regional government was a possible suggestion cited by a couple of key informants for some key informants it was deemed too drastic who suggested that informal regional partnerships were more realistic. Thus, a number of different regional planning and economic development strategies were suggested for Northern Ontario and the common thread between all of these strategies was the need for some form of top down intervention to either provide autonomy, assistance, or structure.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has provided a detailed overview of the results garnered from the in-depth semi-structured interviews with those involved in the planning process at the grassroots level in the City of Greater Sudbury. What soon became evident was the deep attachment that many of the key informants had for Sudbury and their concern about having any external negative image associated with City. In addition, defining no growth was a challenge and population indicators may need to be couched in more tentative terms. What also emerged was the presence of the any growth is good growth mentality and the growth machine regime where planning standards may be lowered to attract development and developers have a

strong grasp on the planning process. Furthermore, key informants identified a number of undeniable challenges that affect the ability to change and improve under no-growth conditions. However, despite these challenges a silver-lining associated with no growth emerged as key informants discussed the rich quality of life and natural environment that exists in Sudbury due to the lack of extreme growth pressures. In the end, it became evident that there is nothing to replace planning for growth which was recognized by some as inadequate but what else is there? The approaches identified by key informants were often rhetorical, generic, and had limited upper level support (i.e. cluster designation). Thus, for places to accept and plan for no growth a new model of planning and development is needed while some form of top-down government intervention is needed to assist both the Sudbury locale and its regional context. All of these key themes will be further explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX DISCUSSING THE COMMUNITY-LEVEL RESPONSES & INITIATIVES

A major goal of this thesis has been to compare and contrast the objective empirical record of no growth and of major policies that have attempted to address this fundamental metropolitan concern against the everyday reality of living, planning, and economic development in the context of no growth at the grassroots level. For present purposes research interests have been confined to a case study of the City of Greater Sudbury. There are a number of clear trends that run through the interview responses to no growth as featured in the previous chapter and contextualized against documentary evidence in Chapters Two and Three like the oxy-moronic contradictory solution of treating no growth with growth and the clear proof of no growth in Sudbury though there is sporadic cyclical growth. The discussion begins with the fact that most key informants who were interviewed were inclined to deny, discount, or rationalize Sudbury's growth issue which seems paradoxical and presents an initial enigma that needs to be addressed first. The second section discusses the complexity of defining no growth while the third section describes the intangible societal obsession with growth as identified in the Sudbury case. This is followed by sections on the undeniable challenges that no growth metropolitan areas are faced with and the silver-lining that no growth offers if the City were to accept this trend. The final sections discuss the need for a new vocabulary, new models of planning and development, and alternative visions to accept and manage no growth as well as for regional place-based policies that may require changing the current planning system.

6.1 Denial: Sudbury Through Rose Coloured Glasses

This discussion begins with a more personal subjective impression that was not introduced in the previous chapter because of its subjectivity. Throughout some of the interviews I had the feeling that key informants were shocked and appalled that I was suggesting that Sudbury was not growing. Their reaction was essentially one of 'how dare you call Sudbury no growth'. Although a number of key informants expressed concern over Sudbury being labelled with anything perceived as negative a few were more vehement, especially those identified as economic development key informants whose very profession

demands that they promote and be optimistic about growth. This passion was especially evident on initial contact to set up the interviews with a handful of economic development key informants who wanted to establish from the onset that even though this research was describing Sudbury as ‘no growth’ or ‘declining’ they were adamant that it no longer was. In the extreme case, it was suspected that one potential key informant choose not to participate in this research for this fundamental reason. Again, during these types of interviews, the tone was sometimes defensive and one key informant wanted to establish before the first general question was asked, “even though you identify Sudbury as...[a] declining community, it no longer is” (ED5). Personally, I felt something like a ‘traitor’ or a ‘naysayer’ for describing Sudbury as declining or not growing. These feelings of discomfort and fear associated with discussing this issue were echoed as well by a couple of key informants. As noted in the previous Chapter, P5 mentioned that decline is not a word that is spoken around ‘here’ due to the political sensitivity associated with the issue. Furthermore, PED4 suggested that Sudbury should plan to stay level and not to grow however they continued on to say, “...I don’t know if I would say that in a public forum.” These key informants and the experiences of the researcher highlight the extremely sensitive nature of this topic.

What soon became evident was the deep emotional attachment to place or topophilia that many key informants had for the City (see Tuan 1974; 1977 for place and topophilia). Many expressed their love for Sudbury by describing the rich quality of life that they cherish as noted in the previous Chapter while one key informant expressed how decline is a deep concern because “...it’s defending a way of life” (ED6). Plus, as described in Chapter Two global economic competitiveness is increasing between metropolitan areas and exhibiting a strong positive image is seen as essential to attract growth and investment (Begg; 1999; Raco, 1999; van den Berg & Braun, 1999; Wolfe, 2003; Avraham, 2004; Bourne, 2006). Consequently, some key informants were hugely concerned about not wanting any type of perceived external negative image associated with the City. Furthermore, the well-recognized psychological phenomena of cognitive dissonance occurs when individuals are met with information that makes them feel uncomfortable or goes against what they believe and accordingly to avoid cognitive dissonance the mind may try to avoid or rationalize this information (Festinger, 1957; Harmon-Jones & Mills, 1999). Thus, as a result of this deep-rooted topophilia for Sudbury, cognitive dissonance, and in an attempt to dispel any negative

images many key informants were inclined to deny, discount or rationalize Sudbury's growth issue.

Metaphorically, the treatment of no growth is similar to the way many families deal with an in-family personal concern. Essentially, the family is aware of the issue but tries hiding it from the outside or tries rationalizing the issue rather than accepting and managing it. As mentioned in the previous chapter, most key informants were willing to agree that Sudbury has had to deal with no growth in the past. During the 1980s, decline was objective and easily identifiable, especially on the landscape. However, the current and potential future situation is more subjective and few described no growth as a continuing trend that needs to be planned for and suggesting otherwise once again brought on a defensive stance by one key informant who stated: "Well it's not continuing, I mean you'd better do some research because it's turned around..." (ED6). Although one could rationalize this kind of response as one based on the trends Sudbury has experienced in the last several years. Overall then, I concluded that while key informants had a very accurate understanding of the economic trends in Sudbury it appeared as though discussing continued no growth was an uncomfortable topic for some.

Also adding fuel to the fire was the cyclical nature of resource-based growth trends over the last 35 years in the Sudbury case which allowed some to deny no growth based on the absence of a straight downward trend. This cyclical pattern was depicted in Chapter One and reiterated by key informants in the previous chapter like P2 who stated, "...I really don't see Sudbury as being in decline really, it's just fluctuating..." This cyclical trend also provided the opportunity for most to deny no growth as a current trend in the City as expressed in the previous chapter. Additionally, some key informants tried to discount or rationalize the issue in Sudbury by looking at decline in relation to other communities. As P2 described 'real decline' occurs when the economic base within a community disappears while others spoke in reference to smaller Northern communities. Comparatively speaking Sudbury has not lost its economic base which allowed some to discount the situation.

Decline was often referred to as a past trend that Sudbury had experienced while using alternative benchmarks to discount overall long-term trends. This was best described by P7 who recognized that comparing the 1971 population to the current population does amount to no growth but if you use a different census period then growth is evident:

Sudbury has fewer people today than it had in 1971. Now if that's your measure of declining cities than we meet that measurement. We've never gone past that in the years that I've been here....*continues on to say*....Today, in terms of what you pick as a benchmark, I don't believe we're declining...

The late 1970s and early 1980s witnessed the initial big bang in Sudbury where decline was objective and evident especially on the landscape. Since that time the community and the landscape have improved substantially and the current situation is more subjective which leads to this explanation. To further rationalize the situation numerous definitions or indicators of decline were provided as discussed in the previous Chapter and some key informants were quick to suggest that population growth isn't the "number one factor to go by" (PED9). Thus, as a result of their passion for the City and cognitive dissonance it could be argued that some key informants saw the situation in Sudbury through rose-coloured glasses looking at short-term trends while trying to deny, discount, or rationalize the situation.

6.2 The Complexity of Defining No Growth

On April 20th, 2007 I was part of a special session on the growth and decline of cities at the annual meeting of the American Association of Geographers in San Francisco, California. One theme that emerged from this session that bore similarities to this research was the issue surrounding the definition of decline. The question raised during this session surrounded historical demographic trends. For example, if a city experienced its peak population in 1951 and then proceeded to decline over a number of decades which was then followed by stabilization and some very slow growth should it be characterized as a declining city based on overall long-term trends? This issue was also raised by key informants during this research as a result of the growth that Sudbury has experienced since 2001 which was described in the previous section as a possible way to discount the overall situation.

