

Exam structure.

- Cumulative
- Short answer & essay questions
  - 3 out of 4 short answer: In a few paragraphs define the term, show context and relevance, and give example
  - 1 out of 2 essay: use essay format, define key concepts, give context, show why issue is important, give examples

Focus on post midterm material more. But pre midterm you should review so you can bring the information in where you need to.

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**January 9**

No notes

**January 16**

Defining local government

- Includes both municipalities and all other governmental entities comprising territories smaller than provinces and having their own governing bodies with some capacity for autonomous decision making
  - Aka Local government is not synonymous with municipalities because it is more than just municipalities.....involving boards, commissions, and other special purpose bodies
- Municipalities: primary urban political unit possessing corporate status and governmental authority
  - This governmental authority is democratically elected, possesses taxing power, is in power to administer & make law (and enforce it) within its jurisdiction
  - Municipalities are the Most important aspect of local government
- Is there a legal definition of local government in Canada?
  - No there isnt. This permeates how our discussion of local government works. There is no constitutional definition.
  - Creates controversy of referring to municipalities as 'government'.
  - Municipalities are not the same as those at the provincial and federal level which are completely tied to the crown.

History of local government in Canada

- Canadian municipalities direct descendants of English municipal corporations
- History of independence between municipal corporations and monarch
- Were municipal corporations democratic?
- Transition to democracy

*1215 Magna Carta*

- Establishing of the foundation of the freedom of the individual from the crown
- Implemented through a small council of rich landowners
- Municipal corporations were part of the implementation of the document
- Does this mean municipal corporations at that time provided foundation for democracy?

- Until the 19th century municipal corporations not really democratic...power was tightly held and controlled at this time (ie: through families and friends) but this institutional structure began developing

#### *Municipal Corporations Act 1835.*

- Englands act. Here we see the transition to democracy through this institutional and the potential for the institution. Municipal corporations became regularized and part of the democratic system of governance. People viewed this as an attack on their property rights (along with other things too). In this transition we see borough councils being elected (but only by male property owners-Disclusive of women and lower classes). The council would choose a treasurer to be in charge of the money. All in all we see a bigger corporate structure with people to play their roles. Municipalities start establishing police forces to regulate nuisances. There are provisions to engage in social improvements (but this was optional...ie fixing drains). With this new act There is an ability born for people who are not municipalities to apply to become an entity. Business corporations not happy because the municipalities (government entities) were engaging in their own trade, making laws, and did alot of different things, whereas businesses didnt believe they should engage in trading

#### *Municipal Corporations Act 1849*

- Canadian version of Englands act. Introduction of a separation between what a business corporation is and a municipality is.

#### Rural municipalities, urban municipalities, unincorporated areas

- a) Rural municipalities (townships, counties, districts v. Upper tiered regional municipalities)
- b) Urban municipalities (Village, towns, cities)
  - all municipalities owe their existence to provincial law. But they owe their original existence to grassroots initiatives from citizens who said “we are going to create this.....”. Although provincial legislation existed the legislation was for the citizens to do something
- c) Unincorporated areas
  - There are native lands living on unincorporated areas which presents challenge to the provinces. Why? Supplying resources. They require minimal services at the least. These are the types of services normally created by municipal corporations. This is what presents the issue. The people living on these lands also generally do not want to live in the traditional way but they need the services.

#### Special purpose bodies

- Key component of local government which includes BOTH municipalities AND special purpose bodies
- The term includes agencies, boards, commissions (may be directly connected to municipal govt or not at all with no contact)
- Carry out single governmental function - Very honed in on one particular policy field
- Democratically elected or appointed by politicians
- Authority to levy taxes, claim tax revenues, charge user fees, make laws, enforce laws
- Not special purpose bodies: they do not include local advisory commitees (i.e. bike advisory groups), business corporations partly owned by municipalities ← because they do not meet the core definition because they have no authority to tax or make law on their own group; this corporate structure is absent. Thats why we see special purpose bodies as part of local government....although they do not have the same power as local government they have more power than non special purpose bodies

Why establish local governments?

1. To promote efficiency of delivery of services
  - Local government and efficiency
  - Economies of scale
  - Economies of scope
    - This would apply to municipalities (who does many things) but not really special purpose bodies (who do 1 thing)
    - Makes sense in theory but complex in practice since there is lack of communication between Departments (i.e. issues with intergenerational facilities because of this)
  - Allocative efficiency
    - Very important
    - It means providing a bundle of services and taxes matching what people actually want & need
    - Perhaps local government can do this better...
    - Local governments allow this differentiation of different services for different needs at differing levels. (issues with this because even in small regions there will be disagreements over what people want to see)
    - There are many intricacies in this concept
  - Tiebout hypothesis
    - Tiebout was an economist arguing local governments could be made just as efficient as private firms
    - How? By ensuring there were enough of them competing in order to attract a variety of people, businesses, etc. to get the best taxpayers
    - Local government enables the most efficient service provision bc it provides competition and people get to go where they want to get what they want
    - Its the notion citizens vote “with their feet” (if the citizen doesnt like the bundle of services & corresponding taxes to meet their needs they would go somewhere else)

Note: remember that despite this stuff....local governments are never just neutral providers of services. There are politics included

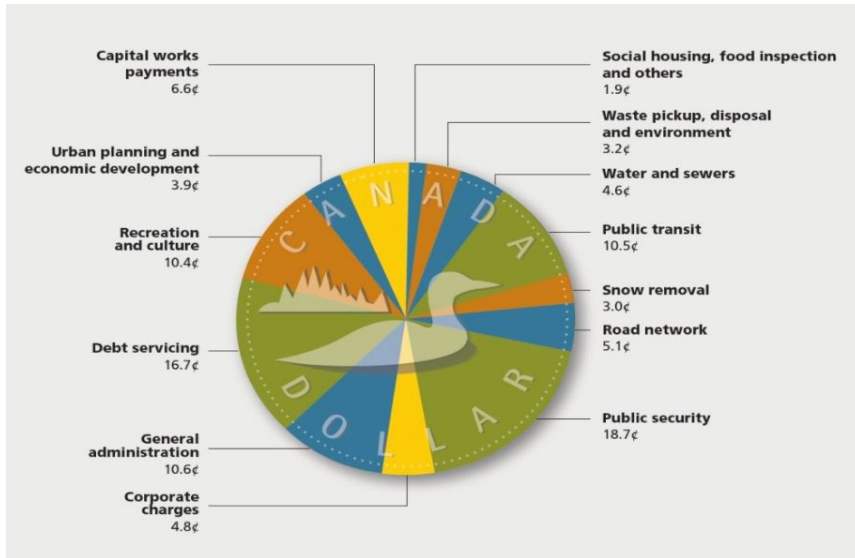
2. Local government and democracy
  - Feature of pluralism
  - Congruent with communities of meaning
  - Facilitates citizen participation in decision making.....perhaps

note : Issue of lack of political parties and/or platforms.

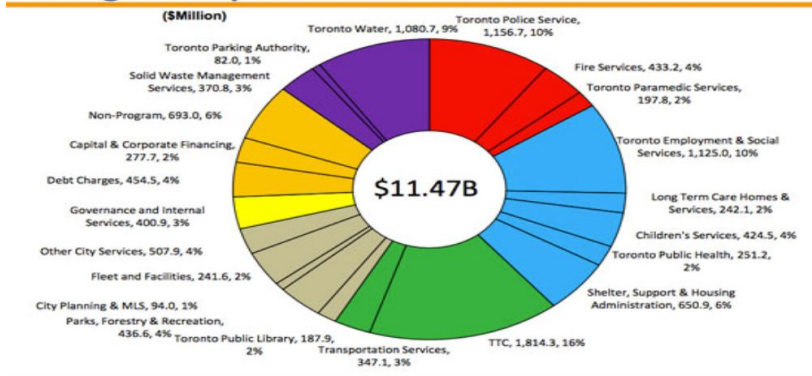
The function of Canadian local government

- “Built” environment is the bread & butter of local government
- Many aspects of regulating/planning/protecting/providing infrastructure is core responsibility of local government
- Ie: roads, traffic controls, crosswalk lights, crosswalk timing, solid waste collection and disposal, dumping garbage, landuse planning & regulation, regulations of building codes & accessibility codes, regulations of parks & recreation, regulation of cemeteries,
- Functions of local government are inclusive of:
  - Core role in domain of built environment
  - Some social services

- Local economic development and culture
- Public safety
  - Fire protection, animal control (ie pitbull bylaws), emergency plans, presence of police boards
- Libraries
- Public transit.



**Where the Money Goes:  
- Program Expenditures - \$11.5 Billion**



January 23

Reasons for central involvement in local issues

- externality(ies): no action taken to incur cost/benefit but action happening to them nonetheless. This happens in cities because there are such a great amount of them. This is a core issue referring to municipal government

i.e. pollution (one municipality can foist its pollution onto a neighbouring municipality)

- advancing central priorities
  - i.e. money for transit, money for infrastructure, one for housing support
  - Coming from below (urban, local issues) but needing bigger action - this is where central levels of government come in and deal with local issues

- Partisan politics come into play - responding to needs of municipalities & local citizens offers opportunities for central/prov governments to give favor to their electorate
- Money much spent in areas of housing support as well and housing programs (i.e. Quebec offers much cooperative housing which is nonprofit)
- Municipalities can also create laws where a certain # of units are required in a housing building for it to be affordable (concept of inclusionary zoning) and these places are based on rent geared income. (i.e. municipality could arrange for developers to set aside large buildings with many units to support social housing)
- Municipalities are responsible for land use & planning which means they are responsible for deciding where new social housing units go (A CDN municipality govt released emergency 800\$k for homeless shelters recently by giving them somewhere to stay, even if a shuttle bus)
- Although federal govt transferred the responsibility of social housing onto municipalities the Federal govt supports homelessness services; not building housing but rather giving funds to the missions/shelters who provide emergency support for people. Also funds research on homelessness.
- Housing prices are increasing; there are massive waiting lists for housing in big cities of Canada

#### Federal government role in municipalities

- Canadas largest property owner & employer
  - Example: Miramichi and the Pheonix pay disaster - Miramichi, New Brunswick was where the formal federal govt gun registry located. The new party came in and didnt want it anymore. But this was a loss of many government jobs in a struggling region. So the Pheonix pay system came in but didnt work and caused deficits of billions of dollars.
  - Example: This is also relevant in Ottawa where there is a special purpose body in place to support development/planning in Ottawa.
  - Example: Toronto shelters being full so people had to pay for hotels for people
  - National capital commission (i.e. Place de Portage expropriation: Federal govt expropriated downtown area of Place de Portage and built a bunch of modern architecture; 5000 residents had to leave (with some compensation) but the point is many small businesses had to close)
  - Other federal level policies (i.e. immigration)

#### Provincial Statutes Relating to Local government

- No provincial constitutions in Canada = no municipal protections
  - Unlike USA, CDN municipalities dont have their own constitutions. This means they are free to enact laws so long that they do not infringe on already established areas of jurisdiction & existing laws. Provinces have much power here. This also means municipalities have NO form of constitutional protection (USA does have this & provides some municipalities with stable government power. Due to this when American municipalities want to pass laws they have it within their power).
  - province can change the charter without the municipality approving it
- Provincial *Municipal Acts & City Charters*
  - Often different for urban and rural municipalities
  - Trends to simplification and natural person powers - simplifying acts/charters to give the municipalities broader, more vague responsibilities

- Cities like Halifax desire exemption from property tax on all the shelters they're building but they have to wait a long time for the OK from the provincial level
- Cities want to know if they can enter into contracts, for example, with city garbage collectors.
- Because of all these things we are seeing more simplification in acts regarding municipal power.
- Other provincial laws
  - I.e.: traffic control, safety, healthcare, education

#### Provincial Ministries / Ministers

- Minister of Municipal (or community) Affairs
  - Responsible for municipal Acts & Charters: in charge of ensuring acts are in place
  - Defend municipalities from other ministries: there is an understanding municipalities are separate from the provinces and ALMOST as if they were their own governments that have their own powers. Tensions exist because some view the ministers of municipal affairs as the implementers of change that's decided by other people (i.e. the provinces)
- Meetings of the provincial & territorial ministers responsible for local government
  - We see regular meetings occur between the provincial & municipal ministers who discuss common issues in the municipalities. (i.e. federal infrastructure funding; What is the role of the local govt in legalization of marijuana such as their role in distribution & sale; local role regarding disaster risk management plans for things like flooding; municipal indigenous relations)

#### Administrative tribunals

- Provincial statutes may require approval or appeal opportunities
  - This is related to most issues at the municipal level. Plans are expected to be had for all the groups. These official plans have to be approved by the province. For example public notices are required if a small house is being built into a huge condo building because the community needs to brew over it. This dominant responsibility over land use in cities means people are being affected (re: property values & quality of life) so citizens often are concerned about property related decisions. They might be worried about noise from the building. But having official plans for all the small things is unrealistic & municipalities are scared they will be constantly challenged. Thus we have developed administrative tribunals.....
- Appeals to courts or administrative tribunals
  - Appeal to courts: This is where there is the process that citizens go to appeal a process that a municipality took to undertake, for example, a land designation. This happens if the way the municipality approached something was "not right"
  - Administrative tribunal: people go here if they don't like the decision a municipality made (about final decision rather than process)
- Administrative tribunals in land use planning
  - I.e. Ontario municipal board: most powerful tribunal. All members appointed by the province and most appeals that go here relate directly to land use plans. Somebody might go here because they don't like the broad statement about land use planning going on in their city, or something as small as a father building a treehouse and somebody having issues with that. This board is not concerned with the process that a municipality went through to reach X...they are worried about X itself and whether it was a good or bad planning decision. This is controversial because major developers go to the tribunal

because they want to build huge story buildings with massive density to gain the most profit but the city tells them no because there are limits created. There is also controversy over who can pay for lawyering in these debates. Chances are we won't see changes in this Ontario municipal board. The province has the power here. But, the ON govt has actually decided to take away the municipal boards power. This is recognition of local power and now the provincial board only has the ability to ask "Did the municipality act against either municipal/provincial legislation (did it act within its power?)".

