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Background Paper

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History of the Agricultural Land Reserve

The borders of British Columbia's Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR) hold crucial significance for farmers, developers and local governments. Established more than three decades ago, the system sets aside arable land where agricultural work is promoted and prioritized, while non-farming uses are restricted. Activities within the ALR's shifting boundaries have typically been overseen by an appointed commission. The structure and mandate of the commission have morphed somewhat over the years with changes in government and recommendations from outside parties. This background paper will trace the origins of the ALR system and discuss subsequent changes under each new government.

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INTRODUCTION

The borders of British Columbia's Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR) hold crucial significance for farmers, developers and local governments. Established more than three decades ago, the system sets aside arable land where agricultural work is promoted and prioritized, while non-farming uses are restricted. Activities within the ALR's shifting boundaries have typically been overseen by an appointed commission. The structure and mandate of the commission have morphed somewhat over the years with changes in government and recommendations from outside parties. This background paper will trace the origins of the ALR system and discuss subsequent changes under each new government.

BEFORE THE ALR

Only a small fraction of British Columbia's land is considered arable and an even smaller proportion of the soil is rated top quality.¹ Historically, British Columbians have settled near that prime soil, in valley bottoms or on river deltas. During the post-war years, rapid housing and industrial expansion in B.C. communities prompted concern about the loss of valuable farmland.² For example, it was estimated that between 4,000 and 6,000 hectares of arable B.C. soil were lost yearly prior to 1972 to non-farming purposes.³

Christopher Garrish noted in his history of the ALR system that other jurisdictions were also grappling with issues related to farmland preservation. The environmental movement was building steam in the United States and an influential American publication criticized local U.S. zoning rules.⁴ Hawaii's 1961 Land Use Law created a commission charged with regulating how rural and agricultural land could be used.⁵ Under California's 1966 Williamson Act, farmers limited development on their properties and gave development rights to the state, while local governments were compensated for property tax losses.⁶

In British Columbia, the 1960s saw activity on agricultural land preservation, with recommendations for designating more than 50 per cent of the Fraser Valley's useable land for long-term agriculture. The plan, laid out by the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board, was approved by the provincial government in 1966. But it was rendered ineffective a year later, wrote David Baxter, when the B.C. government used designated agricultural land for the development of the Roberts Bank Superport.⁷ Still, farmland protection remained a hot issue during the 1972 provincial election, when, as Baxter noted, all three Opposition parties campaigned on protecting farmland. The Liberals said they wanted an "Agricultural Lands Trust" and the Progressive Conservatives called for

¹ Moura Quayle, *Stakes in the Ground: Provincial Interest in the Agricultural Land Commission Act: A report to the Minister of Agriculture and Food*, (Victoria: Ministry of Agriculture and Food, 1998), 1.

² Christopher Garrish, "Unscrambling the Omelette: Understanding British Columbia's Agricultural Land Reserve," *BC Studies* Winter, Iss. 136 (2002/2003) Proquest CBCA Business (27 June 2006).

³ British Columbia, Provincial Agricultural Land Commission, *Ten Years of Agricultural Land Preservation*, (Victoria: The Commission, 1983), 4.

⁴ Garrish. The book was Richard Babcock's *The Zoning Game*.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ David Baxter, *The British Columbia Land Commission Act: A Review*, (Vancouver: Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration, University of British Columbia, 1974), 5-6.

long-term planning. A young Harold Steves – now a longtime Richmond councillor whose established farming family was the namesake for Steveston – helped to push for the New Democrats to make land preservation a main election issue.⁸ The New Democratic Party suggested a “land zoning programme to set aside areas for agricultural production and to prevent such land being subdivided for industrial and residential purposes...”⁹ In August 1972, the New Democrats were elected to form the new government.

CREATING THE ALR (1972-1975)

In November 1972, newly appointed NDP Agriculture Minister David Stupich announced at the B.C. Federation of Agriculture’s annual convention that soon legislation would stop the rezoning of agricultural land for non-farming purposes. “The minister advised that no one should invest in agricultural land if they did not intend to use it for agricultural purposes,” wrote Baxter.¹⁰ Many farmers were outraged because they saw their land as their pension fund and they wanted to be able to sell their properties to urban developers.¹¹ Stupich’s announcements set off a frenzy of rezoning applications by landowners hoping to make changes before the legislation went through.¹² The agriculture minister responded by introducing a “farmland freeze” order-in-council, which halted agricultural land subdivisions.¹³ A further order-in-council was created in January to clarify the freeze order.¹⁴ Finally, the Land Commission Act was introduced on February 22, 1973.