To potentially resolve this issue, four possible options can be identified. One possible option is to use the peak population and base the answer on the overall long-term historical trends. Another is to use more medium-term trends like ED3 who suggested using a period of greater than 5 years to define decline. Similarly based on the literature, American researcher Anthony Downs (1994: 67), classified cities into four groups based on their

population changes in a ten year period. He referred to cities as *rapidly declining* if they lost more than 4.9 percent, *slowly declining* if they lost between 0.1 and 4.9 percent, *slowly growing* if they gained less than 10 percent, and *rapidly growing* if they gained more than 10 percent. A third option is to use five year census periods however the utilization of short-term trends may not provide a truly accurate portrayal of the larger over-all trends. Meanwhile, the last option is to use forecasting to determine what the future trends will be and whether growth is essentially a guarantee or not a guarantee.

Using the Sudbury case as an example, based on overall historical trends the City reached its peak population in 1971. In addition, using Downs' classification the City has declined by 4.5 percent since 1996 placing it in the slowly declining category and close to the rapidly declining category. On the other hand as noted in previous chapters, the City has experienced a 1.7 percent growth in population since 2001. However based on current population projections for the City, growth is not a guarantee and most projections point to the continuation of no growth (see Matthews, 2006; Meridian Planning Consultants & the Planning Services Division, 2006; Ministry of Finance, 2006 for forecasts). Thus, in three of the four scenarios utilizing population trends as the indicator of decline Sudbury would be categorized as a declining or no-growth city. Employing the first two methods provides a more accurate depiction of the overall trends and forecasting is usually based on these broader trends.

However, is population growth everything? At the beginning of the previous chapter key informants suggested a number of social and community indicators to identify growth and decline. Furthermore, some contention arose regarding the use of population as the only indicator which was explained above as a possible attempt to rationalize the situation. As PED9 commented it's not the number one factor to use while P7 noted that using just numbers growth may be the wrong definition. However, Sudbury is an entirely different place than it was in 1971 when it reached its peak population which is something that can't be argued. As discussed in detail in the previous chapter and Chapter Three the economic base of the community has expanded and many advances have been achieved in terms of healthcare, education, and the environment which led P7 to question "...is this what you [would] expect a declining community to be?" This suggests that perhaps using population as the only indicator of growth or decline needs to be couched in more tentative terms.

6.3 Sudbury in the Context of a Society Obsessed with Growth

As discussed in Chapter Two, there is a North American intangible growth obsession where places that are rapidly growing are perceived as successful while those that are not are perceived as unsuccessful (Leo & Brown, 2000; Leo & Anderson, 2005; 2006). In addition, growth is viewed by some as the magic solution to all urban problems from potholes to unemployment and poverty so promoting the mentality of any growth is good growth (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Leo & Anderson, 2005; 2006). Furthermore, researchers have highlighted that in the new economy cities are viewed as the engines for economic growth and are competing for investment and talent. Attracting these finite commodities, money, and talented people requires a positive city image or label (Begg, 1999; Bradford 2002, 2004 & 2005; Kitchen, 2002; Donald, 2005; Bourne, 2006). The concept of the urban growth machine highlights the importance of the political economy of place as well as the overriding orientation to growth assumed by local land-based coalitions and others in positions of municipal power (Molotch, 1976). Many of these specific obsessive themes surrounding growth ran through the Sudbury case as further described below.

6.3.1 Image Obsession: “If you’re not growing, you’re dying!” (PED11)

The overarching concern mentioned by most participants was that no growth is associated with a negative image and stigma that something is wrong which contradicts the perceived positive successful image associated with growth that is needed to compete in the global economy. For example P3, explained that, “We are programmed to believe that growth is good and if you are not growing then there is something wrong” while PED11 felt that “if you’re not growing, you’re dying.” Furthermore, for some they believed that having this negative image attached would lead to disinvestment. For example, P1 questioned why anyone would want to invest in a place that admits it’s not growing while P9 expressed similar concerns about being labelled declining because when, “...the community is seen as being a declining community...there [are] no resources or investments put into that community.” Additionally, P5 suggested that accepting no growth as the only reality “flies in the face of all the initiatives that people are working towards.” As Avraham (2004) describes, a negative city image is perceived as an obstacle to the attainment of a brighter future. Essentially, accepting and planning for no growth in the Sudbury case was perceived

by some as accepting a negative image which would lead to disinvestment and counteract local economic development. This supports the evidence regarding the negative image perception surrounding decline discussed in Chapter Two.

6.3.2 Any Growth is Good Growth Mentality

Yet another example of this intangible obsession with growth in the Sudbury case was the extensions of the ‘growth is good’ thinking into a mentality that ‘any growth is good growth mentality’. As Leo & Anderson (2005; 2006) described in chapter two, new urban growth is perceived by city officials as a panacea irregardless of where it is located. This obsession with growth “to take anything anywhere...” (P5) was echoed by a number of the planning participants in Sudbury. However, Leo (2002) describes this mentality as a problem due to the lack of “heavy pressures for new development, with assurances of growing tax revenues, to cover up mistakes” (226). This was reiterated by P4 who believed that growth can hide your mistakes and that “if you don’t have the growth it becomes blatantly obvious.” Furthermore, any growth is good growth becomes an issue because city officials fail to see that more development also produces more pressure on municipal services and increases expenditures (Siegel, 2002). As noted in the previous chapter the ability to provide and maintain services and infrastructure is often reduced in no-growth scenarios therefore increased urban growth could counteract its desired magic elixir role.

6.3.1 The Urban Growth Machine

Another example of this growth obsession stems from one of the preconditions for growth in the urban growth machine theory developed by Molotch (1976). He emphasized that in order to promote growth the costs of new development are placed on the general public rather than those who are responsible and reap its direct benefits (312-313). This was evident in the Sudbury case as some key informants described development charges as counterproductive and mentioned that they were purposely kept low to reach out to developers “...with an olive branch...” (PED9). However, as Siegel (2002) describes reducing or lowering development charges will ultimately impose an additional tax burden on current residents because someone has to pay for the new development. This fact was recognized by only a couple of key informants in the Sudbury case.

In addition, the growth machine theory accentuates the control of local land-based coalitions (Molotch, 1976). As identified in the previous chapter by a few key informants, in Sudbury developers have a strong grasp on the planning process. PED9 noted that developers put pressure on the City to keep development charges low by using the argument that “It’s gonna slow down development.” Related to this, was the willingness to lower planning standards under the mentality that “...you can’t afford to be quite so fussy...” (PED8), you can “...ask for the Cadillac or the Volkswagen” (P7), or you need to “...approve it, approve it – it’ll create jobs” (PED9). Thus, the growth machine is running strong in the Sudbury case along with the any growth is good growth mentality and the desire for a perceived positive image. These themes in the Sudbury local responses further entrench the societal-wide obsession with growth.

6.4 Undisputable Challenges Associated with No Growth

There are several undisputable challenges associated with no growth that conjured up concerns with key informants in the Sudbury case. As mentioned in Chapter Two and emphasized by key informants in the previous chapter, growth is seen as an important component in municipal budgeting for the payment and provision of infrastructure and services at the municipal level. Furthermore, Chapter Two also cited challenges associated with youth out-migration which was also discussed and reiterated in the previous chapter. In addition, Chapter Two detailed the lack of any theoretical and professional literature on no growth and the absence of a framework for urban areas experiencing these trends. Unlike the concerns associated with image, which are based on perception, these challenges and concerns are undeniable and will be further discussed in this section.

6.4.1 The Municipal Purse Strings

As highlighted previously, growth is seen as an essential component for municipal revenue. Without substantial growth the purse strings on the municipal budget become tighter and the challenge becomes how do we deliver up-to-date and quality services and infrastructure without considerable new growth occurring. As discussed in Chapter Two, fiscal downloading of many responsibilities from the upper levels of government to municipal governments has also added to this concern. In the Sudbury case, no growth

concerns relating to a lower municipal budget were expressed by many participants. As P6 mentioned it "...affects the ability of the government to maintain the city's infrastructure..." while PED1 discussed how "...you can't provide the same level of services..." A solution would be to increase taxes however that option is unattractive from a political standpoint.

Sudbury does receive payments under the *Ontario Municipal Partnership Fund* and as mentioned in the previous chapter Sudbury has recently been successful in two *Canada-Ontario Municipal Rural Infrastructure Fund* (COMRIF) applications to expand existing highways. So there are some resources available to help mitigate some of these concerns but whether they are sufficient remains outside the scope of this study. What is known is that Sudbury and Northern Ontario are not eligible for federal transfer payments under the equalization program which could then be spent within the community and region on pertinent issues like infrastructure. Thus, if cities, like Sudbury, are expected to change and improve under no-growth conditions this financial enigma deserves future attention.