- Police tribunals

#### Municipal Finance

- Province authorizes how municipalities obtain revenue
  - a) user charges (i.e. transit)
  - b) local taxation (i.e. property tax, shares of federal gas tax) - ability to levy a sales tax aka make more money of people & tourists (haven't seen this in Canada yet); building the right politics to alter property taxes is a key factor; there has been some movement in the area of taxation in cities & whether cities should have access to what taxes should be. Cities may want new taxing authority, however in practice the administration of taxing authority costs money; Toronto was given power to tax land transfers (the taxes based on sales of house - we see this in Montreal as the 'Welcome Tax'); includes potential power to alter entertainment taxes (i.e. movies, smoking, etc). Rob Ford, old Toronto mayor, didn't want to see these taxes implemented (i.e. land transfer taxes) but could not always stop it because the revenue it created. Thus, although some municipalities have the power to alter taxes, the politics would never work because it would negatively affect so many groups of people.
  - c) transfers: unconditional (you can do wtv you want with the \$), conditional (you must do X with this \$...i.e. Use for environmental improvement), tri-level urban developing agreements (used a few times, for example Insite was funded by tri-level urban developing agreements.....also seen in immigration settlements.....some governments think we need to see more of this)

#### Municipal organizations

- Municipalities organize themselves into organizations
  - I.e. Federation of Canadian Municipalities: federal funds to municipalities & better federal coordination of municipal role
  - They illustrate that the federal government views municipalities as an interest group of sorts (rather than a government)
  - MOs existed since 1901 and lobby exclusively to the federal level to gain federal money; have been active in many areas (i.e. taking a % of marijuana tax sales for city revenue, i.e. lobbying to have a federal ministry of the municipal cities since there is no ministry existing to see how federal govt action affects municipalities)
- Provincial associations of municipalities
  - Challenges uniting municipalities
  - Are much more involved and make key decisions regarding issues province is grappling with.
  - If they know they have to deal with municipalities they invite them to meetings
  - Tensions exist because municipalities believe they should be able to act on their own and speak to the provincial government by themselves without speaking through organizations & advocacy groups

### Special purpose bodies

- Important component of local government but highly complex!
- Local government encompasses BOTH special purpose bodies and municipalities
- Special purpose bodies have similar powers to municipal governments BUT ONLY DEAL WITH ONE POLICY ISSUE (main difference to municipal governments)
- Examples of SPB policyfields: schoolboards, police boards, parks/recreation boards, library boards, transit/utility boards (i.e. STM)
- Rationales for establishing SPBs: aka why is this layer for protection required? For efficiency sake? (i.e. transit running like a business which is separate from politics)
- SPBs have strained relations with municipal governments & wont always see eye to eye
- Inter-municipal SPBS
  - 2+ municipalities partner to provide a service (i.e. conservation, metro transit, water)
- Intergovernmental SPBs
  - Multiple government levels represented on the governing board (i.e. ports, airports, metro transit)
  - Creates much tension
- SPBs with no municipal involvement
  - Provinces establish the SPB and do not invite municipal representatives (i.e. metro transit, healthcare)

### Random notes

- This responsibility is in the constitution
- People are led to believe the fed govt doesnt play much of a role at the city level but they do, esp. In regards to major policy changes at the local level
- The fed govt is the countrys largest property owner/employer.

**January 30**

ask someone for more detailed notes

### Urbanization and Urban-rural Differences

- Have you observed urbanization where you come from - what are the signs?
- Classifying urban / rural
  - Conceptualizing urban
    - Demographic: pop size, pop density, economic heterogeneity
  - Socio cultural
    - Are we all MORE urban today? What does this mean?
  - Different (and similar) service requirements in urban and rural areas
- Measuring urban v. rural: population centres
  - Population data measured by Statistic Canada in concensus
    - Latest completed 2016

<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/ref/release-dates-diffusion-eng.cfm>

- Rural areas (<1000) and population centers (PC) (>1000 + >400 person per square km)
  - Small PC = 1000-29999k (918 in 2016)
  - Medium PC = 30k - 99999k (57 in 2016)
  - Large PC = 100k+ (30k in 2016)
- Population centre are NOT MUNICIPALITIES

- For example, Montreal  
<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?>

#### Measuring Urban and Rural - CMAs & CAs

- CMAs (Central Metropolitan Areas)
  - Municipalities surrounding urban core
  - POP >100K total , 5k resting in core
  - Growth 6.2%
- (census agglomerations) CAs
  - Municipalities surrounding urban core
  - POP >10000, but max 50000
  - Growth 3.3%
- Rural municipalities (under 1000) & small municipalities (under 5000) outside CMAs/CAs suffering
- There are challenges of urban growth and sprawl in Toronto
  - Greenbelt Act 2005; Places to grow Act 2005

#### Causes of Population Growth in large, urban areas

- Urbanization is a worldwide trend linked to globalization
- Urban economies are increasingly becoming linked through complex trade and financial relationships
- Rural to urban migration in “the global south”
- Growth in CDN cities is fueled by immigration
- Cities are more important but WHAT ABOUT LOCAL GOVERNMENTS?

**February 6**

#### Annexations

- What are annexations?
  - How boundaries of urban municipalities adjust to accommodate or encourage growth on the fringes of their boundary
  - Incremental and local v. top down by province
  - It is when a municipality absorbs some of the land under the jurisdiction of an adjoining municipality
  - Technically the same as an amalgamation but NOT practically

#### Class notes

- Annexations: governments try to address urban growth outside of its boundaries
- They differ from top down provincial interventions to change municipal boundaries (through things like amalgamations)
- Annexations focus on more local, incremental adjustments
- Amalgamations are more enforced by province and top down
- Annexations in eastern Canada are sort of a thing of the past
- But we are seeing more annexations in western Canada and their big cities. Why? Western cities were developed much later so its sparsely populated with rural areas and the trends of eastern Canada are occurring now. The outer periphery it growing more than the core
- If the city is growing then the land will eventually be used up and the boundaries of city will fill up with no room for any expansion. This could be a good thing and increase property value if

scarcity...But one day people will leave because there wont be room for any innovations or new businesses. The city may slip into obscurity as other cities take the growth

- If the city has no room to expand it cant compete
- What do they do then? Annexations.....
  
- How do annexations work
  - City growing and wants land
  - City tries to annex land from rural municipality but political tensions likely to arise
  - Province needs to regulate inter-municipal conflict
    - administrative tribunals , inter-municipal negotiations, referendums

#### Class notes

- If the city is forward thinking they would, while eeking out boundaries, allowed the boundary to big enough to incorporate room for growth because cities *want* to grow and most city livers want growth so their property worth can raise and so they can have more job opportunity
- Those living in neighbouring rural municipalities may want to give up some of the land to their city
- Some property owners (including ranchers, farmers) may want to do this because it could raise value of their land. Developers would potentially give them offers to buy (We see this in Calgary)
- These property owners may wish to establish their own suburban municipality and not be swallowed up by the city.
- If weve already seen fringe development happening the people of the city may have less incentive to sell their properties. They may not want to pay higher taxes. There may be tension. They may request compensation (ie. we will be swallowed up but we want tax compensation)
- Controversies occur; inevitable political tension.
- Different procedures are used to help such as administrative tribunals, differing legislation for supporting municipalities to negotiate, referendums (citizens vote on it). There are different tools
  
- Case studies of annexation
  - Examine rationale for annexation and municipal-provincial relations
  - Cases illustrate different

a) rationales for annexation

b) inter municipal relations (relations between urban and rural municipalities; what citizens think is the role of urban government)

c) provincial regulation (municipalities are creatures of the province)

- Example of Montreal
  - Rationale: addressing debt, 1 island 1 city
    - 1960s internationalism (pre Globalization) Mayor at time thought Montreal would be a world class city with world class infrastructure. He wanted to create ‘1 island 1 city’.
  - Intermunicipal relations: not much conflict initially, more later with Drapeau
    - Late 1800s we didnt see much political conflict from the suburban municipalities that Montreal annexed because they knew the city was bankrupt. Not much tension because of this when Mtl proposed the annexation.
    - Drapeau went to province of Qc and asked it to change its annex legislation so the city could annex the municipalities without agreement by province. The province said if the city could convince some of the suburban municipalities to join Montreal it

was ok. If enough people of the urban municipalities came forward and wanted to have referendum over that they would have that as an option. If they didnt want to be annexed it would lead to the provincial administrative tribunal.

- Provincial regulation: referendum, tribunal (QC Municipal commission)
  - There used to be absense of provincial regulation surrounding municipal borrowing & indebtedness or any conflicts of interest. Legislation was later built around these things.
  - Developers controlled these urban municipalities and told the bank they would pay them back. Why? They thought they would gain tax money from the developments. And if they didnt pay the bank back they thought the city of Montreal would bail them out.
- Example of London
  - Rationale
    - Urban growth and expansion
  - Intermunicipal relations
    - Serious conflict between city and townships

#### Class notes

- 1950s city grows increasingly concerned that population growth is not happening in the core of the city but on surrounding townships. This is a concern because the city wants to survive.
- City council decided they would approve bylaw to approve annexing for adjacent townships
- Didnt go over well with urban areas. They werent going bankrupt they were doing quite well. They were worried their taxes would increase by being swallowed by the city of London
- Case was taken to administrative provincial tribunal to argue their case and prevent it from happening
- Provincial tribunal rejects municipal interests
  - Example of Calgary
    - Rationale
      - development growth
      - We see here low density sprawl development
      - The annexation process led in this city by developers
    - Inter municipal relations
      - very little conflict, but more to come?
      - There hasnt been much conflict on developers buying the land because the land being incorporated are primarily farming land (no fringe development happening)
      - There is a general pattern where developers seek to buy land within the adjacent municipalities and when theyre ready to develop it ask the city to annex land out of the rural municipality
    - Provincial regulation
      - Actively supports annexation
      - Province has been super pro annexation
  - Example of Edmonton
    - Rationale
      - In 2013 Edmonton announced it wanted to extend its boundaries by annexing 60 hectares of Leduc county
      - To maintain competitive edge as strong central city
    - Inter municipal relations

- The city, according to its municipal act, gave a notice to Leduc county and town of Beaumont to negotiate how to develop the land. They made a deal
- Land annexed ends up being about half the amount as planned
- Edmonton agreed to compensate the county 8.10 million \$ over a decade for lost taxes. Because had the county sold it to developers they could have built and charged property taxes and made tons of money
- Provincial regulations
  - City will use the land for residential and commercial development
  - 50 yr tax protection also implemented for residents of annexed area

#### Class notes

- Areas like Leduc dont want to give up the land
- It becomes politically controversial
- Were not that likely to see more of these
- This is when 2 tier governments/amalgamations come in

#### 2 Tier Governments

- The metropolitan problem
  - A single built up urban area comprising a central city municipality surrounded by a number of independent suburban municipalities make up these giant CMA (census metropolitan areas)
  - An issue?
    - Residents wont want to be absorbed; cities want to maintain competitive edge
    - Is having many municipalities a problem or is it desirable because it spurs competition?