Reaction to the bill was fierce. More than 2,000 people rallied outside the legislature¹⁵ and farmers were urged not to plant their crops in protest.¹⁶ Some allegedly wanted to use “revolutionary tactics.”¹⁷ A telegram was even reportedly sent to Buckingham Palace asking the Queen to withhold support for the bill.¹⁸ Premier David Barrett called for calm, telling reporters that the province was at a “crossroads in an attempt to save farmlands.”¹⁹ The bill eventually passed with several amendments on April 17, 1973. Among the key amendments was a provision for limited appeals to the cabinet’s Environmental and Land Use Committee, as well as clarification that land would not be expropriated by the government.²⁰

The new statute created the Provincial Land Commission, a five-person body tasked with designating ALR sites around the province. Arable land within those boundaries was to be used for agricultural purposes and the commission would be responsible for hearing proposals to exclude land from the ALR for non-farming purposes. The new commission’s objectives also included the preservation of greenbelt

⁸ William Boei, “That Pioneer Spirit,” *Vancouver Sun*, 22 July, 2006, B01.

⁹ Baxter, *The British Columbia Land Commission Act: A Review*, 8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Petter, 12.

¹³ Baxter, 9.

¹⁴ Baxter, *The British Columbia Land Commission Act: A Review*, 9.

¹⁵ *Ten Years of Agricultural Land Preservation*, 10.

¹⁶ “Don’t Plant Your Crops, Farmers’ Leader Urges,” *Province*, 24 Feb. 1973, 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ten Years of Agricultural Land Preservation*, 10.

¹⁹ Peter McNelly, “Let’s Keep Calm – Barrett,” *Province*, 24 Feb. 1973, 1.

²⁰ Petter, 29-30.

land, landbank land, and parkland. Greenbelt land was “an area of open space” within or surrounding a community that was preserved for the residents’ enjoyment.²¹ Landbank land was property suitable for urban and industrial development purchased by the commission or jointly with local governments.²² The idea was to restrict the use of landbank property from “incompatible purposes.”²³ However, the commission had only regulatory and zoning power when it came to dealing with agricultural land.

The commission set up headquarters in a long, narrow office in Burnaby fondly dubbed the “Yellow Submarine” by staff.²⁴ Letters began pouring in and, “to deal with the situation, correspondence was thumb-tacked to the wall and remained in full view until answered,” recalled W.T. Lane, the commission’s first chair.²⁵ Another former chair, G.G. Runka, remembered walking into an office that was empty but for ringing phones.²⁶

A major task for the new commission was identifying and establishing the boundaries of the land reserves. To start, the Department of Agriculture drew up possible plans for each regional district, relying heavily on Canada Land Inventory maps. The commission submitted the plans and maps to the regional districts, collected feedback and evaluated the districts’ revised plans. The plans were submitted to government ministries and eventually to cabinet for final approval.²⁷ The initial boundary designation process was largely completed by 1975.²⁸

Much of the commission’s time was spent dealing with applications from landowners hoping to subdivide farmland properties or to use farmland for non-agricultural purposes. The commission was also able, in the early days after its creation, to work on outside projects intended to “enhance agricultural opportunities.”²⁹ For example, using a fund established under the Land Commission Act³⁰, it purchased property to rent on a “career-long basis” to farmers.³¹ The commission also leased land near Vernon it to the city for a spray effluent sewage disposal program.³² Garrish referred to this as the commission’s “activist period,” which halted with the election of a Social Credit government in December 1975.³³

²¹ British Columbia, Provincial Land Commission, *The B.C. Land Commission: Keeping the Options Open*, (Victoria: B.C. Land Commission, 1975), 8.

²² Ibid.

²³ British Columbia, Provincial Land Commission, *Annual Report*, (Victoria: Provincial Land Commission, 1974), 4.