6.4.2 Losing Human Capital in the Midst of No Growth

Human capital is also a challenge in no growth metropolitan areas as a result of the higher rates of out-migration and lower rates of in-migration. As noted in Chapter Two resource communities in the periphery have higher rates of youth out-migration (Hanlon & Halseth, 2005; External Advisory Committee on Cities, 2006). As described in Chapter One and emphasized by key informants in the previous Chapter, high rates of youth out-migration in Sudbury is a significant challenge (Southcott, 2002). Many key informants described the situation in the Sudbury as the loss of 'intellectual capital' and 'human resources' because it's often the young and educated who are leaving. Furthermore, P7 explained how losing the young and talented affects the City's ability to "...drive new ideas and...create new investment and new wealth." This also leads to the lack of skilled workers to fill the retirement void known as succession planning. Youth out-migration was also a concern for some because it can result in further out-migration of parents to be closer to their children. Thus, in no-growth cities like Sudbury concerns are evident regarding who is leaving and who is left behind to create wealth and generate revenue.

6.4.3 The Absence of a Planning Model, Framework & Training

One last notable concern that was identified in Chapter Two and was reiterated in the Sudbury case is the lack of a planning model to provide the tools and standards for managing no growth. As described in Chapter Two, during the 1950s and 1960s contemporary professional planning in Canada was born during a time of extreme growth and as Wolfe (1995) explains it was during these decades that “most of Canadian planning standards, norms and zoning practices were developed...”(55). This led some planning participants to discuss how “planning historically has been tied to growth” (P3) and to question whether the current framework provides the proper tools and standards. As PED2 questioned the Planning Act, “...what does it say about decline?” Changes to the *Planning Act* might include tools for shrinking settlement boundaries while changes to the *Provincial Policy Statement* might include specific guidance for no-growth localities. As well, Chapter Two also identified the academic literature lacuna or the absence of theoretical and professional research on no growth.

In addition to the absence of a planning model and literary guidance to assist in managing no growth, planners lack the formal education and training to deal with this trajectory. This was emphasized by P1 who stated that,

I suggest it's probably easier to plan for growth because we've all been trained...that planning is about planning for future development, planning for situations where populations are increasing and we need to...change...or urbanize the landscape in some way. Maybe that's been a wrongheaded approach by our...schools and institutions for the longest time now and maybe what we need to be thinking about is a way to harmonize...various competing interests between social, economic and environmental concerns.

In terms of training, planning schools should consider adding courses on planning for no growth to ensure that future planners are not ill-equipped to manage this scenario. Suggestions include teaching both the theory and history of metropolitan growth and decline as well as courses that focus on the challenges and opportunities associated with no growth and developing alternative planning and development styles for no growth. Another possibility would be to open a planning school in Northern Ontario (or other declining regions) that specializes in no growth which would produce research and specialists. In terms of professional organizations and training, the *Canadian Institute of Planners* (CIP)

and/or the *Ontario Professional Planners Institute* (OPPI) may consider holding workshops in no-growth cities and/or offering training to planners experiencing and treating this scenario. In addition, a Canadian national research network could be created like the Shrinking Cities Group, based out of California, to produce research and provide a network for academics to further study and research this topic. Thus, the foundations need to be laid because in the absence of a framework, guidance, and training planners in cities experiencing no growth will continue to plan for growth.

6.5 The No-Growth Silver Lining

The irony that emerged during the interviews was that Sudbury has so many pluses as a result of its no growth when compared to perceived successful cities that are rapidly growing like Toronto. Researchers in Chapter Two highlighted the many positive attributes which result from the lack of extreme growth pressures like affordability of housing, land and other commodities/services, abundance of natural amenities, less traffic congestion, a slower pace, and lower levels of pollution (Robinson, 1981; Simard & Simard, 2004; Leo & Anderson, 2005; 2006). Basically, slow growth and no-growth cities have important quality of ‘place’ elements that are not available in larger growing cities. As described in the previous chapter, key informants described Sudbury as “...a hidden secret” (ED3), “...an extraordinary place to live” (ED6) and “...an attractive place to be” (P7). Furthermore, a number of key informants described the many opportunities associated with Sudbury in terms of natural amenities, affordable housing prices, and being able to work, live, and play within the same City.

6.5.1 Abundance of Natural Amenities

In terms of natural amenities, Sudbury is home to over 330 lakes and is surrounded by a rich natural environment as seen in Figures 6.1 and 6.2. The sheer number of lakes and streams and other tributaries is further reinforced in Figure 6.3. More importantly these natural amenities are abundant and readily accessible all over the City and as P7 emphasized, “...we can get to the wilderness within 10 minutes...” As a result, the City has just-in-time

recreation²⁶ because many of the popular outdoor recreational activities like hunting, fishing, swimming, boating, snowmobiling, and cross-country skiing are all available within the City limits. More importantly, Sudburians don't have to travel far to reach the natural amenities that Torontonians spend countless hours stuck in traffic every weekend in the summer trying to reach in Muskoka. Also related to the environment and as a result of its location and smaller population, Sudbury has very few smog advisory days during the summer months. As seen in Table 6.1, when compared with larger growing cities in Ontario like Toronto and Kitchener-Waterloo, Sudbury had far fewer smog advisory days in 2006. Also, it should be noted that when Sudbury was rapidly growing in the 1960s the natural environment was barren and polluted which was described by PED4 as "...the most dreadful looking place we'd ever seen..." Since that time, key agents in the City have done a remarkable job cleaning up the natural environment winning a United Nations commendation as described in Chapter Three. Thus, often peripheral no-growth cities offer natural amenities that are unspoiled due to the lack of extreme growth pressures evident in growing cities.

Table 6.1: Smog Advisories in Select Cities for 2006

City	Number of Smog Advisory Days
City of Greater Sudbury	4
City of Toronto	11
Waterloo-Wellington	11

Source: Ministry of the Environment, 2007.

²⁶ This term was coined by Betsy Donald during her presentation on Kingston, ON at the 2007 ISRN meeting.

Figure 6.1: Ramsey Lake boardwalk nestled in the heart of the City



Source: Heather Hall, 2007.

Figure 6.2: View of Science North on Ramsey Lake



Source: Heather Hall, 2007.

Figure 6.3: Map depicting the sheer number of water bodies in Sudbury



Cartographers: Léo L. Larivière, *Department of Geography – Laurentian University* & Heather M. Hall

6.5.2 Affordability

Another piece of the silver lining that was made apparent by some of the key informants is how affordable Sudbury is as a result of the lack of extreme growth pressures. As PED4 described, "...you can buy a house here for easily less than \$150,000 maybe \$120,000 and you can buy a nice three bedroom house..." In fact, the average housing prices in Sudbury are below the provincial average and far below those of a growing place like

Toronto, as seen in Table 6.2. In 2001 the average cost of a house in Sudbury was \$107,774 and although this amount has increased since that time, it is still roughly half than the average provincial price and much lower than the average price of a home in Toronto. As a result of this silver-lining, Sudbury has the opportunity to position itself as the ideal City on the Cambrian Shield to work, live, and play.

Table 6.2: Average House Price Comparison

Province - CMA	2001	2005
Ontario	\$193,357	\$263,042
Toronto	\$251,508	\$336,176
Sudbury	\$107,774	\$134,440

Source: CMHC, 2007a; 2007b; 2007c

6.5.3 The Planned Gem of Northern Ontario

One last advantage that could be associated with no growth is the ability to be proactive instead of reactive in terms of planning applications. In Chapter Two, Robinson (1984) identified the ability to manage land resources in a more efficient manner and to innovate in terms of urban design as opportunities associated with no growth and slow growth. Time was also reiterated by key informants in the previous chapter as an opportunity. Essentially the City could become a model where everything could be planned for. In addition, some key informants had expressed concerns regarding whether or not Sudbury was being proactive especially during up-cycles. Thus, the potential exists to become more proactive and employ strategies like impact analyses to determine how changes will affect the City currently and over time before making decisions. However, this will require overcoming the mentality that any growth is good growth and that lower planning standards are needed to attract development.

6.6 The Need for a New Planning Vocabulary, Model & Vision

From the onset of this research, the word decline (or no growth or slow growth) has been associated with a negative connotation that appeared feared and avoided which was depicted by the lack of literature on decline and its treatment by most key informants. As

described in Chapter Two, growth is seen as the panacea (Leo & Anderson, 2005; 2006) and as one key informant described, no growth is equivalent to dying. In addition, as noted earlier one key informant mentioned that decline is not talked about around 'here' while another feared discussing it in public. Furthermore, some key informants were hugely concerned about being labelled as a declining city. However, as identified in the Sudbury case decline is different but it's not horrific. Decline or no growth has challenges and opportunities just like growth. Despite this, the need for a new vocabulary to discuss this topic soon became evident to combat the negative stigma associated with creating a model based on planning for decline or no growth.