#### Class notes

- We see massive urban areas with tons of municipalities inside of it. This is why
- Increasing understanding that these are social/economic units and there are linkages between areas (ie. airports/central roads.....)
- CMAs look at commuting patterns to decide “do we have to add this municipality area in?”
- Understanding that its a unit and different policy issues have to be coordinated (ie. land use planning for X area in order to better coordinate)

- The Consolidationist Position
  - Champions 2 tier systems of government (to address regional policy issues occurring)
    - This new level of government built to face issues are inclusive of lower tier urban municipalities
    - AND upper tier regional/metropolitan municipality
  - Five core arguments
    - Efficiency      municipal services benefit from economies of scale (these municipal services best provided by large levels of government)
    - Effective service coordination      Effective coordination of planning infrastructures in these giant urban areas ; not helpful if these jurisdictions are competing, they should be collaborating
    - Equity      People who live in same economic region should have similar-same level of access to municipal services regardless of wealth. Amalgamations want to see more equalization of tax sharing

- Democracy     Maybe a weak point for consolidationist position. But these forms of segregation prevent full democracy from forming. People will feel governments not doing what's in their best interest. People should be collectively engaged in decision making with absence of fragmented areas
    - Economic development     idea that the new service economy is really making the city regions the new 'nodes' of our national economic engines. In these big metro areas the large corporations and financial institutions are developing and they need to have their own tools/ability. Idea that we need more coordination in the region to make it more competitive.
  - Consolidationist case studies
    - Metro Toronto: an ideal system until suburbs dominate
      - Most famous example of 2 tiered system
      - Enacted by province of Ontario (remember province requires/forces these things) in 1953
      - Comprised 12 surrounding municipalities within its boundaries & a larger metro Toronto
      - Main goal of metro Toronto: speed up infrastructure & support industrial expansion in the suburbs - critique: does this actually promote sprawl? the suburbs develop more and may want to annex land...
      - Costs of new services shared and based on wealth
      - Province allowed for direct elections in these governments which severed link between lower and upper tier municipality
      - Also at this time began seeing major conflicts in the metro governments. Purpose was for suburbs to develop but Suburbs kind of started to take over and got bigger. Their needs started taking over the metro level of govt so that needs of innercity of Toronto less represented. The urban area even started expanding outside the 'metro region' (which was made to establish boundaries between inner & urban Toronto)
      - Was eventually disbanded 1998. Metro was amalgamated as the new city of Toronto (which is the former boundaries of 'metro')
    - Metro Winnipeg: greatest attempt at democratic consolidation, but this became its downfall
      - Many special purpose bodies devlp to address regional issues
      - Were now going to create a metro level government to take over the work of SPBs. The people sitting on this government will be directly elected (full on 'other' level of government). Is this more democratic?
      - Yes it was democratic but Doing this was the downfall of the experiment however, because there was great controversy between people at that new level of government having their own interests and not representing other levels and this was its downfall
      - It was eventually abolished
    - Ontario regional municipalities: creation of 2 new tiers of government particularly unpopular with rural residents
    - Montreal metropolitan community: A purposefully weak metro government
      - Prov govt created 2 super regions around Quebec city and Montreal
      - Responsibilities like planning & economic development grew controversial which is why it was a fairly weak government (Not much

- power). This is because citizens in the 82 municipalities didn't really want another powerful layer of government which would challenge its power
- Perhaps this is why it still exists today. Because that new level of metro government does not have much power...no directly elected council (its chaired by the mayor of QC & from people in the municipalities)
  - Metro Vancouver: the consolidationist success story of Canada
    - SPBS doing regional planning
    - Province decided to create another level of government to bring service areas together
    - Unlike in Toronto, Vancouver was actually able to expand borders to address urban expansion in that area
    - Not much controversy because municipalities of Vancouver like their metro (regional) government. This may have to do with political culture around environmental preservation and the idea they must protect their beautiful surroundings
    - No attempt by Vancouver to change boundaries or amalgamate
    - BC government appears to give its municipalities some autonomy and views municipalities as governments themselves and the essence of local democracy

#### Class notes

- A lot of these 2 tier governments operate in different ways
- While municipalities have to be on this metro board, there is freedom to opt in/out. This gives some autonomy
- Critiques of Consolidation - The Public Choice Position
  - Big government cannot solve big problems. They are distrustful of governments who are viewed as making things worse. Perhaps these metro experiments are inefficient and do not produce economies of scale ; they produce more rules and layers of bureaucracy for zero reason. Perhaps we need to trust governments to have their own SPBs and solve these issues. Not the role of local government to provide social services (these are to be provided through redistributed taxation of high governments).
  - "Tiebout" hypothesis
    - Cities compete for best citizens/businesses, who vote with their feet
    - Promotes democracy & efficiency
    - But flawed assumptions and inequities
    - Local govts operate like businesses - they provide services and people demand the services. Its good to have many private municipalities in big areas because they will be competing with each other to best meet the needs of people for the lowest taxes
    - Tiebout argued this is democratic
    - There are other reasons why people relocate (ie. you move to be close to family and work; or emotional attachment to a location) But the many services provided by municipalities are not necessarily known by the citizens of these places. People won't always know the many different options or the info isn't available to them. These are issues around equity.
- Consolidationist revisions - New Regionalism
  - Core assumptions
    - Economies becoming increasingly interdependent.

- Likely to see in egalitarian systems
      - Assumptions by this theory that we will see greater levels of cooperation in these regions and more equity (less tension between inner city and suburbs because more affordable living in suburbs gives options to poor)
    - And likely to see in centralized systems
  - Different institutional approach - from government to governance (ie. regional partnerships in Edmonton or Calgary)
  - Assumptions flawed in Amsterdam case. New regionalism is actually difficult in practice
    - 1. New economy is not making the metro areas interdependent
    - 2. Not necessarily true that greater social equality helps overcome city suburban political rivalry
    - 3. Regional cooperation does not necessarily flourish in centralized government settings
      - These 3 assumptions led to its downfall. Why? Not necessarily this new economy is making the regions more interdependent. Its lacking understanding of the diversity of regional economies. Many businesses in the region might not want to compete...they might want to stick locally. We might be to oversimplistic in creating regional coordination. Also not necessarily true that it helps overcome city suburban political rivalry because now there is competition to get government grant funding. There is not much interest in cooperation in this respect. In regards to the decentralization of the welfare state there are non profit sectors beginning to provide services like social housing and the system of social care is extremely fragmented its difficult for them all to coordinate and achieve one regional position. The groundwork is more complex. Lastly, regional cooperation does not necessarily flourish in centralized government settings because the government doesnt want to seed its own power to other levels of government. The federal government thus does not really want to see regions. Local politicians dont either because they have developed an intricate level of dense networking connections already with people in the establishment of their services and dont want people messing

#### Class notes

- Increasing notion that these regions are interdependent and these are not separate municipalities, they are forming part of the same economic system. Why waste time on competing when you could work together and become more economically competitive in the global environment? To do this they need better political cooperation.
- Issues of social inequalities and them needing to be addressed. At the regional level perhaps there should be affordable housing and some stuff like this. This is where we see equity in this New Regionalism approach.

**February 13**

#### Amalgamations

- What are amalgamations?
  - Top down provincial intervention to change municipal boundaries to address the metropolitan problem

- Law is passed that merges municipalities to establish much larger single tier urban government

#### Class notes

- We have been seeing this problem back to the time we started seeing urbanization
- Last week we talked about top down solutions (Adding a top tier of government for a total of two tiers of government)
- We can think of it as having 3 options of amalgamation. The 3rd option is when a law is passed that merges these various municipalities into one big megacity (1 tier rather than 2 tier).  
Annexation was more bottoms up
- We generally see the merging of various urban municipalities but sometimes it occurs that urban AND rural municipalities are blending
- Sometimes we see the major forcing amalgamation (enforced in a top down manner but also asked for at the local level)
- It can be confusing. A 2 tier government created by a province can become a 1 tier amalgamated government. This occurred in Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal. The first attempt to address urban expansion was regional government but it became too big so they made 1 tier government.

#### Amalgamations & Metropolitan Schools of thought

- Same metropolitan schools of thought apply to debates about amalgamation, particularly:
  - reformist/Consolidationist (centrist) - pro amalgamation
  - Public choice (polycentrist) - anti amalgamation
  - New regionalism - anti amalgamation, pro information cooperation
- Policy makers trapped in old debates about centrism and policycentrism and this is preventing policy action (“The Metropolitan Trap”)

#### Class notes

- Were not talking about neutral government decisions. These are highly normative decision making processes
- These institutional structures represent different approaches to decision making for the common good
- We see suburban municipalities that dont want to pay for alot of services supporting the public choice approach. But we also see progressive movements embodying these public choice principles.
- What would the 3 approached say about the amalgamation option?
  - Reformist: think of it as the top down government approach; wants to reform structures; it wants to consolidate institutions; its very centrist and wants to create central government (remember it was very pro-creation of regional governments and amalgamating governments and other institutional structures in order to handle the metropolitan issue). Idea that the urban area is an interlinked area and needs integrated government to handle these issues. This approach says we need to create government structures with formal rules to deal with this. It is the most intrusive option. Pro equalization. Idea that its wrong to have one suburban municipality with much more money than another. We should be equalizing taxes and services. At the same time this approach emphasizes cost cutting and value for money (ridding of duplication and the idea that amalgamating can create efficiencies and economies of scale). There are tensions within this reformist approach. Case studies show this. Example, in Ontario we see a very conservative government forcing amalgamations while in Quebec/Winnipeg we see left wing governments forcing them.

- **Public choice:** (left and right) We should not be creating formal rules. It should be more bottom up.
- New regionalism: Came about during era of urban expansion and idea of economic competitiveness. Tomas studies the Montreal case and says we have here a metropolitan trap - everybody seems to be stuck in one of the poles (either create regional governments or keep small governments). Problem that we are struggling to gain any types of regional cooperation to handle these major issues we have to deal with (ie. regional transit). Tomas thinks the debate prevents cooperation.

#### Amalgamation case studies

- Chronology of waves of amalgamations in eastern Canada in 90s and early 2000s.
  - Why EASTERN Canada?
  - Why during THIS time period?

#### Class notes

- Why are amalgamations viewed as a popular policy option in eastern Canada? No core answer, but these are older cities (and our first provinces) with fast growth. In contrast western municipalities viewed as having more autonomy. Provinces there are less willing to force legislation onto its cities. In eastern Canada we see forcing of changing of municipal boundaries. Sancton thinks its a fad. Vancouver & BC municipalities “dodged a bullet” by not being subject to amalgamation, theyre actually good at regional cooperation. The province didnt feel as if it had to force amalgamation.
- Why during 90s/2000s? Why the move to amalgamate? Seeing a lot of sprawl. Sprawl is bad and have to address issues. Cities viewed as nodes to the economy and perhaps we need bigger cities to compete in the economy. We see federal government cutting a lot of its roles (funding for infrastructure and social housing).....offloading and decentralizing policy responsibilities to provincial governments. Then these provincial governments offloaded these onto municipalities. We saw this in Ontario with Harris.....big Governments had to be created at the local level to take on the responsibility.
- Learning from case studies by looking at -
  - Rationale for amalgamation
  - Municipal-provincial relations
  - Nature of conflict

#### *Example - The Windsor Precedent*

- What: this country's first involuntary municipal amalgamation
- Rationale: evolution of SPB (economies of scale), municipal debt (fiscal equity)
- Municipal-Provincial relations: bottom up to top down legislative process of municipal boundary change with no local consultation
- Nature of conflict: Walkerville residents fight legislation in courts.....Courts declare provincial authority

Class notes: Windsor was being affected by the depression at the time and was hit hard. They couldn't pay interest rates on money borrowed to pay for their services. Under much supervision by province as province helped pay bills. We also saw a shift from the bottom up to the top down process. In order to handle urban problems the city was coordinating with other urban municipalities in a very grass roots way, doing much work to deal with their problems. We view the transition to the top down process; to the province intervening and deciding they would deal with it because they were in debt. It was initiated by a former mayor of Windsor who became the Minister of municipal affairs of the province. He forced amalgamation. Many motivations for why the mayor does this. We see the reformist/centrist approach being dominant. But this wasn't supported by everybody. One municipality was not in debt and were

pissed off by the process. They were afraid their taxes would increase as they got swallowed up by other municipalities. They were afraid the services of their municipality would deteriorate. They took a more public choice perspective of wanting things to stay the way they were. They fought legislation in court, taking it to the Privy Council in England (highest court of appeal at time) in effort to shield their local autonomy. They lost at all levels. Conclusion: the understanding among governments that provincial legislatures of unfettered authority over the municipalities of which they are in charge of. Paternalistic view by the province that they're in charge to take care of their babies (municipalities). It's their duty to make policy for local governments. This is why Windsor gets called the Precedent. This has occurred over and over where provinces do this without agreement by municipalities. Notion that municipalities are not as respected in Canada as in USA. We also don't see the same levels of economic disparity and segregation as we do in USA where we see lots of white suburban municipalities who leave the city and are not contributing.