²⁴ *Ten Years of Agricultural Land Preservation*, 31.

²⁵ Ibid, 31.

²⁶ Ibid, 34.

²⁷ Ibid, 6-7.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid, 16.

³⁰ British Columbia, Provincial Land Commission, *Annual Report*, (Victoria: Provincial Land Commission, 1975), 5.

³¹ Garrish.

³² *Ten Years of Agricultural Land Preservation*, 18.

³³ Garrish.

ALR UNDER THE SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY (1975-1991)

The Social Credit party had strongly opposed the creation of the ALR system.³⁴ But, as one researcher argued in a comparison of NDP and Socred approaches to the ALR, the new government moved relatively slowly on making changes. This, argued M.A. candidate Florence Irene Cocking in her thesis, was possibly due to apparent widespread public acceptance of the land reserve.³⁵ For example, a 1978 federal Lands Directorate report found 80 per cent of 800 B.C. landholders interviewed saw the ALR system favourably, (although the report also noted some lingering frustration over “methods of implementation and of the definition of land for inclusion).”³⁶ Still, almost a year after being elected, the Social Credit government replaced nearly all of the NDP-appointed land commissioners.³⁷ Then, in 1977, the Socreds amended the Land Commission Act with the Land Commission Amendment Act, renaming the commission the Provincial Agricultural Land Commission. The new legislation limited commissioners’ appointments to four years. It also ended their role in preserving greenbelt land, landbank land and parkland.

Significantly, the new legislation also altered the commission’s appeal process. Previously, landowners whose exclusion applications were rejected could appeal to the cabinet’s Environment and Land Use Committee (ELUC) only after obtaining permission from the commission. Under the new rules, a landowner could now ask the minister to request the committee hear the appeal.³⁸ Socred Environment Minister Jim Nielsen said the change would “allow a citizen of the province the right to appeal to an elected representative rather than be denied such avenue of appeal by a board that is appointed.”³⁹ But critics such as NDP MLA Bob Skelly charged it would undermine the previous stage in the appeal process.⁴⁰ The amendments also required municipalities and regional districts wanting to apply for exclusion from the ALR to hold a public hearing on the issue.⁴¹

Cabinet reversals of commission decisions, such as the Terra Nova controversy in Richmond⁴², provided plenty of fodder for newspaper stories during the 1980s. One particularly long-running example involved the Spetifore farm in Tsawwassen. The affair began in the early 1970s, when the Delta council was approached by the owner of the farm and a corporate partner about building housing, a hotel, and a commercial centre on the property. The land was soon after designated within the ALR by the new commission, but was excluded in 1981 by the Socred cabinet.⁴³ The matter resurfaced in 1989, when

³⁴ Peter McNelly, “Socreds ask Ottawa help,” *Province*, 24 Feb. 1973, 1.

³⁵ Cocking, 13.

³⁶ Canada, Lands Directorate, “The Agricultural Land Reserves of British Columbia: An Impact Study,” (Ottawa: Lands Directorate, Environment Canada, 1978), v-vi.

³⁷ “Land Commissioners Get the Boot,” *Province*, 2 Oct. 1976, 1.

³⁸ “Cabinet to Decide on Land Appeals,” *Victoria Times*, 31 Aug. 1977, 1.

³⁹ J. Nielsen, “Land Commission Amendment Act, 1977,” In British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, *Legislative Debates (Hansard)* 31st Parl., 2nd Sess. (7 Sept., 1977) (Online) Available: http://www.leg.bc.ca/hansard/31st2nd/31p_02s_770907p.htm#05298 [6 July, 2006].

⁴⁰ “Cabinet to Decide on Land Appeals, 1.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 2.

⁴² John Dunn and Tom Barrett, “Battlelines Drawn After Land Pulled from ALR,” *Vancouver Sun*, 18 Aug. 1987, A3.