6.6.1 Planning for...a New Vocabulary

To combat the negativity associated with the word 'decline' (or no growth) one key informant actually suggested finding alternative words to describe the topic because it's "...just such a boo word..." (PED2). In the literature words like 'shrinking cities' in the United States (Rybczynski & Linneman, 1999) and 'urban areas in difficulty' in Europe (Atkinson, 2001) have been utilized. However, both imply a certain degree of negativity especially the latter. For this research decline and no growth were used interchangeably which were also met with feelings of discomfort surrounding the image perception associated with those words. Throughout the interviews some key informants used alternative words like 'static' (P7), 'level' (PED4), and 'sustaining' (P9) to describe the situation in the Sudbury case which led me to believe that planning to stay level, planning to sustain, and planning for static growth do not conjure up the same feelings of negativity and discomfort. In addition, PED2 suggested planning for 'structural change' or 'transition planning'. Thus, developing a new vocabulary may assist in diminishing the negative nuances associated with the words decline or no growth and assist with the creation of a new model of planning and development.

6.6.2 New Models of Planning, Development & Change

As noted in the 2006 *Official Plan* for Sudbury, with or without population growth urban development will continue which was echoed by P1 who attributed continued urban development with an aging population because "...people are moving into units by

themselves so that there will be a continuing demand for new units and new housing in Sudbury...” In addition, people simply want new homes that they can build and fashion themselves. However the key will be to ensure that development is occurring in the most suitable and least-cost locations to reduce future cost burdens on the City. Rather than using existing terminology like growth management and smart growth which imply substantial growth, terms like sustained development, controlled development, re-aligned development, or qualitative development²⁷ are suggested. As seen in Table 6.3, these new models of planning and development encompass many of the concerns and suggestions that planning key informants made regarding various planning strategies in the previous chapter like protecting the built form (for example the downtown), resisting the extension of infrastructure, shrinking boundaries, and refocusing development to existing areas.

Table 6.3: New Models of Planning and Development

New Vocabulary	Description
Qualitative Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Focus on the existing built form ○ Infilling, redevelopment, conservation
Re-aligned Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Re-aligning or scaling back settlement boundaries and services ○ Still have to deal with the psychology of shrinking boundaries but re-aligning has less negative nuances than shrinking ○ Maintain and improve existing built form ○ Opportunities for downtown revitalization
Controlled Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ No infrastructure or service expansions to facilitate new growth ○ Developers pay the costs associated with new development ○ Phasing development within settlement areas ○ Identify holding spots, vacant spots and opportunities for redevelopment and infilling
Sustained Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Maintain and improve existing built form and infrastructure ○ Impact analysis to determine how change will affect the City ○ Use innovative urban design ○ Opportunities for downtown revitalization
Internal Zonation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Hierarchy of a limited number of recognized zones (or settlement areas) for development ○ Similar to <i>Places to Grow</i> but at the local level and for different reasons

²⁷ Qualitative development was the term coined in the 1987 Secondary Plan for Sudbury which they used in place of planning for no growth

The underlying theme to these suggested new models of planning and development is to control and eliminate infrastructure and service expansions while focusing on maintaining and improving the current built form. Potentially these new models of planning and development could also assist with reducing the any growth is good growth mentality described by researchers in Chapter Two (Leo & Anderson, 2005; 2006). As noted in the previous chapter, key informants expressed concerns regarding expansions during up-turns and then being stuck with having to provide and maintain those expansions during the down-turns. As one key informant explained in the previous chapter, Northern Ontario has a tendency to go up, down, up, down but on a downward trajectory. However, due to the political sensitivity of making these decisions at the local level some form of upper level guidance will be required. In the Sudbury case, Chapter Three identified the challenges associated with amalgamation and the issues of limiting growth in outlying communities. Thus, the key for these alternative strategies is not to overbuild and to promote a very controlled or sustained manner of development to minimize costs in the absence of guaranteed future growth.

6.6.3 An Alternative Vision

In terms of an alternative vision, it was mentioned in Chapter Two by Rybczynski and Linneman (1999) that cities experiencing no growth should not be focussed on how to grow big again but how to prosper and have a great smaller city while other suggestions included the importance of planning for sustainability, liveability, and quality of life (González, 2006). Furthermore, Molotch (1976) foresees opportunities in a city that asks "...what it can do for its people rather than what it can do to attract more people" (328). Focussing on quality of life, quality of place, quality of employment opportunities, and sustainability were themes that ran throughout various reports mentioned in Chapter Three like the strategic plan, *Coming of Age in the 21st Century* (2003) and the *New Vision for Northern Ontario* reports (NOLUM, 2003; 2005) which were further emphasized by key informants in the previous chapter. Thus, focussing on local strengths and becoming a better place rather than a bigger place could provide the opportunity for an alternative vision: one that ignores the obsession with growth and focuses on quality.

6.7 An Alternative Strategy for Local Economic Development

As explained in previous chapters, early local and community economic development strategies in Sudbury and other resource communities were premised on diversification away from a single sector. However, as depicted in the early economic development plans and by a key informant in Chapter Five, Sudbury was a rudderless boat focused on expanding into every sector from sports to agriculture. In recent years, Sudbury has focussed on select niches as described in *Coming of Age in the 21st Century* (2003) and has turned to the latest economic development fad known as cluster development. The importance of developing and marketing key local strengths or niches was further expressed by key informants in the previous chapter. Some focused on the mining supply and services cluster and they believed that Sudbury should be rallying around it while others were more concerned with throwing all their eggs in one basket and suggested healthcare, education, and the environment as other niches. These strategies are all important and these sectors do play a significant role in Sudbury however they are also somewhat rhetorical and overall the suggested local strategies lacked creativity.

An alternative strategy for no growth borrows on three trends from the previous chapter: the importance of marketing strengths, the challenges associated with larger cities, and the no-growth silver-lining. Places like Sudbury could borrow from the 'small is beautiful' movement which developed during the 1970s when people were searching for better places to live due to the social, environmental and financial costs of living in the big city (Robinson, 1981). As mentioned earlier, decline in Sudbury does present a silver-lining and many key informants emphasized the fact that population decline has not equalled a decline in many of the City's key amenities like the environment, quality of place, and community spirit. At the heart of this strategy is Avraham's (2004) place-marketing suggestion to turn a negative characteristic into a positive one however this does require admitting its existence. This would mean admitting no growth and celebrating its opportunities. PED9 was the only key informant to suggest marketing no growth as expressed in their following promotional quotation,

Do you wanna live down in Southern Ontario?...Wouldn't ya like to come up to a community's that's smaller, that...the pace is slower, the stress levels are lower? So I think that you can use your declining...growth in that sense to

make your community actually attractive...and maybe not...have some sort of a...a negative spin on it...(PED9).

Thus, cities like Sudbury should market and embrace the opportunities associated with no growth which include affordability, an abundance of natural amenities, and quality of place. Accepting no growth and celebrating it has the potential to alter the negative image that it is currently associated with. In this manner, Sudbury could be the pioneer and leader for no-growth cities around the world.

6.8 Opportunities for New Regional Place-Based Policies

Chapter Two highlighted the various regimes of top-down government intervention since the early 1950s. As discussed the first era was characterized by Keynesian influences and heavy handed government involvement to address income and employment disparities in lagging regions which were ‘one-size-fits-all’ and lacked grassroots buy in (Matthews, 1983; Savoie, 1992a; Polèse, 1999; Filion, 1998). However by the late 1970s and early 1980s this significant government involvement began to dismantle as a result of the shift towards more fiscal conservatism and neo-liberal policies (Wolfe, 1994; Walzer, 1995; Filion, 1998; Polèse, 1999). In essence, the burden of regional development was downloaded to the lower levels of government with the top providing only minimal support (Polèse, 1999). Furthermore, the emphasis switched to the importance of education and training, entrepreneurial development, and small business creation (Savoie, 1992a; Blazyca & Klasik, 2003; Dawe & Bryden, 2000; Danson, 2003) as well as local and community economic development.

In recent years, a new regime of top-down government involvement may be emerging which recognizes the need to have place-based, locally or regionally sensitive policies rather than one-size-fits-all (Davoudi, 2003; Slack, Bourne & Gertler, 2003; External Advisory Committee on Cities, 2006). For example, the federal government report, *From Restless Communities to Resilient Places: Building a Stronger Future for all Canadians* (2006) emphasized exploring the potential of regional strategies and the importance of place-based policy-making possibilities for a resilient future. Furthermore, this new regime requires both the top and bottom for their resources and expertise. Metaphorically, the key informants in this research were seeing the trees but not the forest and arguably the upper levels of

government see the bigger picture (or forest). As described in the previous chapter, a number of different regional planning and economic development strategies were suggested for Northern Ontario and the common thread between all of these strategies was the need for some form of top down intervention that is locally or regionally sensitive to either provide autonomy, assistance, or structure.