#### *Example - Winnipeg*

- What: created by province to replace regional government
- Rationale: end inter municipal bickering, efficient service delivery, fiscal equity, democracy
- Municipal-Provincial relations: provincial infighting about local democracy. Where is municipal government in these discussions?
- Nature of conflict: council huge & unweildly, lack of power for community councils, suburbs dominate downtown, urban expansion beyond borders of unicity

Class notes: Increasing emphasis on idea that amalgamation will save money by cutting costs (ie. cutting duplication, create efficiencies, creating economies of scale). Understanding equity of tax based on richer municipalities combined with inner city, less wealthy of Winnipeg. Emphasis on centrist/reformist option. But we also see recognition this may be slightly undemocratic regarding local democracy. Public choice? Idea that there must be some sort of mechanism for local neighborhoods to inform policies in their particular areas. This becomes huge conflict within the provincial government. They thought they should create new community councils out of the former municipalities so there would be some control over their own services. This way even in amalgamation they would have some power (ie. resident advisory groups, deliberate forms of policy making to decide on the types of services they want...). Also talk of hiring bureaucratic staff to be social animators to support the local democracy. This was debated by the province (not the municipalities). This was rejected by a group of cabinet members within the NDP by those who wanted more grassroots democracy v. those who didn't (and viewed it as being inefficient). We see a compromise and some development of local community councils within the amalgamated unicity but the councils had not a lot of power (ie. no power to enact own taxes *Or* no power to devlop own services....). The council dwindled from 50 to 15. This was the public choice critique. We are also seeing that the suburban areas are growing faster and expanding in terms of population. When we force all these municipalities to join, the suburbs come to dominate the innercity & council and it becomes hard to get the services/support needed in the innercity. The point of amalgamation was to stop this but it's an ongoing issue in a context of a world where we have massive urbanization

#### *Example - Halifax*

- What: 1995 creation of Halifax Regional Municipality to become a major Canadian city
- Rationale: cost effective services local democracy
- Municipal-Provincial relations: debates over cost-savings
- Nature of conflict: huge size & subsequent urban-rural-suburban diversity creates tension

Class notes:

We might be seeing equity because services are becoming more same level & equalized. However amalgamation was estimated to cost about ten million dollars and cost over double.

#### *Example - Ontario*

- What: huge drive by provincial Conservative government to reduce number of municipalities in province via amalgamation
- Rationale: cut provincial costs through service downloading, save money in municipalities, anti government ideology

Class notes: Understanding there were too many municipalities, too much duplication, too much waste, too many governments. ....we must rid of these governments. The politicians platform was called “Common Sense” but the amalgamation appeared to happen on the fly. We see a conservative government being pro amalgamation. View that provincial costs would be lowered. Harris decided to decentralize federal responsibilities to the municipalities. (note: Toronto has way more responsibilities than Montreal). Amalgamation in Toronto was coupled with something called local service realignment - where full funding & social responsibility for libraries, water/sewers, roads/public transits, public health group homes, shelters, welfare, ambulances, etc are decentralized and put onto the municipalities. But there were no new powers for retrieving taxes given. ....which created challenged. We see emphasis on efficiency & cost saving. If cities couldn't afford to provide these services they would become privatized. Harris emphasized this private sector involvement

*Example - From Metro Toronto to the megacity of Toronto*

- What: creation of megacity through The City of Toronto Act 1997
- Rationale: city big enough to deliver new services, cost savings, political calculations
- Municipal-Provincial relations: lack of cost savings and subsequent political & fiscal issues
- Nature of conflict: considerable opposition in suburbs and downtown, create community councils but no power

Class notes: Perhaps too much was being offloaded onto municipal governments. Belief that amalgamating would save hundred of millions. The conservative government at the time had its based in rural areas/suburbs who didn't want to unite. The politician came up with numbers to make his political case of why they must amalgamate. Part of the amalgamation rationale was to drown voices of innercity councillors. Province forced amalgamation. We see harmonization between the municipalities but no money saved. We see great fiscal crisis, for example some services unable to be paid for. Social housing, for example, was crumbling and could not be paid for. Affordable housing became issue. Toronto has lately been given new taxing power (ie. taxing vehicle registration, alcohol/tobacco, land transfer). Are the systemic issues related to amalgamation? Municipalities have to ask the provinces for money because their council doesn't have the power. Amalgamation in Toronto was NOT desired by citizens.

*Example - Quebec*

- What: history of amalgamations but big push in early 2000s. Most famous being Montreal
- Rationale: fiscal equity, economic competitiveness, efficiency
- municipal-Provincial relations: provincial Bill 170 establishes both the Montreal Metropolitan Community (regional government) and the new city of Montreal
- Nature of conflict: significant opposition by suburban municipalities leads to boroughs and then to de-amalgamation with Bill 9

Class notes: There is fuzziness between topdown & bottomup. There is desire for fiscal equity on island of Montreal. They were convinced the tax dollars of the suburbs could help with innercity residences. There was much disparity between suburbs & central city (re: income, availability of services) as well as between western & eastern (most services concentrated in some parts rather than others). Idea there should be more mix across the island. This was a left wing PQ government and big government is part of their ideology/norm. In Montreal there was ALREADY a regional government “The Montreal Urban Community”. It became amalgamated as a megacity in Montreal. Just as we saw in Winnipeg, the regional government becomes the megacity and Bill170 created the megacity out of this former regional government. Bill170 also established a larger regional government “The Montreal Metropolitan Community.” This same piece of legislation created a new community around the entire Montreal urban

census metro area WHILE amalgamating all municipalities on the island of Montreal. The merger was supported by a good amount of actors. Major unions wanted it, believing they could increase their negotiating/bargaining position. Mayor lobbied the province to do it. Certain community groups (ie. housing advocates & advocates of progressive policies) believed in the argument of fiscal equity through amalgamation. However the act of amalgamation was controversial for others. It was very opposed by suburban municipalities/citizens, both Anglo & Franco. Scared local needs would be swallowed. Unique feature: language politics. Majority of suburban municipalities who did not want to see mergers were English speaking. It had to do with maintaining their culture, identity, language - referred to it as the death of democracy. Some were satisfied when province allowed that they could maintain their bilingual status rather than be merely french. Some were not. Community councils ('boroughs') were given much power. The amalgamation created 27 boroughs that maintained the boundaries of the former municipalities. They had authority over local decision making. Able to manage own services (ie. recreation). Each borough managed own budget, had own plans. There are inequities/fragmentation regarding availability of services within those boroughs. Three tiers of government at the time. 3 tiers of government a) massive regional government, b) city of Montreal on the island, c) 27 boroughs. Issue with maintaining strength of boroughs & their boundaries.... Swallowing the suburbs made a mess of Montreal. One author hired a retired judge to write a report on the feasibility of deamalgamation. Did this during the election so that politicians took position. One politician argued he would allow a referendum for deamalgamation to occur. He received many seats in the suburban municipalities that had been amalgamated. This legislation was relevant across the province to municipalities who has 10% of voters signing petition asking for referendum. Once the vote actually occurred 1/3 of voters had to shows up. If half of them agreed to de-amalgamate it would happen. Led to de-amalgamation of 15 municipalities. Majority were wealthy, English. Became own municipality once more. Referendum 2004 happened. Part of Bill 9 said that if municipalities within island of Montreal deamalgamated there had to be effort to engage in coordinated policy making. *Urban Agglomeration Council* created. Mayor sits on it and there are efforts to coordinate services (ie. firefighting, police.....stuff that would be unable to be done by each municipality on their own). We have centrism (creation of FOUR levels of government now) but also public choice because of the ability to de-amalgamate.

**Midterm week**

**Reading week**

**March 6**

#### Municipal Political Power

- Council = formal source of power
- Members of the municipal court are elected
- These elected representatives use their state power to make key policy decisions about urban issues (ie. urban services and how they will be governed)
- Earlier days of Canadian cities
  - Province had legislation to develop municipalities but left them largely free to choose elements
  - Municipal politics used to be a reflection of the private business elite. Not always so democratic (no form of democratic control, power held by small local landowning elite groups....hiring family members.....Issue is that the council taxed people.....taxation without representation.....

- Private developers were getting on councils and they were borrowing money from private lenders who were buying property in a municipality or assumed the city would bail them out
- I.e. English closed corporations; Maisonneuve
- The job of a councillor was part time, not a core full time career.
- Their power didn't come from being a member of the municipal council it was coming from their economic position
- Sancton makes the point that there is more separation of business and political elite today.
  - Or is there?
  - Does there exist difference between the politicians and the economic elite?
  - Even if this is the case this does not necessarily prevent people who have a lot of economic power from influencing & controlling urban policy decisions
  - Municipal politics - when we refer to this we are often discussing role of private development industry to influence land use decisions at the local level. Thus we see much lobbying done by that particular industry so the concept of separation between business/politics may be over simplistic
  - There is much debate in urban political science whether urban development really has much power esp. in the realm of economic devt. Firms are deciding where they want to put their headquarters and do

#### Municipal Politics and National parties

- Socialist parties in European cities
  - At this time seeing socialist/communist parties being more involved in municipal politics
  - Running candidates at municipal levels of governments
  - But when it came to these parties the candidates had little room to manoeuvre at the municipal level and had to tow the party line on much of the decisions
- Urban political machines in US cities
  - National political parties (democratic, republican) in USA had urban machine organizers known as 'bosses'. These bosses would mobilize votes, particularly new immigrant votes, in big cities, for the party in question (democratic, republican).
  - This strategy was popular among the democrats
  - These bosses would dole out patronage (favours such as jobs, support, welfare services) to the immigrants who they wanted to vote.
  - This patronage was linked to municipal politics (in terms of municipal jobs, municipal favours, municipal contracts like in the construction industry)
  - These bosses were not necessarily municipal politicians but may have been employed by the party... they still controlled much of the decision making at the municipal level
  - The bosses may have been from the business elite & the business elite definitely favored the bosses due to their power
  - Most famous example: Boss Tweed - a democratic political boss in NYC. He gained his power from several SPBs in NYC. His power allowed him to orchestrate elections, control mayors, reward political supporters, etc which is how he maintained supporter loyalty
- National parties and machine rare in CDN cities
  - Canada doesn't have this past....we didn't have the same history of national socialist parties operating at the municipal level (or urban political machines). Why? Does this make a difference in policies we may see at the municipal level? We must look at the urban reform movements to understand this