⁴³ Malcolm Turnbull, “Years of Controversy Surround Spetifore Land,” *Province*, 12 June, 1983, A11.

the farm's owner proposed a development project.⁴⁴ A heated public hearing on the proposal dragged out over 25 nights and included 409 speakers who, for the most part, opposed the development. The plan was eventually shelved.⁴⁵

Another significant change under the Socreds to ALR rules came in the form of a 1988 order-in-council that took away the commission's ability to object to building golf courses in designated farm areas.⁴⁶ According to the ALC website, the rule change led to 181 proposals involving golf courses going before the commission by November 1991.⁴⁷

ALR UNDER THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY (1991-2001)

In 1991, the New Democrats replaced the Social Credit Party in government and moved quickly to reverse practices related to golf courses in the ALR. Two days after being sworn into office, the NDP government rescinded the 1988 order-in-council.⁴⁸ A week later, a moratorium was called on new golf course applications and the commission reviewed all 181 pending applications, ruling out about 60 proposals. About 80 proposals were allowed to go ahead, wrote Agriculture Minister Bill Barlee in the *Times Colonist* newspaper, because they were nearly completed or "considered to have a limited negative impact on agriculture."⁴⁹ The remaining 40 or so eventually also proceeded, wrote Barlee, because the government would likely have had to compensate the applicants. The final group included a project proposal for the Six Mile Ranch area – a property that would later dominate public discussion of the ALR system.⁵⁰

The auditor general published a value-for-money audit of the commission in 1994. George Morfitt found the commission needed "clearer direction, improved management processes, and better information about the results it is achieving if it's to carry out its role adequately ..."⁵¹ His report referred to ministry surveys showing strong public support for the commission, but added that "there is concern by some observers as to whether respondents had sufficient information available to them to make informed judgments."⁵² He noted the B.C. Fruit Growers Association had passed resolutions at its last two annual meetings demanding the abolition of the ALR. The B.C. Federation of Agriculture passed a similar resolution in December 1993, he wrote. Morfitt recommended that the commission "obtain a broader base of information about the extent to which its role, policies and decision-making are accepted by its stakeholders."⁵³

Other changes to ALR rules during the nineties included the 1993 Cabinet Appeals Abolition Act which removed cabinet's ability to overrule commission decisions. However, a "provincial interest reference process" was also introduced at that

⁴⁴ Garrish.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ "History of the ALR: Highlights from the First 25 Years of Preserving Foodlands," *Provincial Agricultural Land Commission* < http://www.landcommission.gov.bc.ca/Publications/Alr_history.htm > [6 July 2006].

⁴⁷ "History of the ALR."

⁴⁸ Bill Barlee, "NDP Has Moved Quickly to Restore Integrity of ALR," *Times Colonist*, 2 Sept. 2, 1992, A4.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ British Columbia, Office of the Auditor General, *Value for Money Audits: Provincial Agricultural Land Commission*, (Victoria: Office of the Auditor General, 1994), 3.

⁵² *Value for Money Audits: Provincial Agricultural Land Commission*, 22.

⁵³ *Value for Money Audits: Provincial Agricultural Land Commission*, 22.

time.⁵⁴ The process allowed cabinet to refer an exclusion application to a board or commissioner and, after receiving a report on the matter, to make a final and binding decision. In a 1998 report on the matter, the clause was described as giving the cabinet a “pre-emptive override of the ALC process.”⁵⁵

The government used the provincial interest process for the first time in 1998 for the Six Mile Ranch project. The proposal for the area dated back to the early 1990s, when a Japanese firm, ALM Vacations International, applied to build a golf course on ALR land about 20 kilometres from Kamloops. ALM later sold the land to Pagebrook, a Canadian company with larger plans for the area that included a golf course, housing project, condo hotels and theme village.⁵⁶ The development was expected to create 440 full-time jobs⁵⁷, but, in 1997, the commission rejected Pagebrook’s proposal to withdraw land from the ALR. “The decision was based on the large area of prime soils involved, the excellent climate of the area and the significant negative impacts on agriculture that would result if the land were excluded.”⁵⁸ The commissioners did offer to consider a revised project and a facilitator was brought in to make recommendations. The provincial cabinet then declared the project to be in the “provincial interest” and brought in an outside commissioner to hold public hearings and who eventually recommended the project be approved.⁵⁹ Cabinet followed his advice and released the land.⁶⁰ But the debate over the project prompted a split within the NDP and dominated the party’s 1998 convention, (where former premier David Barrett even made a surprise appearance to support the Six Mile development).⁶¹ Later that year, the issue of “provincial interest” was handed to UBC’s dean of agricultural sciences for examination. Moura Quayle’s [report](#) included recommendations for clarifying provincial interest and ensuring accountability.