In the Sudbury case, one-size-fits-all policies were not seen as an appropriate method and the role of the upper levels of government was viewed by some as the provider of structure and tools and to ensure flexibility. As P5 stated, “we know...what’s best for our community. I think what’s key is that we have the tools to achieve that and...that’s where...the upper levels of government come in.” In terms of regional economic development, program flexibility was expressed as an important measure to ensure local sensitivity. As P7 mentioned, “The more flexibility you can build into granting conditions the better” as they further described a previous situation where a funding program didn’t work and the Province adapted the program to fit the circumstances.

In terms of planning, as discussed in the previous chapter a debate arose surrounding the PPS and its ‘Southern focus’ and whether there should be regional divisions. In the end, it was seen as a good planning document that could use some tweaking. In addition, a few planning key informants saw the benefits of having a broad PPS for good planning and consistency which could then be applied to local circumstances through the application of a local municipal official plan. Furthermore, while some viewed the local level as the level that knows best others were concerned about whether this holds true in all circumstances especially when planning for no growth. For example, P1 stated: “...you know there’s this notion out there that...elected community leaders know what’s best for their community. I’m not so sure that that’s always the case.” Thus, a compromise might include the top developing a regionally sensitive plan to encompass some of the regional issues in Northern Ontario.

For example, some planning key informants discussed various regional strategies that could be developed for Northeastern Ontario. The common theme interwoven between these initiatives was the desire for strategic urban investment through some form of regional plan. As discussed in Chapter Two, numerous European countries have undertaken strategic spatial planning to achieve economic competitiveness and manage disparities. In addition, Ontario

enacted the *Places to Grow Act* in 2005 which allows the province to designate growth areas and create growth plans with the first plan being developed for the Greater Golden Horseshoe. As noted, this plan included employment and population projections for localities within the region to help guide forecasts and was premised on growth centres to minimize the negative affects of rapid growth and remain competitive.

Strategic investment and concentrating growth and resources in designated urban growth centres in Northern Ontario was also emphasized by researchers Slack, Bourne and Gertler (2003) in their report for the Ontario government entitled *Small, Rural, and Remote Communities: The Anatomy of Risk*. In addition, the 1976 proposed *Northeastern Ontario Development Strategy* (NODS) called for an urban centred approach that emphasized urban centres with the most promise and to move away from a ‘do-something every-where’ approach (Sudbury & District Chamber of Commerce, 1976). A focus on growth centres was also reiterated by two key informants in the previous chapter. However, a note of caution should be made regarding the growth centres strategy. Chapter Two explained that in theory a limited number of growth centres is necessary to promote success of the strategy but in reality this rarely occurs due to political sensitivity as witnessed in numerous jurisdictions over the years, including Northern Ontario (Sudbury & District Chamber of Commerce, 1976; Parr, 1999; Polèse, 1999; Gonzáles, 2006; Scott, 2006). Essentially, this decision will be extremely sensitive and will require tough decision-making from senior levels of government.

Furthermore, key informants provided additional details on what this plan could encompass in the previous chapter. Top-down coordination was viewed as a necessity by some to overcome the competition that exists between Northern locales and to deal with the tough decisions while others further suggested utilizing external researchers or “...all the best thinkers...” (P3) to develop an unbiased plan. Providing realistic demographic and employment forecasts was also mentioned as an important component by some. In addition, while one key informant stated: “I think a growth plan really for the North is all about economic development..” (PED10) others called for a more integrated spatial and economic plan. An integrated approach is perhaps a better suggestion because spatial concepts tend to be overshadowed in Northern Ontario as witnessed in the Smart Growth Panel report (Ontario Smart Growth Secretariat, 2003a). In addition, perhaps a growth plan or a plan

under the name *Places to Grow* should be avoided in Northern Ontario because it implies substantial growth to manage and it may be unrealistic given the historic, current, and expected future trends for the region. Instead the plan could be called *Places to Stay & Sustain in Northeastern Ontario* which encompasses the suggestions made by key informants for strategic investment in specific centres.

There are numerous issues²⁸ that surround creating any type of regional plan such as this. The first major issue is the presence of place-based winners and losers which was identified by researchers (Slack, Bourne & Gertler, 2003; External Advisory Committee on Cities, 2006) in Chapter Two and key informants in the previous chapter. To manage this, the External Advisory Committee on Cities (2006) discussed that those communities that can't survive will require a "sustainability planning process" and "transitional support" (31). P1 also mentioned that the places left behind can not be ignored. In addition, concerns were expressed over the political feasibility surrounding implementation in Northern Ontario because it would be viewed as top-down government invention that is taking the authority out of the hands of local decision makers which would not be considered locally sensitive. However, a certain degree of vagueness that allows communities to come up with ideas could potentially manage this issue. A summary of the proposals made by key informants that could form the basis of a regional plan is provided in Table 6.4. However, such a plan should be approached with realism and caution for political and spatial implications.

²⁸ Another concern expressed by one key informant was that the *Places to Grow Act* is a piece of legislation that supersedes the authority of the PPS. This key informant was against having any regional specific plans or policies and was satisfied with the PPS. Furthermore, if a plan for Northern Ontario is developed under the *Places to Grow Act* it could have some potentially negative consequences if done improperly and if it succumbs to the growth obsession.

Table 6.5: Proposals for a Regional Plan - Places to Stay & Sustain in Northeastern Ontario

Proposal	Description & Rationale
Demographic & Employment Projections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Realistic projections to guide future decision-making
Spatial Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Strategic investment in urban areas due to the lack of government resources ○ Possibilities include: Hierarchy of growth centres, Palliative care centres for larger outlying towns, Corridor strategy ○ Provide new model for development ○ Avoid a purely economic development focus like the Smart Growth Panel Reports ○ Encourage an integrated plan with economic development
Infrastructure Plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Insight on how to strategically develop infrastructure
Economic Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Develop new creative strategies like marketing no growth ○ Focus on key sectors or niches ○ Integrate with the regional and local spatial strategy
Government Overview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Identify and clarify government roles and responsibilities for all levels of government in Northern Ontario ○ Examine program coordination
External Researchers or Consultants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Provide an unbiased approach ○ Reduce the pressure on government from Northern competition which often affects decision-making

6.10 Summary

This chapter has attempted to understand the rhetoric described in detail in Chapter Five and thus provide a more thorough discussion of the broader trends that ran throughout the interview responses in the previous chapter. Front and centre was the paradox of an attachment to place perceived to be losing in the metropolitan growth competition where no growth is rationalized and discounted despite incontestable evidence. The overriding theme was an emotional negation of decline due to the strong bonds between people and place. Many key informants expressed their topophilia for Sudbury and this love in some instances resulted in seeing the objective empirical fact sheet through rose-coloured glasses. Essentially, key informants were deeply concerned about having any type of perceived

negative image associated with their 'place'. In the end, without a new reality, which includes alternative models, visions, and vocabulary, no growth metropolitan areas will continue to plan for future growth. As described in the Sudbury case, population growth is not everything and a significant silver-lining became evident as a result of the lack of extreme growth pressures. Cities like Sudbury have the opportunity to become pioneers in changing this negative perception associated with no growth by embracing and marketing it if they can overcome their cognitive dissonance and desire for growth. However, top-down government support that is regionally or locally sensitive will be needed to provide structure, guidance, and the opportunity to change and improve under no-growth conditions. The following chapter will provide a summary of the major results garnered from this research and recommendations for the future.

CHAPTER SEVEN CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

This research was put forward as an initial attempt to unravel the complex process of experiencing and treating no growth in one Canadian CMA, Greater Sudbury, Ontario. The first phase in the empirical research established the documentary record of Sudbury's decline from a comparative perspective alongside remedial initiatives undertaken at the federal, provincial, and local levels in the general attempt to kick start growth locally and remediate decline. The second phase in this research investigated how those involved in planning and economic development at the grassroots level deal with no growth. It is stressed that this work is premised on a single case, the City of Greater Sudbury, from which general principles have been developed. It is however not expected that the observations garnered from the Sudbury case will fit all places where no growth and/or decline are of concern. Rather this research represents a preliminary investigation on the subject of no growth in peripheral metropolitan areas. The remainder of this chapter will provide conclusions from the Sudbury case and offer recommendations for future research and for the City.