## Era of Municipal Reform

- Need to clean the city. By the 19th c there was lack of coordinated policy making and things were growing unruly. This was linked to corruption occurring in these places at the time.
  - Professional public services
  - Small councils of independent members
  - Power in hands of administrators and a city manager
- Reformers wanted to rid cities of urban machine politics
- This was done by minimizing the role of municipal parties in municipal politics
- This occurred during a professionalization of different realms (ie. having formal legislation around urban planning such as libraries or community centers....idea of needing a professional/municipal government to provide the services which were not being provided economically through the boss style)
- Emphasis on technical/proficient policy making
- Desire at the time for small city councils that were composed of independent city councillors (not based on affiliation) who wanted to see policy making done at the realm of urban planning with the public interest in mind, rather than self interest of political parties
- City councillors were operating more like boards of large businesses
- Social justice & equity enters the equation. Emphasis that during the boss rule time one neighbourhood may get particular favors through the patronage system. It was obvious because you would see neighbourhoods next door without favors. Issue there must be a more equitable system. Also, weaker political classes with very strong administrative state and highly trained staff were viewed. These trained professionals with their department heads would be in charge of city managers who were chief public administrators who may actually have more power than the mayor.
- This era of municipal reform was extremely strong in Canada's largest cities. We still see it today (not many political parties operating at the local level of cities.....and definitely not national political parties operating at the local levels....) Voters are OK with this because they're aware that political parties often don't make thoughtful policy decisions for the local level. This anti-party 'feeling' is more prevalent around rural and suburban councillors.....citizens who have less trust in politicians/government. This brings about ideological debate

## Local political parties in Canada \*LIGHTBODY reading will have a question on exam

- Idea that local municipal political parties in Canada are unlikely
  - Local issues not as important as national
  - Pro and anti-development the main political cleavage and this prevents party allegiances
- **BUT there is provincial support for political parties in QC and BC**
  - Victoria, Surrey, Richmond & Longueuil have municipal political parties
  - They generally tend to still group themselves in 3s (right wing & conservative, centrist & liberal, socialist & NDP)
  - Vancouver Case
    - Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), Reformist Non-Partisan Association (NPA) as non partisan party, Centrist Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE) and now Vision Vancouver
    - CCF won  $\frac{3}{8}$  seats on city council in Vancouver. Election of this socialist party did not go over well with the liberals, conservatives, business elites in Vancouver to the point where they joined together after the election in 1936 to create a nonpartisan association political party (a political party that's AGAINST political

parties). Its an oxymoron. The CCF fizzled and was not sustained in the city of Vancouver. Was the NPA really non partisan or just wanted for there not to be socialist party in place? Meanwhile the oxymoron NPA party had much political power for a long time and was successful until the 60s when other left leading parties who were of the NPA took over. This is when COPE took over in the 60s, out of which Vision Vancouver was born.

- Montreal Case
  - Reformist Civic Action League (CAL) elected in 1954 and had the goal of cleaning up city corruption existing prior of the 50s. Montreal was full of corruption. Jean Drapeau was elected under the CAL but they lost the following election, probably due to the corruption. But he had much ambition for the city, running again in 1960 and creating his own civil party underneath his own personal control....
  - Jean Drapeau's Civil Party: Jean Drapeau used a strong style of leadership. He was mayor of Montreal for 26 years.....very controversial. Expo 67 occurred during this time, 76th Olympic games were held, and metros were built. He was pro development & pro 'selling' Montreal to the world. But the corruption didn't disappear. There was issues with the building of the Olympic stadium which took way too much \$ to build. Some people believed he had no grassroots politics and he was pseudo-authoritarian. Others think he helped the city get shit done which would have never happened. For these reasons he was preceded by a more anti dvlpt group after he decided he would not run any longer (he didn't lose election)
  - Leftist Montreal Citizens Movement: After Jean Drapeau this group was elected with a very anti Drapeau campaign style. They had reformist dimension and brought in legislation to create more separation between politicians and administrators. Emphasis of rooting out corruption by increasing power of city manager/bureaucrats at city level. This movement didn't last long. Lasted 86-93. Was preceded by ....
  - Pro-Amalgamation Vision MTL : Led by Pierre Bourque. Who preferred strongman dvlpt style politics which was what Jean Drapeau did. He was also, like Drapeau, pro Amalgamation. Wanted 1 island 1 city. He asked the province to force amalgamation onto MTL and to rid city manager and increase politician power. Transition back to more strength for political class and less strength for city manager/bureaucrat.
  - Controversial Union MTL: Gerald Tremblay was mayor under this party. This was 1st political party to govern after amalgamation took place. This party rallied for strong boroughs (with own community councils and much policy responsibility). This party was plagued with corruption involving construction contracts. Party collapses 2013.
  - Reformist Equipe Dennis Coderre: After Controversial Union MTL collapses we see Coderre become the new mayor of Montreal. Emphasis on rooting corruption away from the city (Reformist element). But we also see strongman, pro dvlpt style politics. Emphasis on Formula E racing/stadium, lights on bridge....wants to sell MTL to the world (think Drapeau style).
  - Leftist Project MTL: return to anti dvlpt/grassroots style dvlpt. They are in charge now. 34/65 seats in city council led under mayor Val Laplante.
- Municipal parties at the local level cannot be sustained because issues at the municipal level are not as imp. In comparison with free trade or war issues at the national level

- Main political cleavage at municipal level is between pro development councillors / anti development councillors
  - This division seems to be unsustainable of maintaining core political parties

#### Political parties in cities

- Lightbody supports political parties operating at the local level of governments
- Pro political parties
  - Accountability: issues of casting blame upon when policies dont work at local level
  - Balanced policy: when you have a political system where everybody is independent the system rewards name recognition (people who have been in place for a long time). For example, that person will remain in place for a long time. When an individual politician is running they want people to know their name by getting their name on controversial/popular policies. Political parties have caucuses which decide the policy platform/agenda....this prevents policy at the local level from getting hijacked from special interest groups (who focus on 1 issue). Also, we have political parties & we have opposition parties. These opposing parties mean issues will be brought to the table which otherwise wouldnt have been. If the council is pro dvlpt we may not otherwise have the opportunity to debate the opposing issues.
  - Qualified candidates: factor that better qualified candidates can be hired through the party system. People with better credentials can be picked to run campaigns.
  - Access for cultural minorities: idea political parties can provide more access to minority groups/perspectives which may include in their platform that they will run a certain number of candidates from minority groups
  - Transparency: idea we want to know who is running campaign financing to support the parties running. If its just an individual running we may see less transparency in this aspect, whereas if its a party we will see more transparency.
  - Meet new political realities: parties are better able to help us meet the new political realities of cities today. Issues are changing..... Big cities are becoming bigger, we see policy decentralization from national to municipal levels (greater local level responsibilities), massive immigration, new services required, etc... political parties help us address the new political realities we see in cities . Lightbody says that these debates around major policy issues are issues we require coherence around. This coherence cannot be brought by city councillors.....urban level politics are 'immature' and we need to work on this
- Anti political parties
  - Corruption: do political parties open the door to corruption? If they are caucusing and making decisions privately there is less transparency, opening the door to corruption. This has historically been a reason we dont see as much parties at the municipal level in Canada. Lightbody argues against this and says there will always be some corruption at the local level. City councillors as we have now have past lives too which may bring conflicts of interests (may be lawyers...) But corruption is relative. Even non partisan councillors engage in forms of corruptions...they may appoint their friends to special purpose boards of city administration. This happens even in the absence of political parties. At least if political parties are present there will be more accountability / transparency
  - Ideological: idea we have to rid of party ideology which has no place in municipal decision making. "A road is a road and it doesnt matter if youre NDP". To counter this argument, one might argue, even these technical ideas are fundamentally

ideological/political based on class, elitism & marginality which would choose why you inform one thing over the other

- Lack of transparency
- Inefficient policymaking: when we have political debate about city problems this delays policy making. This happened in Toronto around the idea of building subways (took forever for it to happen)

## Municipal Councils

- Council = formal decision making mechanism for municipalities
- Three variables for council structure
  - Size : how many politicians/councillors elected; huge variation here
  - Representation : how are people represented on council? How are councillors elected? Are they elected based on geography or are they elected at large by citizenry?
  - Committee system :
- Together they decide on policy decisions within their council meetings.
- Prv legislation determines how councils are structures. The same legislation gives SOME discretion to municipalities (ie. how to draw boundaries). But how much discretion do municipal governments actually have? We know the municipal rights have become more vague to allow room for action
- 2 ways to assess Council size
  - # of residents per councillor (how many people are being represented by 1 councillor).....patterns show fewer
    - In Ontario there was an act to reduce the # of councillors. Sancton says there is no inherent virtue of having less councillors. If you have fewer councillors you have to hire more staff & councillor aid because the issues dont go away. At the end of the day you arent saving much money. The costs attributed to municipal politicians is no more than 1% of the municipal operating budget, so trying to bring the cost down is wasteful and more ideology based than fact.
  - # of councillors on council
    - Ie. Montreal has 65
    - Most Canadian councils have between 7-25. MTL has the most. Toronto has 45. Vancouver has 10.
    - During council meetings councillors sit at a circle table with mayor. The purpose is to make policy decisions on a variety of issues happening. The councillors interact with eachother. They have positions on policies. If its a decision for political parties they probably all vote on a particular war. If its a system with no political parties then each individual councilor has to decide their position. They vote on policy issues. (if parties are present we see more coherence/alliance in the votes). When there is no political parties present the city council meetings are messy.

## Representation

- Election by wards (aka electoral district)
  - Municipal councils draw boundaries by population or community of interest
  - But there is a form of appeal at the provincial level. You go to administrative tribunals if you dont agree with the way the board has been drawn
  - For example there may be issues in diluting some political groups in the establishment of wards (electoral districts) to purposefully drown out certain voices or groups of people.

- QC forces review of ward boundaries every few years
- Review of ward boundaries may occur also during population booms
- No specific geographic representation in Canada for wards except in BC who wanted to get rid of wards
- At large elections (with geographic representation?)
  - USA restricts at large elections because of the dilution it brings with it, but its allowed in Canada and we have it in BC
  - Has brought with it issues of representation in the city of Vancouver

**March 13**

#### Council Meetings / Votes

- Issue is whether meeting is open / closed to the public record
- Municipalities can decide but trends to provinces requiring open meetings
- Ironic because provincial cabinet meet in private but the government is supposed to be transparent
- Open meetings are beneficial because you see policy making in action but also because it means that there is a voting record tracked as you can see who votes where and for what

#### Daily Life of Municipal Councillor

- Different personal leadership styles
  - If theyre not being paid well they might want to keep another career
  - But if meetings occur during the job its hard to work another job, wheres if meetings are at night they can
  - Some councillors go to every meeting, some dont (ie: Rob Ford was criticized for missing many)
- Pressures to making position of councillor a fulltime job
  - This is the case in bigger Canadian cities where you are expected to attend the big meetings
  - Pressures may come from developers who want to come and have meetings
  - There may be community events during nights
  - This job can be MORE than a full time job
- Concerns with conflict of interest
  - Increasing rules on conflict of interest
  - Normally you should not be participating in decision making regarding matters where you or your family may have a financial / developmental interest (for example if your son is a private developer and youre getting involved in the development scheme)

#### Municipal elections

- Election dates and terms of office are set by the province
- Trends to increase longer terms of municipality councillor terms (from 2 to 4 years...2 years as they are now is not long)
- The elections dates cannot be changed by the city councillor at their convenience
- If the councillor dies they dont have a bi-election they appoint a temporary councillor
- Municipal level elections turnout is low (50% turnout considered good)
- We normally see about 30-40% turnout
- Not much research has been done about this so we dont know why
- Turnout higher in very small areas, maybe because of local identity

- Older people tend to vote more than young people do
- Homeowners vote more than tenants
- Incumbents at advantage - incumbents tend to be voted back in (incumbent: currently holding post)
- Lack of diverse representation on council - Representation of minorities/women are low in municipal elections...This may be because unlike political parties there are no quotas that must be met for minority representation

#### Financing Municipal Campaigns

- Municipal campaigns are expensive (such as flyers and stickers)
- People used to not care about who funded municipal campaigns or where the money come from but now its a concern
- This concerns bring about concern over conflicts of interest (such as if powerful people are using their money to campaign and get votes).
- Many people are interested in what happens during municipal campaigns because they are affected (ie taxi drivers) so there have been recent changes to rules in election financing (ie Limits on campaign financing)
- There have even been limits on how much money can be put towards a certain issue (ie development) by private corporations (about 750\$ on a candidate of interest) and it limits how much individuals can spend on their own campaigning. This still allows the development industry to influence a campaign