Quayle also recommended merging the ALC with the newer Forest Land Commission to “improve integration of our land planning functions.”⁶² Legislation creating the Land Reserve Commission was passed in June 1999, but the new body had a short lifespan, dissolving not long after the 2001 Liberal victory.⁶³

ALR UNDER THE LIBERALS (2001-Present)

The Liberals’ 2001 electoral triumph was soon followed by a core review process that included the Land Reserve Commission. In April 2002, the Liberals introduced the Agricultural Land Commission Act, which was intended to make the ALR system “more efficient, effective and regionally responsive by providing for regional commission

⁵⁴ Quayle, 2.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Rankin, 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ “History of the ALR: Highlights from the First 25 Years of Preserving Foodlands,” *Provincial Agricultural Land Commission* < http://www.landcommission.gov.bc.ca/Publications/Alr_history.htm > [6 July 2006].

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Craig McInnes, “B.C. Approves Farmland Conversion for Resort Project,” *Globe and Mail*, 12 June 1998, A7.

⁶¹ Jim Beatty, “Agricultural Land Debate Dominated NDP Meeting,” *Vancouver Sun*, 9 March 1998, A3.

⁶² Quayle, s.4.

⁶³ Barbara McLintock, “New ALR Act Calls for More Local Input,” *Province*, 16 April, 2002, A6.

panels and expanding delegation.”⁶⁴ The merger between the ALC and Forest Land Commission was ended and three previous statutes – the Land Reserve Commission Act, Agricultural Land Reserve Act and Soil Conservation Act – were repealed.

One of the most significant changes under the new legislation was the restructuring of the commission to strengthen regional representation. The Agricultural Land Commission was now composed of six regional panels with three members each. Each panel included a vice-chair who also belonged to an executive committee with the commission CEO. The regional restructuring meant that decisions impacting a particular area would be made by commissioners residing in that location. The change was intended to ensure that decision-makers understood local issues.⁶⁵ But some expressed concerns that local commissioners would be more prone to pressure from developers than outsiders. As one *Vancouver Sun* contributor wrote: “The promise of jobs or the threat of withholding them, the promise of economic growth that seems enormous in a small town but is small on a provincial scale, all take on greater weight the further down the power structure they occur.”⁶⁶ It would be much easier for a development lobby to influence a municipal council than would an independent commission, the writer argued.

The new system was also supposed to delegate more responsibility to municipal and regional governments. The goal was to involve local governments in subdivision and land use decisions,⁶⁷ but this proved to be “a significant and largely unfulfilled challenge,” wrote the commission in its [2003/04 Annual Service Plan Report](#).⁶⁸ A survey of local governments found only 14 of 136 were interested in “discussing delegation with the commission.”⁶⁹ This led to the ALC ending its plan to lower the number of ALR applications through delegation.⁷⁰

The Liberals also committed to streamlining the number of regulations administered by the commission. The ALC reported in its [2004/05 report](#) that regulations had been cut by 75 per cent since 2001.⁷¹

A [report](#) by environmental activists in 2002 praised the ALR as one of the main barriers to urban sprawl in Greater Vancouver. The joint report by the Northwest Environment Watch and Smart Growth B.C. said the ALR had greatly contributed to hedging in the area, keeping housing developments from spreading out in the same fashion as Seattle.⁷²

Avian influenza and concerns about Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE) among cattle impacted the B.C. agriculture industry during this period and, in turn, the commission. “Declining farm incomes place additional pressures on the commission in

⁶⁴ Stan Hagen, “Agricultural Land Commission Act,” In British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, *Legislative Debates (Hansard)* 37th parliament, 3rd Sess. (30 April 2002) (Online) Available: <http://www.leg.bc.ca/hansard/37th3rd/h20430p.htm#3074> [10 July 2006].

⁶⁵ McLintock, A4.

⁶⁶ “Beware Any Undermining of Agricultural Land Reserve,” *Vancouver Sun*, 7 May 2002, A12.