7.1 Concluding Views on No Growth in Sudbury

The preliminary phase of this research established that there is effectively no conceptual groundwork either theoretical or applied on no growth. It identified the scarcity of previous research on the topic especially at the municipal or grass roots level as a fundamental problem because the absence of a framework to provide guidance to no growth metropolitan areas contributes, in part, to the well-established contradictory practice of planning for future growth rather than no growth which was identified as a concern in the literature (Leo & Anderson, 2005; 2006; Bunting & Filion, 2001 & 2004; Bourne & Rose, 2001; Bourne & Simmons, 2003). More fundamentally, 'growth' solutions to 'no growth' are unrealistic and prevent the acceptance and management of no growth as an acceptable growth trajectory. Through interviewing those involved in the planning process at the grassroots level in Greater Sudbury this research is able to provide an initial investigation on

how no growth is treated at the municipal level and the following conclusions can be put forth.

Essentially, most key informants identified that admitting and being labelled as declining or not growing was perceived as accepting a negative image, synonymous with death, which would affect the City's ability to compete in the global economy and attract investment. It was widely believed that fostering a psychology of decline could potentially damage community morale and economic development initiatives. In addition, despite the fact that key informants had a very accurate understanding of the economic situation in the Sudbury case and that many believed future growth would not be substantial most key informants were inclined to deny, discount, or rationalize Sudbury's growth situation. This was a result of their deep-rooted attachment to place and their fear that the City would be perceived as a place losing in the metropolitan growth competition.

No growth was also a concern for many key informants who agreed that a no-growth position would lead to a decline in municipal resources which ultimately affects the City's ability to change, improve, and provide services. To combat this, growth is often seen as the magic elixir and the any growth is good growth mentality takes hold. In addition, a few key informants discussed the perceived need to lower standards to encourage development rather than drive it away while others illustrated the undue control that developers have in a no growth metropolitan area like Sudbury. Furthermore, most key informants expressed concerns regarding the loss of the young and talented members of the community through out-migration. Especially in the new economy, this cohort of talent is viewed as a vital component in the creation of future economic initiatives. These concerns led most key informants to associate no growth as a negative situation that needs to be overcome.

No growth was seen as something that could be reversed by most and Sudbury was viewed as a prime example of a City that has had a long history of fighting decline. Various strategies were cited as examples that have been undertaken in Sudbury to reverse or stem decline including diversification, expanding post-secondary educational institutions, identifying strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats, fostering niche markets, and developing necessary infrastructure to attract businesses. As depicted in Chapter Three and highlighted in Chapter Six by key informants, all of these initiatives required substantial government investment, strong leadership, and community involvement. Key informants

recognized that this can't happen everywhere and suggested a regional approach with strategic investment in areas with the best potential rather than a do-something everywhere approach.

In terms of planning, many key informants expressed concerns over the 'take anything anywhere' approach to development and the dispersed pattern of development. However, shrinking the settlement boundaries was deemed infeasible by decision-makers due to issues of legality and the psychology associated with having to admit the need to shrink due to limited growth potential. Suggested planning alternatives included phasing development, limiting the extension of services and infrastructure, more compact development, emphasizing the downtown, infilling, and redevelopment. Furthermore, at the regional level some key informants discussed the desire for some form of regional plan or policy to help guide strategic investment and infrastructure decisions, provide realistic demographic and economic forecasts, and integrate economic and spatial concepts. However, an argument against a regional plan was that it could take some power away from local decision-makers but the opportunity does exist for it to be regionally and locally sensitivity.

Overall it was clear that decline has become a difficult concept for key informants. While Sudbury has never surpassed its 1971 population, the City has changed and improved immensely leading some to question whether population is the only indicator or strongest indicator of decline. Furthermore, many key informants identified the characteristics that they value in the City that are present as a result of the lack of extreme growth pressures. These include affordable housing prices, an abundance of natural amenities, just-in-time-recreation, and more time to be proactive with planning decisions. In addition, some key informants cited the numerous challenges associated with growing metropolitan areas like housing shortages, high costs of living, homelessness, congestion, and high infrastructure demands which led some to question whether bigger is always better. Despite this recognition, many key informants identified the delicate balance between desiring some growth to dispel the negative image perceptions associated with no growth and having too much growth or becoming a 'mini-Toronto' which might jeopardize the status-quo and current high standards of living.

7.2 Recommendations for the Future

As mentioned, this research has provided a preliminary investigation to unravel the complex subject of no growth in a metropolitan area, the City of Greater Sudbury. Although this work is premised on single case some general principles and recommendations have been developed to assist with the treatment of no growth. It is however not expected that the observations obtained from the Sudbury case will fit all places where no growth and/or decline are of concern. This section will identify some of the general principles and recommendations for future research on this topic, for no growth metropolitan areas, and for the City of Greater Sudbury and Northern Ontario. Based on the trends expressed throughout this research five recommendations are being put forth.

7.2.1 Address the No-Growth Lacuna

As Chapter Two identified, there is a significant gap in the academic and professional literature in Canada when it comes to the topic of no growth in urban areas which needs to be addressed. For the most part, issues of direct pertinence to declining and no-growth areas are obscured. When policy-makers and planners seeking solutions for urban areas facing these conditions turn to the literature they may be told why they are in decline, but any guidance they are presented with constitutes, for the most part, denial. Growth is overwhelmingly presented as expected and normal. As identified in Chapter Six, many key informants viewed no growth as a deep concern that needed to be reversed. Some did however identify the lack of attention that this topic has received in terms of guidance and a framework as a problem. Essentially, if this topic is not addressed in the professional and academic literature it will continue to be ignored and denied by those at the local level who have ‘hands-on’ experience with no growth. In addition, the continuous denial of no growth prevents it from being managed and assists in strengthening the negative image that is associated with it by keeping it ‘hush-hush’. Thus, there is a pressing need for further research on no growth urban areas to assist policy-makers, planners, and metropolitan areas because it is expected that this trend will increase in the future. This may involve examining a range of topics from the fiscal situation and decision-making processes in such urban areas, to evaluating the tools to maintain the quality of everyday life. Ultimately, all such research would need to ask what is possible once we abandon the presumption that growth is always attainable.

7.2.2 Embrace No Growth at the Local Level

Another recommendation for metropolitan areas like Sudbury is to embrace no growth and promote the silver-lining that accompanies this trajectory. As identified throughout this research no growth is different but as seen in the Sudbury case it doesn't have to be bad. Like growth, no growth has concerns, challenges, and opportunities and the key is to be realistic and plan accordingly. As researchers suggested (Rybczynski & Linneman, 1999; Leo & Anderson, 2005; 2006) rather than being consumed with how to grow big again decision-makers should focus on how to be a great smaller city. By accepting no growth, metropolitan areas like Sudbury can try to mitigate and address the concerns and challenges and celebrate the silver-lining that accompanies it. For example, as a result of the lack of extreme growth pressures in Sudbury housing prices are more affordable, there is less strain on the natural environment for development, pollution and traffic congestion are considerably lower, and planners have the time to be proactive and make well-informed decisions. Furthermore, instead of trying to promote and achieve quantitative increases in population, business and housing starts and the like, no-growth metropolitan areas may want to promote more qualitative aspects like quality of life, quality of place, and quality of employment opportunities. Thus, if no-growth metropolitan areas begin to admit this trajectory and say 'so what' the opportunity exists to change the negative image perception it's currently associated with. In this sense, Sudbury could be a leader for no growth metropolitan areas, especially those located in the periphery.

7.2.3 Create and Promote a New No-Growth Reality

In correlation with accepting no growth a new reality must be created which includes a new vocabulary and alternative models of planning and development. A new vocabulary that eliminates the words decline or no growth is highly recommended due to their negative nuances. In the past, people were labelled and victimized as crippled, disabled, or retarded but as humanity evolved a new vocabulary was created, like physically or intellectually challenged, to reduce the negative connotations. However, places are still being labelled with words that are perceived as harmful. Recommendations for an alternative vocabulary include stable, level, static or transitional metropolitan areas. These words imply no growth and change and are less blatantly negative. Creating this new vocabulary has the potential to

assist in diminishing the harmful undertones associated with the words decline or no growth and assist with the creation of a new no-growth reality.

Furthermore, the lack of a no-growth model of planning and development results in the continual process of planning for growth and the lack of a framework was cited by some key informants as a challenge when experiencing and treating this trajectory. The major concern with key informants in the Sudbury case was the presence of the any growth is good growth mentality and the fear of over-expanding and having to provide for that expansion in the future. As noted, with or without population growth urban growth and development will continue. However, the key will be to ensure that this development occurs in the most suitable and least-cost locations to reduce future cost burdens. Thus, to combat these concerns the real control will be to eliminate infrastructure and service expansions while focussing on maintaining and improving the current built form.

Suggested alternative models included encouraging more qualitative development which consists of focussing on the existing built form and promoting infilling, redevelopment and conservation. This method was utilized by Sudbury in the 1980s to manage and treat no growth (Planning & Development Department, 1987). In jurisdictions where decline is more serious, decision-makers may want to encourage re-aligned development which includes shrinking settlement boundaries and focussing on maintaining and improving the existing built form with opportunities for core-area revitalization. However, this model will most likely be met with the psychology of decline which views shrinking boundaries as accepting a future of decline and a negative image.