#### What is urban land use?

- Municipalities govern land use, mainly via urban planning. There are a bunch of different departments to help govern
- This relates to intergovernmentalism because provincial planning legislation requires
  - Municipal official plans: a policy doc outlining broad policy goals in the city around physical land use & How that physical land use is going to change and the effects of the changes on the social, economic, environmental context. In big cities we see emphasis on the urban plan helping growth while taking into account the need for environmental stability. Real emphasis on density and building tall buildings and saving space. These official plan docs are helpful are tools that help run urban land use. We need to apply this advanced thinking to help us take into consideration all the small things that allow cities to run properly and map differing land uses together to allow the city to operate. One example is 'employment land' - do we want to build the employment land in the core areas then build outwards to the rural areas. Do you want small businesses with condos/living space on top? This is just 1 thing in a huge binded document with many chapters and ways to manage growth/decline/etc. Its a very important policy document. The city coordinates with departments such as parks/recreation to make their plans. They even go so far as to look at population growth and how ageing population will affect these plans. When urban developers actually enact the plan they must engage in deep public conversation first and hold a bunch of town meetings on all the different departments involved, etc. Planners also tend to have private meetings with stakeholders that are interested with land use planning and citizens might show up to these meetings. The province makes it a requirement to have these consultations and for the municipal official plans to be reviewed regularly due to changing factors which affect the plan and make revisions necessary

- Zoning bylaws: policy implementation. Zoning bylaws are the legislation that allows us to actually complete urban planning. It includes what is prohibited/allowed. They define what urban planning will occur in residential, commercial & mixed use areas. It defines how many square metres of houses/stores will go in a certain location (Dealing with density). Developers want density as they make more profit off of a building. A zoning bylaw can also define what will be done in a particular building (ie Are you allowed to build a basement apartment?) Zoning bylaws can disallow residential occupations (ie hairsalon). These pieces of legislation affect our daily lives. Another example is **what type of business can we run** in commercial zones? We dont want to much business right in residential/home areas.....Nothing emitting too many toxins. Local governments have power over the bylaws but have to adhere to provincial regulations about bylaws (In MTL its the boroughs that make the powers. Example, in 1 borough you can run a hairsalon from home but in another you cant. But the boroughs must follow Quebec law). Amendments are made to zoning bylaws all the time. Provincial legislation requires that any amendments must give notice to citizens (“Proposal to Amend Bylaw #43583475 To Convert x Into y) and a public community consultation has to be held on that. Even for an individual who wants to build a ‘granny flat’ (aka basement apartment) who is not allowed must go to the city to request the amendment and the city might send letters to surrounding homes to request their approval. Appeals are common. Developers appeal all the time when they are not permitted to construct huge buildings. These appeals typically go to the province to the provincial administrative tribunal. (MTL allows citizens to have referendums on bylaw changes. If enough people in an area sign a petition then a vote can be held to stop the bylaw amendment)
- Canadian municipalities are particularly focused on land use
- These land use decisions are viewed as technical but they are deeply social tools....the location of parks, community centres, etc have social dimensions as they relate the ways we communicate in urban spaces. A current issue is a womans inaccessiblity to access space because she has a wheelchair and most metro stops do not have elevators. Thus there are political/social dimensions to land use, its not only technical.

Who is interested in urban land use?

- 3 groups generally interested in urban land use decisions
  - Developers: they care because it affects how they make money and profit out of land use. They pay alot of attention to zoning bylaws and official changes/amendments. They will always be lobbying to governments to make amendments and act as key stakeholders. They will fight against municipalities who dont permit land use change when they wish to make those changes.
  - Homeowners: they care because their home is an asset and municipal action (or inaction) affects their property value (‘property exchange value’ = making money off of land). They care because it affects how much money they will make when they sell their property. They also care because of ‘use value’ (the use they are getting out of their home, for example, their access to urban life such as transit & parks). Land use planning affects both a) property value b) quality of life
  - Renters: future property/exchange value; use value
- Sancton doesnt really question the ideology around property ownership because he only incorporated those 3 groups but other people care too. For example tenant associations/organizations also interested in land use decisions. The property ownership ideology shows that too much concentration of renters are bad for a city and property owners make it

better. People who own land care more about land use planning and what's occurring around them because they are less transient and have an investment in the location.

#### Evolution of land use change: rural to urban land

- As cities develop we see a need for converting rural land to urban land. This requires that larger rural properties are subdivided into smaller lots.
- Historically the provincial registry attempted to keep track of who owned land and then whoever bought the rural pieces of land could subdivide it. But then municipalities wanted to get involved because they realized the people who would move into those new units would require city services. Thus municipalities became involved in urban land use planning/decision making.
- Municipalities wouldn't automatically offer to deliver services to the new developing rural regions...there had to be sufficient demand. So developers would try to figure out if it would be worth it to develop that land and if it would induce enough demand that the city would stretch out their services
- Pass costs of municipal services: It became legal to allow urban municipalities to construct services (ie sidewalks) and pass the cost onto new property owners in the area (and neighbouring property owners) who benefit from the services (ie taxing immediate areas). These regions would have higher taxes for as long as it took to repay the amount, which could last decades
- This created issues that you're reliant on the local market. What if everyone leaves or the properties don't sell? At the end of the day the city is responsible for it. If those regions don't pay for it, somebody must pay through the taxes. Sometimes the city might end up owning bunches of half-completed lots where nobody lives 'zombie subdivisions' which are huge tax burdens for municipalities and can make them bankrupt. This is why local improvement taxes are seen more in booming downtown communities rather than funding infrastructure in newly built subdivisions

#### Evolution of land use change: Subdivision agreements & development charges

- Subdivision agreement: when private developers agree to build services in subdivision. When it's built it's turned back to the municipality to maintain it and regulate it
- Development charges: these are fees paid by developers to the city so that the city can improve services in subdivisions (For example developers are making money from the new areas being made, but the city needs more money to stretch out services to these areas)
- The city IS forcing developers to pay these fees but they are passing that cost onto homeowners (The new purchasers) which results in higher housing costs. The buyer of the new home is paying a) for their home b) for the surrounding infrastructures/services
- Larger developers are benefited - these developers have the capital to fund & manage all of this

#### Land use conflicts

- Suburban sprawl creates interest in regional shopping malls
- Developers interested in providing power centres to newly developed suburb regions
- Land use planning allowed for this
- Zoning dictated where the big box stores could go (ie Costco) - mainly in bigger rural areas where there's a lot of land to build them.....
- Suburbanization hurt urban areas because it was easier for people to go to the stores close to them.
- This creates conflict between downtown and suburban business owners and decline of downtown Canadian cities (death of downtown retail)
- Old buildings vs. new ones

- Demolishing or refurbishing old buildings in downtown cities (ie old factories to funky new condos)
- Municipalities regulate the building & demolition of older buildings
- Councillors conflict over dvlpt & preservation - cities are reliant on the property taxes as a fundamental source for paying debts so they want to squeeze money out of land use planning BUT councillors are worried about preservation of older buildings which maintain character/identity of the city. Also conflict created over what to do with delapidated buildings. This is a problem thats big in MTL
- Conflicting land use paradigms
  - Different vision of the ideal city
  - 1950 era of suburbanization where modern land use planning was very popular (that massive freeways/expressways and buildings would be built to get people around) - trend to modernization rather than old heritage buildings
  - Modernist planning style was very focused on seperation of land use (commercial property in 1 area, residential property in another area)
  - Influence of Jane Jacobs who believes this type of planning / deconstruction of heritage planning killed our cities. She proposed a post-modern style of development which is dominant today. She articulates an anti-modernist view to preserve downtown neighbourhoods
  - Whose interest is it in to keep old buildings? The Jane Jacobs style doesnt benefit people monetarily as much. Her models of dvlpt might not benefit lower incomes

#### New reform movement

- This movement is a repudiation of the old reform movement
- Less about major dvlpt, more about mixed use planning & preserving downtown areas
- Anti modernist development
- Municipal policy not technical, but political (its about how people engage together in space)
- Need for balanced revitalization
- Need for citizen input ← experts didnt like this movement because they didnt want to know what citizens thought.
- The evolution of this movement is seen in the modernist style of former MTL major Denis Coderre who cares about local boroughs & citizen input

#### Citizen participation

- Taking into consideration all of the above, we understand why public notices for citizens and town hall meetings are so prominent. ....they came out of the reform movement. Now there are regulations and process in place requiring citizen participation
- Experts are involved in new ways (city planners must handle citizen emotions and ideologies)
- NIMBY organizing ‘Not In My Back Yard’
  - People who dont want change around them
  - Controversy over NIMBY syndrome
  - Sancton talks about the Stoneybrooke example when a developer in London wanted to build a suburban dvlpt with both single family homes AND townhouses. The surrounding neighbourhood was up in arms because they didnt want to see townhouses, they didnt want ‘poor’ people, they didnt want their property values decreased, they didnt want more noise/cars/congestion. The city councillor paired with the citizens on the matter
  - But this is what makes it difficult to achieve low income housing

- Community based organizations
  - Conflict between homeowners and renters
  - Ie homeowners associations - NIMBY may form homeowners associations to lobby against land use changes
    - Ie Minneapolis / St Paul
- Developers more cautious today
  - But do they care about poor people

**March 20**

### Political Leadership at the Municipal Level

#### Legal Status of Mayors

- Mayors are the political leaders of municipal governments
- They are directly elected in our country
  - Valerie LaPlante , The mayor of MTL also a borough mayor (ie Mayor of the borough of Ville Marie)
  - Montreal has 19 mayors!!!!!!
    - 1 mayor of the city
    - 18 borough mayors
    - 46 city councillors & 38 borough councillors
- The mayor of the borough ALSO acts as a city councillor on the larger council
- Boroughs have their own mini councils
- In Montreal there must be < 5 elected officials in a borough
- We have city councillors who represent our boroughs to the larger city of Montreal and we also have borough councillors who only sit on the borough council and not the city of Montreal
- Summary: mayor (borough level & city level; elected) + 18 borough mayors (borough level; elected) + 46 city councillors (city level; elected) + 38 borough councillors (at the borough level only; elected)
- Therefore MTL has much political representation and is especially unique in Canada due to its borough representation system
- The power of mayors are outlined in the *Municipal Acts* (or *City Charter* ← aka special Municipal Acts for the bigger cities)
  - Uphold and promote purposes of municipality
  - Promote public involvement
    - Idea of inviting the public in through town hall meetings, etc. - promote citizen participation in policy making in the city
  - Represent the municipality
    - Mayors should act as representative of the city to business within the city, to developers, to other government levels
    - Mayors also represent the municipality when they are representing the city as a good place to do business (ie Trying to get amazon in)
  - Enhance economic, social, environmental wellbeing of municipality
    - Ie October 19 is 'rock day' in Vancouver
- Municipal Act / City Charters lays out the responsibilities for municipal administration

- Implement city council decisions via administrative practices (ie Invest in social housing or create new transit lines ; establish necessary administrative practices to do these things. For example if your population is aging go to the social development branch and ask them to do research/forecasting for findings. Bureaucrats will undertake research and provide advice to council on what to do, for example put a transit stop in a growing area. They give advice to council in that way)
- Undertake research and provide advice to council
- Canada has a council manager system
  - We have a council manager system of government at the local level
  - This feature is something unique in municipalities in Canada
  - Its defined by the practice of council appointing a head of the municipal democracy
  - They are usually called a CEO or chief administrative officer
  - This person has a lot of power and executive authority
  - The city manager is appointed by Council and thus responsible to council as well as the mayor
  - They may have power to appoint the heads of all the departments in the city (not the mayor who does this but the city manager). They may be responsible for documents / reports that go to council committees. They have authority over the municipal budget as well (Where the revenue goes)
  - This manager model is seen in some American cities too.
  - City manager = head of bureaucracy
  - Council appointed
  - Roots in old reform movement
  - Idea is to prevent political meddling in policy
  - This model and the idea we must protect the bureaucracy from political meddling is interesting because there were cases where the city managers retained so much power that they were involved in the corruption
- Strong mayor system = mayor responsible for the city bureaucracy
  - Mayor - council System aka “Strong Mayor System”
  - Mayor appoints city manager
  - The mayor in this model is directly responsible for appointing and dismissing Senior city staff (heads of departments) and they may also hire a manager but that manager would respond to them and not to city council
  - Does not sit on council / cannot control council
  - Strength refers to their control over the administration / bureaucracy - they do NOT control city council. They don't sit on council, they are a separate executive body. But they may have some veto power
  - In many Canadian cities a mayor is like another councillor, but in this Strong Mayor System it's not like that.
- Weak mayor system in Canada
  - Most mayors in Canada we view as weak (legally because they don't control the bureaucracy or council...). These mayors cannot appoint city managers, they cannot veto council decisions, etc so they are similar to councillors. This questions the leadership of municipal government concept since in many ways they are tangible just another city councillor.
  - However there exist ways to get around this

- The major responsibility of mayor is their presiding over council meetings (they set the agenda for council meetings) but they appear to just be another councillor
- To what extent can a mayor lead the city councillors. Where does the power lie
- In cities with municipal parties (ie BC & QC ← only 2 provinces who allow municipal level parties) the mayor can have control by being the head of a political party that has a majority of seats sitting on city council

Note: to what extent does a city mayor have to 'tow the party line'? (vouch for certain things because the municipal party in power respects those things). In a political party system where there are still ward elections we may not see the towing occur in the same way. The mayor might believe that they are not just representing one borough but the constituents generally. In MTL for this reason we might see less towing the party line. BC on the other hand has a ward style election and may be more likely to tow the party line.