⁶⁷ British Columbia, Agricultural Land Commission, *Annual Service Plan Report 2002/03*, (Victoria: Agricultural Land Commission, 2003), 4.

⁶⁸ British Columbia, Agricultural Land Commission, *Annual Service Plan Report 2003/04*, (Victoria: Agricultural Land Commission, 2004), 13.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ British Columbia, Agricultural Land Commission, *Annual Service Plan Report 2004/05*, (Victoria: Agricultural Land Commission, 2005), 21.

⁷² Frances Bula, “Vancouver ‘Growing Smart’, Report Suggests,” *Vancouver Sun*, 12 Sept. 2002, B1.

its management of the ALR as often, exclusion, subdivision and other non-farm uses of the ALR are seen as a way to supplement declining farm incomes,” noted the commission in 2004.⁷³

As during other periods, certain commission decisions on land exclusions have also stirred up controversy. In one example, the removal of a parcel of land in the Fraser Valley prompted criticism. In that case, nearly 180 hectares of farmland were excluded from the ALR to give the City of Abbotsford more industrial land.⁷⁴ Most recently, the David Suzuki Foundation released a [report](#) with several recommendations, including a call for the revision of the Agricultural Land Commission Act and the commission’s annual service plan to “ensure they are consistent and clear in their commitment” to protect farmland from other types of development.⁷⁵ The report suggested the reserve had grown to an all-time high of 4,760,000 hectares mainly due to the “addition of less productive land in Northern B.C.” and criticized the loss of land in more fertile areas.⁷⁶ Agriculture Minister Pat Bell responded in a letter to the *Vancouver Sun* that said the “numbers do not support the belief that land is being removed from the ALR at a high rate.”⁷⁷ He said the report contained some “excellent suggestions”⁷⁸ and, in July 2006, he told the newspaper that he had asked the commission to review the report.⁷⁹

AGRICULTURAL PRESERVATION IN OTHER PROVINCES

The Quebec government installed a body similar to the B.C. commission in the late 1970s, called the Commission de protection du territoire agricole du Quebec.⁸⁰ Quebec officials contacted B.C. during the commission’s early days for advice and invited representatives out east to consult. The relevant B.C. legislation, regulations and forms were even translated into French.⁸¹ More recently, the Ontario government passed its Greenbelt legislation, which protects designated land in the Greater Golden Horseshoe region from further urban growth. (The Greater Gold Horseshoe area circles up from the Niagara Region in the south to include several regional municipalities and counties, and cities such as Toronto, Hamilton, and Peterborough.) Under the rules, using land designated as “prime agricultural areas” or “specialty crop areas” for non-agricultural purposes is restricted. Further west, the Southern Alberta Land Trust Society provides another example of farmland preservation efforts.⁸² The society was established by a group of Albertan ranchers in 1997 and holds conservation easements on ranch land.

⁷³ British Columbia, Agricultural Land Commission, *Annual Service Plan Report 2003/04*, 14.

⁷⁴ Larry Pynn, “Farmland freed from ALR for development in Abbotsford,” *Vancouver Sun*, 3 Aug. 2005, B6.

⁷⁵ Charles Campbell, *Forever Farmland: Reshaping the Agricultural Land Reserve for the 21st Century*, (Vancouver: David Suzuki Foundation, 2006), 25.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷⁷ Pat Bell, “Government Committed to Farmland,” *Vancouver Sun*, 11 May 2006, A19.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Boei, B01.

⁸⁰ Melissa Watkins, Stewart Hiltz and Emily Brockie, *Protecting Southern Ontario’s Farmland: Challenges and Opportunities*, Farmland Preservation and Research Project Discussion Paper Series, (Guelph: Centre for Land and Water Stewardship, University of Guelph, 2003), 17.

⁸¹ *Ten Years of Agricultural Land Preservation*, 32.

⁸² Watkins, 18.

CONCLUSION

British Columbia's ALR system has weathered various challenges and reorganizations over the more than 30 years of its existence. No doubt it will continue to evolve as administrations grapple with the challenge of preserving farmland for future generations while meeting the needs of the land's current inhabitants.

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