Other models included controlled development which resists the extension of infrastructure and services to facilitate new growth, requires developers to pay the costs associated with new development, promotes phasing of development within settlement areas, and identifies opportunities for redevelopment and infilling such as holding spots or vacant land. In addition, internal zonation could also be utilized to promote development in a limited hierarchical fashion. One final model that might be considered in no-growth metropolitan areas is sustained development which seeks to maintain and improve the existing built form and determine how change will affect the city to guide decision-making. These alternatives do not provide an exhaustive list but they do encapsulate many of the suggestions made by key informants in the Sudbury case and they may require changes to the

current planning framework and planning school curriculum. In the end, these alternative models provide the opportunity to be more realistic and hopefully diminish the any growth is good growth mentality.

7.2.4 Develop a Spatial Strategy for Northeastern Ontario

One recommendation for Northeastern Ontario derived from a number of key informants in this research was to develop a spatial strategy for the region. As researchers and most key informants recognized one-size-fits-all policies do not always work everywhere although they are useful in providing consistency and promoting general principles. Furthermore, due to fiscal conservatism a do-something everywhere approach was seen by many as unrealistic and as a strain on precious resources. As noted in recent years, the provincial government has recognized that different regions in Ontario are experiencing very diverse situations through the creation of growth plans under the *Places to Grow Act*. If such a plan were developed for Northern Ontario it would need to be grounded in realism and not succumb to the growth obsession. One alternative to replace a growth plan in this region is a plan that recognizes the need for strategic investment and controlled development which could be known as *Places to Stay and Sustain in Northeastern Ontario*.

A delicate balance would need to exist between the top and bottom levels of government to encourage success. The top would be necessary to provide the structure, realism, and make hard decisions which local decision-makers can't do if they expect re-election. Some key informants recommended involving external researchers or consultants to determine demographic and economic projections. Furthermore, this could help mitigate the 'Northern competition' that exists between all localities in the North. However, by focussing on Northeastern Ontario, involving grassroots planners, and allowing some vagueness such a plan has the opportunity to be regionally and locally sensitive. If a plan were to be developed for Northeastern Ontario it would need to encompass an integrated approach with spatial, economic, and infrastructure strategies to guide investment and development regionally and locally. Suggested regional spatial strategies include strategic investment in urban areas, the creation of a hierarchy of growth centres or a corridor development strategy. At the local level encouraging new models of planning and development are recommended.

In addition, a regional strategy for Northeastern Ontario would need to recognize the various scales of communities from rural to small metropolitan. This research has been focussed primarily on urban areas however many key informants expressed concerns over the small towns located in this region. Although many believed that strategic investment in urban centres in the region is the best strategy they also wanted to ensure that the ‘little’ places don’t get left behind. This view was echoed by the External Advisory Committee on Cities (2006) who suggested some form of sustainability planning process and transitional support. Determining this sustainability planning process and transitional support presents an area for future research and should be encompassed in any type of regional plan. Thus, an integrated regionally sensitive strategy for Northeastern Ontario is recommended to guide future investment and development. However, it requires realism and needs to mitigate challenges associated with the growth obsession including any growth is good growth and lowering planning standards. Good planning is necessary in all regions irregardless of circumstances.

7.2.5 Evaluate the Prospects for a Northern Ontario Regional Government

One topic that deserves future study but was outside the scope of this research is the creation of a regional government for Northern Ontario which was suggested by researchers Slack, Bourne and Gertler (2003) and two key informants in this study. Slack, Bourne and Gertler (2003) in their report for the Ontario government entitled *Small, Rural, and Remote Communities: The Anatomy of Risk* suggested a modified two-tier system of regional government. In Chapter Six, one key informant mentioned that a regional government for Northern Ontario could consist of two people from each major city and five people from the rural areas. Although the concept of a regional government was met with controversy it does warrant future evaluation because as noted in Chapter One Northern Ontario is larger than Canada’s three smallest provinces but given it’s location in the province of Ontario the region doesn’t receive the same degree of attention in federal policies. This could result in stronger lobbying to get ‘fair treatment’ by Canadian standards in assisting ‘have-not’ provinces and regions. However, this could also potentially result in a similar desire for regions in other provinces and it should be cautioned that this topic would be met with considerable internal and external contention.

7.3 Summary

In the end, this research has determined that no growth is different but it doesn't have to be bad or imply death. Sudbury is a slow growth, no growth if not declining metropolitan area that has change considerably despite never surpassing its peak population. Despite this, no growth is treated as family shame, hidden away for fear of being judged and perceived as a metropolitan area losing in the growth competition. While there are some definite opportunities that emerge as a result of the lack of growth when compared to growing metropolitan areas there are also some very real challenges and concerns which lead to the desire for growth and the incessant practice of planning for future growth. As emphasized throughout this research, the ability for Sudbury to change and improve under no-growth conditions has required significant government intervention although the grassroots has been instrumental in orchestrating efforts and providing local expertise. In the future, as the rift between high-growth and no-growth cities and regions deepens distinct social, economic, and planning policy considerations will be required. This will necessitate a balance between the top and the bottom to create new planning models and policies which encompass the hard decisions and local sensitivity. Furthermore, we need to abandon the obsession that growth is good and always attainable. Thus, this research put forward an initial attempt to unravel the complex process of experiencing and treating no growth in one Canadian CMA, Greater Sudbury, Ontario. It is the first study in Canada to research the treatment of no growth at the local level and it represents the first step in filling a very large gap in the Canadian professional and academic literature.

APPENDIX A – INTERVIEW GUIDES

PLANNING KEY INFORMANTS

Date:

Interview: ____

Interviewer: Heather Hall

The first few questions are general questions about your professional and educational backgrounds as well as your experiences in working in declining urban areas.

1. Please state your job title and provide a description of what you do
2. Please state your place of employment and location
3. How long have you held this position?
4. How long have you worked at your current place of employment?
5. How long have you been employed in this profession?
6. What is your educational background? (ie BA, MA, PhD) Do you have any professional accreditations? (ie for planners MCIP)
7. What experience do you have in working with declining urban areas?

The next set of questions will get you to define what decline is, think about the factors that influence decline and what should be done with regards to decline.

8. In your opinion, what is decline/no growth? (what are the indicators of decline)
9. Why does it happen? (what are the factors that influence decline)
10. Why is decline/no growth a concern?
11. Does decline/no growth have to be a concern?

12. Do you think decline/no growth can be reversed?
13. If yes, probe for what tools/strategies could be used to reverse it?
14. If no, probe for more information
15. Do you think that cities experiencing decline/no growth should be planning for future growth or decline/no growth? Why or Why not?
16. Is population growth a desired objective for planning? Why or Why not?

For the next set of question, I would like you to think specifically about the City of Greater Sudbury, if possible, when answering.

17. In your opinion, why are cities like the City of Greater Sudbury experiencing decline/no-growth scenarios?
18. Do you think this trend will continue into the future? Why or Why not?
19. How long do you think this trend will last? (next 5 years, 10 years, longer)
20. What are the CHALLENGES associated with planning in declining/no-growth cities, such as the City of Greater Sudbury?
21. What are the OPPORTUNITIES associated with planning in declining/no-growth cities, such as the City of Greater Sudbury?

These last few questions will get you to think about what is needed for the future of planning in declining/no-growth cities and Northern Ontario

22. What planning strategies/tools/initiatives should be undertaken in declining or no-growth cities? *examples if needed (intensification, infilling, growth control, compact development, development charges)
23. Are these planning strategies or initiatives different from what growing cities would undertake? Why or Why not?
24. Are specific planning strategies/tools/initiatives/policies needed in Northern Ontario? *examples if needed (PPS, Places to Grow – Regional Policies)
25. If yes, probe for what?
26. If no, probe Why?
27. Researchers say that “One-Size-Fits-All” strategies/tools/policies can be more harmful to declining or no growth urban cities. Do you agree that different strategies/tools/policies should be created for declining and no growth urban areas? Why or Why not?
28. Do you know of any urban areas, in any country, that have successfully planned for decline/no growth? (Where, When, explain Why these places were successful)
29. Are there any additional comments you would like to add?
30. Is there anyone else who should be contacted regarding planning in Northern Ontario and decline/no growth?

Name:

Work Email:

Work Telephone Number:

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT KEY INFORMANTS

Date:

Interview: ____

Interviewer: Heather Hall

The first few questions are general questions about your professional and educational backgrounds as well as your experiences in working in declining urban areas.

1. Please state your job title and provide a description of what you do
2. Please state your place of employment and location
3. How long have you held this position?
4. How long have you worked at your current place of employment?
5. How long have you been employed in this profession?
6. What is your educational background? (ie BA, MA, PhD) Do you have any professional accreditations? (ie for planners MCIP)
7. What experience do you have in working with declining urban areas?