- Thus the mayor could have some power to control a political party if many people on city council are of the majority party, and even more so if there's a ward election style in place (only Vancouver)
- Mayor's role in this Weak Mayor System is to preside over council (not much power) and set agenda (but if they do this they can't preside over the council meetings, they have to step aside to assert opinions on things) this is why in some cities the mayor no longer presides the meetings, there are speakers hired for this so mayor has freedom to be legislative leader.
  - Ie In Montreal Cathy Wong was elected as the adopted speaker to contribute to debates

#### Executive committees

- Executive committees : council standing committee that provides policy leadership to municipality as a whole
  - Members chosen by council or mayor ; Members are elected by council as a whole; in some places they are elected by mayor which gives mayor more power and creates a mayor's inner circle
  - In bigger cities sometimes we see permanent standing committees (groups of councillors in charge of differing policy areas...ie city planning. Staff will come and introduce policy issues to the committee and in turn the committee must present issue during city council meetings. This is because issues are so diverse that we need special committees to handle them.)
  - The executive committee makes decisions regarding HR issues
  - The executive committee is also presided over by the mayor (chaired by mayor and if mayor wants an executive role they would appoint another chair to do that so he can do the executive role).
- Case studies of executive committees
  - Winnipeg
    - Chaired by mayor
    - Mayor decides how many people will be on it and he appoints them
    - Mayors make a lot of money
    - People appointed by mayor become chairs of differing standing committees
      - Ie Mayors executive committee ('the eyes'), housing committee, transit committee, etc This allows the mayor to have eyes sitting in all the committees to oversee work

- Here, the executive committee acts similarly to a parliamentary cabinet because the people appointed become in charge of different policy areas in the city (just like at the federal level the cabinet ministers become department heads)
    - But unlike at the federal level these municipal level executive committees DO NOT have to tow the party line (they dont have to agree with the party in power)
  - Toronto
    - Got new City Charter in 2007 ‘The Toronto Act’ which increased powers of mayor
    - These powers were in relation to executive committee
    - The Act gave city council the power to allow the mayor to appoint all the heads of the 13 standing committees in the city, out of which the heads would become one powerful executive committee. The important part here is that the council was given the power to do that if they wanted to.
      - Ie When Rob Ford was mayor although city council could not impeach him they were able to take this power away so he could not appoint the heads of the committees
  - Montreal
    - Different from Winnipeg.....they act much more like parliamentary cabinet
    - MTL has the MOST powerful executive committee
    - There are 11 members who are nominated by mayor. Council must accept the nominations
    - They have special responsibility for the city departments (like federal level Cabinet). All the committee members are part of the party in power (ie Right now party of Valerie Laplante ‘Projet Montreal’)
      - Ie When Denis Coderre was mayor the executive committee was NOT all members of Denis Coderre’s party.... But right now Valerie Laplante does have the executive committee full of members of her party
    - But do they have to tow the party line?

#### Mayoral power

- Institutional power is derived from:
  - Mayor able to council decisions (doesnt exist in Canada)
  - Mayor able to lead political parties...if they are the head of a political party they have more power....esp if their political party has the majority (unique to Canada)
  - Mayor able to appoint members of executive committee
  - Mayor able to appoint city managers (doesnt exist in Canada)

Some forms of institutional power has clearly been taken away from Canadian mayors. Remember, this happened in light of the old reform movement as we dont want too much power given to the political power in the cities. We want to see bureaucratic power

- Government fragmentation matters as well
  - Is local government, run by the mayor, unified or fragmented? What is the mayor really responsible for? Because if theyre not responsible for much tangible policy making then how much power do they really have? If there exist SPBs for the majority of imp departments then how much power can they really have?
  - if you see special boards then you should ask what the relations are between the boards and the municipal government and how much control the boards have
  - You should also look at urban/rural fragmentation and how the size of the municipality is. If youre a mayor of a sparsely populated area you would have less powers than of a core

urban region (ie A mayor of a rural city versus an urban one could be controlling thousands and thousands of more people)

- Canadian mayors with staying power
  - Stephen Juba, Winnipeg, 1956-1977
    - Won 9 mayor elections with huge margins
    - Spent hardly any money on campaigning
    - Used populist tactics.....people liked him. This was useful at the local level. This is esp useful if you run city wide.....people have to know you by name and like you. Its about an image. Because in Winnipeg there are no political parties so people have to know who YOU are.
    - He represented the city vs. other government levels (ie metropolitan government level ← remember when this happened in Winnipeg and nobody liked the metro govt and then it dissolved)
    - The province of Manitoba wanted the mayors to be elected by council and not by populations. But he fought this
    - He played a role in preventing political parties in Manitoba. He knew that wouldnt help him. Was he a huge reason there exists no political parties in Manitoba?
  - Hazel McCallion, Mississauga, 1978-2014
    - “Hurricane Hazel”
    - Had a defacto Hazel McCallion party where all councillors on board with her
    - She knew how to deter them from rising up against her
    - She would give councillors small files to keep them occupied but not too much
    - She used populist tactics as well
      - She did her grocery shopping at different places all the time to meet and interact with people. She made efforts to remember names. She made an effort to praise and get to know municipal staff.
    - To attack Hazel was to attack the whole community in large
    - She helped Mississauga become a bigger urban area
      - The developers agreed to the dvlpt charges and not charge citizens more taxes
  - Jean Drapeau, Montreal, 1954-57, 1960-86
    - Sancton argues Drapeau able to maintain power for so long due to the political party system. Another author refutes this and claims it was his leadership style & personality. He created the modern political party leadership.....it was even called the Drapeau party. His party functioned as a party meant to keep himself in power
    - All councillors during Drapeau reign were ‘yes’ men and followed Drapeau lead. He had a strongman personality (im the only one who can get these things done....powerful.....able to negotiate)

Some of these powers had more power than USA mayors because we have no term limits which is a uniquely CDN phenomenon. These long term limits are not seen in American cities. Concept of weak style leadership not always prevalent in all of Canada all the time.....Mayors have demonstrated strong leadership styles. People always think the provinces have all the power and municipalities have none. But we have seen Canadian mayors ask for things from the provinces and get the and make huge changes. For example asking for amalgamations and de-amalgamations. These things happened by particularly individuals operating at local level. We might see this with Valerie Laplante in the pink line. Coderre was a former minister of Liberal cabinet and became mayor and because of him theres a new immigration

office. He also declared MTL as a sanctuary city which means you can have services without being a citizen. The province is still trying to figure out how to do this. But they implemented it.

### Mayoral leadership styles

- Distinguish between powerful mayors institutionally and strong leaders
- Personal leadership style important
- Personality of a mayor most important in flexible scenarios involving new policy changes without precedent. This is seen in big Canadian cities with shifts to more vague/malleable Municipal Acts and legislation. For example issues around affordable social housing.....this is without precedent. When municipalities have more flexible powers it becomes a question of what mayors will do with the power. This will vary based on leadership style.
- Leadership styles
  - Brokers
    - No personal agenda (not coming into their role demanding things....no big vision or agenda).
    - More interested in balancing competing interests in the city.....helping people with conflicting ideas figure out what to invest in and come to consensus in moving forward.
    - This means a facilitative leadership style (team building, etc) We see this more in liberalism as a centrist style
    - Compromise with city manager. Focuses on moving forward
    - Honorable role to play, but boring? Where is your ideological agenda?
    - Under threat....most common role in Canada. Common in council-manager systems, esp. If no (or weak) political party
  - Crusaders
    - Personal agendas (Valerie Laplante and pink line) however it may be defined.
      - In theory their agenda could be to gut govt (freeze/lower taxes, privatize..... Think Rob Ford style)
    - Risky electorally
    - Time consuming
    - Need advertising opportunities
    - Build outside coalitions
    - May need central governments
    - Examples of Canadian crusaders: David Miller (Toronto), Glen Murray (Winnipeg), Larry Campbell (Vancouver)
  - Bosses
    - No forward looking personal agendas
    - Focus on building strong power base.....all about their own political power and creating power base to maintain electoral strength both within the population and on council
    - Not traditional boss but sometimes corruption
    - Populist tactics
    - Examples: Juba & McCallion, Drapeau & Ford?
      - With Drapeau we saw huge boss politics in spending style (ie were still paying off olympic stadium)
      - Ford mattered as a mayor despite his drug use

### Nature of Municipal policymaking

- Public policy: course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address problems
- Who makes municipal policy?
  - Municipal council makes policy
  - Municipal staff implements policy
- Municipal policymaking is highly inclusive of so many things like building libraries, new services for new immigrant groups, funding recreation programs for seniors, new park benches (technical issues but they are still surrounded by values)
- Different councilors take different perspectives based on what they think government should do
- Reports are written by staff (that attend the council) and generally recommend course of action on urban issues. They are backed by research on the topic in question (ie if its population forecasting theyre looking at #s, maybe looking at what oehr regions are doing)
- There are plenty of reports and not always written. Councilors on the standing committee aid the larger council to make policy decisions on issues (different levels of recommendation)
- Sometimes Municipal staff attend the meetings and deliver the reports themselves to the councillors to present their policy issues
- You might expect there to be conflict between bureaucrats and city staff (?). A municipal politician would want to make short term decisions with high impact so people know their name and they get re-elected Bureaucrats which are staff of the state may have more interest in long term success since they are long-term employees. For example infrastructure presents longterm investment and planning. This might be one area of conflict due to differing incentives. This could raise serious conflicts. Is this a serious issue in local governments? We arent sure. We need more research
- Inadequate focus on the nature of municipal policymaking in Canada
  - Institutions of policymaking complex (and fundamentally different at the municipal level)
    - Lack of political parties, ward elections, strong manager, open policy work
    - Most cities in Canada lack political parties. This brokering nature of policymaking is crucial. Councils, if not in a political party system, have to broker with all the different councils to get changes done (ie Say yes to this motion that I want and Ill say yes to the one you want). When theres no political parties incumbancy (name recognition) is also important. Thus, mayors will want to do things that will put their face in the paper. Politics are also different at the local level. There may be lack of seperation between councillors and politicians and the staff at the local level, maybe because of how small and close they all are. Council manager model means the city manager has alot of power which is different from other government levels. Policymaking is also done out in the open at the local level.....All of these institutional differences make differences in policy making in cities.
    - In addition to the institutions being different at the local level, the issues are different unique here too. So they must be studied as being fundamentally different.
  - Policy issues are unique

### 1. Responding to federal/provincial governments

- councillors dont have power to do some things (ie social assistance, waterfront development....things the federal govt has power to do). That means there are things happening at the local level that the municipal government has no power to do anything in.