The next set of questions will get you to define what decline is, think about the factors that influence decline and what should be done with regards to decline.

8. In your opinion, what is decline/no growth? (what are the indicators of decline)
9. Why does it happen? (what are the factors that influence decline)
10. Why is decline/no growth a concern?
11. Does decline/no growth have to be a concern?
12. Do you think decline/no growth can be reversed?

13. If yes, probe for what tools/strategies could be used to reverse it?
14. If no, probe for more information
15. Do you think that cities experiencing decline/no growth should be planning for future growth or decline/no growth? Why or Why not?
16. Is population growth a desired objective for planning? Why or Why not?

For the next set of question, I would like you to think specifically about the City of Greater Sudbury, if possible, when answering.

17. In your opinion, why are cities like the City of Greater Sudbury experiencing decline/no-growth scenarios?
18. Do you think this trend will continue into the future? Why or Why not?
19. How long do you think this trend will last? (next 5 years, 10 years, longer)
20. What are the CHALLENGES associated with economic development in declining/no-growth cities, such as the City of Greater Sudbury?
21. What are the OPPORTUNITIES associated with economic development in declining/no-growth cities, such as the City of Greater Sudbury?

These last few questions will get you to think about what is needed for the future of planning in declining/no-growth cities and Northern Ontario

22. What economic development strategies/tools/initiatives should be undertaken in declining or no growth urban areas, such as the City of Greater Sudbury? *examples if needed (SWOT, diversification, niche markets, incentives, focus on post-secondary education)

23. Are these strategies or initiatives different from what growing urban areas would undertake? Why or Why not?
24. Are specific strategies/tools/initiatives/policies needed in Northern Ontario?
25. If yes, probe what?
26. If no, probe why?
27. Researchers say that “One-Size-Fits-All” strategies/tools/policies can be more harmful to declining or no growth urban cities. Do you agree that different strategies/tools/policies should be created for declining and no growth urban areas? Why or Why not?
28. Do you know of any urban areas, in any country, that have successfully pursued economic development for no growth? (Where and Why)
29. Are there any additional comments you would like to add?
30. Is there anyone else who should be contacted regarding economic development in Northern Ontario and decline/no growth?

Name:

Work Email:

Work Telephone Number

APPENDIX B – EMAIL & INFORMATION LETTER

Subject Heading: Help Needed for Planning Study

Dear [insert key informant name]

My name is Heather Hall and I am a Master's student in the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo. I am currently conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Trudi Bunting regarding planning in no growth urban areas, such as the City of Greater Sudbury in Northern Ontario. More specifically, it will determine: the perceptions that surround planning in no growth; the challenges and opportunities of planning in no growth urban areas; and the criteria for a New Agenda which will describe the social, economic, and planning policy and strategy considerations needed in no growth urban areas such as the City of Greater Sudbury.

As part of my thesis research, I am conducting interviews with professionals such as planners, consultants, economic developers, politicians and many others to discover their perspectives on planning in no growth. As [*insert professional title*], I would like to involve you in this study regarding planning in no growth urban areas.

An Information Letter is attached to this email which further explains the details of this study. The interviews will be conducted during October, at a mutually agreed upon time and location, and will be approximately 30-45 minutes in length.

Please read the Information Letter attached and if you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please feel free to contact myself at hmall@fes.uwaterloo.ca or Dr. Trudi Bunting at 519-888-4567, Ext. 33962 or tbunting@fes.uwaterloo.ca . I will contact you again in one week to ask if you are interested in participating in this study.

This project was reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo.

I look forward to your participation.

Sincerely,

Heather M. Hall
School of Planning
University of Waterloo
hmall@fes.uwaterloo.ca



School of Planning

Faculty of Environmental Studies
University of Waterloo
200 University Avenue West
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada N2L 3G1

October, 2006

Dear [insert key informant name]:

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my Master's degree in the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo under the supervision of Dr. Trudi Bunting. The primary goal of this research is to investigate the opinions of those involved in the planning process in Northern Ontario urban areas, in particular the City of Greater Sudbury, regarding planning in no growth. More specifically, it will determine: the perceptions that surround planning in no growth; the challenges and opportunities of planning in no growth urban areas; and the criteria for a New Agenda which will describe the social, economic, and planning policy and strategy considerations needed in no growth urban areas such as the City of Greater Sudbury.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately 30-45 minutes in length to take place in a mutually agreed upon location. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish and may withdraw from the interview at any time. With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. However, if you prefer not to be tape-recorded then I will take notes. Shortly after the interview has been completed, I will send you a copy of the transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. Also, information you provide will assist in creating a guide for interviews with municipal politicians, planners, and economic developers in the City of Greater Sudbury, to identify potential strategies, policies, opportunities, and challenges. The questions are quite general (for example: What planning or economic development strategies/tools/initiatives should be undertaken in declining cities?). All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study, with personal identifiers removed, will be retained indefinitely in a secure location. Only researchers associated with this project will have access. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at 519-342-2516 or by email at hmall@fes.uwaterloo.ca. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr. Trudi Bunting at (519) 888-4567 ext. 33962 or email tbunting@fes.uwaterloo.ca.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. However, the final

decision about participation is yours. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes of this office at (519) 888-4567 Ext. 36005.

Thank you for your assistance with this project.
Yours Sincerely,

Heather M. Hall, Student Investigator
School of Planning
University of Waterloo
hmall@fes.uwaterloo.ca

APPENDIX C – CONSENT FORM

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Heather M. Hall of the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be tape recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Dr. Susan Sykes in the Office of Research Ethics at (519) 888-4567 ext. 36005.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES NO

I agree to have my interview tape recorded.

YES NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

YES NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX D – THANK YOU LETTER

[Month], 2006

Dear [insert key informant name]

Thank you for participating in an interview for my M.A. thesis research. Your knowledge and opinions are extremely valuable and I am very grateful that you provided me with your time and expertise. It is truly appreciated.

Please do not hesitate to get in touch with me if further thoughts occur to you about the subject of the interview. Should you have any comments or concerns you could also contact Dr. Susan Sykes of our Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 Ext. 36005.

I shall as promised, be sending you a typescript copy of the interview for your criticism and comments. I expect it to be ready for your review by November or December. I would like to assure you that all information you provided is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study, with personal identifiers removed, will be retained indefinitely in a secure location

Once again, thank you!

Sincerely,

Heather M. Hall, Student Investigator
School of Planning
University of Waterloo
hmall@fes.uwaterloo.ca

APPENDIX E – TRANSCRIPT REMINDERS

Subject Heading: Waterloo Planning Study - Typescript

Dear [insert key informant name]

Once again, thank you for participating in an interview for my M.A. thesis research. Your knowledge and opinions are extremely valuable and I am very grateful that you provided me with your time and expertise. It is truly appreciated.

As promised, I have attached a typescript copy of the interview for your comments. If you would like to review your interview and provide any changes, please do so before [*insert date*] or if this date is not suitable please inform me of one that better suits your schedule (comments and changes are NOT mandatory and any ‘ahs’, ‘ums’ and repetitions will be edited out if used). Please make any changes in a different font colour and the typescript copy can be returned to me via email at hnhall@fes.uwaterloo.ca . I will send an email reminder to you one week in advance of the agreed upon date. I would like to assure you that all information you provided is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study, with personal identifiers removed, will be retained indefinitely in a secure location

Please do not hesitate to get in touch with me if further thoughts occur to you about the subject of the interview. Should you have any comments or concerns you could also contact Dr. Susan Sykes of our Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 Ext. 36005.

Once again, thank you!

Sincerely,
Heather M. Hall
Student Investigator
School of Planning
University of Waterloo
hnhall@fes.uwaterloo.ca

Subject Heading: Waterloo Planning Study – Reminder

Dear [insert key informant name]

Once again, thank you for participating in an interview for my M.A. thesis research. Your knowledge and opinions are extremely valuable and I am very grateful that you provided me with your time and expertise. It is truly appreciated.

This is a reminder to provide any comments or changes to your typescript interview by [*insert date*] (comments and changes are NOT mandatory and any ‘ahs’, ‘ums’ and repetitions will be edited out if used). Please make any changes in a different font colour and the typescript copy can be returned to me via email at hmall@fes.uwaterloo.ca . If I do not receive a response on or before February 16th, 2007 I will keep your interview in its original typescript. I would like to assure you that all information you provided is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study, with personal identifiers removed, will be retained indefinitely in a secure location

Please do not hesitate to get in touch with me if further thoughts occur to you about the subject of the interview. Should you have any comments or concerns you could also contact Dr. Susan Sykes of our Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 Ext. 36005.

Once again, thank you!

Sincerely,
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