- Municipalities are policy makers and policy takers
- Legal provincial requirements = policy takers (ie City of Toronto Act requiring ombudsman). So ombudsmans were FORCED by legislation of the provinces
- Legislative flexibility from province = policy makers (ie Ontario Municipal Act give option to establish ombudsman; provincial policy obligations; conditional grants - pots of money to give to the best proposals) So in this case the municipality has the choice.....
- If cities are both policy makers AND takers, where does their choice lie? They are creatures of the province and have to obey the laws of the land . Becomes an argument over whether they have choice in the matter or not . Remember municipal acts being made more vague to widen scope of power. Where is there choice and flexibility (maker) vs. where are things legislatively required (policy taker)? Sometimes the province gives some room for flexibility but says they must approve it. (ie Provinces make regulations on things but dont give money to municipalities.....”You must do X in the next 20 yrs but were not giving you any money”)

## 2. Responding to economic pressure

- Municipal governments are dependent on property taxes and dont have much revenue (no power to enact sales taxes, etc). This means if they want to do something (ie Laplante and her pink line) they have to find money somehow. There are so many cities in a country that they are all competing for companies to come work there. This makes a competitive environment.
- Pressure on municipal politicians to promote economic growth
- Outside and insight oriented strategies - do we want more outside or insight oriented economic strategies? (outside: bringing outside economic dvlpt in such as tourists / insight: look at what we’ve got already and improve it, such as community owned businesses)
- Evolution in economic development policy
  - Grants & tax concessions: In Canada there were attempts to prevent cities from having the power to give grants to businesses (cities competing not only with cities in their country but in other countries. So, for example, if everybody in world wants Amazon in their city, city development incentives play a role.
  - Strategic industries: you might have strategic industries because of your resources (ie Alberta highly dependent on the strategic industry of oil). You could see some areas have auto as a strategic industry. This is the strategy of focusing mostly on 1 industry rather than branching out into many
  - Industrial parks/clusters: seperation of land use (ie Trend of developing clusters & strips of retail areas in urban areas.....they are ugly though but this is the root of the global city strategy to bring in industries that work closely together not just theoretically but by location)
  - Community economic dvlpt: real emphasis on small businesses. Revitalizing neighbourhoods and building condos. Maybe giving subsidies to small business owners to support local economic development.
  - Branding: In MTL 3 commercial streets every year are helped to ‘brand’ (ie Renovate facades of buildings; given subsidies to help build their brand) This subsector of branding fits under the larger community economic development. The branding strategy applies to cities too. Cities brand their businesses to outside areas and tourists. In MTL we see this. MTL is honing in on high tech workers and partying. Cities do this to make themselves attractive and keep people here
  - Creative class: idea around economic development that cities should be bringing in hightech/creative workers who can work in museums, small business owners, boutiques, etc. This attracts a particular class of people that are viewed as creative. Create cool condos (ie Griffintown).

- Who is local economic development FOR, who is involved, who benefits? (ie WHO is the creative class?)

### 3. Responding to citizen initiative / pressure

- This is the nature of highly local issues that urban governments handle. Citizens are right in their face and this creates pressures. They are sensitive to advocacy groups and citizen pressure. If citizens organized they could influence policy quite alot.
- NIMBYism to prevent policy (non decision making - citizens attempting to prevent things from happening or getting on the agenda ie Preventing condos from being built in the neighborhood)
- Citizen pressure to push for policy decision making (opposite from NIMBYism.....trying to make policy on something happen)
- Trend of policy diffusion = lessing drawing from elsewhere (ie Pitbullban). This is when citizens look at policy happening in other places and are influenced by that. Interesting because sometimes we see policy being implemented that have been implemented in other cities and clearly werent working (maybe didnt do enough research before implementing the policy)
- Trends of Symbolic policy = policy action but little implementation maybe because no money to put into the policy realistically. Left with fancy reports and lack of funds to go through with anything (ie pilot projects; no resources dedicated)

### 4. Pre commitment

- Relates to the fact citys make decisions about the built environment. Once something is built its hard to do much about it. Its hard to address pressures of the built environment. For example, 30 years ago there were no building codes for elevators/accessibility. How do we deal with this in light of the aging population and address mistakes of the past? There are so many dimensions to think about

### Responding to realities of pre-committment

- Decisions about built environment hard to reverse
- Pre-commitment
  - Land use planning (Official plan and zoning bylaws)
  - Infrastructure (ie LRT in Ottawa, Vancouver, MTL)

### Implementing Municipal Policy Decisions

- Administrative arm of local state implements policy
  - Front line staff
  - Policy level staff
  - Department heads: usually have to go to city council and talk to them about the reports they've written
  - City manager
    - Emerges out of the old reform movement
      - Ie International City Manager Association
      - Council-manager model may limit accountability
    - Case of Montreal
      - Allegations of systemic corruption during Charbonneau Comission
        - Robert Abdallah (city manager during Charbonneau Commission), Claude Leger (also city manager), Gerald Tremblay (former mayor), Louis Roquet, Guy Hebert, Michael Applebaum.....
        - Yet Charbonneau Comission short on blame

- Gerald Tremblay fired Robert Abdallah because of rumors
  - Claude Leger resigned because the AG wrote a report about gross mismanagement around a water meter program and there were suspicions around improper practices
  - Gerald Tremblay also resigned because there were allegations he wasn't doing anything about controversies
  - Nature of construction industry?
  - Lack of separation between politicians and bureaucrats?
  - Borough system?
- Sources of implementation failure
  - Bureaucrats: bureaucrats are often blamed for policy failures (ie they haven't been trained well enough.....)
  - Political meddling
  - Intergovernmentalism : other levels of government might say "we implemented this policy but other government levels are choosing not to follow it.....that's why the policy isn't working"

#### Contracting out

- Municipality purchases service from private (or non profit) sector instead of providing it in house
- When is contracting out appropriate?: we see contracting out often during public consultations (ie about dog regulation strategy or urban planning neighbourhood revitalization)
- Politically charged because viewed as anti- union (Seen as attack on unionized labor)
  - Cheaper: will hire non unionized staff for cheaper prices. Do we want cheaper, are we OK with nonunionized employees? (ie longterm consequences such as having to deal with employees who have no pensions way down the road.....also employees may not stay in the job for a long time because of this which might cause high turnover rates)
  - Could reduce service quality/capacity of staff
- PPP = private sector funds, constructs, managed in return for stream of payments
  - PPP = public private partnerships
  - Everybody has to pay for X (ie infrastructure) over time
  - Private sector borrows money at higher interest rates than the government does which raises the price
  - More lawyers/accountants/etc must be hired which raises costs
  - Private sector staff paid higher amounts than public sector staff
  - So is this really cheaper in the grand scheme?

#### Municipal Unions

- Organized associations of workers formed to protect and further rights
- Collective bargaining = unions negotiate wages and benefits with municipal employers
- CUPE supports local collective bargaining
  - Goes to different cities and checks out the collective bargaining being done. Will share the information they find with locals to try and raise wages. They support workers part of CUPE in cities around the country
- Union involvement in municipal politics
  - They want people who will support public service provision
  - Unions are very interested in municipal level politics

- They help do training for elections and find candidates
- Municipal work a safe harbor
- Power of employers has taken over the power of labor
- Antigovernmentalism: how can we continue to tolerate the discrepancy between wages of blue collar workers in the public v. private sector? (ie Rob Ford wanted to contract out most of what the city did which directly attacked blue collar workers (aka who voted for him)).
- Are we going to see contracting out and the dwindling of working class jobs in the public sector?

**April 3**

(Missed class - guest lecture - not on exam)

**April 10**

### Comparing Local Government

- Need more academic focus on local governance
- Need more case study and comparative research on urban governance
- Need top down & bottom up comparative research
  - Top down : unit of analysis is central government
  - Bottom up : unit of analysis is local government

### Class notes

- Summary of municipality issues
  - Alot of our transit systems were not built in an era of accessibility. How do we deal with this issue and go back and pay for accessible infrastructure? Another issue is with accessible transit there are less regular seats which brings profit loss
  - What of leisure, festival, celebration? The issue of celebrating groups that were once marginalized.....issues of racial settlement and ethnoracial conflict
  - Aging
  - .....these are just a few
- The analysis of these policy issues and how they are governed is crucial
- Many of these urban issues are being studied academically and coming to surface more and more
- But looking at these urban issues comparatively and seeking out the political challenges hasnt happened frequently enough
- Canadian public policy hasnt studied this enough as municipalities are creatures of the province and not “as important.”
- But municipalities are local governments. Are their decisions meaningful? It is difficult to manage their policy programs. Do they have their intended impact? If these things arent being studied then we wont know how to critique them and give advice if theyre not working . we need more case studies on urban issues.
- There are so many Canadian local governments and so much room to compare.
  - ie) How did having provinces matter? (in unitary systems there are no provinces)
  - Each province has its own slightly different municipal act. By comparing the differences in the municipal act we can check how that plays out in practice
  - Seniors policies.....many people believe the provinces require the municipalities to have them. But they DONT. Some dont have them at all, some focus more on middle class

seniors, some focus on other factors...it depends on the politics of the situation. The municipalities have policy freedom which people don't understand.

- Often when scholars do comparative studies they tend to do it from a top down or central government perspective. This means they try to learn about federal/provincial institutions but not necessarily local government itself. But the unit of analysis we need to look at is at the local level. Rather than being looked at intrinsically for its own value people are looking at it to make a point about federal/provincial levels. This top down research is not bad BUT we need bottom up research too
- Cities are not just policy TAKERS they are policy MAKERS

Compare WHAT? (what elements are important to compare?)

- There are 4 dimensions to compare
  1. Government functions
    - Policy responsibilities differ between local governments. This makes things complex because they differ between both a) national institutions (federalist or unitary) AND b) regarding social policy and services
      - Many social services were provided for after WWII in the area of state development (the 'uploading' of cities). This was because there was so much need for housing and social care, etc. Canada has extremely strong provinces, especially in the realm of social welfare. In unitary systems the municipalities retain the core responsibilities (ie health, infrastructure) because no provinces
    - When comparing local government internationally we first must know if we are dealing with a federalist or unitary system. Canadian cities are often compared with Australian government systems which also have provincial levels of government. In contrast, unitary governments do not have provinces. The responsibility of government is divided between central government and cities, so cities have much more power comparably.
    - Core responsibility for built environment
      - Need to understand sociopolitical dimensions: why are urban issues important? Example of issues requiring annexing or amalgamating. These things are hugely important to politics. Will there be sidewalks? Is the city planning to have libraries and community centers? They could be spaces for seniors or youth to gather. Will there be protections for old buildings? If not the city will be full of condos. Are we allowing mixes of residential and commercial building? Or all the commercial buildings separated from residential? Where will roads be built? How wide are the sidewalks going to be? (makes differences for accessibility). Stop signs? Crossing times? Provision of transit? Bikelanes on streets (but they rid of parking). Fire services. Police services. Ambulances. Firefighters are increasingly learning first responder skills to avoid the hospital. These community programs are all examples of local level works. There are so many social and political aspects of the built environment. This means that the built environment is subject interests. We are seeing privatization and P3 (private public partnerships) about this stuff. We have to consider power in respect to equity seeking groups. They key political decision makers in cities are still white men which doesn't accurately reflect the diversity in municipalities.
      - Rising policy expectations on local government
        - Distrust and hope for government
        - Distrust linked to neoliberalism : This has created decentralization of policy regarding issues like social or infrastructure. Neoliberals often take the public choice framing. They like many local governments in competition to create

efficiency. Rather than one big monopoly government, many different service providers are preferred. More responsibilities put onto cities in different areas has created transfer of responsibility onto local levels of government, and in effect more vague municipal acts and rights. This creates expectations...

- Rescaling creates expectations: expectations that local government is trustworthy and democratic. They are more closer to you than prv/fed levels, so easier to engage in policy making. The new localism ideology is growing popular.

Are seeing money going into these issues? Are staff being hired, etc?

## 2. Multi v. single purpose authorities

- Local governments include multi purpose municipalities & single purpose SPBs

Note: we began the course talking about the role of police boards, library boards, school boards. Point of having SPB to shield it from politics

- Municipalities / SPBs have differing responsibilities and relations in different cities
- Municipalities may have different tiers of authority
  - Community councils
  - Regional governments

To what extent does a city have authority over what they do? Do they have to pay for it? Comparing cities, how do these factors affect how services are delivered? What about America? How much power do American mayors have since many core services are provided by independent SPBs?

## 3. Autonomy

- No Canadian municipality fully autonomous
  - Limited government functions
  - Limited access to resources
  - Lack constitutional protection
- Provincial protection may maintain autonomy from private sector
- More governmental functions may limit autonomy
- Central political parties at local level may limit autonomy

## 4. Size

- Urbanization leads to metropolitan problem
- How to govern the city region?
  - a) Should we make bigger municipal governments?
  - b) Should we use regional governments?
  - c) Should we use regional governance? (formal agreements between differing municipalities in the region)
  - d) Or should we keep our municipalities small?
- We need comparative research on ideal size

Gap between Local government Importance & Attention

- In CDN Political Science
- Among ordinary citizens
- Among some city councillors & mayors
- What do we do?
  - Innovations in deliberate democracy
  - Advertisements
  - Internet and social networking
  - Education and research